



Studying Processes of Neighbourhood  
Restructuring and Residential Relocation in  
Social Housing areas: Evidence from Glasgow

CHR Symposium, St. Andrews

May 2011



# GoWell and Study Areas



# What is GoWell?

- A longitudinal study of 15 communities in Glasgow subject to a range of public policy actions.
- A research and learning programme giving regular feedback to study communities and to a range of other stakeholders.
- A resource for social inquiry and a support for policy analysis at local and national level.



# Research objectives

- To investigate how regeneration and housing investment affect individual and household health and wellbeing.
- To assess the degree to which places are transformed by policy interventions.
- To understand the processes that support cohesive, sustainable communities
- To monitor the effects of interventions on area-based inequalities within the city
- To develop and test research methods

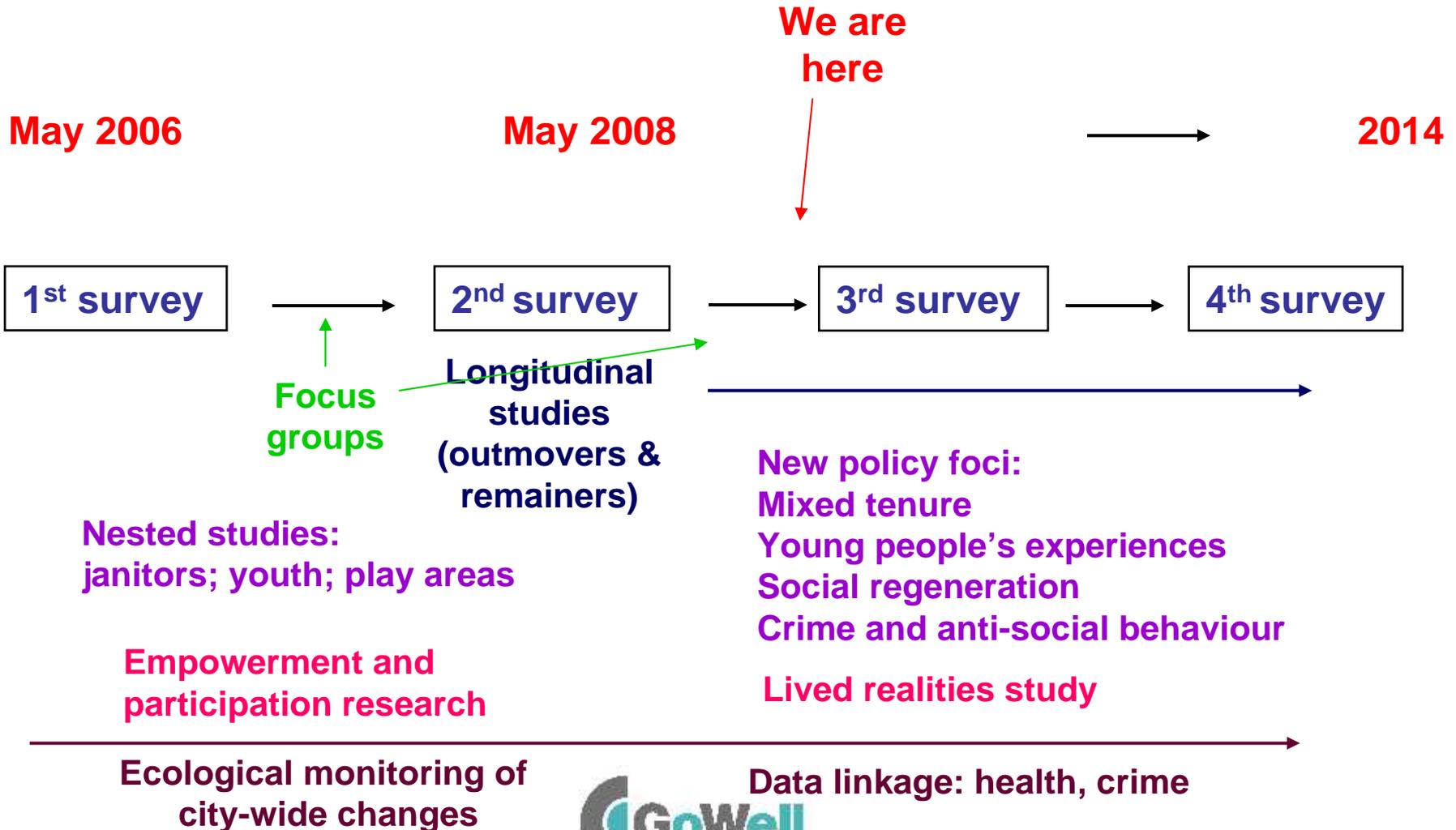
# The Interventions

- Housing improvement
- Dwelling change
- Mixed tenure
- Neighbourhood improvement
- Social & economic change & development
- Tenant & community empowerment

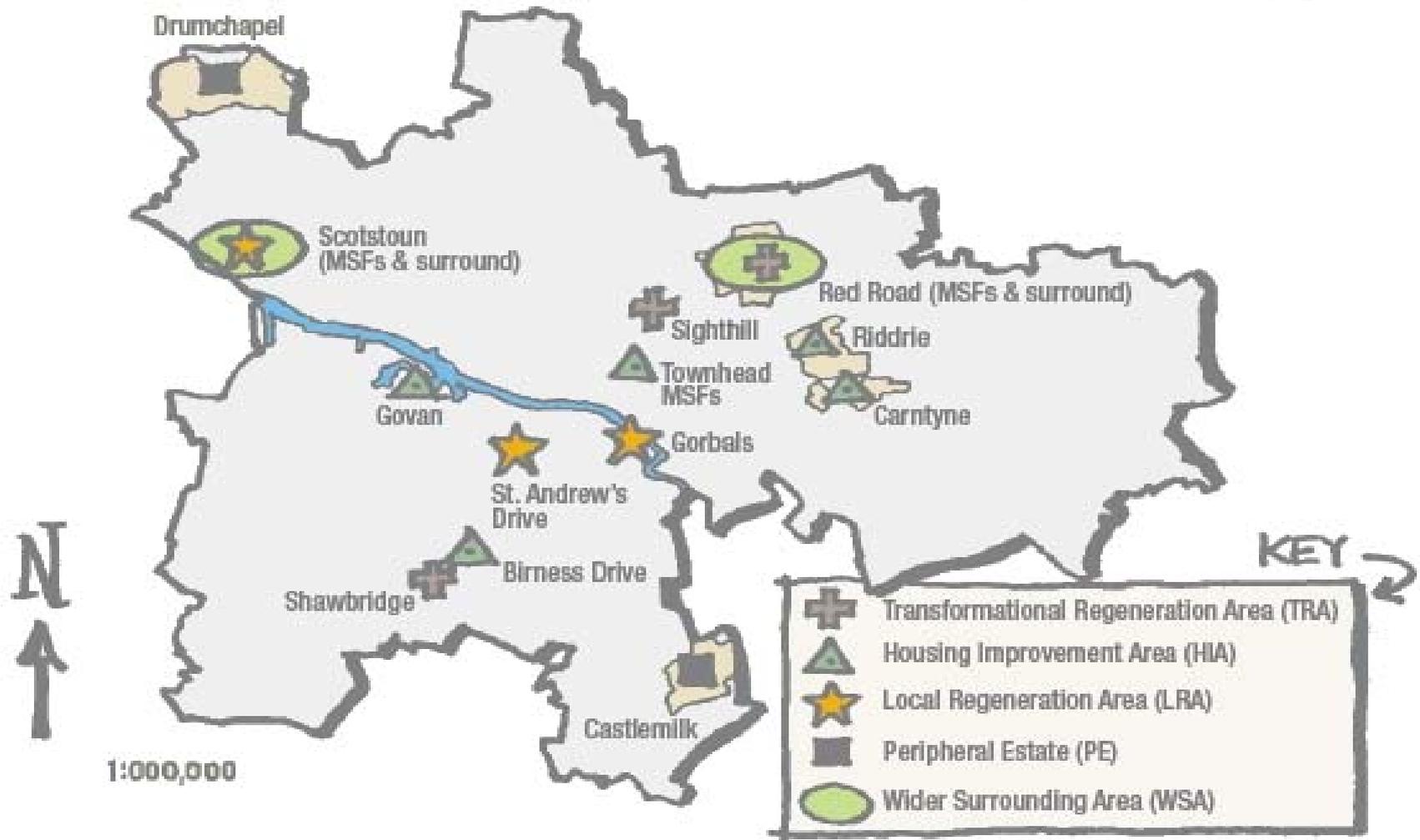
# Outcomes

- Residential Outcomes: housing satisfaction; psychosocial benefits of home & neighbourhood; area reputation.
- Social & Community Outcomes: sense of community; cohesion; social support.
- Health & Human Capital Outcomes: physical health; health behaviours; mental wellbeing; training & skills; employment.

# Timescale



# GoWell Study Area Types



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# Transformational regeneration areas (TRAs)

**Shawbridge**



**Sighthill**



**Red Road MSFs**



# Other area types

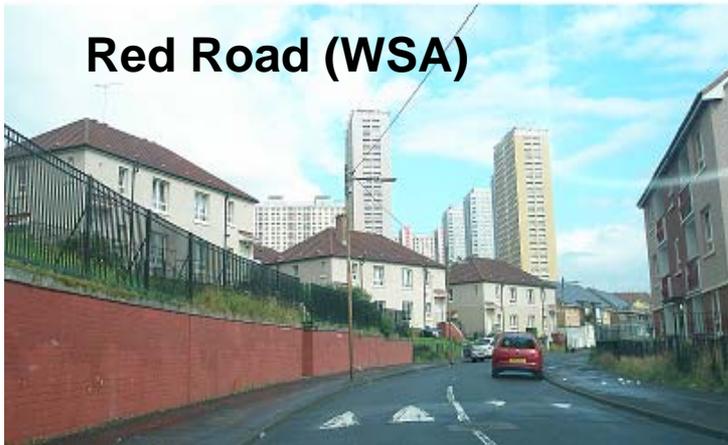
**Govan (HIA)**



**Drumchapel (PE)**



**Red Road (WSA)**

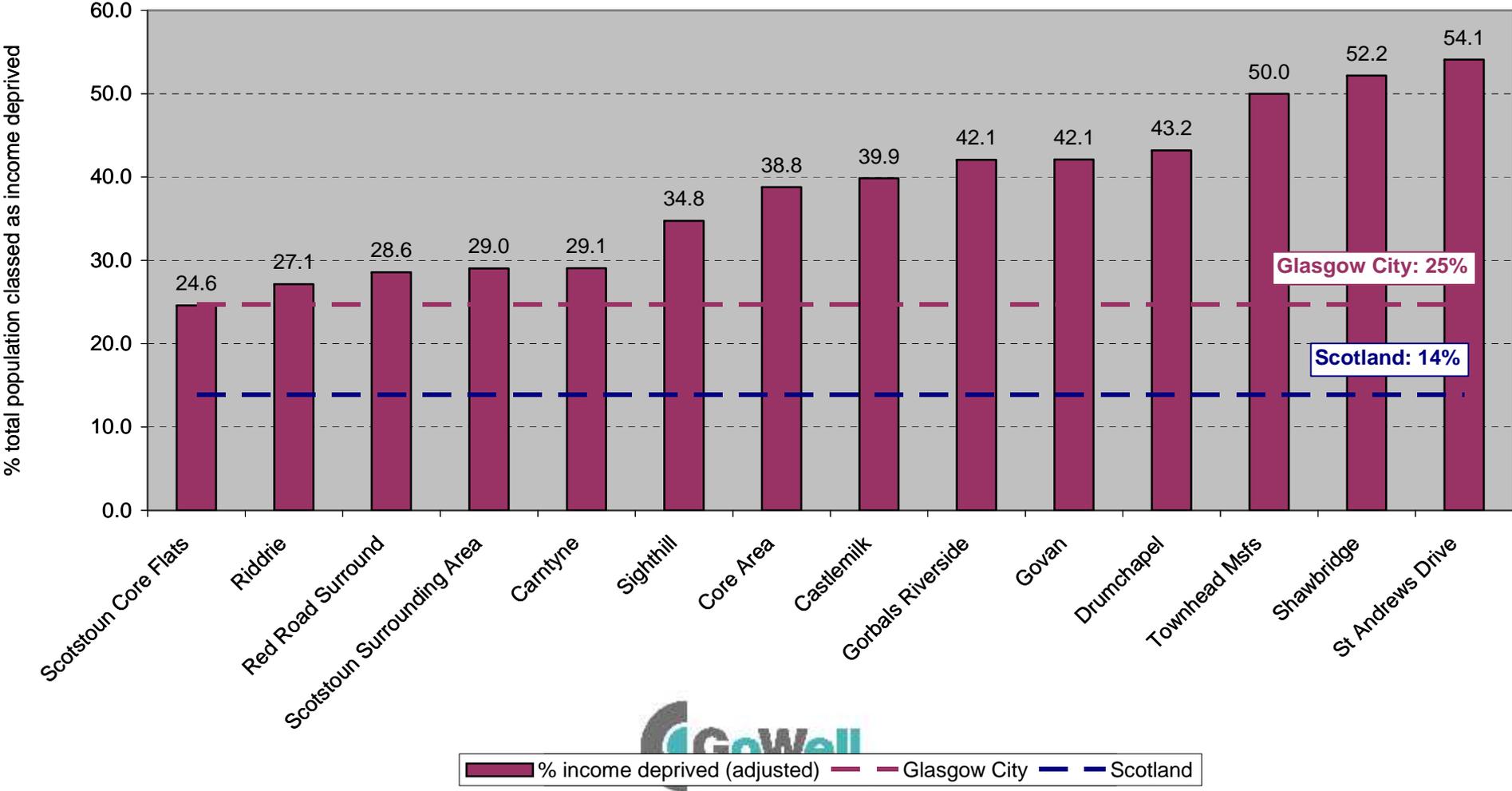


**Gorbals Riverside (LRA)**

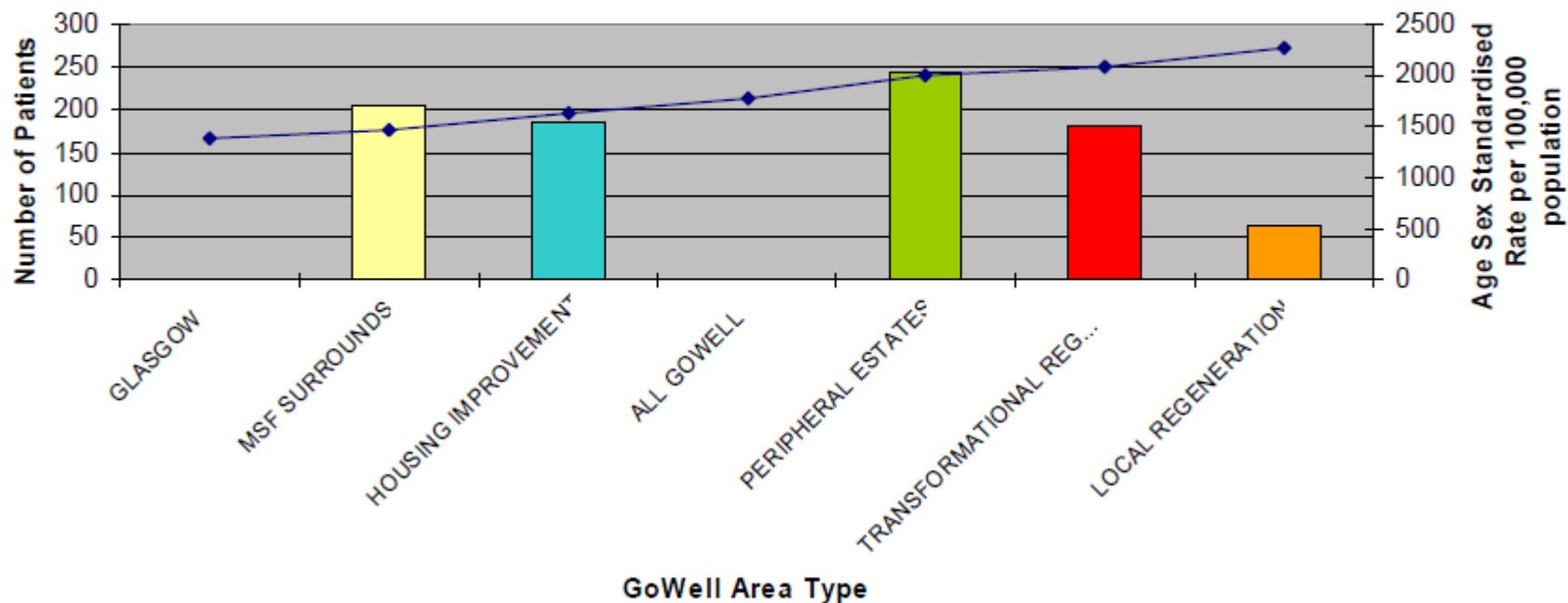


# Context: Deprivation

Income deprivation by Gowell areas  
Source: Derived from DWP and SIMD data



**GoWell Area Types**  
**Alcohol Related and Attributable Admissions**  
**Average Annual Numbers and Rates (2001-2005)**



Scotland: rate = c.900 [right hand scale]

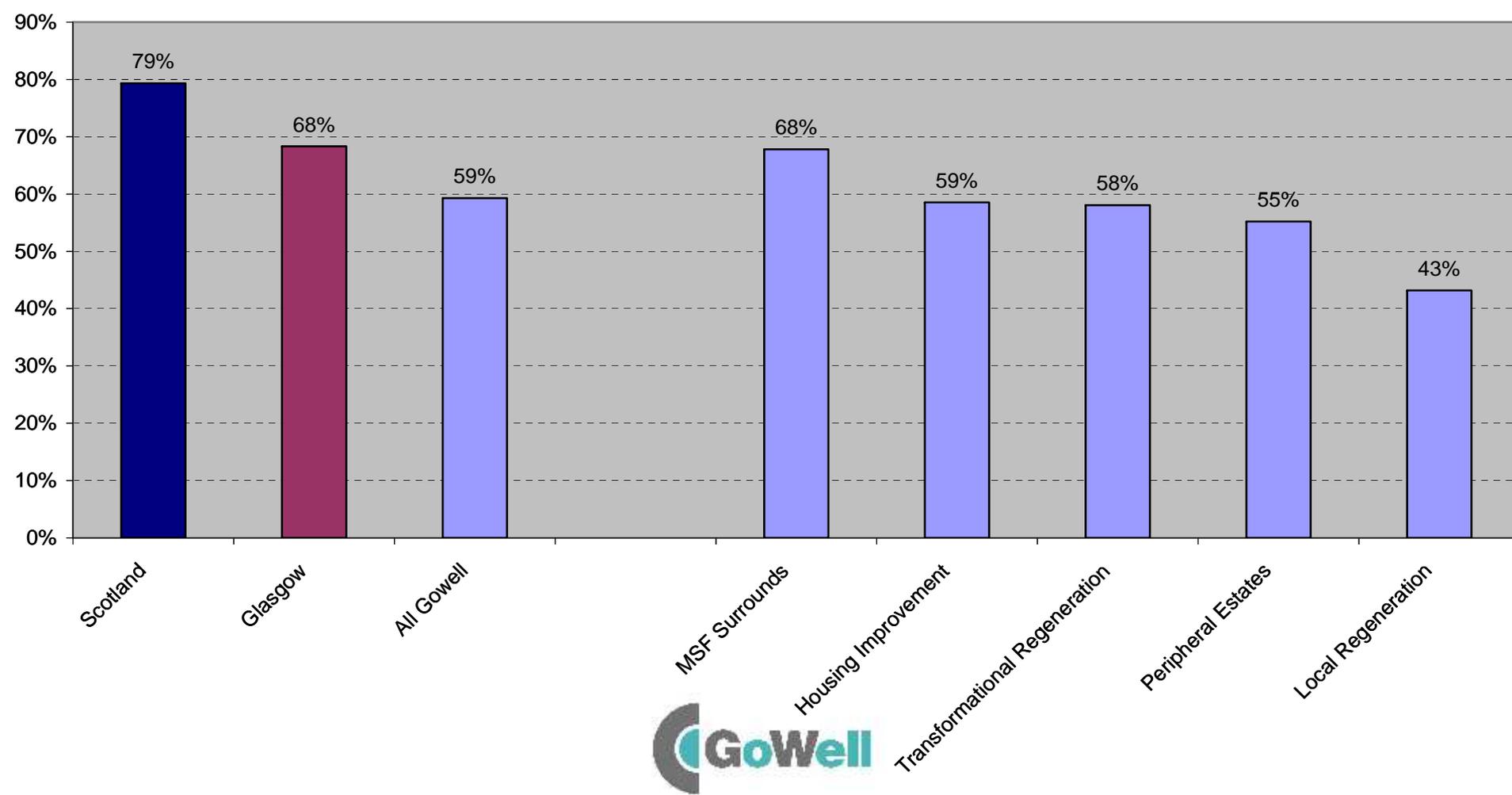
Two regeneration areas had rates of c.3,000



# Survival to 65, by area type

% of 15 year-old boys surviving to 65 by area type, 2001/05

Source: calculated from GRO(S) mortality and CHI population data



# Unbalanced Communities

- There are places where 30-40% of households are families with dependent children [Scotland = 24%]
- In some places, c.20% of households are single parent families [Scotland = 5%]
- The ratio of adults aged 25+ to young people aged <18 can be as low as 1.2
- Some places have low numbers of older person households, <20% [Scotland = 31%]
- Half or more of the adults can be aged under 40.

## Low Rates of Economic Activity

- Across Scotland three-quarters of men and two-thirds of women of working age are in employment [SHS 2007/8]
- We found places where rates of employment were 33-68% for men and 21-50% for women.
- NEETs can account for a third of 16-24 year olds in many deprived communities.

# Job Search & Training

- Only 17% (1-in-6) of those people of working age not in a job or full-time education, had done anything about seeking a job in the past year.
- Participation in any training, education or life long learning was 11% for those in their 40s, 5% for those in their 50s, and 1% for those over 65.

# Creeping Social Withdrawal?

- Feelings of safety at night-time in poorer places appears to be weakening over time.
- More people now say 'I never walk alone after dark'.
- In a lot of poor places, only a minority of people say they know 'many' people in the area.
- Levels of social support have dropped in regeneration areas & peripheral estates. More people now say they 'would not ask for help'.
- A small, but growing number (5-15%) of people say they never have contact with friends or neighbours.

# Studying 'Displacement' Through Regeneration



# Studying the Effects of Interventions

- Neighbourhood deterioration & improvement
- Social and economic change and development
- Tenant and community empowerment
- **Clearance from regeneration areas.**
- New Dwellings (& Effects of living in high-rise)
- Housing improvement works.
- Mixed housing tenure.

# What Do We Want to Know?

- What is the experience of 'moving out' like for people? Is it 'forced relocation'?
- Do Outmovers end up in better residential situations?
- Is relocation disruptive of people's social networks?
- What are the health & wellbeing consequences of 'moving out'?

# The samples

# The samples

- People who were living in 6 regeneration areas in mid-2006.
  - Remainers: 678 people from households interviewed in 2006, still living at the same address within the 6 regeneration areas, and interviewed June-Sept 2008.
  - Outmovers: 224 people known to have been living in the 6 regeneration areas in 2006 and interviewed Jan-May 2009 in their new location.
- Both samples weighted by age and sex according to different population estimates.

# Comparing the two groups

- Very similar in age and sex profile.
- Among those not working, Remainers contained more unemployed and retired people; Outmovers contained more long-term sick & disabled people.
- Outmovers contained fewer foreign citizens.
- Outmovers contained more adult households.
- Differences could reflect:
  - Selection &/or phasing effects
  - Tracing difficulties

# The movement process



# Distance moved [Outmovers]

- Actual distance moved:
  - Average distance moved was 1.7km.
  - 40% moved up to 1km.
  - 21% of people moved over 2km.
- Perceptions of distance:
  - 35% said they still lived in the same nhd.
  - 26% lived in an adjacent nhd.
  - 39% lived ‘a long way from previous nhd.’

# Relocation

- Is it an undesired and brutal process?
- Would people prefer to stay or go?
- This may depend upon:
  - How people got to live in the area in the first place
  - What kind of experience they have had there:
    - Negative experiences?
    - Reliance on close social support
  - How much they are affected by area stigma
  - Whether they have ambitions of ‘betterment’ and see this predicated on moving
  - Whether they have confidence in the renewal process.

# Can we call it ‘forced relocation’ for everyone?

Desire to move by Household type (row percentages)

“Before you moved, had you been wanting to move home or area in any case?”

	Yes	No	Don't know / Can't recall	N
Adult household	56.8	36.8	6.3	95
Single-parent family	35.3	61.8	2.9	34
Two-parent family	60.0	28.0	12.0	25
Older person(s)	14.3	57.1	28.6	14
All	49.4	42.3	8.3	168

$P = 0.007$

# Do people find moving to be a problematic process?

- Most people did not find moving problematic, but a sizeable minority did.
- The prevalence of problems with moving varied by type of issue and household type:
  - Costs involved (after disturbance payments): 45%
  - Being kept informed about when and where you might move: 32% (esp. families with kids)
  - The upheaval and disturbance: 28% (esp. single parents)



# Do people have choice?

## Choice in the movement process (row percentage)

Those saying they had 'some' or 'a lot' of choice for each item.

	Area	Home (e.g. type & size)	Fixtures & fittings	N (minimum)
Adult household	63.6	52.1	39.1	115
Single-parent family	57.1	46.9	39.6	48
Two-parent family	36.8	39.5	31.6	38
Older person(s)	38.9	36.3	21.0	19
All	55.6	46.6	36.4	220
<i>P</i>	<i>0.048</i>	<i>0.329</i>	<i>0.220</i>	

# Housing outcomes



# Dwelling Type

- Remainders:
  - 80% in high-rise flats.
  - 20% in other flats.
- Outmovers:
  - 20% in high-rise flats.
  - 60% in other flats.
  - 20% in houses.

# Residential outcomes: Housing

- Dwelling satisfaction was higher among Outmovers:
  - When those in similar types of dwellings were compared
  - Note: Remainders may also have had improvement works
- Occupant assessments of dwelling quality were also higher among Outmovers:
  - The biggest gaps in quality assessments were in relation to dwelling aspects that are important for health: thermal insulation, heating systems, and home security.

But...

# Affordability differences

- More Outmovers than Remainers said they experienced difficulties meeting rent and fuel costs:
  - Rent: Outmovers 22% vs Remainers 14%
  - Fuel: Outmovers 45% vs Remainers 33%
- (Occasionally or often had difficulty meeting the costs).

# Choice influences satisfaction

## Choice and dwelling satisfaction for Outmovers

	Area	Home	Fixtures & fittings
Degree of choice	(% satisfied with neighbourhood)	(% satisfied with home)	(% satisfied with home)
A lot	96.9	91.7	96.7
Some	91.2	87.0	83.7
None	74.8	68.6	71.4
N	222	223	219
<i>P</i>	<i>0.001</i>	<i>0.001</i>	<i>0.006</i>

# Neighbourhood outcomes

# Change of neighbourhood status?

- 40% of Outmovers stayed in the same deprivation decile after moving.
- 30% moved to a better area (less deprived).
- 30% moved to a worse area (more deprived).
- 74% moved to an area with less social rented housing.
- Outmovers were both more likely to say their area had a good 'internal' reputation, and more likely to say it had a bad 'external' reputation.

# Resident assessments

- Resident assessments of neighbourhoods were more positive among Outmovers than Remainders.
- In descending order of difference:
  - Quality of surroundings
  - Anti-social behaviour problems
  - Services & amenities (some are better, others not)
- Two-thirds of Outmovers said they had moved to a 'better' neighbourhood.

# Effect of distance

## Neighbourhood satisfaction for Outmovers, by distance

Current location	% of Outmovers	% Satisfied <sup>1</sup> (row percentage)
Part of same neighbourhood as before	35.0	93.6
Adjoining or nearby neighbourhood	26.0	89.7
A long way from previous neighbourhood	39.0	74.7
N	223	

1. Percentage 'fairly' or 'very satisfied'.

*P = 0.000*

# Being settled

- Most Outmovers (64%) said they were “happy to stay in [their new area] for the foreseeable future”.
- Only 4% wanted to move back to their previous area.
- 8% wanted to move to another area.
- The remainder hadn’t made up their minds yet.

However...

- 16% of Outmovers intended to move home in the next 12 months (‘larger dwelling’ the most common reason).

# Psychosocial outcomes

All psychosocial benefits were higher among Outmovers than Remainers.

The differences were greater for status-related items than for autonomy-related items.

Neighbourhood gain was large compared with the equivalent dwelling item.

## Psychosocial benefits of home and neighbourhood

	Remainers	Outmovers
My home makes me feel that I'm doing well in life	50	68
Most people would like a home like mine	39	66
My home expresses my personality and values	50	65
Living in this neighbourhood helps make me feel that I'm doing well in life	32	70

*P=0.000 for all items*



# **Social and community outcomes**



# Retention of neighbours

- Only a minority of Outmovers (a quarter) retained their 'closest' neighbours nearby.
  - By 'closest' we mean proximate in distance rather than emotionally close.
- Distance affected this outcome:
  - 36% of those who moved to an adjacent neighbourhood retained their closest neighbours, compared with 19% of those who moved 'a long way'.
- Those who retained their neighbours were happier than others.
- But most of those who 'lost' their neighbours in the move were indifferent about this.

# Feelings about previous neighbours

Satisfaction with retention (or not) of 'closest' neighbours

Closest neighbours still live 'very nearby'	Feelings about retention of neighbours			Total % (n)
	Happy	Not happy	Don't mind	
Yes	47.4	0.0	52.6	100 (38)
No	8.2	13.1	78.7	100 (61)

*P=0.000*

“Do your closest neighbours from when you lived in X, still live very nearby to you?”

“Are you happy or unhappy about that, or do you not mind either way?”

# Neighbourliness

- Neighbourly behaviours were higher among Outmovers, despite their shorter length of residence.
  - Those who retained their neighbours were the most likely to engage in neighbourliness.
  - The least likely were those who didn't know where their neighbours were now.
- Moving seems to have spurred people to be neighbourly, maybe in an effort to 'settle in'.
- The change of environment may also have played a part in this.

# Neighbourly behaviours

	Remainers	Outmovers	<i>P</i>
Know 'many' or 'most' people in their neighbourhood	25.1	30.4	<i>0.067</i>
Speak to neighbours at least once a week	67.9	72.9	<i>0.164</i>
Visit neighbours in their home <sup>1</sup>	28.6	57.1	<i>0.000</i>
Borrow things & exchange favours <sup>1</sup>	12.0	46.0	<i>0.000</i>
Stop & talk to people in the neighbourhood <sup>1</sup>	51.3	65.6	<i>0.000</i>
Minimum N	669	221	

1. Those who answered 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount'.

# Sense of community

- More Outmovers felt they moved to an area with a better feeling of community (53%) than thought they had moved to an area where this was worse (14%).
- Views of the change in community were less positive the further the person moved.
- If we compare people of the same citizenship status and similar length of residence, Outmovers were more positive in their feelings of belonging and inclusion than Remainders.

# Sense of community

## Sense of community, British Citizens only

	Lived in home for 5 years or less		
Feelings...	Remainers	Outmovers	<i>P</i>
...Belong to the neighbourhood	65.2	75.2	<i>0.036</i>
...Part of the community	54.4	70.9	<i>0.001</i>
...Enjoy living here	75.2	83.0	<i>0.064</i>
N	161	206	



# Trust in those around you

- Trust was higher among Outmovers.
- Levels of perceived safety were markedly higher.
- Other elements of trust, although higher, were still modest, e.g. compared to our 2008 findings in HIAs and WSAs.

	Remainers (%)	Outmovers (%)	p
Safety: feel safe walking at night	24.5	64.3	<0.0001
Reliance: expect someone to intervene in harassment incident	16.3	33.4	<0.0001
Honesty: expect lost wallet to be returned intact	6.6	22.8	<0.0001
N	678	224	

# Health outcomes



# General and physical health

- Outmovers had worse self-rated health:
  - 55% of British citizen Outmovers rated their health as good or better, compared with 65% of Remainers.
- Many long-term and short-term conditions were more common in the Outmovers.
  - 20% of Outmovers had long-term respiratory problems compared with 9% of Remainers.
- In most cases, there was no difference between Outmovers and Remainers in the numbers reporting that their condition had got worse in the past two years.

# Mental health and wellbeing

- A relatively high proportion of Outmovers said they had a long-term problem of stress, anxiety or depression (35% vs. 14%).
- More Outmovers than Remainers had sought help from a GP about a mental health issue in the past year (38% vs. 20%).
- The mean WEMWBS score (measuring positive mental wellbeing) was significantly lower for Outmovers than for Remainers (36.6 vs. 49.6).
  - This difference was confirmed after controlling for several socio-demographic factors and for citizenship status.
  - Mental wellbeing scores were also lower for Outmovers when we looked only at respondents without any long-term health conditions.

# Health behaviours

- There were no significant differences between the two groups in terms of eating 5 portions of fruit & veg. per day, being a current drinker or being a smoker (the last two looking at British citizens only).
- However, Outmover smokers were more likely to have reduced the amount of their smoking in the past two years, and more likely to have plans to give up smoking in the next year (49% vs. 32%).

# Walking

- Outmovers were less likely to walk than Remainers.
  - Fewer Outmovers walked (anywhere) for at least 10 minutes on 5 days or more in the past week (44% vs. 55%).
  - More Outmovers had not walked around their neighbourhood for 20 minutes at a time on any day in the past week (41% vs. 28%).

# Conclusions

- The process of moving people from clearance areas does not seem as brutal as descriptions of 'forced relocation' imply.
- Residential outcomes for Outmovers compared favourably with Remainders, but with a few problematic issues arising:
  - Costs of moving itself.
  - Costs of rent and fuel in the new home.
  - Continuing to live in deprived areas.

- Social connections and sense of community were relatively positive among the Outmover group, contrary to the notion that relocation results is ‘displacement’.
- The health findings were disappointing and a conundrum given the positive residential and social outcomes for Outmovers.
  - We do not know for certain whether clearance processes have a tendency to move the less healthy people first, although it looks like this might be the case.
  - We cannot yet tell whether relocation has any negative health impacts, though we hope to be able to address this issue later.
  - Given the findings on local environments, walking and smoking, there may be a case for considering introducing behavioural support programmes alongside relocation processes.



**Glasgow Community Health and Wellbeing  
Research and Learning Programme:  
Investigating the Processes and Impacts of  
Neighbourhood Change**

***GoWell is a collaborative partnership between the Glasgow  
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MRC/CSO Social and Public Health Sciences Unit.***

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