NDC National Evaluation

Housing and the Physical Environment: Will residents stay and reap the benefits?

Christina Beatty
Ian Cole
Mike Grimsley
Paul Hickman
Ian Wilson

September 2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

APPENDIX

LIST OF FIGURES

Executive Summary

1. Introduction

This paper provides an insight into the potential mobility of NDC residents and the key groups of people who are most likely to want to leave their current home. The analysis mainly makes use of the MORI 2004 NDC Household Survey, focuses on a number of key variables and considers how these relate to and influence the future housing plans and aspirations of NDC residents.

2. Mobility

While a degree of mobility is a healthy aspect of any housing market, clearly very low rates or very high rates can be problematic and dysfunctional to community sustainability. Mobility may be influenced by contextual issues, such as the tenure composition or the demographic features of the local population - factors which NDCs have little control over. Perceptions of the area and satisfaction with accommodation will also influence mobility - and successful NDC interventions will have a positive impact on these factors.

A fourfold classification of potential movers is derived from the MORI Household survey data. These key sub-groups are focused on in the analysis presented in this paper. The four groups consist of respondents who:

- Want to move (38%)
- Intend to move within the next two years but have no firm plans to do so (32%)
- Plan to move within the next two years (18%)
- Plan to move within the next six months (6%)

Patterns of mobility - and therefore the interventions likely to affect them - vary widely across the NDC Partnerships.

- The proportion of residents wanting to move ranges from 57 per cent of residents interviewed in Southwark to 25 per cent in Hull and Walsall
- Five of the ten NDCs with the highest proportion of residents wanting to move are based in London.

3. Demographic characteristics and the likelihood of moving

The household survey suggests that key groups who may contribute to a sustainable neighbourhood are also the most likely to want to leave their current home. Younger respondents, families with dependent children, the economically active and those in better health are more likely to want to move or have plans to do so. For example, 42 per cent of economically active respondents want to move compared to 33 per cent of the economically inactive

4. The effect of housing circumstances and property condition

Aspirations to move and intended mobility of residents are strongly associated with dissatisfaction with accommodation, state of repair of the home and landlord services. These indicators of housing satisfaction also varied considerably across individual NDCs. There is more evidence of 'trapped' households in the social rented sector than in other tenures. This points to the need for NDC Partnerships to review the quality of local housing management initiatives and the balance of tenures within their area.

5. Models of mobility: demographic factors and satisfaction with accommodation

Logistic regression was used to investigate why one group of residents is more likely to wish to or plan to move than another. The models take into account a number of underlying characteristics - such as age, ethnicity and tenure - when calculating the extent to which other factors, for example dissatisfaction with accommodation, have on wanting to move.

- Black residents are 30 per cent more likely to want to move than their white counterparts
- Residents *dissatisfied with their accommodation* were over four and a half times more likely to want to move and more than three times as likely to plan to move in the near future than those who are satisfied
- Residents in Southwark and Tower Hamlets are more than 50 per cent more likely than NDC residents as a whole to want to move. This contrasts with those in Walsall and Hull who were half as likely to want to move as NDC residents on average.

6. Area characteristics as a driver for mobility

Across all tenures, those who want to move perceive on average significantly greater problems with local lawlessness, environmental problems and poor social relations than those who do not want to move. Fear of crime is a generalised reason for wanting to move, but it was *experience* of crime which had a greater association with the ultimate decision to move.

- 58 per cent of those who are dissatisfied with their area as a place to live want to move compared to 27 per cent of those who are satisfied
- Those who feel there are serious problems in the area are more likely to want to move than those who do not. For example, 66 per cent of those with serious problems with neighbours wanted to move.

7. Models of mobility and perceptions of NDC areas

Logistic regression modelling is used to examine the extent to which area level characteristics are determinants of residents' desire to move and intentions to move.

- Experience of crime is significant in predicting intentions to move. Those who had been a victim of crime more than once in the past year were 31 per cent more likely to have plans to move than those who had not
- Perceived environmental problems have less of an influence on intended mobility than issues involving social relations - such as problem neighbours or racial harassment - or problems with local lawlessness and dereliction.

8. Residents who are 'trapped' or 'churners'

Two indicators of the possible consequences of low and high mobility rates were investigated. 'Trapped' households were defined as those who wanted to move but felt it was unlikely that they would do so. 'Churners' were defined as households that had moved three or more times in the past five years.

- 13 per cent of households in NDC areas were categorised as 'trapped', compared with 11 per cent in the comparator survey areas

- All BME groups, with the exception of those of mixed ethnic origin, are less likely to be 'churners' than their white counterparts
- Low levels of 'churning' can be interpreted in both a positive or negative way and needs to be considered alongside other indicators of mobility.

9. An assessment of change over time

Area level change in NDC areas, relative to comparator areas, is considered using the 2002 and 2004 MORI/NOP household surveys. There is little evidence of significant movement in many of the indicators considered, but where differences exist these tend to be in relation to perceptions of the area and mobility:

- There has been hardly any change amongst NDC residents across the four main mobility indicators: those who want to; intend to, or plan to move within two years or six months
- The proportion of NDC residents who want to stay in the area, or a neighbouring area if they do move remains constant over time; this contrasts with a significant fall in this group in comparator areas
- Residents who indicate they want to move are asked why they want to. The proportion of NDC residents who give area related reasons fell by seven percentage points between 2002 and 2004, contrasting with an increase of four percentage points amongst residents in the comparator areas.

10. Implications for NDC Partnerships

There is a need for NDC interventions to be tailored to different patterns of projected mobility into and out of the area. The wider dynamics of the housing market also shape patterns of mobility, in terms of problems of affordability and trends in house prices. But they only go so far in explaining the extent of mobility. For example, there are marked differences *between* the London NDCs in terms of feeling 'trapped'.

Some factors, such as low levels of turnover, can reflect quite different circumstances. It may suggest that a proportion of households are constrained in their ability to access alternative housing options - or they may just be more satisfied with the area. It is crucial to look at the linkages between the responses to these questions on mobility and not just the headline figures.

It is possible to distinguish between factors which create dissatisfaction, reflected in a generalised desire to move on, and those which act as more specific prompts to leave, notably, the direct experience of being a victim of crime and problems in social relationships, such as anti-social behaviour and racial harassment. Property condition is important, but not to an overwhelming extent - property design and the range of dwelling types accessible to local people are also key factors. Investment in properties through refurbishment may be prioritised for a range of reasons- but in terms of its effect on mobility out of the neighbourhood, it may have less impact than effective anti-crime measures or creating a more diverse housing stock.

The findings demonstrate the diverse and complex motivations that lie behind decisions to leave or stay in an area, underlining the potential value of more holistic approaches to neighbourhood renewal than 'single issue' programmes.

1. Introduction

One of the principal aims of the NDC Programme, like many other area-based initiatives, is that regeneration should make the beneficiary neighbourhood more attractive to both existing and potential residents. As a result, so the argument goes, fewer existing residents will leave the area, and those who do leave will be replaced more rapidly. An inevitable consequence of this trend, it is claimed, will therefore be lower population turnover, which in turn should result in a more stable and cohesive community (Parkes et al, 2002; Kearns and Parkes, 2003).

A crucial indicator of the impact of the NDC Programme will also be changes in perceptions of the neighbourhood as a place to live. This will be reflected, *inter alia*, in the size and nature of both those households moving out and those moving in (Bramley and Pawson, 2002; Green et al, 2005). These patterns of mobility will also reflect and directly affect social relationships in the community.

While the validity of this argument may be challenged by its intrinsic simplicity - clearly, regeneration and neighbourhood change are highly complex processes - it is clear that the future housing careers of NDC residents will be central to any assessment of whether the Programme has been successful.

This paper is therefore intended to provide some insight into the short-term housing plans or mobility intentions of NDC residents. The analysis primarily utilises the most recent data available at the time of writing this paper: the 2004 MORI/NOP household survey, of 19,633 NDC residents. It is early to draw any authoritative conclusions about long-term mobility patterns amongst NDC residents. However, it is now possible to consider change between this 2004 survey and the baseline 2002 survey.

Evidence from the longitudinal element of the household survey data is also explored. This enables the responses of 10,638 NDC residents who stayed in the NDC areas and were interviewed at both 2002 and 2004 to be considered. However, the analysis of the longitudinal data is currently at a very early stage and the potential for further analysis of this rich source of information is great.

The analysis in this paper uses descriptive statistics to identify which factors are associated with the aspirations and intentions of residents to move. In addition, exploratory modelling of these factors allows drivers of mobility to be identified and quantified.

The key mobility measures examined in this report relate to the *likelihood* of respondents moving in the future rather than actual moves. There is however evidence that people who intend to move often actually do so in practice. For example, anticipated mobility status was identified for nearly 1,300 respondents sampled as part of a Housing and Regeneration in Coalfield Communities (HARCC) study (Green et al, 2001). Some 47.7 per cent of respondents who stated in 2000 that they were unlikely to stay in their home had indeed moved only two years later. Of the respondents in 2000 who stated that they would be unlikely to move, only 19.1 per cent had moved by 2002 (Green et al, 2005). This research suggests that there is a clear correlation between *planned* and *actual* mobility, although inevitably not all planned 'movers' will move, while not all planned 'stayers' will stay put.

The data allows insights to be gained on the relationship between planned and actual movement amongst NDC residents between 2002 to 2004. In addition, the characteristics of actual "out-movers" and "in-movers" since 2002 are also examined.

2. Mobility

A degree of household mobility is an essential and healthy aspect of any housing market and different rates of mobility are to be expected in different markets. Student housing markets, for example, have relatively high rates of mobility and turnover. There are two scenarios in which rates of mobility may be considered problematic. In the first, low rates of mobility may reflect the fact that households feel 'trapped' in their current housing. Here, low rates of mobility do not represent satisfaction with staying put: there is simply no alternative because of cost, location or other constraints. In the second case, high rates of mobility - a phenomenon widely known as 'churning' - can result in instability and dislocation of social relationships, and reinforce a lack of commitment from residents to their neighbourhood. The key point here is that there is no inherently desirable rate of mobility for all housing markets - it depends on local context, the social composition of the neighbourhood, and how mobility interacts with housing aspirations and neighbourhood satisfaction.

Nationally, there have been only marginal changes in mobility rates since the mid-1980s, although large differences emerge between housing tenures. Between 1984 and 1988, the proportion of owner-occupiers who had moved in the past year rose from 8 per cent to 12 per cent. This fell to five per cent by 1991, and there has been little subsequent change. In 2001/2, the proportion of owner-occupiers who had moved in the past year was six per cent (SEH, 2003: 24). Similarly, the proportion of social renters, those who rent from local authorities (LA), housing associations (HA) or registered social landlords (RSL), who had moved in the previous year has remained fairly static since 1984 at between 10 and 13 per cent. In 2001/2, about 11 per cent of social renters had moved in the past year.

A significantly higher proportion of private renters have moved in the previous year. In 1984, this represented 24 per cent of all households in this tenure and by 1991 that figure had risen to 34 per cent. .There was a further increase to 40 per cent of such households by 1994, and the figure has remained between 40 and 42 per cent since that time. Some 41 per cent of all private renters had moved in the previous year in 2001/2 (SEH, 2003: Table 2C).

Recently moving households also have distinctive characteristics. In the period 2001/2, around 11 per cent of all sampled households in the Survey of English Housing moved home. Groups who were over-represented in this category included: people aged between 16-24 (53 per cent had moved); those in cohabiting or in single never married households (24 and 22 per cent respectively); households headed by lone parents with dependent children or other multi-person households (17 per cent); the unemployed (25 per cent); and economically inactive persons under retirement age (18 per cent). By 2003/4 the proportion of all households which had moved in the past year had fallen to 9 per cent.

In terms of information about patterns of mobility at the NDC Partnership level, this précis of national data suggests that caution is needed in interpreting basic trends and differences in household turnover. Previous analysis of the 2002 survey indicate that the proportion of respondents from each NDC who had been resident in their property for less than a year varied enormously - ranging from figures over 23 per cent in Sunderland, Doncaster, Newcastle and Nottingham to less than 8 per cent in Kings Norton, Sandwell, Knowsley and Walsall. (A full list is provided in the Appendix Table A1). Neighbourhood level rates of turnover can be expected to vary considerably according to the tenure and household composition of an area, other demographic features, the proportion of unemployed residents and lone parents, and so on. However, even after taking these aspects into account, some NDCs may have

comparatively high or comparatively low mobility rates. Both these outcomes are potentially problematic for area-based interventions, for different reasons.

If a relatively *low* rate of turnover in a neighbourhood reflects a high level of 'suppressed' mobility, an improvement in the circumstances of local residents may give them the opportunity and resources to leave. They will, in effect, benefit from successful local intervention by moving out. The price of success for the NDC may therefore be a more turbulent residential environment than before. If, on the other hand, there are relatively *high* rates of mobility, the potentially positive impact of additional investment, service improvements or new initiatives may be reduced, as many households are not around long enough to reap any benefits. This syndrome was identified as a key facet of 'people-based' regeneration programmes in the 2003 Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on the effectiveness of regeneration initiatives:.

> *'There are however problems with 'people-based' regeneration, whether focused on a particular neighbourhood or a broader area:*
>
> • *those families or individuals who benefit from improved circulation or enhanced employment opportunities or better health prospects, may well move out of the target area;*
>
> • *the areas concerned may in any event have a history of high turnover of population, acting as a temporary home for incomers.'*

(ODPM Select Committee, 2003, para 15)

Whilst this concern emphasises the need to contextualise discussion of rates of household mobility, it concentrates on past trends - what has happened in the last twelve months - rather than on *future* plans and intentions. Clearly this future-oriented information is vital if interventions from NDCs and their partners are to mesh with the aspirations of households resident in the area. Whether the emphasis is placed on improving the existing housing stock, attracting appropriate new households to the neighbourhood, rewarding residential loyalty, changing the tenure mix or raising the standard of landlord services - the balance reached between such aims should be cognisant of likely future patterns of household turnover and change. In practice, however, this rarely happens in designing the delivery of housing regeneration programmes at the neighbourhood level. This theme is revisited later in this paper.

The 2002 and 2004 Household Surveys conducted by MORI/NOP are the main sources of data available on housing and the physical environment within NDC areas. The sample contains the responses of approximately 500 residents in each of the 39 NDC areas - a total of 19,547 respondents in 2002 and 19,633 in 2004. Where possible, this paper draws comparisons with findings from the NDC comparator surveys, carried out by MORI at the same time as the main surveys, and national data from the annual Survey of English Housing. The 2004 comparator sample consisted of just over 4,000 residents drawn from similarly deprived neighbourhoods which were not part of or contiguous to the 39 NDC areas. This was double the size of the comparator sample in 2002.

The NDC and comparator surveys are based on a combined panel and cross-sectional "top-up" sample design. This means that for 2004 as many interviews as possible were carried out at the same addresses as in 2002. In most cases this is with the original respondent, although another person at that address was interviewed if the original respondent had either died or moved. A 'top up' new cross sectional sample was then taken to ensure the overall sample size was maintained. A detailed explanation of the

sample and the resultant design effects can be found in the *Household Survey 2004: Technical Report* (MORI, 2004; http://ndcevaluation.adc.shu.ac.uk/ndcevaluation).

The Household Survey included a series of questions on whether the respondent wanted to move from their current home, when they intended to move and where to. Respondents were also asked about reasons for wanting to move, satisfaction with their housing and their perceptions of the local area. There is clearly a difference between wanting to move and thinking you *will* move within a given time frame. It is likely that someone who states that they will move in the next six months is more likely to move than a person who wants to move but does not think they will do so over the next two years. It is also possible that different types of respondents will have differing demographic characteristics and social perceptions. The analysis below focuses on comparisons between four main groups who responded differently to questions about whether they wanted, intended or planned to move.

Respondents were first asked if they *wanted* to move from the property they currently occupied. They were further questioned about whether they thought they *would* move within the next two years and, if so, within what time frame. This gave rise to four sets of responses which are not mutually exclusive of each other:

- **want to move**

- **intend to move within 2 years** - people who said that they thought they would move within in the next two years but did not know when, reflecting a generalised intent to move rather than a specific plan of action

- **plan to move within 2 years** - respondents who thought they would move within the next two years and specified a time frame

- **plan to move within 6 months** - this is a sub-set of the group above and thought they would move in the immediate future.

Table 1 indicates that 38 per cent of residents said they want to move from the property they currently live in and 32 per cent intend to move within the next two years. However, a lower proportion, 18 per cent, is able to give a time frame within the two year period when they plan to move. NDC residents are more inclined to want to leave their current property than residents in comparator areas; a higher proportion also plans to move within the next six months, and within the next two years.

Table 1: Residents' desire to move or intentions of moving from current home, 2004

| | % of respondents | |
	NDC Areas	Comparator Areas
Want to move	38	31
Intend to move within 2 years	32	26
Plan to move within 2 years	18	15
Plan to move within 6 months	6	5

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: All

Large differences are evident in levels of intended mobility across the 39 NDC Partnerships (Figure 1). The proportion of residents wanting to move ranges from 57 per cent of residents in Southwark to 25 per cent in Walsall and in Hull (Appendix Table A2). When considered by region, it is residents within the South West Partnerships which show the strongest desire to move (45 per cent) with the Partnerships located in the London and Eastern region not far behind on 43 per cent. Five of the ten NDCs with the highest proportion of residents wanting to move are based in London.

Figure 1: Proportion of NDC residents who want to move by NDC area, 2004
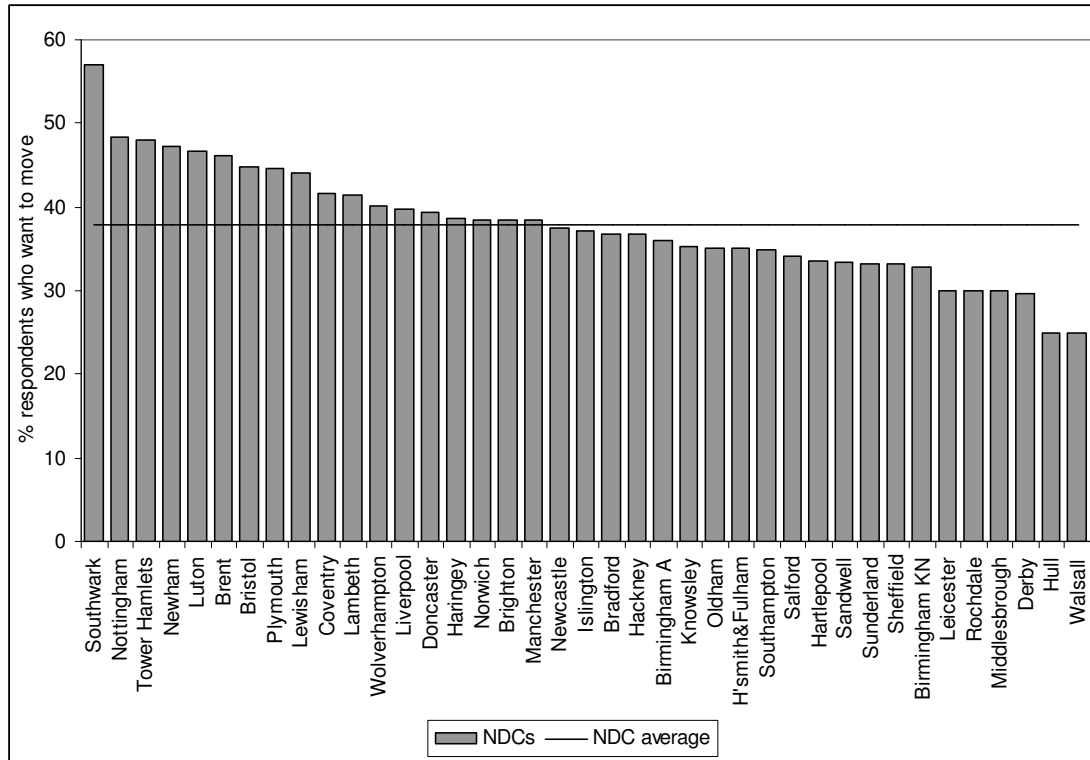
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: All

A more complex picture is given in Figure 2, showing the proportion of residents in all NDCs who intend to move at some time, those who plan to move in the next two years, and those planning to move within six months. Again large differences emerge. Some 58 per cent of residents in Nottingham think they will move in the next two years, compared to only 19 per cent in Walsall in the West Midlands. The Nottingham results are likely to be influenced by the large student population in the neighbourhoods. The rest of the results, however, follow an overall similar ordering as for the 'want to move' measure.

Some NDCs have a relatively higher proportion of residents who plan to move within six months. One can surmise that this group would be the most likely to act on their plans, and this could serve as a warning sign about imminently high rates of household turnover. NDCs falling into this category include Newcastle, Nottingham and Tower Hamlets. Respondents from more than one in ten households within each of these Partnerships indicate that they plan to move imminently.

Figure 2: NDC residents who think they will move in the next two years by when they think they will move, by NDC area, 2004
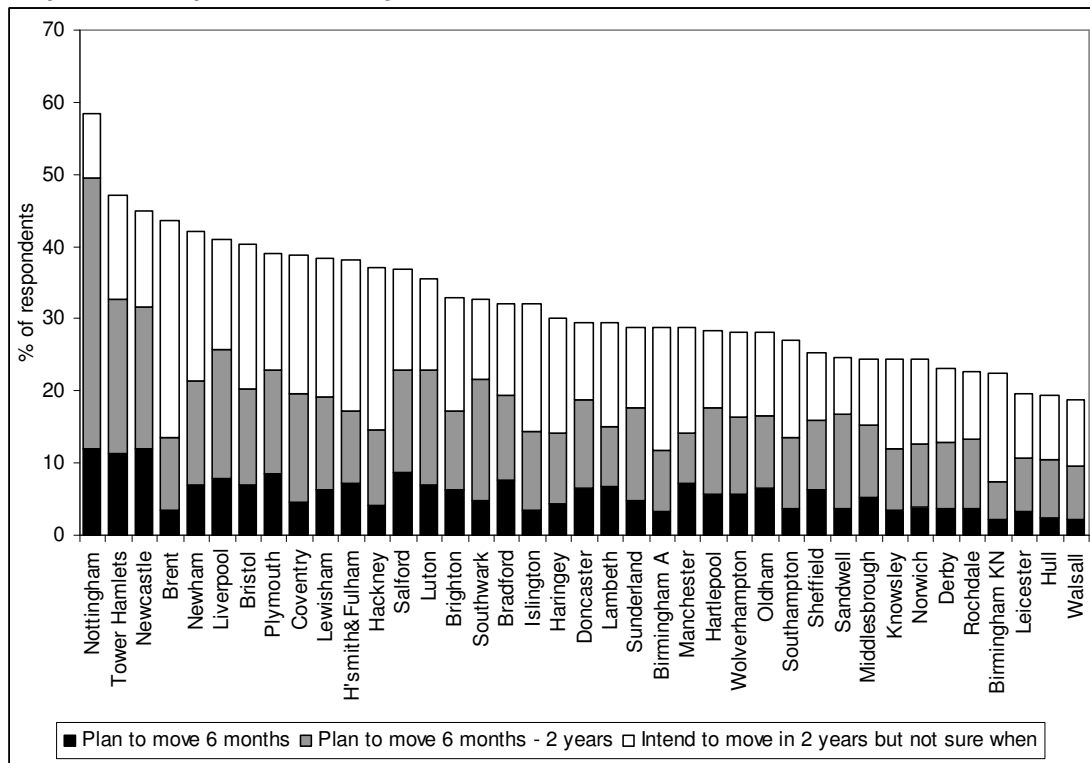
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: All

Wanting to move from one's current home is not synonymous with wanting to leave the neighbourhood. Table 2 shows that just under one in four of those residents who said they planned to move within the next two years would stay in the area. The prompts to move in these cases may well be property-related rather than 'push' or 'pull' factors associated with the overall neighbourhood. A further 18 per cent said they thought they would move to a neighbouring area, whilst a half of the respondents wanted to move further afield. The survey data for comparator areas showed similar results.

Table 2: Where do residents think they will move to? 2004

	% of respondents	
	NDC Areas	Comparator Areas
Stay in the area	24	21
A neighbouring area	18	20
Elsewhere in this city/town	28	24
Elsewhere in the UK	17	22
Elsewhere outside the UK	5	5
Don't know	8	8
Total	100	100

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: All who think they will move in next two years (5,682)

The diverse and complex motivations behind mobility are reflected in the finding that respondents gave over thirty different explicit reasons for wanting to move. The most frequent reasons given were: 24 per cent wanted a larger home, 23 per cent did not like the area, 17 per cent wanted to live in a different neighbourhood/area, and 12 per cent said because of the level of crime in the area. The categories were not mutually exclusive so it was possible for respondents to give multiple responses.

Table 3: Reasons for wanting to move, 2004

| | % of respondents | |
	NDC Areas	Comparator Areas
Property related	41	36
Area related	46	47
Personal reasons	21	26
Work reasons	4	6
Retirement	1	1
Financial reasons	6	8
Other	8	7

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base=All who want to move except those longitudinal respondents already asked HO11NEWB (6170)

In Table 3 the reasons given by respondents have been grouped into seven broad categories. The percentages are an indication that at least one factor within a category was given. The data show that NDC respondents were more likely to give property-related factors as a reason for wanting to move than respondents from the comparator survey and were less likely to state personal reasons. It is worth noting that residents in NDC areas were on a par with comparator areas in giving area related reasons as a factor for wanting to move. This question will be revisited in Chapter 9 on change data.

Table 4: NDC residents who think they will move and the reasons for wanting to move, 2004

| | Reason for move (%) | | | | | | |
Move to where?	Property related	Area related	Personal reasons	Work reasons	Retirement	Financial reasons	Other
Stay in the area	50	19	20	1	0	7	8
A neighbouring area	44	41	20	4	0	6	9
Elsewhere in this city/town	33	58	22	3	0	7	8
Elsewhere in the UK	14	53	21	15	1	5	12
Elsewhere outside the UK	13	29	22	22	4	5	15
Don't know	31	32	16	11	0	8	12
All	41	46	21	4	1	6	8

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: All those who think that they will move in the next two years and want to move except those longitudinal respondents already asked HO11NEWB (3,583)

Table 4 confirms that those respondents who think that they will move within the immediate area are most likely to be motivated by reasons directly related to the characteristics of their accommodation. Half of these households stated property related reasons for wanting to move. Accommodation related reasons are far less of an issue amongst those who anticipate long distance moves. Instead pull factors, such as those to relating to work, are much more likely to be stated by this group. Those who

wish to move outside the area are most likely to state area related reasons for wanting to move. This rises to nearly three out of five of all residents who wish to move to elsewhere in the city. Some reasons given are relatively standard across all types of moves. For example, approximately a fifth of all types of moves state personal reasons and between 5 to 8 per cent of all moves give financial reasons as a factor.

Previous studies have shown a strong correlation between wanting to move and actually moving, but it is worth noting that respondents who intend to move in the next two years are not just a sub-set of those who want to move. One in five of those who *intend* to move in the next two years do not *want* to do so; their anticipated mobility will not be the result of their preferences. In a similar vein, one in ten of all respondents who do not want to move thinks that they will actually do so within the next two years. Similar findings were gleaned from the survey of comparator areas.

The mismatch between wanting, and intending, to move also allows us to look at those residents who might be considered as 'trapped' in their current housing circumstances. These 'trapped' residents - who want to move but think it is unlikely that they will do so - are slightly more prevalent in the NDC survey than in the comparator survey. This group will be considered further in Chapter 8.

It is also possible to identify those who neither want to nor intend to move from their current home. In NDC areas 55 per cent of respondents fell into this group. This was lower than in the comparator survey figure of 63 per cent.

This chapter has identified the four key indicators of mobility that will be focused on throughout this paper. The analysis highlights:

- the wide variation across Partnerships on these indicators

- wanting to move is not synonymous with wanting to leave the area

- area related reasons are the most frequently mentioned factor for wanting to move

- wanting to move does not necessarily translate into an intention to move and visa versa.

Just as aspirations and intentions to move vary between Partnerships, they also vary within the population of an area. The following chapter will investigate key population characteristics that are associated with mobility, for example, age and household composition.

3. Demographic characteristics and the likelihood of moving

The extent to which a person is likely to move is driven by a number of factors. These include lifestage, property related, economic or area related reasons. This chapter will consider the relationship between a number of underlying characteristics of the NDC population and mobility including: age, ethnicity and household composition.

Gender has little independent effect on the desire, intention or plan to move, but there are differences by age and household composition. These factors reflect the changing housing needs of households at different life stages. At the national level, younger people tend to be more mobile, whether moving in connection with employment opportunities or changing family circumstances. This is reflected in the household survey results (Table 5) confirming that as age increases the proportion wanting to or planning to move decreases. Responses from the 16-24 age group show that an intention to move does not always reflect an equivalent desire to do so. For this age group, 49 per cent think they will move over the next two years but only 44 per cent actually want to. Older age groups are least likely to want to move or have any plans to do so. Increased likelihood of moving amongst the younger age groups may also reflect differences in tenure - an issue explored in the next section of this paper.

Table 5: Age by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
16-24	44	49	32	10
25-49	45	37	20	7
50-64	29	19	8	2
65+	19	11	4	2
All	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

Table 6 shows that families with dependent children are the most likely to want to move, perhaps reflecting a need for more space and also a younger age profile. Those in single or couple households are least likely to want to move and nearly three in five of respondents from these households are aged over 50. Households with a large number of adults are the most likely to think they will actually move in the near to mid-term future.

Table 6: Household composition by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Lone parent family	49	38	20	6
Couple with dep. children	46	35	19	7
Large adult household	36	39	25	8
Couple no dep. children	33	24	13	4
Single person household	28	24	13	5
All	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

Table 7: Economic status, education and health and intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	Want to move (%)	Plan to move in 2 years (%)
Workless household?		
Yes	34	16
No	40	20
Economically active?		
Yes	42	21
No	33	15
In paid work?		
Yes	41	20
No	35	16
Any qualifications?		
Yes	44	24
No	37	14
Illness, disability or infirmity limits activities?		
Yes	34	13
No	37	15
All	38	18

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: Workless, Eco. active, Paid work =all. No qualifications=working age (14,858), Illness=all with long-standing illness (7,294)

Other life stage and life style characteristics are likely to influence mobility. Relatively better employment opportunities in other areas can provide a 'pull' factor, especially for those who are younger, fitter and better educated. Employment also has supply- side consequences. Those who work and have a steady income are more able to make mobility choices and to afford moves to areas that are considered better than their current location.

Table 7 confirms that those who are most connected to the labour market, who are healthier and who have some qualifications, are most likely to want to or plan to move. This suggests that the pattern of mobility may be far from neutral in its effects; those remaining will be, *prima facie*, less 'independent' and enjoying lower levels of human capital, than those leaving. Of course, depending on the nature and success of local NDC initiatives, future incomers may restore the balance or even help generate a net increase in these community assets.

When self-reported race and ethnicity backgrounds are considered (Table 8) a higher proportion of black residents want to move from their present home than Asian or white residents. However, the proportion actually *planning* to move within the next two years is very similar across all three ethnic groups. When a more detailed breakdown of ethnicity is considered, the highest level of wanting to move was amongst other mixed background (53 per cent) and Black Africans (51 per cent) and the lowest was amongst Irish residents (30 per cent). A more detailed exploration of the survey data in relation to housing aspirations of the BME community is undertaken later in this paper.

Table 8: Ethnicity by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Black	49	39	19	6
Asian	39	37	22	8
White	36	30	17	5
All	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

The analysis indicates that the underlying population characteristics of an area should be taken into account when assessing levels of mobility within a locality:

- the younger the age profile of an area, the higher the level of aspirations, intentions or plans to move

- single person households or those with no dependent children are less likely to want to move

- residents who are healthier, better qualified or participating in the labour market are more likely to want to or intend to move.

As well as population characteristics, the type and condition of the housing stock within an area will also having an impact on levels of mobility. The next chapter considers these issues including: the relationship between mobility and satisfaction with accommodation; state of repair of the home; and tenure.

Housing and the Physical Environment: Will residents stay and reap the benefits?
CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University.

11

4. The effect of housing circumstances and property condition

Mobility choices are not only driven by issues such as the lifestage of an individual, but also by factors such as tenure; whether or not they are satisfied with their accommodation; and the length of time they have lived in an area. This chapter considers the extent to which these factors, and others associated with type and condition of housing, are related to mobility.

Table 9 indicates that a higher proportion of respondents in the younger age group rent privately and, consistent with the national picture, this tenure is marked by highest rates of intended and planned mobility (Table 10). However, across all age groups, the social rented sector dominates in NDC areas. The proportion of respondents in this sector is nearly three times the national rate; the proportion of owner-occupiers, on the other hand, is less than half the national rate.

Table 9: Age of NDC residents by tenure, 2004

	% owner occupier	% social sector renter	% private renter	Total
16-24 years	21	56	24	100
25-49 years	33	55	12	100
50-64 years	43	53	4	100
65+ years	38	59	4	100
All	35	55	10	100
National	70	20	10	100

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all, National=SEH 2003/04

Table 10 shows that mobility in the privately rented sector is not necessarily prompted by choice, but is more a facet of this type of accommodation and the younger profile of respondents in the sector. Whereas 43 per cent of the private renters say they want to move, nearly 60 per cent of them actually think they will move in the next two years. Among social renters, on the other hand, there is some evidence of 'trapped' households: 41 per cent want to move but only 15 per cent are actually planning to move in the next two years.

Table 10: Tenure by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Owner Occupier	32	25	14	4
Social Sector Renter	41	31	15	5
Private Renter	43	58	41	15
NDC Total	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

It appears reasonable to assume that the length of residence in their current home might influence respondents' perception of the neighbourhood and in turn influence their desire to move. However, Table 11 shows there is very little variation in *wanting* to move as length of residence increases, apart from those who have lived in the property for more than twenty years. The longer a respondent has been resident the less likely they are to think they might move over the next two years - they are less likely, in other words, to act on their preferences.

Table 11: Length of residence in current home by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Up to 1 year	35	49	33	11
2 - 4 years	44	38	22	8
5 - 9 years	42	33	16	5
10 - 19 years	40	27	14	3
20 or more years	28	18	9	3
All	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

Length of residence in one's current home also provides an indicator of population stability. Findings from the 2004 household survey show, on the whole, a similar distribution for length of residence as the Survey of English Housing 2003/04. The exceptions are those who have lived in their property for less than a year, which accounts for 13 per cent of the NDC residents compared with 9 per cent nationally. There are also slightly fewer long term residents in NDC areas than nationally, with 42 per cent of residents interviewed in NDC areas having lived in their current home for ten years or more compared to 46 per cent nationally.

It should be remembered that there is a design effect on the 2004 household survey. The sample is not a straightforward simple random sample as in the 2002 survey. The longitudinal element to the sample means as many residents as possible from the 2002 survey were re-interviewed in 2004. This accounts for approximately half the sample. A 'top up' cross-sectional sample is then undertaken to retain the overall sample size. The longitudinal sample under-represents in-movers and the cross-sectional addresses tend to over-represent them. The actual level is likely to be somewhere in-between. The method may however have the effect of slightly underestimating the number of short term residents and therefore population turnover within an area.

Further evidence that 2004 data provide a reasonable indication of the actual level of in-comers to NDC areas is gained from comparison with the 2002 results. There has been little movement on this indicator between the two surveys. In 2002 15 per cent of respondents had lived in the area for less than a year compared to 13 per cent in 2004. The national figures fell from 10 per cent to 9 per cent over the same period.

Respondents were asked a number of questions about satisfaction with their accommodation, state of repair of their home and services from their landlord (Table 12). The relationships between these variables and likely future mobility are explored in Tables 13 to 15.

Table 12: Satisfaction with accommodation, state of repair of home and landlord amongst NDC residents, 2004

| | Percentage of respondents | | | | | |
| | accommodation | | State of repair | | landlord | |
	NDC	National	NDC	National	NDC	National
Very satisfied	43	62	31	44	27	32
Fairly satisfied	39	30	39	36	40	40
Neither sat. nor dissat.	4	3	6	5	10	11
Slightly dissatisfied	7	4	13	9	10	9
Very dissatisfied	6	2	10	6	10	8
Don't know	*	N/A	*	N/A	2	N/A
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: Accommodation and state of repair=all, landlord=all renters (12,883)
National data: satisfaction with state of repair SEH 1994/95, satisfaction with accommodation and landlord 2002/03.

Table 13 confirms that, as one would expect, satisfaction with accommodation is strongly associated with whether a respondent wanted to move. Just over four out of five respondents who were very dissatisfied with their accommodation wanted to move, compared to just over one in five of those who were very satisfied.

Table 13: Satisfaction with accommodation by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Very satisfied	22	21	11	4
Fairly satisfied	40	34	19	5
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	62	50	29	8
Slightly dissatisfied	69	53	30	12
Very dissatisfied	81	57	32	15
All	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

When the data is viewed from another aspect, the pattern is confirmed. Around one in four of those who want to move are dissatisfied with their accommodation. This compares with less than one in twenty of those who do not want to move. A broadly similar relationship can be discerned in terms of dissatisfaction with the state of repair of their home or with their landlord (Tables 14 and 15), though the contrast with those who are satisfied is not quite as stark.

Table 14: Satisfaction with state of repair of home by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Very satisfied	25	23	13	4
Fairly satisfied	37	32	19	6
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	48	40	21	5
Slightly dissatisfied	49	39	21	8
Very dissatisfied	62	45	25	10
All	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

Table 15: Satisfaction with landlord by intended mobility, NDC residents, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Very satisfied	26	29	18	5
Fairly satisfied	39	34	19	6
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	52	42	24	8
Slightly dissatisfied	58	46	26	9
Very dissatisfied	63	46	25	12
All	41	36	20	7

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all renters (12,883)

These findings suggest that further analysis is necessary at the local level before gauging the potential impact of different housing programmes on residential mobility. As a starting point Figures 3 to 5 highlight levels of dissatisfaction with accommodation, state of repair of home and landlord by NDC.

Dissatisfaction with accommodation is a key driver for wanting to move, but it is important to establish, if possible, whether this refers primarily to property condition, type or design before any remedial measures should be undertaken. In their analysis of data from the 1991 and 1996 English House Condition Surveys, Kearns and Parkes also found that overall dissatisfaction with the home increased by more than two-fold the odds that someone would move home, going on to argue that:

> *'Layout and size are particularly important, suggesting that if the Government wishes to reduce the incidence of mobility intentions among UK residents then the design and adaptability of homes has to improve to match people's needs, especially as household structures are becoming more flexible and as the population gets older and perhaps more infirm.'* (Kearns and Parkes, 2002b:4)

NDC teams should consider how respondents in their own area rate satisfaction with state of repair and landlord services in order to assess the priority given to any changes or new initiatives in these realms. In previous regeneration programmes, for example, it has sometimes been a knee-jerk reaction to introduce local housing management in response to the perceived unpopularity of certain neighbourhoods. This may be appropriate in some areas and help bring down the proportion of those who want to move out of the area; but in other cases, it may be virtually irrelevant.

Figure 3: Dissatisfaction with accommodation by NDC area, 2004
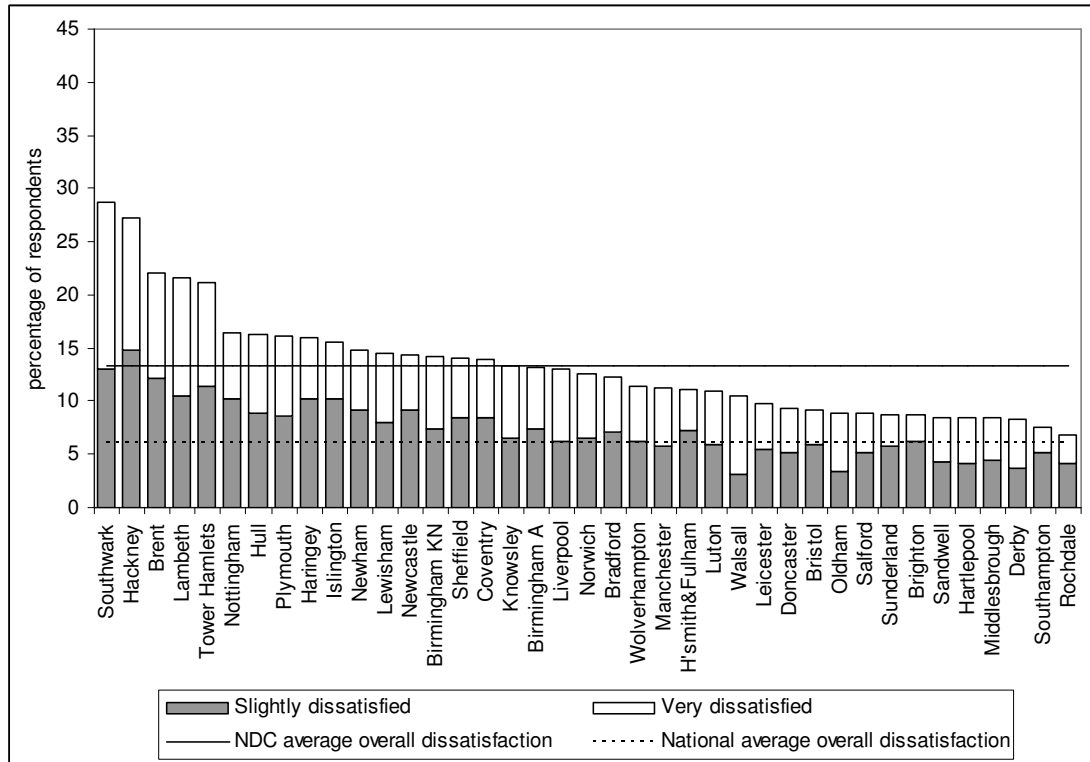
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

Figure 4: Dissatisfaction with state of repair of home by NDC area, 2004
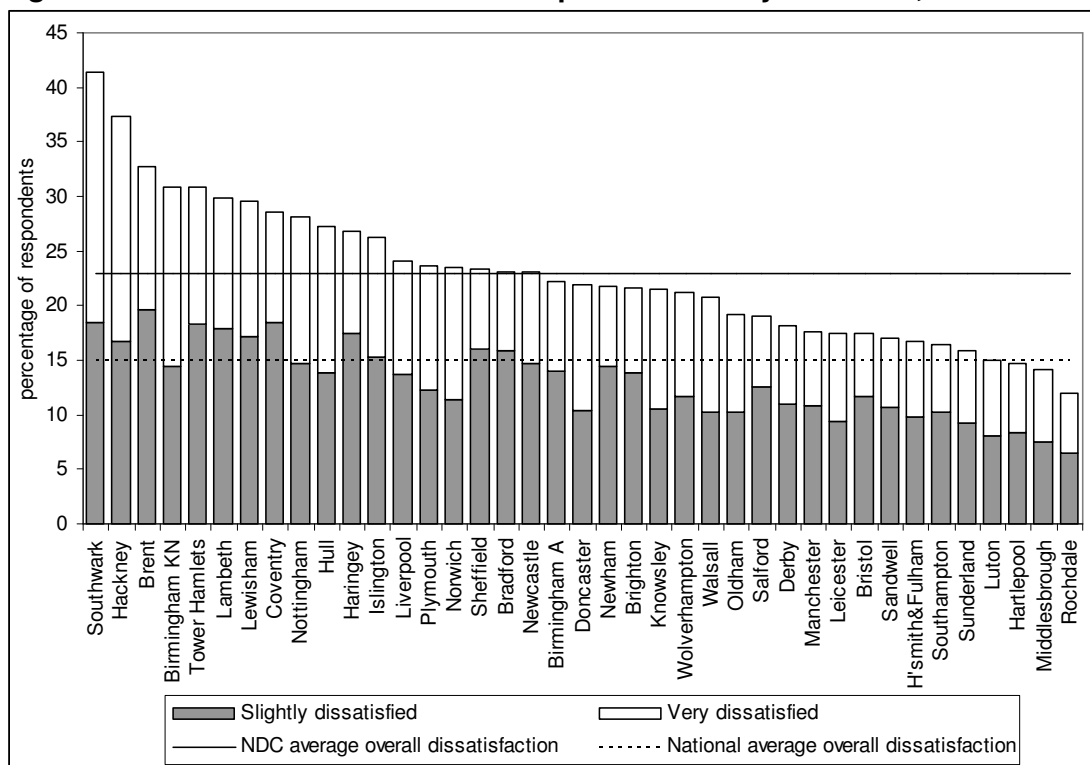
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all

Figure 5: Dissatisfaction with landlord by NDC area, 2004
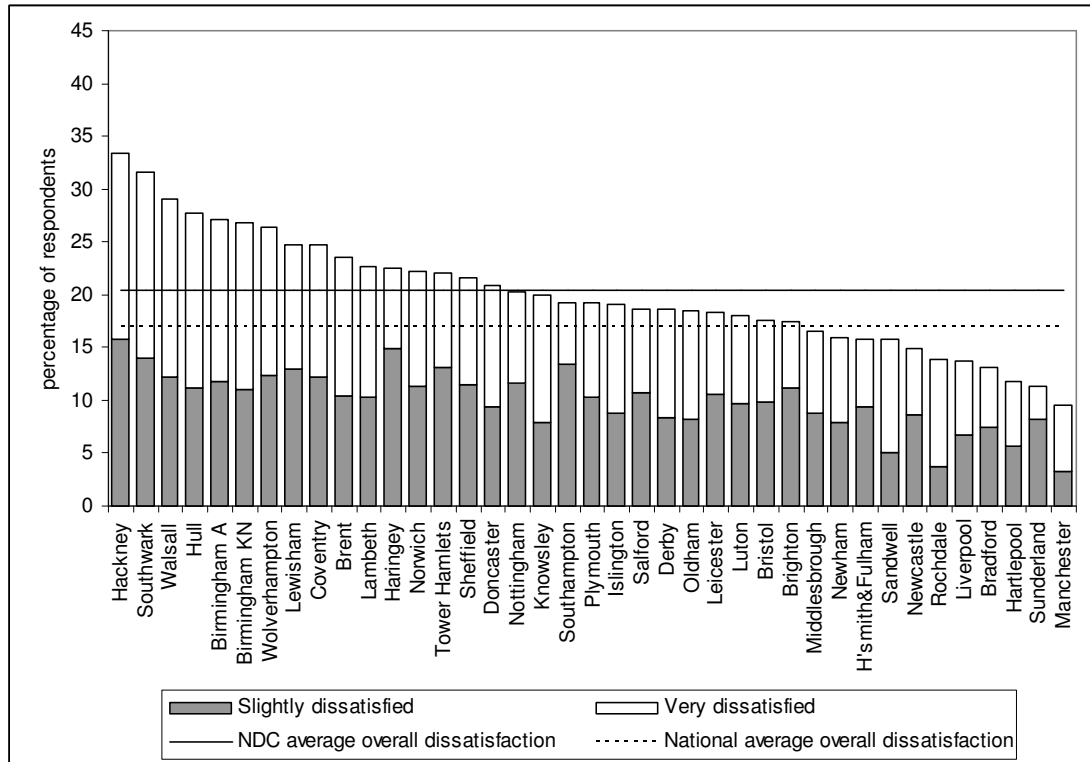
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: all renters (12,883)

The analysis in this chapter highlights wide variation in:

- satisfaction with accommodation, repair of the home and landlord by Partnership

- mobility aspirations and intentions depending on the degree of satisfaction on these property related indicators

A further important research question raised concerns those factors that appear to influence levels of satisfaction with accommodation in addition to those associated with the property *per se.* For example, if satisfaction is also a reflection of the wider social context of the neighbourhood (Parkes et al, 2002, Green et al, 2005), property-focused NDC programmes will not be enough to alleviate the problem. This issue will be considered further in the following section using logistic regression modelling to identify potential determinants of satisfaction with accommodation. Other factors such as the importance of individual characteristics, property characteristics, and variation by Partnership, will also be analysed using this method.

5. Models of Mobility: demographic factors and satisfaction with accommodation

The underlying characteristics of NDC Partnership areas differ in terms of such variables as age structure, ethnicity and tenure. These characteristics may go some way towards explaining variations in mobility at the Partnership level. What is needed therefore is further analysis of the survey findings which goes beyond the bivariate or two-way exploration of the data presented in this paper so far. Methods need to be employed that take into account the underlying characteristics of an area in order to gauge the influence that other factors may have on variations in mobility. Multivariate modelling techniques - specifically logistic regression modelling - facilitate this through a more sophisticated investigation into the possible drivers and consequences of mobility in Partnership areas.

Logistic regression can be used to unpick the different factors explaining why one group of residents is more likely to move than another. This technique is useful as it allows a number of underlying explanatory variables - such as age, ethnicity and tenure - to be taken into account when calculating the extent to which other factors, for example dissatisfaction with accommodation, have on the desire to move.

The results of such an analytical approach can be presented as a series of odds ratios (ORs). These reflect the probability of a person being in one group rather than another after all other factors in the model have been taken into account. For example, an OR of 2 means a person with a known attribute - say dissatisfaction with the size of their house – is, on average, twice as likely to want to move as a person who is not dissatisfied with the size of their house, after all other factors (such as household size and ethnicity) have been taken into account.

The first model presented in Figure 6 depicts the adjusted ORs for wanting to move by NDC Partnership. These have been adjusted for respondents' age, gender, self-reported ethnicity, educational attainment (highest NVQ level) and their number of home moves in the last five years. The responses on household composition, tenure, and whether the respondent was a member of a workless household were also factors that were adjusted for. All of these attributes were significant in predicting whether a respondent wanted to move - apart from membership of a workless household, interestingly enough. The OR scores for Partnerships indicate, on average, how likely a respondent from a particular NDC area will want to move compared with the average score, taking into account the respondent and household characteristics given above. The average OR score across all Partnerships is represented as 1.

It is apparent, from Figure 6, that residents in Walsall and Hull are approximately half as likely as NDC residents as a whole to want to move. At the other end of the spectrum residents in Southwark, Tower Hamlets and Nottingham are more than one and a half times as likely to want to move as NDC residents on average. The bars on the chart shown in black indicate that the ORs for these Partnerships are significantly above or below the average, to a 95% level of confidence. Three of the eight NDCs with significant ORs above 1 for wanting to move are in London.

Figure 6: Odds ratios for want to move by NDC Partnership, 2004
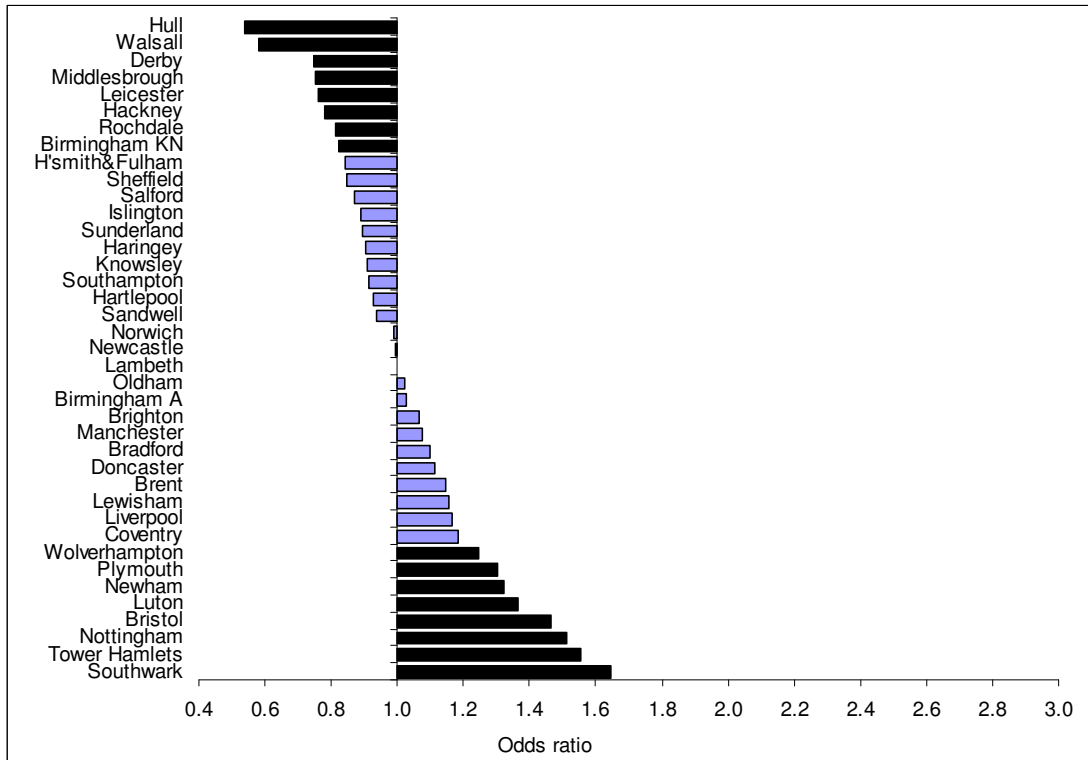
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: bars in black represent areas where OR is significant at 5% level

Figure 7:Odds ratios for plan to move within next two years by NDC Partnership, 2004
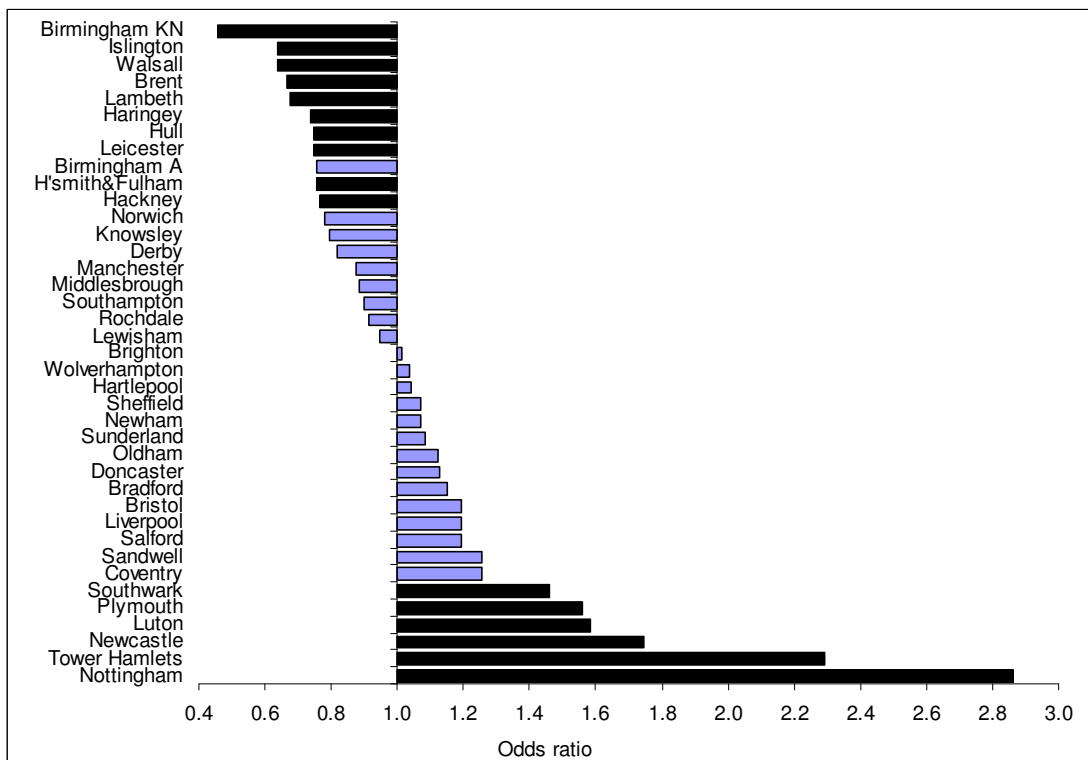
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: bars in black represent areas where OR is significant at 5% level

Table 16: Odds ratios for 'want to move' and 'plan to move' in two years, by NDC Partnership, 2004

	Odds ratios	
NDC Partnership area	**want to move**	**plan to move in 2 years**
Southwark	**1.64**	**1.46**
Tower Hamlets	**1.56**	**2.29**
Nottingham	**1.51**	**2.86**
Bristol	**1.47**	1.19
Luton	**1.36**	**1.58**
Newham	**1.32**	1.07
Plymouth	**1.30**	**1.56**
Wolverhampton	**1.25**	1.04
Coventry	1.18	1.26
Liverpool	1.17	1.20
Lewisham	1.16	0.95
Brent	1.14	**0.67**
Doncaster	1.11	1.13
Bradford	1.10	1.15
Manchester	1.08	0.88
Brighton	1.06	1.01
Birmingham - Aston	1.03	0.76
Oldham	1.02	1.12
Lambeth	1.00	**0.67**
Newcastle	0.99	**1.74**
Norwich	0.99	0.78
Sandwell	0.94	1.26
Hartlepool	0.93	1.04
Southampton	0.92	0.90
Knowsley	0.91	0.79
Haringey	0.90	**0.74**
Sunderland	0.89	1.08
Islington	0.89	**0.64**
Salford	0.87	1.20
Sheffield	0.85	1.07
Fulham	0.84	**0.76**
Birmingham - Kings Norton	**0.82**	**0.46**
Rochdale	**0.81**	0.91
Hackney	**0.78**	**0.77**
Leicester	**0.76**	**0.75**
Middlesbrough	**0.75**	0.89
Derby	**0.75**	0.82
Walsall	**0.58**	**0.64**
Hull	**0.54**	**0.75**

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: Ordered by odds ratio for want to move

ORs by Partnership are given in Figure 7 in terms of whether respondents were planning to move within the next two years. It can be seen that there is quite a degree of overlap between those who are significantly more likely to want to move and those who a significantly more likely to plan to move within the next two years. This reinforces the idea that a desire to move is more likely to translate into an actual move in time. Five of the six Partnerships with significant ORs over 1 for planning to move within the next two years are also significantly more likely than NDCs as a whole to want to move. Half of those who are significantly less likely to plan to move are also amongst those significantly less likely to want to move.

The full list of adjusted odds ratios for individual Partnerships depicted in Figures 6 and 7 is given in Table 16. More detailed information, which includes the 95% confidence intervals and significance levels for these two models, is contained in Tables A3 and A4 in the Appendix.

The ORs for individual Partnerships are underpinned by a base model which adjusts for a number of demographic and contextual explanatory factors. The relevant ORs of these explanatory variables are shown in Table 17 for the four categories of mobility outcome.

Some of the relationships revealed in Table 17 confirm patterns identified earlier in the paper. It is worth noting again that worklessness - when considered in terms of workless households - is not a significant factor in explaining residents' desire to move, or plans to move, except for those with plans to move within the immediate future. This is, perhaps, counter-intuitive, as households which include those in employment might be considered to have a greater propensity to move, not least because such households appear better able to afford a move than those without work. Perhaps this bodes well in terms of improving the employment opportunities of NDC residents, in that residents will not necessarily leave the area if their financial circumstances are improved.

The demographic elements of the model are now considered. There are few noticeable differences between men and women in intended mobility from examination of the data by cross-tabulations. However, the base model shows that when other factors are taken into account, women are significantly more likely than men to have aspirations to move and also plan to move in two years. These differences are not large, but they may suggest that women have more influence on instigating household decisions on mobility.

ORs confirm that age has a strong bearing on mobility. The base group are those aged 75+ who are the least likely to want to or have plans to move. All younger age groups are, on the whole, significantly more likely to want to or plan to move than the oldest age group. Only when planning to move within 6 months is considered are there no significant differences apparent between those aged 55 and above. Generally, the younger residents are, the greater the differences in ORs from the base group.

The logistic model also shows that reported ethnicity of residents has a bearing on aspirations, intentions and plans to move within the following two years. However, there are no significant differences between groups in terms of short term plans. Black residents are, on average, 30 per cent more likely to want to move than their white counterparts. Black residents are also more likely to have intentions to move, but are not necessarily more likely to actually plan to move, than white NDC residents. In contrast, Asian residents are significantly less likely to want to, intend to or plan to move within two years compared with white residents.

Table 17: Odds ratios for explanatory variables in base model, 2004

Variable and category	Want to move	Intend to move 2 years	Plan to move 2 years	Plan to move 6 months
Gender				
Male	1.00	n.s	1.00	n.s
Female	**1.11**		**1.13**	
Age group				
75 & over	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
16 – 24	**4.62**	**9.64**	**10.49**	**5.91**
25 – 34	**5.39**	**8.40**	**8.74**	**5.61**
35 – 44	**4.18**	**5.84**	**6.05**	**4.46**
45 – 54	**3.34**	**3.82**	**3.68**	**2.31**
55 – 64	**2.44**	**3.07**	**2.92**	1.79
65 – 74	**1.96**	2.38	2.02	1.34
Household composition				
Couple, no dep't children	1.00	n.s	n.s	n.s
Couple, with dep't children	**1.15**			
Lone parent	1.06			
Single person	**0.76**			
Large adult	**0.77**			
Ethnicity				
White	1.00	1.00	1.00	n.s
Asian	**0.86**	**0.86**	**0.78**	
Black	**1.30**	**1.14**	0.91	
NVQ level				
No NVQ	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
NVQ 1	**1.12**	**1.20**	**1.17**	1.10
NVQ 2	**1.21**	**1.14**	**1.25**	0.86
NVQ 3	**1.29**	**1.57**	**1.64**	0.95
NVQ 4+	**1.28**	**1.55**	**1.78**	**1.26**
Tenure				
Owner	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Social rent: LA	**1.42**	**1.20**	1.08	1.04
Social rent: HA	**1.28**	**1.20**	1.17	1.21
Private rent	**1.47**	**2.48**	**2.43**	**2.39**
Number of home moves in last five years				
None	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
One	**0.64**	**0.77**	**0.81**	0.95
Two	**0.77**	1.04	**1.17**	1.22
Three	0.92	1.09	**1.30**	**1.44**
Four or more	**0.74**	**1.35**	**1.35**	**1.38**
Workless household				
No	n.s	n.s	n.s	1.00
Yes				**1.22**

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004

Note: Those in **bold** are significantly greater than or less than 1 at the 5% level.

The first category of each variable is the base level with an odds ratio of 1. The odds ratios for other categories within a variable are in relation to this base group for e.g. A person in social rented housing in NDC areas is 1.41 times more likely to want to move than owner occupiers in these areas.

n.s. = non significant.

The factors taken into account in the base model cover other issues Table 17, for example, indicates that the better educated are the most likely to want to leave their current home and are more likely to have plans to do so. Those with NVQ Level 4 or higher are nearly 80 per cent more likely than those with no qualifications to plan to move within the next two years. In addition, Table 17 indicates that tenants in both the social and private sectors are significantly more likely to want to or intend to move than are owner occupiers. The differences are most notable amongst private renters. This group is nearly two and a half times more likely to plan to move, in both the short and medium term compared with owner occupiers. This reflects the more flexible and transient role of the private rented sector in most housing markets.

The number of times a resident has moved in the last five years is also a significant indicator as to whether they want to or are likely to move again in the near future. In the main, residents who have moved at least once in the past five years are significantly less likely to want to move. However, those who had moved at least twice in the past five years are significantly more likely to think they would move again over the next two years.

The strong relationship that satisfaction levels with both accommodation and state of repair of the home have with intended mobility was highlighted in Tables 13 and 14. These factors were added to the logistic regression model to explore the effect that they have on intended mobility, over and above the underlying factors in Table 17. The adjusted ORs are presented in Table 18. As expected, satisfaction with accommodation has a strong bearing on a respondent's intended mobility. Those who are dissatisfied with their accommodation are, on average more than four and a half times as likely to want to move as those who are satisfied; at least two and a half times as likely to intend or plan to move within two years; and more than three times as likely to plan to move in the next six months.

Dissatisfaction with the state of repair of their home has a far weaker relationship with intended mobility of residents: there are many influences other than property condition that influence satisfaction with accommodation, such as house size, life stage and area characteristics.

Table 18: Odds ratios for satisfaction with accommodation and state of repair of home, 2004

Variable and category	Want to move	Intend to move 2 years	Plan to move 2 years	Plan to move 6 months
Accommodation				
Satisfied	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Dissatisfied	**4.69**	**2.82**	**2.49**	**3.15**
State of Repair of Home				
Satisfied	1.00	1.00	n.s	n.s
Dissatisfied	**1.38**	**1.09**		
Tenure				
Owner occupied	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Social rent (LA)	1.08	1.00	0.92	**0.80**
Social rent (HA/RSL)	1.10	1.08	1.06	1.04
Private rent	**1.30**	**2.29**	**2.25**	**2.10**

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: n.s. = non-significant

Since satisfaction with accommodation is an important determinant of aspirations and intentions to move, it is worth investigating further. What factors have a bearing on satisfaction with accommodation other than those associated with the property *per se*? This is an important question for those who decide upon the balance of interventions which are most likely to deliver the outcome of stabilising the local population. Perhaps, if satisfaction is also a reflection of the wider social context of the neighbourhood (Parkes et al, 2002; Green et al, 2005), then resources would be best spent on initiatives to improve the area rather than property-focused programmes.

An analysis carried out previously on the 2002 household survey data explored relationships between a number of possible explanatory factors and dissatisfaction with accommodation. The logistic regression model based on 2002 data shows, as expected, that state of repair of the home is a strong predictor for dissatisfaction with accommodation. Those who are dissatisfied with the state of repair of their home are, on average, over eight times more likely to be dissatisfied with their accommodation than those who are satisfied with property condition. Several area level characteristics, however, are also significant in explaining dissatisfaction with accommodation, though the ORs here are lower, ranging from 1.1 to 1.6. Those who had been a victim of crime two or more times over the past year, or felt it was not safe to go out alone after dark, are significantly more likely to be dissatisfied with their accommodation than those who had not been a victim of crime or worried about safety after dark. Those who report high scores in their perceptions of problems in the area - such as lawlessness and dereliction, local environmental issues, or problems with neighbours or harassment - are also more likely to be dissatisfied with their accommodation than those who did not think these were major problems. Finally, respondents who feel there is not a strong sense of community in the area are also more likely to say they are dissatisfied with their accommodation.

The association between perceptions of the local area and dissatisfaction with accommodation shows that respondents take into account a wide spectrum of issues when considering whether they are satisfied with accommodation and, indeed, whether or not they want to move. Hence, Programme managers need to take a holistic view of improving the local area, as well as considering initiatives to improve the state of the housing stock in an area, if they wish to have the desired effect of population stability. The next sections therefore further analyse the role of area characteristics and the direct relationship they have with aspirations to and intentions to move.

6. Area characteristics as a driver for mobility

The desire to move is not only high amongst those who are dissatisfied with their accommodation, but also amongst those who are not happy with the area. Nearly 60 per cent of residents who are dissatisfied with their area said they wanted to move (Table 19), twice the rate of those who said they are satisfied. As one would expect, wanting to move is also higher among those who feel the area had deteriorated in the past two years than among those who think it had not.

Table 19: Satisfaction with area and intended mobility, 2004

	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Satisfied with area as place to live?				
Yes	27	26	14	4
No	58	45	26	8
Area worse in last two years?				
Yes	54	38	20	6
No	33	26	13	4
NDC Total	38	32	18	6

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: Satisfied with area as place to live=all, Area worse in last two years=all lived in area for 2 or more years (16,175)

Table 20: Desire to move and problems in the area, 2004

	% want to move		
	Serious problem	Problem but not serious	Not a problem or DK
Problems with neighbours	66	50	33
Racial harassment	57	50	35
People being attacked or harassed	55	43	32
Disturbance from crowds/gangs/hooliganism	54	43	30
Run down or boarded up properties	53	44	33
Property set on fire	52	44	35
Vandalism & graffiti	51	39	29
Abandoned or burnt out cars	51	44	34
Household burglary	49	41	33
Drug dealing and use	49	38	30
Car crime	49	39	30
Teenagers on the streets	49	36	26
Dogs causing nuisance and mess	49	42	34
Poor quality or lack of parks/open spaces	47	42	32
Litter and rubbish in the streets	46	38	30
The speed and volume of road traffic	44	38	34
Poor public transport	44	40	37

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base=all

Given these findings, what are the specific area related issues associated with wanting to move? Table 20 shows the percentage of respondents who want to move, depending on the degree to which they think certain issues are a problem in their area. The factor most likely to be connected with a desire to move is a serious problem with neighbours. The proportion of this group who want to move is 33 percentage points higher than for those who do not perceive their neighbours as a problem. This pattern is repeated for the top five issues on the list, where there is at least a twenty percentage point difference in wanting to move amongst those who perceive the issue as a serious problem and for those for whom it is not a problem. The less important an issue is for households the narrower the gap. Therefore, at the bottom of Table 20, only 44 per cent of residents who think poor public transport is a serious problem want to move, which is not much higher than the 37 per cent of those who do not perceive it as a problem but who also want to move.

These variables are all strongly correlated and, using factor analysis, can be grouped into three main aspects or dimensions: lawlessness and dereliction, problems with the local environment, and difficulties in social relations. A composite score for each dimension was obtained by summing responses across the variables in each group. The higher the score, the greater is the perceived level of local problems. A full list of the questions for each dimension is provided in the Appendix Table A7.

Error bar charts given in Figure 8 illustrate variations in scores for perceived neighbourhood problems across the main tenure categories and two mobility measures. An error bar shows the average score for a category, indicated by the central symbol, together with the bars which show the limits of the upper and lower 95% confidence intervals. If these intervals or bars do not overlap across categories, then this is evidence that there are real differences between categories.

The charts in the left hand column of Figure 8 show that, across all tenures, households who want to move perceive, on average, significantly greater problems with local lawlessness, local environment problems and social relation problems than those who do not want to move. The gaps between those who plan to move and those who do not, tend to be narrower than for the 'want to move' categories. This may indicate that perceptions of neighbourhood problems are more highly associated with the desire to move than the actual plan to move. Wanting to move can perhaps be viewed as an indicator of general unease with a particular neighbourhood.

Respondents were also asked a series of specific questions about fear of crime and being a victim of crime in the past twelve months. Table 21 indicates the extent to which wanting to move or planning to move in the next two years is linked to these issues. It focuses on fear of burglary, of being mugged or robbed, or of physical attack due to race, ethnicity or religion.

Figure 8: Composite scores for perceived problems in the local area, 2004

● Yes	□ No/Don't know	⊥ 95% confidence interval
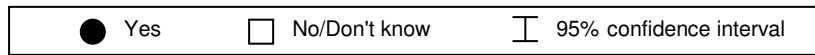
Score for local lawlessness and dereliction

want to move

plan to move within next 2 years
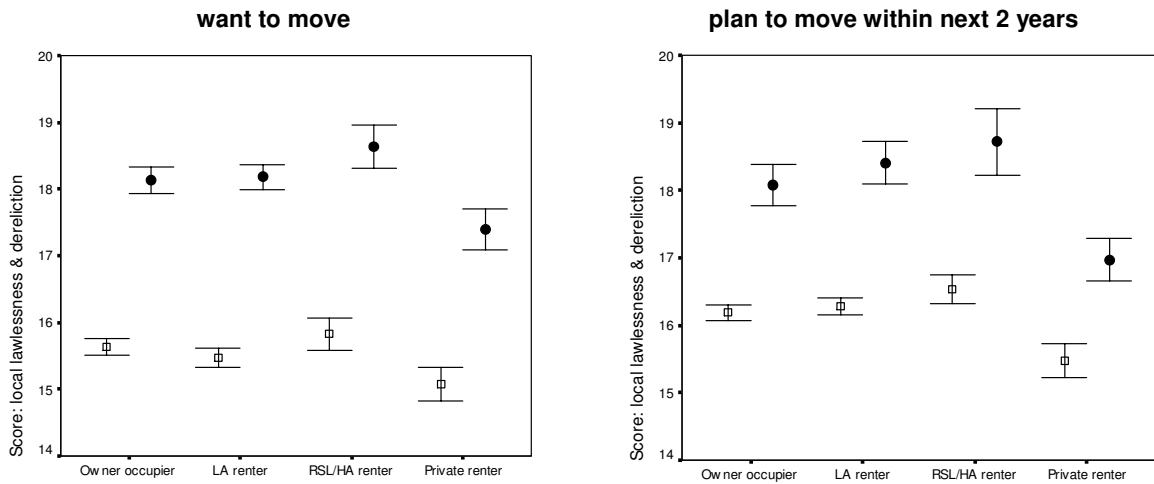
Score for local environment problems

want to move

plan to move within next 2 years
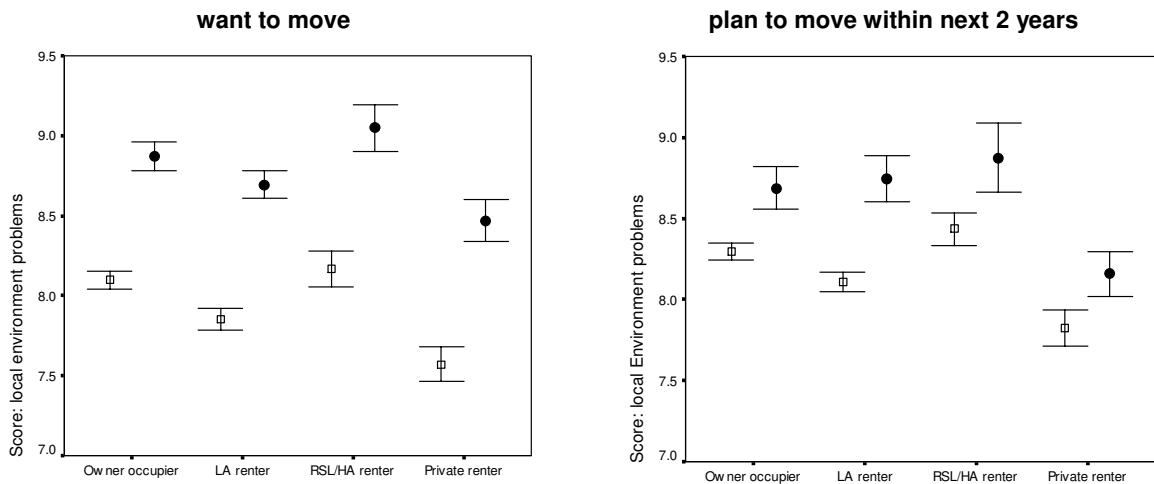
Score for local social relations problems

want to move

plan to move within next 2 years
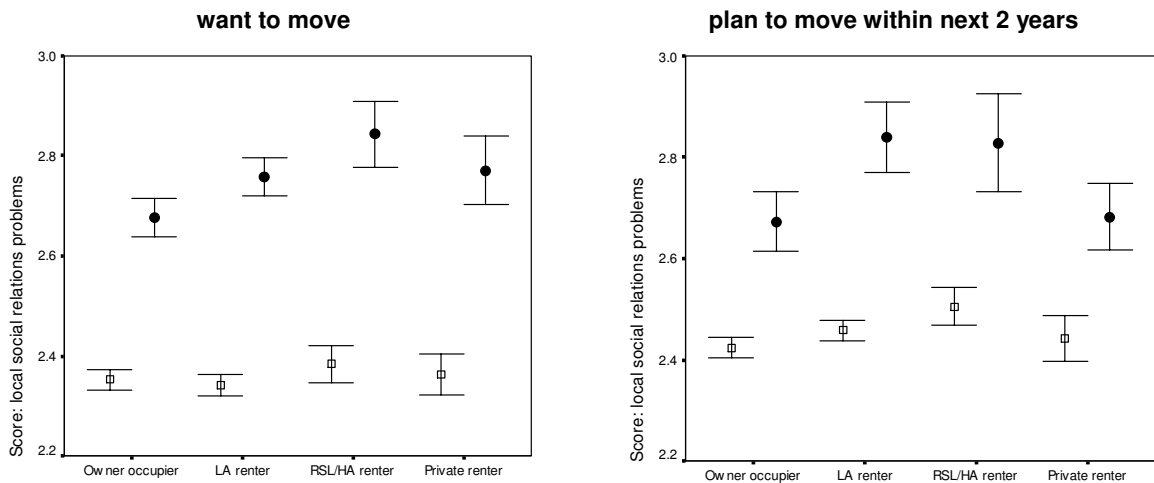
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004

Table 21: Fear of crime and incidence of crime and intended mobility, 2004

	Want to move (%)	Plan to move in 2 years (%)
FEAR OF CRIME		
Worried about being burgled?		
Yes	43	20
No	32	15
Worried about being mugged or robbed?		
Yes	44	20
No	33	16
Worried about physical attack due to race/ethn./relig.?		
Yes	47	22
No	35	17
Think it is unsafe to walk alone in area after dark?		
Yes	43	20
No	32	16
VICTIM OF CRIME IN PAST 12 MONTHS		
Burgled?		
Yes	51	29
No	37	17
Mugged or robbed?		
Yes	47	22
No	38	18
Physically attacked due to race/ethn./religion?		
Yes	60	31
No	37	17
NDC Total	38	18

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base=all
Note: The questions relating to fear of crime gave the respondent the option of indicating they were very worried, fairly worried, not very worried, not at all worried or don't know/not applicable about each crime. These categories have been condensed here into worried (very worried and fairly worried) and not worried (not very worried, not at all worried or don't know).

Some consistent differences appear between fear of crime and the actual experience of crime variables as outlined in Table 21. There are also similarities within each group of variables. For any of the specified crimes, those who are worried are at least 10 per cent more likely to want to leave the area than those who are not worried. There is, however, less of a difference (four to five per cent) in the proportion that plan to move within the next two years and whether or not respondents fear crime in the area. This might suggest that, though worries about crime may be voiced by residents as a generalised reason for wanting to leave an area, it may not be central to their ultimate decision to move. Other factors are likely to be more important.

Table 21 also indicates that being a victim of crime in the past year is a more important indicator than fear of crime in terms of moving from an area. Those who have experienced a crime are more likely to want to move and actually have plans to move than those who say they fear crime. Each group of variables concerning fear of crime and experience of crime are highly correlated, as reflected in the similarity of responses for each crime. It is also worth noting that they are not mutually exclusive groups; those who have been a victim of crime are likely to be a sub-set of those who fear crime.

A composite score for measuring explicit fear of crime was created using nine of the eleven items on the questionnaire about how worried respondents were about being victims of different crimes. The two items excluded from the score referred to vehicle crime - an issue that was not applicable to approximately 50 per cent of the respondents. The final index ranges from a score of 9 to a score of 36. A respondent with a score of 9 was not at all worried about any of the nine crimes listed and a score of 36 indicates a respondent was very worried about all nine.

Error bar charts for composite scores of explicit fear of crime across tenure and mobility groups are shown in Figure 9. Respondents in all tenure groups who want to move have significantly higher fear of crime levels than those who do not want to move. This pattern is repeated amongst those who plan to move compared to those who do not. The most noticeable differences were for those in the local authority sector with those who planned to move having high fear of crime levels compared to those who did not plan to move.

Figure 9: Composite score for explicit fear of crime by tenure and mobility, 2004
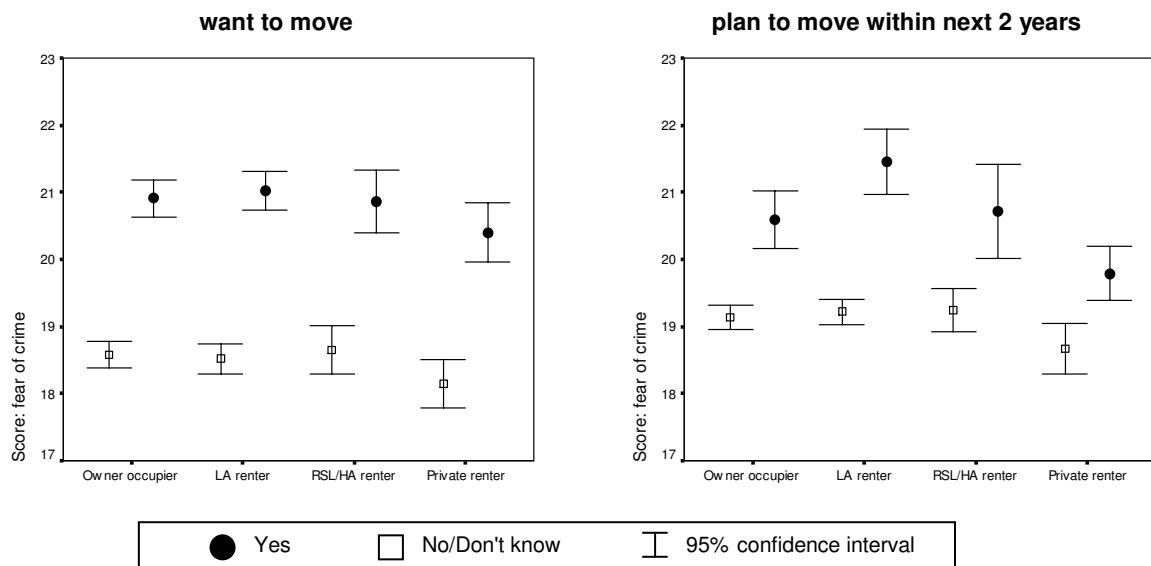
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004

The analysis indicates that interventions to improve the neighbourhood are essential if population stability within an area is to be addressed. This is not least because:

- residents are twice as likely to want to move if they are dissatisfied with the area as a place to live

- households who want to move perceive, on average, significantly greater problems with local lawlessness, local environment problems and social relation problems than those who do not want to move

- fear of crime levels are significantly higher amongst those with aspirations to move than those without.

Area characteristics are therefore an important driver of mobility. The next section takes the analysis one stage further by modelling the relationship between mobility and area characteristics, controlling for underlying differences in areas such as the age, sex and tenure of residents. Key property related characteristics will also be added to the model to isolate the effect of area over and above factors such as satisfaction with accommodation.

7. Models of mobility and perceptions of NDC areas

To what extent do perceptions of an area influence residents' desire to or plans to leave their current home? In Section 5 it was shown that negative perceptions increased the likelihood that a respondent would be dissatisfied with their accommodation and that this in turn was a major influence on whether a person wanted to leave their current home. Section 6 then explored the surface level relationships between various area characteristics and mobility. The four most often stated reasons why people wanted to move were: 24 per cent said they wanted a larger home, 23 per cent they did not like the area, 17 per cent said they wanted to be in a different neighbourhood/area and 12 per cent said because of crime levels in the area. This section now takes a more sophisticated approach to investigating these relationships by using logistic regression modelling techniques.

The adjusted ORs in Table 22 are based on a model which takes into account the same underlying characteristics of the area that are shown in Table 17 - age, gender, ethnicity, household type, tenure, NVQ qualifications, workless households and number of moves in the last five years. The model also considers the influence of negative perceptions of the area, fear of crime and experience of crime on intended mobility. In addition, satisfaction with accommodation and state of repair of the home have been included to show that the influence of these area characteristics are over and above other reasons, such as problems with the accommodation itself.

Table 22: Odds ratios for perceptions of the local area and fear and incidence of crime, 2004

Variable and category	Want to move	Intend to move 2 years	Plan to move 2 years	Plan to move 6 mths
Fear of crime score				
Low	1.00	n.s.	1.00	n.s.
Moderate	1.08		**1.11**	
High	**1.18**		1.10	
No. times a victim of crime in last 12 mths				
None	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
One	1.03	1.06	1.09	1.08
Two or more	**1.31**	**1.27**	**1.31**	**1.35**
Lawlessness & dereliction score				
Low	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Moderate	**1.39**	**1.35**	**1.23**	**1.23**
High	**1.79**	**1.58**	**1.39**	1.12
Environment problems score				
Low	1.00	1.00	1.00	n.s.
Moderate	**1.17**	**1.14**	**1.14**	
High	**1.21**	0.97	0.95	
Poor local social relations score				
Very low	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Low	**1.29**	**1.26**	**1.21**	**1.28**
Moderate	**1.83**	**1.34**	**1.37**	**1.36**
High	**1.98**	**1.48**	**1.38**	1.05
Very high	**2.01**	**1.72**	**1.69**	1.43
Addition of accommodation and state of home repair satisfaction:				
Accommodation				
Satisfied	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Dissatisfied	**4.35**	**2.61**	**2.30**	**2.94**
State of repair of home				
Satisfied	1.00	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Dissatisfied	**1.22**			

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: n.s. = non-significant

Table 22 shows that, although high fear of crime increases the odds that a person wants to move, it is actually the experience of being a victim of crime more than once that has more influence on whether this desire is translated into any plans to move. ORs also confirm earlier findings about problems in the local area, in that issues of poor social relations - such as problems with neighbours or racial harassment - have the greatest effect on wanting to and planning to move.

Those who feel there are problems with the local environment are more likely to want to move than those who do not. However, the relationship is not consistent when it comes to actual intentions and plans to move within the next two years and is not a significant influence on those who have plans to move in the near future. Issues such as litter and dog mess may be annoying and affect longer term views on wanting to or planning to leave an area, but they are not a high priority in reasons for moving when firmer plans are made to move in the near future.

The model also includes satisfaction with accommodation and state of repair of the home. The adjusted ORs indicate that the direct effect of area level characteristics is over and above that accounted for of by these factors. In particular, after area level characteristics are taken into account, state of repair of the home is only significant in predicting wanting to move and has no bearing intentions to or plans to move.

The ORs with 95% confidence intervals for predicting want to move are shown in Figure 10 for each of the area level characteristics. The model was also run taking into account the region in which the Partnership was based as an explanatory variable in the base model. It was found that this adjustment made very little difference to the ORs.

Figure 10: Odds ratios for area level characteristics for want to move, 2004
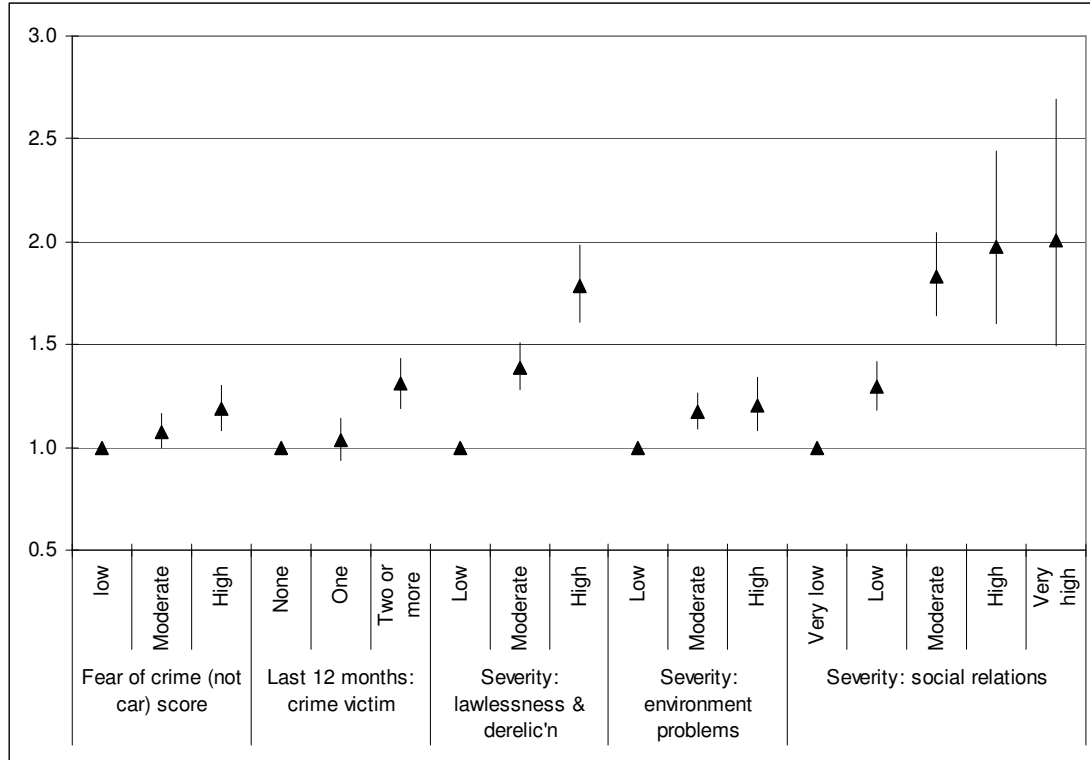
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004

8. Residents who are 'trapped' or 'churners'

The analysis of the household survey data highlights two sub-groups who deserve further investigation: the 'trapped' and 'churners'. 'Trapped' residents are those who want to move but thought that they were unlikely to do so. Table 23 shows that a higher proportion of respondents in NDC areas fell into this 'trapped' category than in the comparator survey areas - 13 and 11 per cent respectively.

Table 23: Proportion of respondents 'trapped' in their current accommodation, 2004

	% of respondents	
	NDC Areas	**Comparator Areas**
Want to & plan to move	15	12
Want to & intend to move	10	8
Want to but unlikely to move	13	11
Do not want to move but plan to	3	3
Do not want to move but think will	4	3
Do not want to or intend to move	55	63
Total	100	100

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base=all

The most common reason for not being able to move - given by 29 per cent of those in this group - was money or financial reasons. One potential policy implication of this is that an improvement of their financial situation through better employment prospects and reducing worklessness may reduce the proportion of 'trapped' residents. There may be a fine balance between 'trapped' residents and 'churning' in an area. As residents improve their circumstances they become more able to exit the area which may in turn lead to a greater degree of churning. It also compounds the difficulty of measuring the success of area-based initiatives, in that those who may benefit from the Programme are more able to, and therefore more likely to, leave the area.

However, the relationship between worklessness and those potentially 'trapped' in their current housing circumstances is worth further investigation, not least because of the earlier findings: the base logistic regression model indicates that worklessness is not a significant predictor in whether an NDC resident wants to, intends to or plans to move within the next two years.

The relationship between the level of workless households and proportion of 'trapped' households is considered in Figure 11. The negative relationship suggested by the data appears counter-intuitive: the higher the level of worklessness in an NDC area the lower the level of 'trapped' residents. The relationship is however weak and a correlation coefficient of -0.23 is not significant so perhaps this relationship is spurious. When the same analysis was carried out on the 2002 household survey data the relationship was stronger and a coefficient of -0.41 was significant at the 1% level. It will be interesting to test this relationship again when a third wave of survey data is available. It may then be possible to see if this is an actual trend over time or just a reflection of volatility of the data between two points of time.

Figure 11: 'Trapped' residents and levels of worklessness in NDC areas, 2004
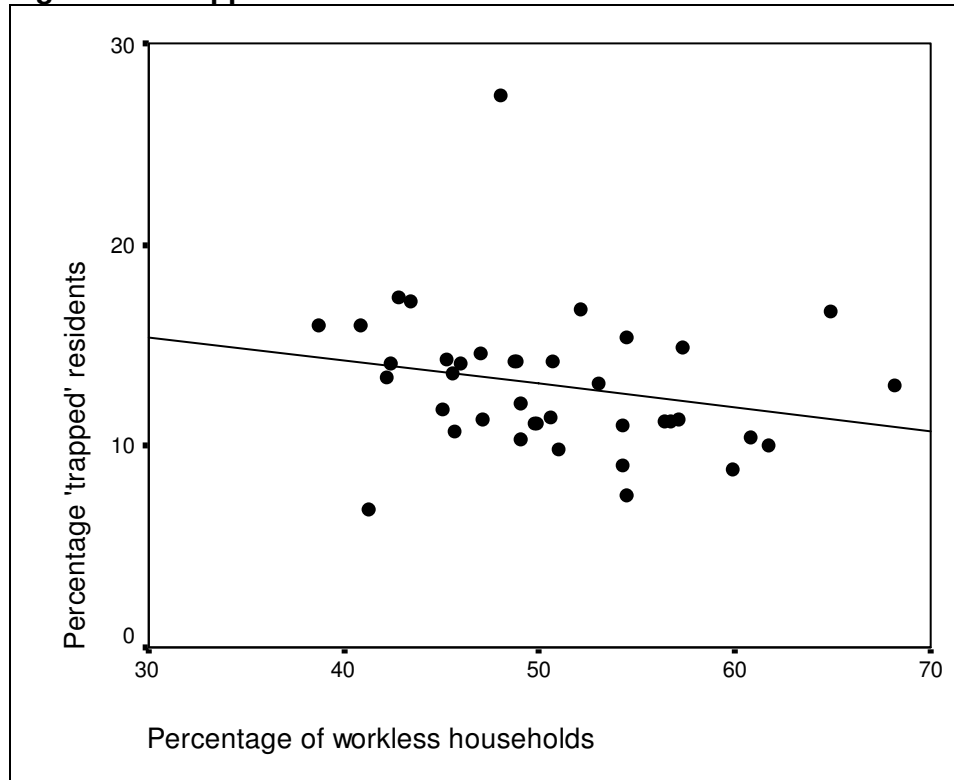
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004

If a negative relationship between worklessness and being 'trapped' exists, then this may suggest that aspirations to move differ according to views about one's current prospects. The workless may have lower aspirations to move and are therefore less likely to feel 'trapped', whereas those who are in work have the greatest desire to move and are therefore more likely to feel 'trapped'. So initiatives to reduce the level of worklessness in NDC areas might *increase* the degree to which residents feel 'trapped' in their current housing situation. Perhaps then it is the number of jobs offering a decent level of pay which residents can access that will be the most telling factor to reduce the proportion of residents who feel 'trapped'.

If the relationship is weakening over time then this may be an indication of greater differentiation between those who are or are not in workless households. Perhaps access to better jobs or higher incomes is occurring and people may be more able to act upon their aspirations to move. It would be expected that if this is the case then worklessness may become a more notable determinant of intended mobility also.

The degree to which residents are 'trapped' varies widely across NDCs, as shown in Figure 12. There are 14 NDC areas where the proportion of 'trapped' residents is lower than in the comparator survey. Bradford, Hartlepool, Newcastle, Tower Hamlets and Fulham all have less than 10 per cent of respondents in this situation. This contrasts with 27 per cent of respondents in Southwark.

Figure 12: Proportion of 'trapped' residents by NDC area, 2004
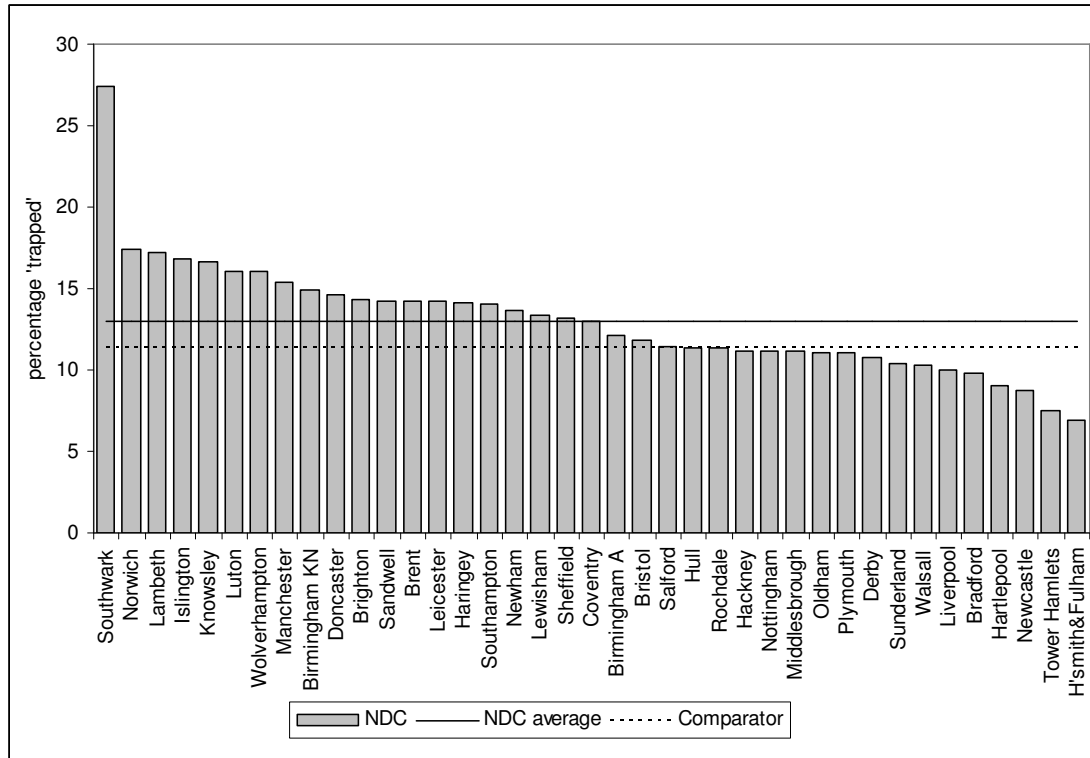
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base=All

Figure 13: Odds ratios for 'trapped' residents by NDC area, 2004
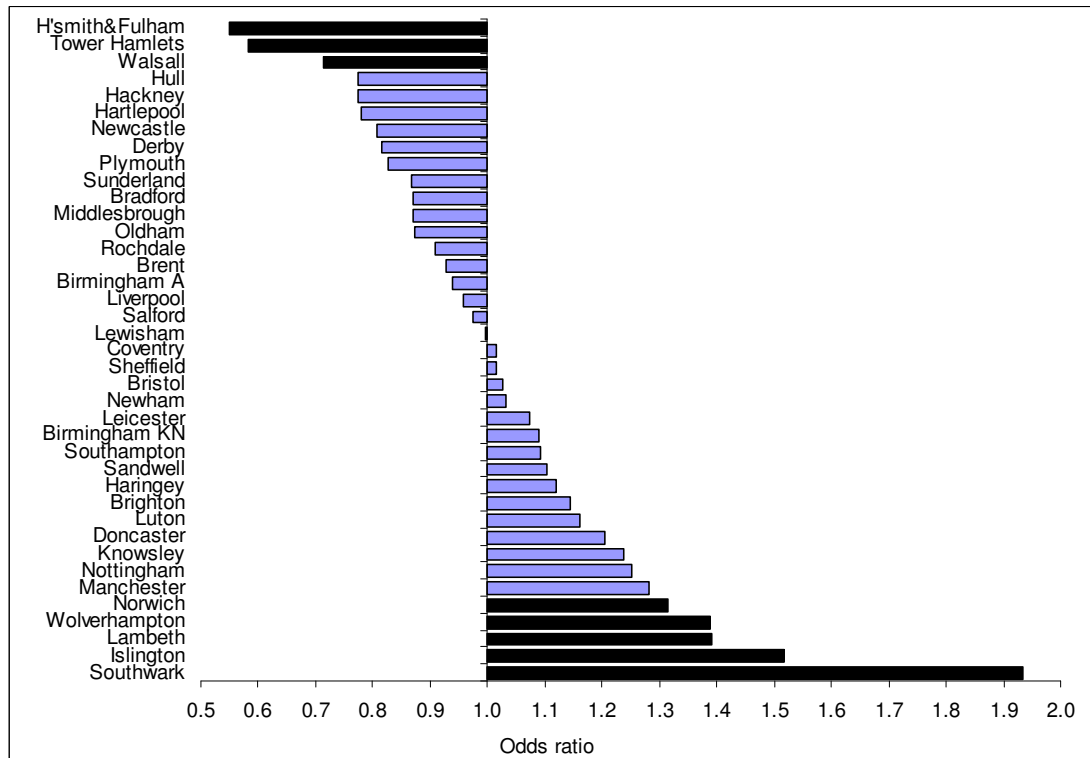
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004

A logistic regression model which takes into account the underlying characteristics of the areas - in terms of age, gender, tenure, ethnicity, educational attainment, household composition and worklessness - was created to predict the likelihood of being 'trapped' in one's current housing situation. Figure 13 charts the ORs for each NDC area. The chart shows the wide variation across NDCs in the odds that residents feel 'trapped'. Respondents in Hammersmith and Fulham, and Tower Hamlets were almost half as likely as NDC residents as a whole to be 'trapped', compared to households in Southwark who were nearly twice as likely as NDC as a whole to be in this situation. Table 16 showed that Southwark also had the highest odds of wanting to move of all NDC areas. This underlines the relationship between aspirations to move in general and 'trapped' residents, who are a subset of the group wanting to move. A full breakdown of ORs with confidence intervals and significance levels is shown in Appendix Table A5.

At the other end of the spectrum, which NDCs have high levels of 'churners' - residents with high rates of mobility - and which therefore may constitute more unstable and perhaps unsustainable neighbourhoods? There are different ways that the level of 'churners' can be measured including length of residence. For the purposes of the following analysis 'churners' are defined as those who have had three or more moves in the past five years. However, given the problems addressed earlier about the effects of survey design on the measurement of short term residents, the following analysis is based solely on the cross-sectional element of the 2004 sample. This is likely to have the effect of slightly overestimating the number of 'churners' within NDC areas.

Figure 14: Resident 'churners' by NDC area, cross-sectional sample, 2004
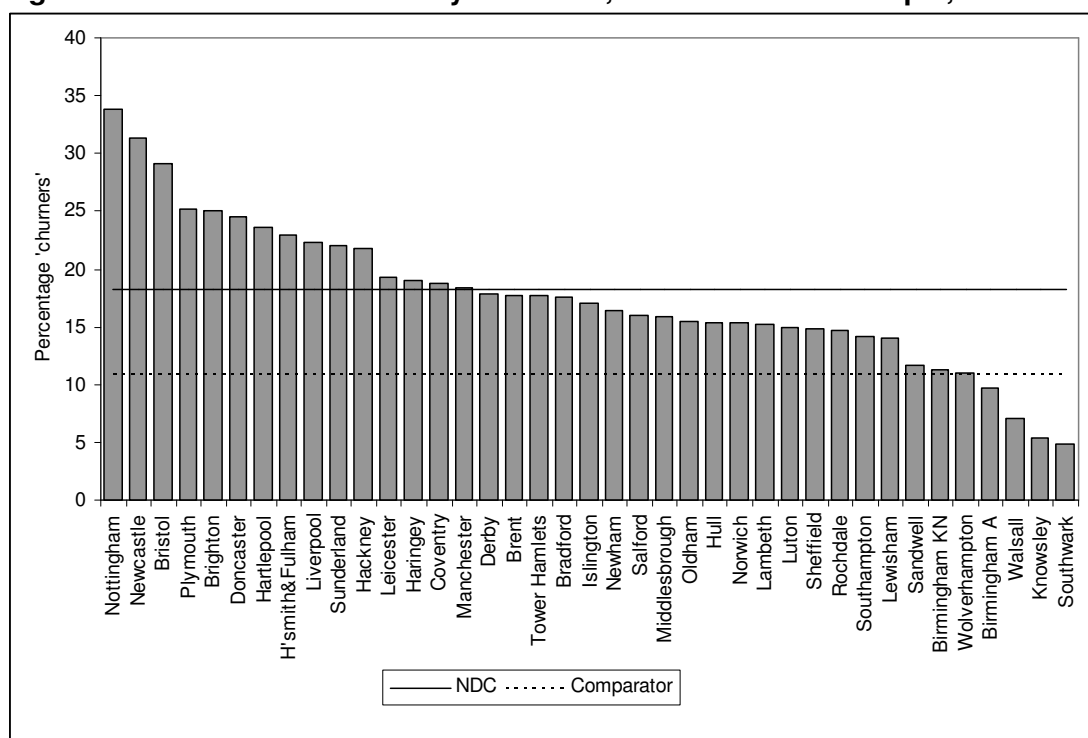
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base=Cross-sectional sample (8,995)

In 2004, 18 per cent of respondents in the cross sectional sample of the NDC survey are categorised as 'churners', compared with 11 per cent in the comparator survey. Figure 14 shows clearly that the stability of the local population varies widely across NDCs, with one in three residents in Nottingham classified as a 'churner' compared to only one in twenty in Southwark. In order to examine how the proportion of 'churners' differs across NDCs after the underlying characteristics of an area are taken into account, a logistic regression model was created. Figure 15 illustrates the odds for 'churners' by NDC area and these can be examined in more detail in the Appendix Table A6.

Figure 15: Odds ratios for 'churners' by NDC area, cross sectional sample, 2004
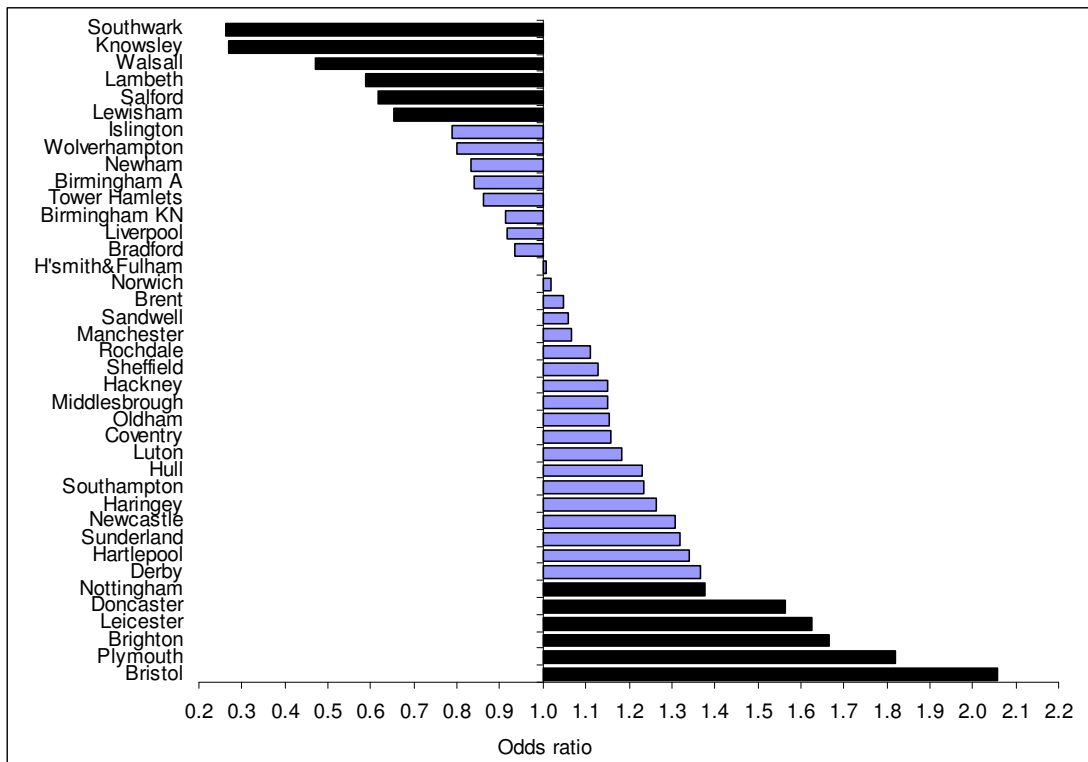
Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004

Figure 15 shows wide variation by NDC. Households in Bristol, are approximately twice as likely as NDC residents as a whole to be 'churners'. At the other end of the spectrum, amongst NDC areas with significantly low odds of containing 'churners', Southwark and Walsall reflect markedly different housing market contexts. Southwark is only a quarter as likely as NDC residents as a whole to be 'churners'. When combined with this NDC's position of having the highest OR of residents who want to move, and by far the highest odds for 'trapped' residents, the results point to some distinctive processes at work in this area. A high proportion of households want to move, but feel unable to do so. London NDCs do tend to be concentrated amongst the lower ORs for 'churners', but exhibit a range of circumstances in relation to being 'trapped'. Hence Southwark's position cannot be put down solely to the pressing issues of affordability in the capital. In Southwark, it may be a function of a lack of alternative housing options in the area, the low level of churning reflecting the high proportion of residents who are 'trapped' in their housing situation. Walsall, on the other hand, has low levels of 'churners' - half that of NDC residents as a whole - but also has the second lowest odds for wanting to move and planning to move and has significantly low odds for 'trapped' residents. Therefore in Walsall the low level of 'churners' can be seen as a positive indicator of an area within which residents want to live in and stay in.

Residents finding they are either 'trapped' or 'churners' also vary by key characteristics. For example, analysis of the 2002 survey data indicated that all BME groups other than those of mixed ethnic origin have lower odds of being 'churners' than white residents. But whereas Black African and Black Caribbean groups are significantly more likely to feel 'trapped' than whites (ORs of 1.36 and 1.23 respectively). Pakistani and Bangladeshi residents are significantly less likely to feel 'trapped' than their white counterparts.

The investigation of 'trapped' and 'churner' residents within NDC areas shows that:

- there is wide variation in these indicators across Partnerships

- a low number of 'churners' can be indicative of very different processes: low population turnover in an area due to residents not wanting to move because they are relatively satisfied with the neighbourhood, therefore a positive attribute; alternatively residents may be 'trapped' in their current housing situation, have little opportunity to move and hence reflects a negative aspect of the housing market within an area.

It is therefore important to consider indicators of 'trapped' or 'churner' residents in the context of other mobility indicators available.

9. An assessment of change: 2002 to 2004

There are a number of ways of considering changes occurring between 2002 and 2004. In the first instance, area level change can be considered via changes in the cross-sectional data over time. Second, changes to individuals can be assessed via the longitudinal panel data and compared with stayers in the comparator areas. Third, changes to different groups of people can be considered: for example in-movers, out-movers and stayers. In the main, area level change is considered here. This is because the longitudinal data set and the movers survey only became available at a very late stage in this 2001-2005 phase of the evaluation and have therefore not yet been fully analysed yet.

Analysis of the 2002 and 2004 cross-sectional data sets indicates little in the way of significant and notable change. At the Programme level, a significant change is likely to be in the order of 1.5 percentage points. However, for the purposes of this analysis, a *significant and notable* change is considered as where there has been a change of at least three percentage points over time.

The fact that little area level change emerges is not entirely surprising:

- two years is a short time in a Programme of this scale and change takes time: many large scale housing initiatives which may improve or replace the stock of housing in these areas in terms are unlikely to have come to fruition yet

- relationships underpinning the logistic regression models are unlikely to change much over time: although the levels of a particular indicator may go up or down, the relationships amongst them are likely to stay the same.

Between 2002 and 2004, there has been hardly any change amongst NDC residents across the four main mobility indicators which form the basis of this paper: those who want to; intend to, or plan to move in six months or two years. In the comparator survey there was a fall of three percentage points in those who intend to move within two years from 29 per cent in 2002 to 26 per cent in 2004. However, this difference is likely to be more a reflection of the slowing of the housing market over the past few years and this will impact more on comparator areas as there is a higher level of owner occupation within them than in NDC areas: 47 per cent and 37 per cent respectively. The impact of the slowing housing market is also likely to be behind the national picture of falling aspirations to move from 29 per cent to 23 per cent between 2002 and 2004 (MORI Omnibus Survey 2002 and 2004).

It is however worth highlighting some interesting differences between NDC residents and those in the comparator areas in relation to the influence perceptions of the area may have on mobility. Residents who think they will move over the next two years are asked where they think they will move to. The proportion of NDC residents who think they will stay in the area or move to a neighbouring area remains constant between 2002 and 2004 at 42 per cent. In contrast, there is a notable fall in this group in comparator areas: from 46 per cent 2002 to 41 per cent in 2004. This may be an indication that improvements to NDC areas are starting to have an impact on population stability within these areas.

Table 24: Area related reasons for wanting to move, 2002-2004

	Comparator areas			NDC areas		
	2002	2004	change	2002	2004	change
Area related reasons	**43**	**47**	**4**	**53**	**46**	**7**
Don't like this area	22	22	0	28	23	-5
Want a different area	19	19	0	23	17	-6
Crime levels in the area	12	10	-2	15	12	-3
Problems with neighbours	7	7	0	9	7	-2
Problems with young people in area	6	6	0	8	6	-2
Appearance of the area/quality of physical environment	7	10	3	12	9	-3

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2002, 2004
Base=All those who want to move except those longitudinal respondents already asked HO11NEWB, Comparator 2002 (641), 2004 (1151); NDC Aggregate 2002 (7420), 2002 (6170).

Further evidence of the success of NDC interventions is suggested by the responses as to why people want to move. The proportion of NDC residents who give area related reasons fell by 7 percentage points between 2002 and 2004, contrasting with an increase of 4 percentage points in the comparator areas. This net difference of 11 percentage points is, in effect, over and above what you would expect to see in NDC areas if the interventions had not taken place. Table 24 gives a breakdown of the individual reasons which go to make up the overall category of area related reasons. The responses are not mutually exclusive.

The profile of residents who want to move, or have plans to do so, has changed little over time in terms of age, ethnicity, household composition or tenure. Black residents are notably less likely to want to move and Asian residents are more likely to intend to move within the next two years. Healthier residents - in terms of not having an illness disability or infirmity that limits daily activities - are also less likely to want to move (41 per cent 2002, 37 per cent 2004) compared to those with a health limitation where there has been no change (34 per cent 2002 and 2004). Those in paid work and with qualifications have also seen a small decline in wanting to move, although by only two percentage points. It will be worth revisiting these indicators again when a third wave of survey data becomes available. It will be interesting to see if there is evidence that residents with more human capital are increasingly likely to stay in the area.

There are no notable changes in satisfaction levels with accommodation, state of repair of the home or landlords in either NDC areas or nationally over this two year period. The proportions that want to, intend to or plan to move for each of the various levels of satisfaction for these three indicators also change very little over time.

The cross-sectional data also shows that there is no significant change in the proportion of residents in either NDC areas or comparator areas that feel 'trapped' in their current housing situation. It is however worth mentioning differences in the percentage of 'churners' in NDC areas over time. As mentioned earlier, the analysis of churners has only been carried out on the cross-sectional element of the 2004 data set. One possible effect of this is that it slightly overestimates the levels of churners in 2004. However, it is worth noting that whilst the proportion for NDC areas rises from 11 per cent in 2002 to 18 per cent in 2004, in the comparator areas the figure only rises from 10 to 11 per cent. Although too much weight should not be given to these figures, because of the known survey design effect, it may be that this is an indication that in-comers into NDC areas are more likely to be 'churners' than in similarly deprived areas. If this is the case there are wider implications. 'Churners' will be an especially difficult group for many NDCs. Enhanced service delivery to improve their social and economic

well-being is likely to prove particularly complex exactly because of their transient nature. This group does indeed appear to suffer from manifestations of deprivation. For example, they are more likely to live in workless households; be in households with low/no car ownership; have poorer indicators of self-reported health, especially mental illness; be victims of crime; reveal lower levels of trust in services such a the health services or satisfaction with agencies such as the police; and feel outside their local community. Analysis has also shown that potentially vulnerable groups are contained within the 'churner' households: about eight per cent of children in NDC areas live in households which have moved at least three times in the last five years.

The longitudinal data allows consideration of how intentions to move amongst individuals change over time. Some 45 per cent of NDC residents who said they would move in 2002, had changed their mind by 2004. Nearly a quarter of this group (which equates to two per cent of the whole longitudinal sample) indicated that this decision had been affected a great deal/or a fair amount by improvements in the area. Conversely, 19 per cent of residents who, although in 2002 thought they would not be moving, had changed that view by 2004.

Four of the five most frequently mentioned reasons given by NDC residents for changing their mind and wanting to move in 2004 compared with not wanting to in 2002, are area related. Therefore, although there is evidence that area improvements are beginning to encourage more to stay, environmental and area effects are still critical in explaining why some residents are nevertheless more inclined to move in 2004 than they had been two years previously. However, over half of all the reasons stated are personal or property related and more to do with housing needs than wanting to leave the area.

Finally, evidence from the cross-sectional, longitudinal and movers survey data allows a comparison of the characteristics of those who move out of NDC areas, stay in the area or are inmovers to the area over the two year period. There are some markedly different patterns across these groups. For instance, outmovers are more likely to be young, white, not in the lowest income bracket, in work, better educated, owner-occupiers and in better health than the NDC sample as a whole for 2004. Inmovers on the other hand whilst also overwhelmingly young, are less likely to be white, or in employment, but are more likely to be part of a larger, low income household, live in private rented accommodation, and have higher level educational qualifications. The stayers, those traced by the longitudinal survey within NDC areas in both 2002 and 2004, are more likely to be older, white, in relatively poor health and to have fewer higher level qualifications.

Therefore, in line with findings from similar studies (Green et al 2005) evidence at this Interim stage suggests that outmovers tend to be less disadvantaged than the NDC population as a whole. In particular they are more likely to be in employment than either those moving into the area or those who stay in the area. The outmovers are being replaced by an even younger cohort. In some respects this provides an opportunity for NDCs: this new group contains more people with higher level qualifications than the panel for instance. But it is a poorer cohort than those it is replacing and far less likely to be in employment.

10. Implications for policy and strategy

This paper has outlined major differences across NDCs in terms of the length of residence of households in their area, their desire to move and overall rates of mobility. This underlines the degree to which it is inappropriate to specify any generic housing strategy for all NDCs to follow. An understanding of household aspirations, intentions and preferences at the local level should be at the heart of any programme of intervention by Partnerships and other agencies. This paper has only scratched the surface, considering for the most part the results from all 39 NDCs taken together. Further scrutiny of the survey results for each Partnership would reveal the particular profile of mobility which needs to be addressed.

It is possible to distinguish between factors which create dissatisfaction, reflected in a generalised desire to leave, and those which act as more specific prompts to leave - notably, the direct experience of being a victim of crime and problems in social relationships, such as anti-social behaviour and racial harassment. Property condition is important, but not to an overwhelming extent - property design and the range of dwelling types accessible to local people are also key factors. Investment in properties through refurbishment may be prioritised for a range of reasons - but in terms of its effect on mobility out of the neighbourhood, it may have less impact than effective anti-crime measures and creating a more diverse housing stock.

The wider dynamics of the housing market also shape patterns of mobility, in terms of problems of affordability and trends in house prices. But they only go so far in explaining mobility. For example, there are marked differences amongst London NDCs in terms of feeling 'trapped'. It is also important to note that low levels of turnover, for example, can reflect quite different circumstances. It may suggest that a proportion of households are constrained in their ability to access alternative housing options - or they may just be more satisfied with the area. It is crucial to look at the linkages between the responses to these questions on mobility and not just the headline figures.

At a general level it can be helpful to distinguish between 'externally focused' and 'internally focused' housing strategies (for further discussion of these approaches in relation to NDC strategies for dealing with low housing demand, see Cole et al, 2003). In those areas with low rates of household turnover, with a high proportion of residents who have lived in the area for over ten years, and perhaps with limited diversity in terms of household composition, stock type and tenure profile - in such areas, 'externally focused' programmes might be devised to attract new households into the area, diversify the social and economic characteristics of the local community, and refresh social dynamics. It could also involve new development, low cost home ownership initiatives or an easing of access rules through allocations systems for socially rented property.

This strategy is not without risks - it may lead to accusations from local people about 'gentrification', it may raise questions of equity in allocation systems, and socially mixed communities can be fractious as well as harmonious. But it does suggest that the organising principle of such a housing strategy should be to develop 'connections' or 'bridges' between the area and other communities, interests and resources.

A contrasting picture would be presented by an area marked by very high rates of 'churning', with a high proportion of short stay residents and more turbulent community dynamics. There may be two options for NDC Partnerships here. On the one hand, it may simply acknowledge the function of the neighbourhood as a 'transitional' area, with a unavoidably high throughput of households (as in Nottingham, for example). In such cases, resources might be better devoted to effective forms of services and support

mechanisms, or initiatives such as training and accreditation for private landlords than, say, long-term community development.

An alternative approach for such areas would be to devise more 'internally focused' strategies, to help strengthen fragile community bonds, identify how certain groups might be encouraged to stay longer, and to devote resources to support for incoming groups. Investment in improving stock condition or rethinking the design and layout of properties to meet the changing needs of existing residents may also pay dividends. Such investment will, however, need to be closely integrated with a community development and neighbourhood management strategy.

A testing aspect of such approaches is that some changes in the composition of the existing community in the neighbourhood may still be required, and need sensitive handling. There is a risk that interventions along these lines may simply 'freeze' a fragmented or disruptive community into remaining in existence for longer than would be desirable.

Of course, the distinction between externally-focused and internally-focused strategies is very broad-brush, and more elaborate (not to say over-elaborate) approaches to scoping local housing markets are now in increasingly common currency. In one approach developed from a study of the housing market in Leeds, a matrix was devised against the two variables of 'trends in demand' and 'rate of household turnover' - this produces nine different local market outcomes, each with different implications for future interventions (Cole et al, 2004). Clearly these approaches to market analysis need to be meshed with plans being developed and reviewed by NDC Partnerships, not just in terms of the housing and physical environment theme, but more widely across their programmes.

An analysis of mobility has to be at the heart of any evaluation of area-based interventions. Findings developed above demonstrate the diverse and complex motivations that lie behind decisions to leave or stay in an area, underlining the potential value of more holistic approaches to neighbourhood renewal than 'single issue' programmes. More refined analysis, utilising the longitudinal data and movers survey, will take our understanding of residential mobility further, and also sharpen the messages for Partnerships in terms of impact of interventions undertaken so far, and the implications for future investment and strategic development.

References

Bramley, G. and Pawson, H. (2002) Low demand for housing: incidence, causes and UK national policy implications. *Urban Studies,* 39 (3), pp. 393-422.

Cole, I., Green, S., Hickman, P. and McCoulough, E. (2003) *A Review of NDC Strategies for Tackling Low Demand and Unpopular Housing.* Sheffield, CRESR.

Cole, I, Hickman P and Reeve K (2004) *Interpreting Change in Urban Housing Markets: A Case Study of Leeds.* Sheffield, CRESR/Leeds, Leeds City Council.

Green, G., Grimsley, M. and Stafford, B. (2001) *Capital Accounting for Neighbourhood Sustainability.* Sheffield, CRESR.

Green, G., Grimsley, M. and Stafford, B. (2005) *The Dynamics of Neighbourhood Sustainability.* York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Kearns, A. and Parkes, A. (2002) *Living in and Leaving Poor Neighbourhoods in England.* Glasgow, Centre for Neighbourhood Research Summary 8 University of Glasgow.

Kearns, A. and Parkes, A. (2003) 'Living in and leaving poor neighbourhood conditions in England.' *Housing Studies,* 18 (6), pp. 827-851

MORI (2004) *New Deal for Communities Household Survey 2004: Technical Report.* London, MORI.

ODPM Select Committee (Housing, Planning, Local Government and the Regions Committee) *The Effectiveness of Government Regeneration Initiatives.* Volume 1 HC 76- 1, London, The Stationery Office.

Parkes, A., Kearns, A. and Atkinson, R. (2002) What makes people dissatisfied with their neighbourhoods? *Urban Studies*, 39 (13), pp. 2413-2438.

Appendix

Table A1: Proportion of residents who have been in their current home for less then 1 year, 2002

	% of NDC respondents
Nottingham	42
Newcastle	26
Sunderland	25
Doncaster	24
Liverpool	23
Salford	22
Hammersmith and Fulham	21
Coventry	20
Lambeth	18
Plymouth	18
Bradford	18
Haringey	17
Lewisham	17
Bristol	17
Tower Hamlets	17
Hartlepool	16
Islington	15
Oldham	15
Hull	15
Sheffield	14
Hackney	14
Manchester	14
Rochdale	13
Luton	13
Brent	13
Leicester	13
Wolverhampton	12
Brighton	11
Newham	11
Southampton	11
Birmingham – Aston	11
Norwich	10
Middlesbrough	9
Derby	9
Southwark	9
Birmingham - Kings Norton	8
Sandwell	8
Knowsley	8
Walsall	7
Total NDCs	16

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2002
Base: All

Table A2: Intended mobility by Partnership and region, 2004

NDC Area	% want to move	% intend to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 2 years	% plan to move in 6 months
Eastern	**43**	**30**	**18**	**5**
Luton	47	36	23	7
Norwich	38	24	13	4
South East	**37**	**30**	**15**	**5**
Brighton	38	33	17	6
Southampton	35	27	14	4
South West	**45**	**40**	**22**	**8**
Bristol	45	40	20	7
Plymouth	45	39	23	9
West Midlands	**35**	**27**	**14**	**4**
Birmingham - Aston	36	29	12	3
Birmingham - Kings Norton	33	23	7	2
Coventry	42	39	20	5
Sandwell	33	25	17	4
Walsall	25	19	10	2
Wolverhampton	40	28	16	6
East Midlands	**36**	**34**	**24**	**6**
Derby	30	23	13	4
Leicester	30	20	11	3
Nottingham	48	58	50	12
Yorks & Humberside	**34**	**27**	**16**	**6**
Bradford	37	32	19	8
Doncaster	39	30	19	6
Hull	25	19	10	2
Sheffield	33	25	16	6
North West	**35**	**30**	**17**	**6**
Knowsley	35	24	12	3
Liverpool	40	41	26	8
Manchester	38	29	14	7
Oldham	35	28	17	7
Rochdale	30	23	13	4
Salford	34	37	23	9
North East	**34**	**32**	**21**	**7**
Hartlepool	34	28	18	6
Middlesbrough	30	25	15	5
Newcastle	38	45	32	12
Sunderland	33	29	18	5
London	**43**	**37**	**18**	**6**
Brent	46	44	14	3
Hammersmith and Fulham	35	38	17	7
Hackney	37	37	15	4
Haringey	39	30	14	4
Islington	37	32	14	3
Lambeth	41	29	15	7
Lewisham	44	38	19	6
Newham	47	42	21	7
Southwark	57	33	22	5
Tower Hamlets	48	47	33	11
Total	**38**	**32**	**18**	**6**

Housing and the Physical Environment: Will residents stay and reap the benefits?
CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University.

45

Table A3: Odds ratios for want to move by Partnership, 2004

NDC Partnership area	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
Southwark	**<0.01**	**1.64**	**1.36**	**1.99**
Tower Hamlets	**<0.01**	**1.56**	**1.28**	**1.88**
Nottingham	**<0.01**	**1.51**	**1.25**	**1.82**
Bristol	**<0.01**	**1.47**	**1.22**	**1.76**
Luton	**<0.01**	**1.36**	**1.14**	**1.64**
Newham	**<0.01**	**1.32**	**1.10**	**1.59**
Plymouth	**<0.01**	**1.30**	**1.08**	**1.57**
Wolverhampton	**0.02**	**1.25**	**1.03**	**1.51**
Coventry	0.08	1.18	0.98	1.43
Liverpool	0.11	1.17	0.97	1.41
Lewisham	0.13	1.16	0.96	1.40
Brent	0.16	1.14	0.95	1.38
Doncaster	0.26	1.11	0.92	1.34
Bradford	0.35	1.10	0.90	1.33
Manchester	0.45	1.08	0.89	1.30
Brighton	0.51	1.06	0.88	1.28
Birmingham - Aston	0.77	1.03	0.85	1.25
Oldham	0.80	1.02	0.85	1.24
Lambeth	0.99	1.00	0.83	1.21
Newcastle	0.95	0.99	0.82	1.20
Norwich	0.92	0.99	0.82	1.19
Sandwell	0.52	0.94	0.78	1.14
Hartlepool	0.46	0.93	0.77	1.13
Southampton	0.37	0.92	0.75	1.11
Knowsley	0.32	0.91	0.75	1.10
Haringey	0.31	0.90	0.74	1.10
Sunderland	0.24	0.89	0.74	1.08
Islington	0.24	0.89	0.73	1.08
Salford	0.15	0.87	0.72	1.05
Sheffield	0.09	0.85	0.70	1.03
Hammersmith and Fulham	0.08	0.84	0.70	1.02
Birmingham – Kings Norton	**0.05**	**0.82**	**0.68**	**1.00**
Rochdale	**0.04**	**0.81**	**0.67**	**0.99**
Hackney	**0.01**	**0.78**	**0.64**	**0.95**
Leicester	**0.01**	**0.76**	**0.63**	**0.93**
Middlesbrough	**<0.01**	**0.75**	**0.62**	**0.92**
Derby	**<0.01**	**0.75**	**0.61**	**0.91**
Walsall	**<0.01**	**0.58**	**0.47**	**0.72**
Hull	**<0.01**	**0.54**	**0.44**	**0.66**

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: Ordered by odds ratio for want to move
      5% significant above and below areas in **bold**
      odds ratio of 1 is the average across all NDCs

Table A4: Odds ratios for plan to move within two years by Partnership, 2004

NDC Partnership area	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
Nottingham	**<0.01**	**2.86**	**2.34**	**3.50**
Tower Hamlets	**<0.01**	**2.29**	**1.84**	**2.85**
Newcastle	**<0.01**	**1.74**	**1.41**	**2.15**
Luton	**<0.01**	**1.58**	**1.27**	**1.97**
Plymouth	**<0.01**	**1.56**	**1.25**	**1.95**
Southwark	**<0.01**	**1.46**	**1.15**	**1.84**
Coventry	0.06	1.26	0.99	1.59
Sandwell	0.07	1.26	0.98	1.61
Salford	0.12	1.20	0.96	1.50
Liverpool	0.12	1.20	0.96	1.50
Bristol	0.14	1.19	0.94	1.50
Bradford	0.25	1.15	0.90	1.47
Doncaster	0.33	1.13	0.89	1.43
Oldham	0.37	1.12	0.87	1.44
Sunderland	0.52	1.08	0.85	1.37
Newham	0.58	1.07	0.85	1.35
Sheffield	0.61	1.07	0.83	1.38
Hartlepool	0.76	1.04	0.81	1.33
Wolverhampton	0.79	1.04	0.80	1.34
Brighton	0.92	1.01	0.79	1.30
Lewisham	0.66	0.95	0.74	1.21
Rochdale	0.51	0.91	0.70	1.20
Southampton	0.43	0.90	0.69	1.17
Middlesbrough	0.35	0.89	0.69	1.14
Manchester	0.33	0.88	0.68	1.14
Derby	0.14	0.82	0.62	1.07
Knowsley	0.10	0.79	0.60	1.04
Norwich	0.07	0.78	0.59	1.02
Hackney	**0.05**	**0.77**	**0.59**	**1.00**
Hammersmith and Fulham	**0.03**	**0.76**	**0.59**	**0.97**
Birmingham - Aston	0.06	0.76	0.57	1.01
Leicester	**0.05**	**0.75**	**0.56**	**1.00**
Hull	**0.05**	**0.75**	**0.56**	**1.00**
Haringey	**0.03**	**0.74**	**0.56**	**0.97**
Lambeth	**<0.01**	**0.67**	**0.52**	**0.88**
Brent	**<0.01**	**0.67**	**0.51**	**0.88**
Walsall	**<0.01**	**0.64**	**0.47**	**0.86**
Islington	**<0.01**	**0.64**	**0.48**	**0.84**
Birmingham – Kings Norton	**<0.01**	**0.46**	**0.33**	**0.64**

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: Ordered by odds ratio for plan to move within 2 years
     5% significant above and below areas in **bold**
     odds ratio of 1 is the average across all NDCs

Table A5: Odds ratios for being 'trapped' in current housing situation by NDC, 2004

NDC	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
Southwark	**<0.01**	**1.93**	**1.55**	**2.41**
Islington	**<0.01**	**1.52**	**1.19**	**1.93**
Lambeth	**0.01**	**1.39**	**1.09**	**1.78**
Wolverhampton	**0.01**	**1.39**	**1.09**	**1.77**
Norwich	**0.02**	**1.31**	**1.04**	**1.66**
Manchester	0.05	1.28	1.00	1.64
Nottingham	0.13	1.25	0.94	1.67
Knowsley	0.08	1.24	0.97	1.58
Doncaster	0.16	1.21	0.93	1.57
Luton	0.23	1.16	0.91	1.48
Brighton	0.30	1.14	0.89	1.48
Haringey	0.41	1.12	0.86	1.46
Sandwell	0.44	1.10	0.86	1.42
Southampton	0.50	1.09	0.85	1.41
Birmingham - Kings Norton	0.49	1.09	0.85	1.40
Leicester	0.58	1.07	0.83	1.38
Newham	0.82	1.03	0.79	1.35
Bristol	0.84	1.03	0.78	1.35
Sheffield	0.91	1.02	0.78	1.32
Coventry	0.92	1.01	0.78	1.33
Lewisham	0.98	1.00	0.76	1.31
Salford	0.86	0.98	0.74	1.29
Liverpool	0.77	0.96	0.71	1.29
Birmingham - Aston	0.66	0.94	0.71	1.24
Brent	0.59	0.93	0.71	1.21
Rochdale	0.50	0.91	0.69	1.20
Oldham	0.34	0.87	0.66	1.15
Middlesbrough	0.33	0.87	0.66	1.15
Bradford	0.36	0.87	0.64	1.18
Sunderland	0.33	0.87	0.65	1.16
Plymouth	0.18	0.83	0.62	1.09
Derby	0.16	0.82	0.61	1.08
Newcastle	0.18	0.81	0.59	1.10
Hartlepool	0.11	0.78	0.57	1.06
Hackney	0.08	0.78	0.58	1.03
Hull	0.07	0.77	0.58	1.02
Walsall	**0.02**	**0.71**	**0.53**	**0.96**
Tower Hamlets	**<0.01**	**0.58**	**0.41**	**0.82**
Hammersmith and Fulham	**<0.01**	**0.55**	**0.39**	**0.78**

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Note: Ordered by odds ratio for 'trapped'
      5% significant above and below areas in **bold**
      odds ratio of 1 is the average across all NDCs
      'trapped'= those who want to move but think it is unlikely they will do so

Table A 6: Odds ratios for 'churners' by NDC, cross sectional sample only, 2004

NDC	Significance	Odds ratios (OR)	OR: Lower 95% CI	OR: Upper 95% CI
Bristol	**<0.01**	**2.06**	**1.50**	**2.82**
Plymouth	**<0.01**	**1.82**	**1.31**	**2.53**
Brighton	**<0.01**	**1.67**	**1.20**	**2.31**
Leicester	**0.02**	**1.63**	**1.08**	**2.46**
Doncaster	**0.01**	**1.57**	**1.13**	**2.17**
Nottingham	**0.01**	**1.38**	**1.06**	**1.79**
Derby	0.16	1.36	0.88	2.11
Hartlepool	0.11	1.34	0.94	1.92
Sunderland	0.11	1.32	0.94	1.85
Newcastle	0.07	1.31	0.98	1.75
Haringey	0.19	1.26	0.89	1.80
Southampton	0.34	1.23	0.80	1.90
Hull	0.34	1.23	0.80	1.90
Luton	0.39	1.18	0.80	1.74
Coventry	0.40	1.16	0.82	1.63
Oldham	0.49	1.15	0.77	1.73
Middlesbrough	0.49	1.15	0.77	1.72
Hackney	0.42	1.15	0.81	1.63
Sheffield	0.60	1.13	0.72	1.78
Rochdale	0.62	1.11	0.74	1.67
Manchester	0.73	1.06	0.75	1.51
Sandwell	0.81	1.06	0.67	1.67
Brent	0.80	1.05	0.72	1.52
Norwich	0.93	1.02	0.67	1.56
Hammersmith and Fulham	0.96	1.01	0.74	1.38
Bradford	0.74	0.93	0.63	1.39
Liverpool	0.59	0.92	0.67	1.25
Birmingham - Kings Norton	0.68	0.91	0.59	1.41
Tower Hamlets	0.45	0.86	0.59	1.26
Birmingham - Aston	0.47	0.84	0.52	1.36
Newham	0.31	0.83	0.59	1.18
Wolverhampton	0.32	0.80	0.51	1.25
Islington	0.20	0.79	0.55	1.13
Lewisham	**0.02**	**0.65**	**0.45**	**0.95**
Salford	**0.01**	**0.62**	**0.43**	**0.88**
Lambeth	**0.01**	**0.59**	**0.40**	**0.87**
Walsall	**0.01**	**0.47**	**0.27**	**0.82**
Knowsley	**<0.01**	**0.27**	**0.14**	**0.51**
Southwark	**<0.01**	**0.26**	**0.14**	**0.48**

Source: MORI/NOP Household Survey 2004
Base: Cross sectional sample (8995)
Note: Ordered by odds ratio for 'churners'
     5% significant above and below areas in **bold**
     odds ratio of 1 is the average across all NDCs
     'churners'= those who have moved 3 or more times in past 5 years

Table A7: List of variables included in composite scores
Lawlessness and dereliction

- Disturbance from crowds/gangs/hooliganism
- Teenagers on the streets
- Drug dealing and use
- Household burglary
- Car crime
- Vandalism & graffiti
- Abandoned or burnt out cars
- Property set on fire
- Run down or boarded up properties
- People being attacked or harassed

Difficulties in social relations

- Problems with neighbours
- Racial harassment

Problems with the local environment

- Dogs causing nuisance and mess
- Litter and rubbish in the streets
- The speed and volume of road traffic
- Poor public transport
- Poor quality or lack of parks/open spaces