

Moving Out, Moving On?

Short to medium term outcomes from relocation through regeneration in Glasgow



GoWell is a collaborative partnership between the Glasgow Centre for Population Health, the University of Glasgow and the MRC/CSO Social and Public Health Sciences Unit, sponsored by Glasgow Housing Association, the Scottish Government, NHS Health Scotland and NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde.

MAY 2011

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Suggestion citation:

GoWell (2011). Moving Out, Moving On?
Short to medium term outcomes from relocation through regeneration in Glasgow.
Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health.



ISBN: 978-1-906150-14-3

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Abbreviations

CAPI	Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing
GHA	Glasgow Housing Association
IAT	Intervention Area Types
LHO	Local Housing Organisations
LRA	Local Regeneration Areas
MSF	Multi-Storey Flat
RSL	Registered Social Landlord
SIMD	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation
TRA	Transformational Regeneration Area
WEMWBS	Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale

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Introduction

This report compares two cross-sectional samples of residents interviewed as part of the second wave of the GoWell Community Health and Wellbeing survey¹: *Remainers*, consisting of households that have lived in the same GoWell Regeneration Area since 2006, when a household member was interviewed for the first time, and *Outmovers*, consisting of households that have moved out of a GoWell Regeneration Area to another location in Glasgow since 2006.

Chapter summaries

Chapter 1: Regeneration and Clearance Processes in Glasgow

- The clearance and demolition programme undertaken by Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) is intended to contribute to Glasgow City Council's housing strategy objectives of improving the overall standard of housing; raising neighbourhood quality in the city; and offering a better choice of housing types and tenures. It does this by removing units that are uneconomic to improve and thereby also providing opportunities to redevelop neighbourhoods.
- By the time of our Outmovers Survey (Spring 2009) GHA had demolished 8,000 properties (from an overall target of 19,100 demolitions by March 2015).
- We are studying the fortunes of Remainers and Outmovers from six Regeneration Areas in the city, three being comprehensively redeveloped and three being partially demolished and/or improved.
- Clearance and demolition are governed by legal requirements (e.g. about alternative accommodation and compensation payments), and by GHA strategies and policies for Local Housing Associations to follow.
- Alternative accommodation for those relocated mostly comprises improved GHA properties, and new build properties provided by GHA or other Registered Social Landlords, under re-provisioning programmes or voluntary agreements.
- GHA aims to provide alternative accommodation that is better than that which people occupied previously; to offer people choice; to minimise disruption to individuals and communities; and to avoid the effects of remaining for a long time in a condemned property (e.g. isolation and uncertainty).
- Under GHA policies, it would appear that longer-term tenants are likely to have more choice of alternative accommodation and better access to new build housing. At the other end of the spectrum, anti-social tenants against whom legal action is being taken are likely to have the least choice, whilst meeting the legal obligations for rehousing.

¹See www.gowellonline.com for more information

Chapter 2: The Wave 2 Remainers and Outmovers Study

This chapter describes the following aspects of the study:

- **Sample design:** The Remainer and Outmover samples were based on households that had been living in any of the six GoWell Regeneration Areas in 2006, three areas in each of two Intervention Area Types (IATs): Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs) and Local Regeneration Areas (LRAs).
- **Fieldwork and interviews achieved:** The organisation of the interview fieldwork; the achievement of the sample through repeat contacts; survey response rates in different areas; and the distribution of the sample between areas. The overall samples which are compared were as follows:
 - o Remainers: 678 interviews with a response rate of 54.6%, conducted between June and September 2008.
 - o Outmovers: 224 interviews with a response rate of 39.9%, conducted between March and May 2009.
- **The questionnaire:** The Remainer and Outmover questionnaires were largely identical. However, the latter included additional questions concerning the household's participation in the Wave 1 survey, the GoWell area where the household had lived in March 2006, the experience of moving, and comparisons of the former and new home, neighbourhood and community.
- **Data preparation and analysis:** Quality checking of the data; weighting the data to ensure it is representative of the study populations; our approach to the analysis of the data.

Chapter 3: The Characteristics of Remainers and Outmovers

Summary of findings

- The Remainers and Outmovers samples are similar in terms of age-group and gender, but differ in terms of occupational status, citizenship and household type.
- Outmovers were significantly more likely to be in non-retired, non-working categories (long-term sick; looking after the home/family); to be British citizens; and to be part of non-retired, adult-only households.
- Remainers were significantly more likely to be either unemployed or retired; to be asylum seekers and refugees; and to be from two-parent family and older person households.
- British-citizen-only Remainers were more likely than Remainers as a whole to be retired and from older-person households, and far less likely to be from two-parent family households.

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- We cannot tell the extent to which the differences between the Outmover and Remainer samples are due to real differences between the groups or due to any bias in the way we have obtained the samples, though it is possible that we were less successful in tracing non-British citizen Outmovers than British citizens.
- The fact that the Remainers sample (especially the British citizens among them) contains a far higher proportion of retirees and older person households suggests that our Outmovers sample may reflect the early stages of the clearance process, with older residents being less keen to move sooner rather than later.

Chapter 4: The Process of Moving

Summary of findings

- Three-quarters of Outmovers moved as a result of demolition and clearance and a quarter reported other reasons for moving.
- Those involved in clearance processes are divided equally between those who had wanted to move beforehand, and those who had not. Older persons and single-parent households were the least likely to have wanted to move.
- Those who said they had not previously been wanting to move may not necessarily have been opposed to clearance and movement; their responses may simply indicate that moving home had not been something they had previously been looking to do.
- The costs of moving were regarded as a problem for a large number of Outmovers (45%).
- Three-in-ten people experienced problems in being kept informed of when and where they would move.
- More people (56%) said they had a choice about the area they moved to, than reported having a choice about the type and size of home they were to get (47%) or the fixtures and fittings therein (36%).
- The less choice people had, the less satisfied they were after moving. The satisfaction of families was particularly affected by a lack of choice about internal fixtures and fittings.
- People did not move very far. The average distance moved was 1.7 km and in fact four-out-of-five Outmovers had relocated less than 2 km away from their previous home.

Chapter 5: Residential Outcomes

Summary of findings

- Outmovers had mostly transferred from high-rise flats to lower-rise tenement flats and houses.
- Across a wide range of items, Outmovers rated dwelling quality higher than Remainers, with the largest differences being in respect of external appearance, insulation, heating and security of the home. Thus, aspects of the dwelling which are known to be related to health were notably better for Outmovers.
- Psychosocial benefits of the home and neighbourhood – especially those related to status, personal progress and identity – were derived to a significantly greater extent by Outmovers than Remainers. This suggests that Outmovers were also making relative gains in psychological terms through relocation.
- In neighbourhood terms, Outmovers reported significantly better circumstances than Remainers in two broad areas: environmental quality (aesthetics and peacefulness) and the incidence of anti-social behaviour.
- Housing-related costs, notably rent and utility bills, were more often problematic for Outmovers than for Remainers, and this was true even when British citizens alone were examined. This may be due both to problems of adjustment and real differences in charges following relocation to different types of dwellings of better quality.
- Both housing and neighbourhood satisfaction levels were higher among Outmovers than Remainers. There is a distance-decay effect, with neighbourhood satisfaction declining among Outmovers as distance² from their origin location increased.
- Whilst three-quarters of Outmovers move to an area with less social housing than their previous locality, only 30% move to a less deprived area.
- Most Outmovers are settled where they are, with the vast majority being happy to remain in their new location and very few wishing to move back to their location of origin.

Chapter 6: Social and Community Outcomes

Summary of findings

- A quarter of Outmovers who had moved to a different neighbourhood had retained their 'closest' neighbours from their previous area, i.e. they knew that their previous neighbours 'still lived very nearby'.

²Measured by respondent identification of destination location (same area, adjacent area, remote area).

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- Those who had retained their closest (i.e. nearby) neighbours were happier about this than those who had not. Nevertheless, four-out-of-five of those Outmovers who had not retained their neighbours were indifferent to this outcome, saying that they 'don't mind either way'.
- Several neighbourly behaviours were more common among Outmovers than Remainers, irrespective of whether or not the Outmovers had retained their previous 'closest' neighbours.
- Aspects of social capital – safety at night, reliance on others, trust in the honesty of others – were reported more commonly among Outmovers than Remainers, in particular feelings of safety walking at night.
- Outmovers had higher levels of availability of all three forms of social support (practical, financial and emotional).
- Perceptions of local community empowerment were higher among Outmovers than Remainers. The gap was highest in respect of proactive forms of empowerment (communities being able to find ways to improve things).
- Four times as many Outmovers thought they had moved to an area with a better 'feeling of community' than thought they had moved to an area where feeling of community was worse than in their previous location. This feeling declined the further Outmovers had moved from their previous location (though the positive balance of opinion remained in all areas).
- Specific aspects of sense of community (belonging in the neighbourhood, inclusion in the community, enjoyment of living in the area) were all higher among Outmovers than Remainers, even controlling for length of residence. However, the differences between the two groups were reduced and became less significant when the comparison was made only for British citizens who had lived in their homes for five years or less. Nonetheless, even in this case, significantly more Outmovers than Remainers 'felt part of the community' they lived in.

Chapter 7: Health and Human Capital Outcomes

Summary of findings

- Outmovers' general health was worse than that of Remainers, partly because there was a higher proportion of Outmovers than Remainers with a long-standing health condition, and partly because there was a higher proportion of non-British citizens, who tend to have better health, among Remainers.
- Outmovers were more likely to report long-term respiratory, cardiovascular, digestive and liver and kidney illness, and headaches than Remainers, and on average each Outmover had around twice as many long-term conditions in total.
- Most long-term conditions were reported to have become worse for both Remainers and Outmovers over the period studied.

Executive Summary

- Outmovers were more likely than Remainders to have suffered short-term health problems (sleeplessness, migraines and headaches, palpitations or breathlessness, fainting or dizziness, chest pain, managing physical activities, persistent coughing).
- Outmovers generally reported better general health if they were satisfied with their new home. This was not specifically associated with the built form of the home, access to a garden or available space.
- Levels of smoking were generally high, but more Outmovers than Remainders smoked. However, Outmover smokers were more likely to be smoking less since their move than Remainders. Furthermore, Outmovers who intended to give up smoking had more immediate plans to do so.
- Outmovers were more likely to drink alcohol than Remainders. Moving appeared not to have influenced Outmovers' alcohol drinking behaviour.
- Only 40% of Remainders and Outmovers ate the recommended five or more portions of fruit and vegetables daily.
- Outmovers were significantly more likely than Remainders not to have walked anywhere for at least ten minutes in the past week, and also more likely not to have walked around their neighbourhood for twenty minutes in the past week.
- Two-in-five Outmovers had consulted their GP at some point in the previous year about a mental health condition (stress, anxiety or depression): double the rate for Remainders. Outmovers were also more than twice as likely as Remainders to have had a long-term mental health condition, but its severity was no more likely to have changed.
- Across four measures of mental health (Role Emotional, Mental Health, Vitality, Social Functioning), values were worse for Outmovers than Remainders.
- Outmovers had poorer mental wellbeing than Remainders. This was not statistically associated with their desire to move, or their control over the choice of their new home and neighbourhood. Nor was it associated with negative comparisons of their new with their old home, neighbourhood and community.
- On average, Outmovers and Remainders with a long-term health condition had similar mental wellbeing scores, but, surprisingly, Outmovers with no long-term conditions scored significantly worse on this measure than did the equivalent Remainder group.
- Outmovers were far less likely to have received training or education in the previous year than were Remainders, although about one-in-five people in both groups had actively sought work during the same period.

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Chapter 8: Conclusions

This report examines the process of relocation and a number of measurable community, residential and human outcomes for Outmovers (those who relocate) and Remainers (those who continue living in Regeneration Areas). The study has produced a number of important findings for future policy, practice and research and sheds new light on outcomes for those relocated by regeneration. Relocation is of course both a regeneration component and an important life event.

Residential outcomes for Outmovers compare favourably with those for Remainers, and most Outmovers seem to have settled well into their new area within a relatively short period of time. Furthermore, many aspects of social connections and feeling part of the community appear more positive among Outmovers than Remainers. In contrast, Outmovers appear to have worse health and health behaviours. They also report more difficulty meeting costs and paying bills.

Our task within GoWell is to continue to study the impacts and effects of regeneration upon residents and communities and those who are relocated by this process. A number of questions raised by these findings can only be addressed once we have a larger, longitudinal cohort of Outmovers to examine. There is also the possibility that the balance of outcomes between the Remainer and Outmover groups may change over time. Regeneration programmes should continue to have more impact upon original locations over time, with the potential to improve future outcomes for the Remainers group.

Executive Summary

**Regeneration
and
Clearance
Processes
in
Glasgow**

Regeneration and Clearance Processes in Glasgow

1

Summary

- The clearance and regeneration programme undertaken by Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) is intended to contribute to Glasgow City Council's housing strategy objectives of improving the overall standard of housing; raising neighbourhood quality in the city; and offering a better choice of housing types and tenures. It does this by removing units that are uneconomic to improve and thereby also providing opportunities to redevelop neighbourhoods.
- By the time of our Outmovers Survey (Spring 2009) GHA had demolished 8,000 properties (from an overall target of 19,100 demolitions by March 2015).
- We are studying the fortunes of Remainers and Outmovers from six Regeneration Areas in the city, three being comprehensively redeveloped and three being partially demolished and/or improved.
- Clearance and demolition are governed by legal requirements (e.g. about alternative accommodation and compensation payments), and by GHA strategies and policies for Local Housing Organisations (LHOs)³ to follow.
- Alternative accommodation for those relocated mostly comprises improved GHA properties, and new build properties provided by GHA or other Registered Social Landlords, under re-provisioning programmes or voluntary agreements.
- GHA aims to provide alternative accommodation that is better than that which people occupied previously; to offer people choice; to minimise disruption to individuals and communities; and to avoid the effects of remaining for a long time in a condemned property (e.g. isolation and uncertainty).
- Under GHA policies, it would appear that longer-term tenants are likely to have more choice of alternative accommodation and better access to new build housing. At the other end of the spectrum, anti-social tenants against whom legal action is being taken are likely to have the least choice, whilst meeting the legal obligations for rehousing.

Housing demolitions and regeneration in Glasgow

Glasgow City Council's housing strategy 2003-2008 set out plans to demolish up to 15,000 properties (mostly social housing units) within the city up to 2012. This was a reflection of the problems of abandonment of the lowest quality social housing units (unattractive, low quality and remote from amenities) across the city, and falling demand for social housing in general due to out-migration. Over the period 1993 to 2003, demolitions of properties in the city had been running at the rate of 2,500 per year⁴.

³Local housing organisations deliver front-line services on behalf of Glasgow Housing Association.

⁴Glasgow City Council (2003) *Glasgow's Housing Strategy 2003-08: Housing Issues and Background*.

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As part of the City's housing strategy, demolition of properties was intended to contribute to a number of goals: to raise the quality of the city's housing stock and in particular to eradicate problems of dampness, condensation and fuel poverty; to reverse neighbourhood decline and perceptions of decline; and, to retain and attract more people to the city by providing a better choice of dwelling types and tenures, especially more 'attractive, low rise housing in good neighbourhoods' as part of 'mixed tenure area renewal'⁵.

During the period 2003-2006, Glasgow Housing Association and Glasgow City Council held discussions about the future of areas of the city where 'failing' housing stock and low demand for living was resulting in the identification of redundant properties for demolition and, as a consequence, a requirement that consideration be given to planning the future of those areas. By 2005/6 the two parties had agreed on the establishment of eight Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs) where substantial demolition of properties and area restructuring was to occur. In addition, GHA also identified seven Local Regeneration Areas (LRAs) where smaller-scale demolition and housing improvement works were planned. These 15 areas had a total population of 35,000 – 6% of the city's population. The GoWell Programme is studying processes of change in six of these Regeneration Areas (three TRAs: Red Road, Sighthill & Shawbridge; and three LRAs: Gorbals Riverside, St Andrews Drive & Scotstoun MSFs).

GHA clearance and demolition programme

GHA's early business plan assumed a total demolition programme of 19,100 dwellings by March 2015⁶, with 9,900 of these approved for demolition within the first five years, 2003-8. Of these, approximately 40% were high-rise flats⁷, the others mainly being tenement and deck access flats. Our study is of people who moved out of, and those who remained in, TRAs during this initial five year period of GHA's clearance and demolition programme.

The process by which tenants are rehoused in a clearance process is governed by three policy requirements: the law, GHA clearance policy, and GHA allocations policy. The legal requirement under the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 is that tenants required to move due to clearance and regeneration should be offered 'suitable alternative accommodation'. GHA considers a number of factors in operationalising the term 'suitable', including: location, size, character, terms (including affordability), safety and accessibility⁸.

In addition to any legal requirements, GHA has also committed to the following standards in its clearance processes: to minimise disruption to tenants and communities; to minimise the time tenants have to spend in properties scheduled for demolition; to move tenants to properties considered to have a long-term future and which have been improved to at least the Warm Homes Standard – the accommodation

⁵Glasgow City Council (2003) *Achieving Better Home, Better Communities, Better Lives... Glasgow's Housing Strategy 2003-2008*.

⁶Glasgow Housing Association Business Plan 2005/6, page 27.

⁷GHA (2006) *Asset Management Position Statement*.

⁸GHA (2003) *Allocations Policy*.

should be better than they are leaving; and to offer a choice of re-housing opportunities. GHA's stated policy is to make someone three offers of suitable alternative accommodation 'within a reasonable timescale' before considering any court action to remove them from the property to be cleared.

Where an 'active clearance' designation has been made for a block or property, and people are removed permanently from their homes as a result, they are entitled to Home Loss and Disturbance Payments under the Land Compensation Act 1973. Tenants receive £1,500 and owners receive 10% of the market value of their house (in addition to having it purchased by GHA at market value). Tenants and owners both also receive a Disturbance Payment of £1,250 from GHA to cover 'reasonable expenses' incurred in moving (though people can claim more on the production of receipts)⁹.

GHA requires Local Housing Organisations (LHOs) to produce a Clearance Strategy in consultation with the occupants involved in the proposed clearance. This document should set out: the size of the clearance; the rehousing requirements in terms of property sizes and types; occupants' preferences for locations; the potential supply from the LHO and others; and the likely duration of the clearance process¹⁰. The alternatives available for re-housing include: existing GHA property which has been improved; new build housing provided by GHA; and both existing and new build housing provided by other Registered Social Landlords (RSLs), mostly under the city's 'reprovisioning programme', but also under voluntary agreements between GHA and RSLs.

GHA policy statements also deal with issues of priority and equity. LHOs are required to state in their clearance strategies by which criteria they will decide the order of clearance (who moves first?), and how they will avoid any disadvantage to the occupants of blocks cleared later rather than sooner (by virtue of less available properties and less choice). On both issues – priority ordering, and competing demands for available re-housing opportunities – the key criteria LHOs are asked to take into account are: serious overcrowding; isolation in a clearance area; health and safety risks from being the last occupant(s) in a block; and length of tenancy and allocation points accrued by the occupant. The policies indicate that length of continuous tenancy is an important factor in access to new-build housing. It is also possible that long-term tenants may be awarded discretionary points to enable them to secure better alternative accommodation than might be otherwise available under clearance. GHA policy also states that anti-social tenants 'do not get the same opportunities as other tenants in the clearance' if legal action is being taken against them. In such cases, the offer made to the tenant would be the closest equivalent accommodation that satisfies the legal requirement.

⁹GHA (2008) *Home Loss and Disturbance Payments*.

¹⁰GHA (2005) *Guidance Note on Clearance Re-housing Strategies*.

The Wave 2 Remainers and Outmovers Study

The Wave 2 Remainers and Outmovers Study

Summary

This report compares two cross-sectional samples of residents interviewed as part of the second wave of the GoWell Community Health and Wellbeing survey: Remainers, consisting of households that have lived in the same GoWell Regeneration Area since 2006, when a household member was interviewed for the first time, and Outmovers, consisting of households that have moved out of a GoWell Regeneration Area to another location in Glasgow since 2006.

This chapter describes the following aspects of the study:

- **Sample design:** the organisation of and relationship between the Remainer and Outmover samples.
- **Fieldwork and interviews achieved:** the organisation of the interview fieldwork; the achievement of the sample through repeat contacts; survey response rates in different areas; and the distribution of the sample between areas. The overall samples which are compared were as follows:
 - o Remainers: 678 interviews with a response rate of 54.6%, conducted between June and September 2008.
 - o Outmovers: 224 interviews with a response rate of 39.9%, conducted between March and May 2009.
- **The questionnaire:** comparison of the questions asked of Remainers and Outmovers, highlighting the information captured on topics relevant only to one component.
- **Data preparation and analysis:** quality checking of the data; weighting the data to ensure it is representative of the study populations; our approach to the analysis of the data.

Remainer and Outmover sample design

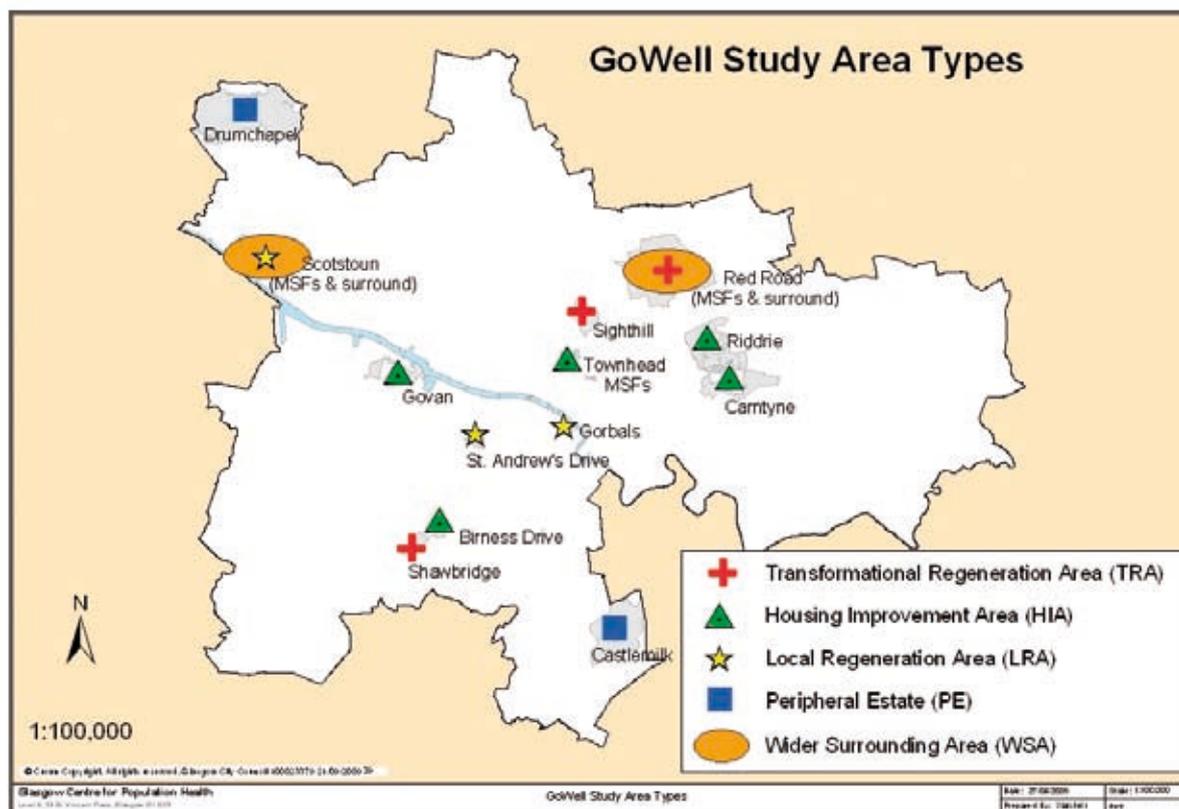
The Remainer and Outmover samples were based on households that had been living in any of the six GoWell Regeneration Areas in 2006, three areas in each of two Intervention Area Types (IATs):

- 1) **Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs):** Red Road Multi-storey Flats (MSFs) and Tenements, Shawbridge, Sighthill. These are places where major investment is planned over the next 10-15 years, and where change involves substantial demolition and rebuilding over a long period, as well as significant disruption for the residents.
- 2) **Local Regeneration Areas (LRAs):** Gorbals Riverside, Scotstoun MSFs, St Andrews Drive. These are smaller places where a more limited amount and range of restructuring is planned, and on a much smaller scale than in TRAs.

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Figure 2.1 Map of Glasgow showing GoWell study areas by type and location



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Each of the Regeneration Areas was comprised of two subareas, with the exception of Red Road MSFs and Tenements, which was not subdivided.

Two Waves of the GoWell Community Health and Wellbeing Survey have been carried out to date. The first (Wave 1) took place in the spring and summer of 2006, and the second (Wave 2) was conducted over approximately the same period in 2008. They constitute two repeat random stratified cross-sectional survey samples. The Remainder sample is drawn from the Wave 2 sample, the findings from which are described in the GoWell report, *Progress for People and Places*¹¹. In the six Regeneration Areas at Wave 2, we attempted to interview all those residents who were living in the same GoWell study area (although not necessarily in the same home) and who had participated in the Wave 1 survey.

¹¹GoWell (2010). *Progress for People and Places: Monitoring change in Glasgow's communities. Evidence from the GoWell Surveys 2006 and 2008*. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health. See also www.gowellonline.com

The Wave 2 Remainers and Outmovers Study

The Outmover sampling frame consisted of all the households living in any of the six Regeneration Areas in March 2006 and who were known subsequently to have moved to a different home somewhere other than in their original GoWell area, but still within the city of Glasgow. In fact, most households moved to a dwelling quite close to their old home (around 80% moved no further than 2 km), although even such small distances may signify a move to a neighbourhood with different characteristics.

To identify Outmovers, GHA provided a database of all 5,057 tenancies in GoWell study areas that had been terminated between June 2006 and September 2008. This information was then limited to moves out of the six Regeneration Areas, and filtered to remove cases of:

- households with no useable forwarding address (e.g., missing or incomplete address, tenant deceased);
- duplications;
- moves within the same GoWell area;
- moves outside the city boundary;
- households already interviewed as part of the Wave 2 remainder and repeat cross-sectional survey.

This process of elimination left a potential sample of 623 contact addresses. Pilot fieldwork revealed that other moves had occurred since the creation of the original database in September 2008, which was then brought up to date (January 2009). At the end of this cleaning process there were 562 useable contacts.

For the purposes of this comparative cross-sectional study we included all such households, even if they had not been interviewed at Wave 1. Given the more far-reaching regeneration plans for the TRAs, we expected most Outmovers to originate from these areas, rather than from the LRAs. Attempts were made to obtain an interview from all these Outmover households with useable contacts.

Fieldwork and interviews achieved

Letters explaining the purpose and conduct of the survey were sent to potential respondents a week or so before the interviewers first visited each address.

The Remainder and Outmover interview fieldwork was carried out by staff from BMG Research over separate periods.

Remainder interviews

Interviewers visited each Remainder address on up to eight occasions. On the first three of these, they tried to interview the same household member as at Wave 1. If this was not possible, on subsequent visits they attempted to interview another adult (householder or partner) from the household. In the event of there being no reply on the doorstep, the day of the week and time of day for subsequent visits were varied in order to give the best chance of finding somebody at home.

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Pilot versions of the Wave 2 questionnaire were tested in April and May 2008, but apart from removing some questions to reduce the duration of interviews, no substantial changes were made. The majority of Remainer interviews, using the final version of the questionnaire, were conducted between the beginning of June and mid-September 2008. A total 678 interviews were obtained with a member of the same household as in 2006, at the same address, with 570 of these interviews being with the same respondent as in 2006. Their distribution by IAT, study area and subarea is shown in Table 2.1. The response rate was 54.6 per cent, i.e. this was the proportion of Wave 1 addresses issued within the Regeneration Areas, at which interviews were conducted at Wave 2, after discounting issued addresses that were empty, untraceable, duplicate, or business addresses¹².

On average, Remainer interviews took around 38 minutes to complete (range: 20-112 minutes), using Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) equipment.

Table 2.1 Distribution of achieved interviews (frequency and percentage) and response rates for Remainders and Outmovers

IAT, Areas and Subareas	Remainers (2008)		Outmovers (2009)	
	N	%	N	%
TRAs	397	58.6	184	82.1
Red Road MSFs & Tenements	75	11.1	78	34.8
Shawbridge	147	21.7	39	17.4
North Shawbridge	15	2.2	24	10.7
South Shawbridge	132	19.5	15	6.7
Sighthill	175	25.8	67	29.9
Fountainwell	2	0.2	20	8.9
Pinkston	173	25.5	47	21.0
LRA's	281	41.4	40	17.9
Gorbals Riverside	66	9.7	7	3.1
Gorbals High-rise	24	3.5	5	2.2
Gorbals Low-rise	42	6.2	2	0.9
Scotstoun MSFs	128	18.9	32	14.3
Kingsway Court MSFs	117	17.3	8	3.6
Plean Street MSFs	11	1.6	24	10.7
St Andrews Drive	87	12.8	1	0.4
North St Andrews Drive	32	4.7	0	0.0
South St Andrews Drive	55	8.1	1	0.4

¹²BMG (2008) *GoWell Housing, Regeneration and Health Survey 2008 Technical Report*.

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Outmover interviews

Interviewers visited Outmover addresses on up to five occasions. If the household had participated in the Wave 1 survey, up to three visits were made in an attempt to interview the same household member as before. If this was not possible, a further two attempts were made to interview another adult (householder or partner) in the household. For households who had not participated at Wave 1, up to five attempts were made to secure an interview with either the householder or their partner.

The pilot version of the Outmover questionnaire (January 2009) did not require revision after testing. A total of 224 interviews were conducted by six interviewers, with the main fieldwork being conducted between the start of March and the beginning of May 2009. The distribution of interviews by IAT, study area and subarea of origin is also shown in Table 2.1. The overall response rate was 39.9% (around 15% less than for the Remainers).

On average, CAPI-based Outmover interviews took around 43 minutes to complete (range: 21-156 minutes) – about five minutes longer than for the Remainers.

The questionnaires

The Remainder and Outmover questionnaires were largely identical. However, the latter included additional questions concerning the household's participation in the Wave 1 survey, the GoWell area where the household had lived in March 2006, the experience of moving, and comparisons of the former and new home, neighbourhood and community.

Data preparation

Data were range and quality control-checked and back-checked by BMG before the two separate data files were sent to GoWell. This was an extensive exercise by which at least one-in-five respondents was contacted by telephone to verify that the interview was indeed conducted as (and when) reported and in a polite and professional manner, and to verify its accuracy by double-checking a selected number of responses. Any errors identified in this way were corrected.

To ensure as far as possible that our Remainder and Outmover samples are representative of key features of the populations they are intended to represent, we developed a set of weights (numerical coefficients) for all of the cases by which the responses of people who possessed characteristics that were under-represented in our sample (compared with the area population as a whole) were given greater importance, while the importance of responses from residents with over-represented characteristics was downplayed. In this way, we can be surer that our findings more accurately represent the views held by the populations.

The Remainder and Outmover datasets were both weighted by gender (male / female) and age group (16-24 / 25-39 / 40-54 / 55-65 / 65+ years), but on the basis of separate assumptions about the population against which they were to be compared.

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For the Remainers, the population was taken to be the weighted 2008 (Wave 2) sample for each study area. These previous weights (for gender, age and housing tenure) were based on gender and age data for the entire adult population of the study subareas obtained from the Community Health Index (CHI) records of GP registrations in the corresponding postcode units from August 2008. Tenure data were compiled from the Glasgow City Council Tax Register.

For the Outmovers, the population was made up of those cases from 2006 (Wave 1) that were known to have moved out of the area on the basis of GHA tenancy records, with the 2006 (Wave 1) weights from that sample applied. These previous weights were calculated in the same way as for the Remainers sample.

In order that highly under-represented cases were not accorded excessive importance, weights for both samples were constrained to have a value of no more than five. Finally, all weights were multiplied by a constant so that the total number of weighted cases was equal to the actual number of interviews achieved in the Remainder and Outmover exercises. This weighting procedure closely follows that used in the New Deal For Communities movers survey¹³.

¹³MORI (2005) *New Deal for Communities Movers Survey 2004. Technical Report Draft.*

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Data analysis

Our primary interest is to examine the differences in circumstances, opinions and experiences between our Remainder and Outmover respondent samples, considered as two cross-sectional samples. We should stress that the analyses here are of the Wave 2 samples; no comparison of the Outmover and Remainder samples at baseline (Wave 1) has been attempted at this stage, because very few Outmovers interviewed in 2009 were among the sample interviewed in 2006.

We have used the entire samples for these analyses, although we have also conducted additional analyses for British citizens only because the Remainders group is known to contain a significant number of immigrants (asylum seekers and refugees), unlike the Outmovers group. Where this second set of analyses revealed significantly different findings on the differences between the two groups, we have separately commented on that in this report.

In addition, we also analyse the responses of Outmovers to questions concerning their experience of moving, and their comparisons of their current and former homes, neighbourhoods and communities.

In this report, we mostly present relatively straightforward summaries of the differences between the samples with respect to the variables of interest obtained by bivariate analyses. The results suggest directions in which to head in order to investigate in greater depth the effects of moving home or staying in the same house or area. There is much scope for more complex, multivariate analyses that simultaneously consider many characteristics that may affect the respondents in our samples: several of these are currently being pursued.

**The
Characteristics
of
Remainers
and
Outmovers**

The Characteristics of Remainders and Outmovers

Summary

- The Remainders and Outmovers samples are similar in terms of age-group and gender, but differ in terms of occupational status, citizenship and household type.
- Outmovers were significantly more likely to be in non-retired, non-working categories (long-term sick; looking after the home/family); to be British citizens; and to be part of non-retired, adult-only households.
- Remainders were significantly more likely to be either unemployed or retired; to be asylum seekers and refugees; and to be from two-parent family and older person households.
- British-citizen-only Remainders were more likely than Remainders as a whole to be retired and from older-person households, and far less likely to be from two-parent family households.
- We cannot tell the extent to which the differences between the Outmovers and Remainder samples are due to real differences between the groups or due to any bias in the way we have obtained the samples, though it is possible that we were less successful in tracing non-British citizen Outmovers than British citizens.
- The fact that the Remainders sample (especially the British citizens among them) contains a far higher proportion of retirees and older person households suggests that our Outmovers sample may reflect the early stages of the clearance process, with older residents being less keen to move sooner rather than later.

Introduction

This Chapter briefly describes and compares the composition of the Remainder and Outmover samples with respect to their gender, age group, occupation, citizenship and household type. Where the composition of the Remainders sample is noticeably affected by the significant presence within the sample of non-British citizens (largely asylum seekers and refugees) the differences between the British-citizens-only sample and the entire Remainders sample are noted.

The percentages and frequencies of the classes of each variable in the Remainder and Outmover samples are presented in Table 3.1. Roughly three times as many Remainders as Outmovers were interviewed: 678 Remainders and 224 Outmovers in total. Information about gender and household type was available for all these respondents, but a small minority (<2%) preferred not to tell us their age, occupation or citizenship status.

Gender

The Remainder and Outmover samples both featured about 15% more women than men.

Age group

The Remainders and Outmovers respondents had a similar age distribution. The largest age group was of people aged 25-39 years, followed by those aged 40-54. Those over the age of 65 years also

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provided one quarter of the Remainder interviews and one-in-six Outmover interviews.

The sample of British-citizen-only Remainders differed somewhat from the whole Remainders sample, featuring a markedly lower proportion of those aged 25-39 years (21.7% vs. 30.8%), and a correspondingly higher proportion of those aged 65 years or more (36.1% vs. 25.7%).

Occupation

The Remainder and Outmover samples contained similar proportions of people in full- or part-time work (18% of Remainders and 19% of Outmovers), and small proportions who were on training schemes (\leq 0.1%), in full-time education (<5%), or who were temporarily sick (<1%).

However, overall, there was a significantly different mix of proportions of people with other occupations. Compared with Remainders, the Outmover group consisted of 12% fewer retirees; 7% fewer unemployed people; but a higher proportion of long-term sick or disabled (15% more) people and those looking after the home or family (6% more).

A consideration of the sample of only British citizen Remainders revealed that although roughly the same proportion were in full- or part-time work as in the whole sample, a lower proportion were unemployed (24.2% vs. 31.3%), due to the larger proportion of retired people (41% vs. 29.0%).

Citizenship

A large majority of the Remainders and Outmovers stated they were British citizens (comprising 70% and 93% of the respective samples), but the differential between the two groups was statistically highly significant. There were only a small number of non-British citizens in the Outmover group.

Looking at the non-British citizenship group in more detail shows that almost half of the Remainders were refugees, while a further one-in-six were asylum seekers. It seems reasonable to surmise that the 35% of respondents who preferred not to disclose their citizenship status were not British citizens, and so have been included in this group. Only 15 Outmovers did not state that they were British citizens. Of these, 12 declined to give their citizenship status (and have therefore been grouped in this analysis with refugees and asylum seekers).

Household type

The Remainder and Outmover samples also featured a significantly different mix of household types¹⁴.

¹⁴Adult households are those consisting of one or more adults below retirement age, and may include families with non-dependent children; Lone-parent families are those with one adult and at least one dependent (under 16-years) child; Two-parent families are those with at least two adults and at least one dependent child; Older person households are those with one or more adult aged at least 60 (woman) or 65 (man) years of age.

The Characteristics of Remainders and Outmovers

Although about one-in-five respondents from both groups lived in lone-parent families, there were 13% more adult households in the Outmover sample. This was balanced by the approximately 7% fewer households each of two-parent families and older persons in the Outmover sample.

Considering only the British citizen Remainder, while the proportions of adult and single-parent family households were similar to those for the whole Remainders sample, fewer respondents were from two-parent family households (9.2% vs. 21.1%), and more were from older person households (38.5% vs. 26.7%), as would be expected given the higher proportion of retired respondents noted above.

Table 3.1 Composition of Remainder and Outmover samples

Item	Remainers		Outmovers		p
	%	N	%	N	
Gender		678		224	
Male	42.8	290	42.4	95	0.924
Female	57.2	388	57.6	129	
Age Group (years)		665		224	
16-24	4.4	29	6.3	14	0.920
25-39	30.8	205	33.9	76	
40-54	28.4	189	32.1	72	
55-64	10.7	71	10.7	24	
65+	25.7	171	17.0	38	
Occupation		668		220	
FT work	10.9	73	12.7	28	<0.0001
PT work	7.2	48	6.4	14	
Training Scheme	0.1	1	0.0	0	
Unemployed	31.3	209	24.1	53	
Retired	29.0	194	17.3	38	
Temporary Sick	0.4	3	0.9	2	
Long-term Sick/Disabled	8.2	55	22.7	50	
Looking after Home/Family	7.8	52	14.1	31	
FT Education	4.9	33	1.8	4	
Citizenship		678		224	
British citizen	70.2	476	93.3	209	<0.0001
Not British citizen	29.8	202	6.7	15	
of whom:					
Refugee	47.5	96	13.3	2	0.003
Asylum seeker	17.3	35	6.7	1	
Not known	35.1	71	80.0	12	
Household Type		678		224	
Adult	33.0	224	45.5	102	0.002
Lone-parent Family	19.2	130	21.0	47	
Two-parent Family	21.1	143	14.3	32	
Older Person	26.7	181	19.2	43	

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Discussion

The Remainers were made up of a sample of the people who had been living in one of the six GoWell Regeneration Areas since March 2006 and whom we had interviewed in that year. The Outmovers sample was drawn from those respondents who had also been living in a GoWell Regeneration Area in March 2006, but who had moved out of that area to another address within the city of Glasgow (irrespective of whether we had interviewed them before). These sampling frames were therefore not intended to be representative of the populations in the Regeneration Areas or of those into which households subsequently moved. The achieved samples are considered independent of the specific location of respondents' homes in the analyses described in later Chapters.

Our samples were well matched with respect to gender and age, but their composition differed significantly with respect to occupation (or, to be more precise, the reasons for not working), citizenship and household type. Other than the random fluctuations arising from sampling error, there are a number of possible explanations for these differences.

First, the Outmovers population may genuinely differ from the Remainers population in some ways, and we are seeing this reflected in the composition of the two respective samples. This may be because although Remainers lived in any of the six GoWell Regeneration Areas – involving TRAs and LRAs – most of the Outmovers were residents of the TRAs only in 2006, and were moved out of the original homes as part of the demolition programme. There were few Outmovers from the LRAs.

Furthermore, as regeneration plans for the TRAs progress, almost all the 2006 residents will eventually move out of their area because their old homes in the multi-storey flats will be demolished. The phased emptying of the areas may involve different groups of residents moving out at different stages, either intentionally as part of GHA's plans, as a side-effect of any criteria GHA applies to select the households that will move at a particular time, or due to the difficulties of moving different types of resident. Thus, our Outmovers sample may reflect the influence of early-phase clearance.

It is also possible that the manner in which we achieved Outmover interviews may have favoured the inclusion of respondents with particular characteristics over others. For example, the lack of forwarding addresses for Outmovers who were not GHA tenants made it very difficult to trace those who were asylum seekers or refugees (ASRs) (GHA does not possess forwarding address information for this group) or who owned their homes or were renting from the private sector.

The Characteristics of Remainders and Outmovers

We should note that there was a higher proportion of British citizens amongst the Outmovers than the Remainders. This is not only relevant for its own sake, but also because the profiles of the British and non-British samples differ with respect to age, occupation and household type. However, this citizenship difference between the two study groups may reflect the reality of several of the factors already discussed. Much of the accommodation for asylum seekers is managed by providers other than GHA (including through leasing GHA property), which had two implications for the Outmovers survey. First, we were provided with fewer forwarding addresses for this group as GHA did not have access to them all. Second, the process of emptying buildings for clearance is more protracted where specialist agencies are housing asylum seekers, as this involves negotiation and liaison between GHA and other providers to find alternative accommodation en-masse for large numbers of migrants in buildings elsewhere. It is not unexpected therefore, that as time passes, an increasing proportion of Remainders may be asylum seekers until such time as clearance is completed.

In comparing Remainders and Outmovers we need to be aware of the differences in their demographic profiles, taking into account in our analytical interpretations any bias that may arise in the results as a consequence of dissimilarities between characteristics of the two samples. While it is not possible to control this at the time the interviews are conducted, we can try to understand it subsequently when we come to interpret our results.

The Process of Moving

The Process of Moving

Summary

- Three-quarters of Outmovers moved as a result of demolition and clearance and a quarter reported other reasons for moving.
- Those involved in clearance processes are divided equally between those who had wanted to move beforehand, and those who had not. Older persons and single-parent households were the least likely to have wanted to move.
- Those who said they had not previously been wanting to move may not necessarily have been opposed to clearance and movement; their responses may simply indicate that moving home had not been something they had previously been looking to do.
- The costs of moving were regarded as a problem for a large number of Outmovers (45%).
- Three-in-ten people experienced problems in being kept informed of when and where they would move.
- More people (56%) said they had a choice about the area they moved to, than reported having a choice about the type and size of home they were to get (47%) or the fixtures and fittings therein (36%).
- The less choice people had, the less satisfied they were after moving. The satisfaction of families was particularly affected by a lack of choice about internal fixtures and fittings.
- People did not move very far. The average distance moved was 1.7 km and in fact four-out-of-five Outmovers had relocated less than 2 km away from their previous home.

The desire to move

We cannot assume that all Outmovers from Regeneration Areas move out as a result of the restructuring process. However, knowing why people move is complicated by the fact that even those who are relocated as part of a clearance process may consider that they moved for other reasons (reflecting the fact that they may have wanted to move in any case). Knowing whether or not people wanted to move is important as it may affect their views about the moving process and the outcomes of relocation.

When asked why they moved, three-quarters of Outmovers said it was due to the clearance and demolition of their old home, whilst a quarter gave other reasons to do with housing, the area or location, or personal/family reasons – see Table 4.1.

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Table 4.1 Reason for moving

Main reason for moving	% of Outmovers (N=225)
Demolition of old home ¹	74.7
Other housing reason Includes: wanted bigger home; old home too expensive; poor condition; end of occupancy contract; to have own place; move to specifically adapted or sheltered housing; to keep a dog.	13.3
Neighbourhood reason Includes: to live in 'better' area; to have better neighbours; crime or anti-social behaviour in area; suffering harassment, or violence to self or property.	7.1
Personal or Family reason Includes: to be nearer family or friends; ill health or disability; personal problems such as divorce; not to live alone.	4.9

¹Includes a very small number of refurbishment cases.

Those who said they moved due to the restructuring process were further asked if they had wanted to move beforehand: half said 'yes', and half said 'no' or 'don't know' or 'can't recall' (a small number of cases). As Table 4.2 shows, most adult households and two-parent families had been wanting to move, but most single-parent families and older households had not. Those who said they had not previously been wanting to move may not necessarily have been opposed to clearance and movement; their responses may simply indicate that moving home had not been something they had previously been looking to do.

Table 4.2 Desire to move by household type (row percentages)

	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

The Process of Moving

The movement process

We asked respondents whether they had found the movement process problematic in several respects. The most commonly experienced problem was the costs involved (45% found this a problem), next was the issue of being kept informed about when and where to move (31%), and, thirdly, the upheaval and disturbance involved (28%). Generally, families with dependent children found all these things more problematic than either adult households or older persons (Table 4.3). However, in our focus groups, it was suggested that some people, particularly older residents, could do with help packing for their move¹⁵.

Table 4.3 Movement problems by household type (row percentage)

Those citing item as a 'slight' or 'serious problem'.

	Upheaval & Disturbance	Costs Involved	Being Kept Informed	N (minimum)
Adult Household	21.9	38.3	19.3	114
Single-Parent Family	42.9	55.1	49.0	49
Two-Parent Family	27.5	55.3	50.0	38
Older Person(s)	22.2	50.0	23.5	17
All	27.6	45.1	31.5	216
p	0.012	<0.0001	<0.0001	

Choice of home and area

Restructuring and reprovisioning processes seek both to meet legal requirements with regard to providing alternative accommodation for people who have to move, and to offer a degree of choice to the relocatees. Of our respondents, a majority said they had choice about the area they moved to, with fewer saying they had choice about the type and size of home, and the fewest (just over a third) reporting choice about things inside the home (such as kitchens and bathrooms) (Table 4.4). Two-parent families and older persons were less likely than other households to say they had choice.

¹⁵BMG (2009) *MTA Outmovers Report: Prepared for GoWell*

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Table 4.4 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
p	0.048	0.329	0.220	

The degree of choice people felt they had in moving may affect their post-move satisfaction with their new residential situation. Table 4.5 explores this issue and shows that levels of satisfaction drop as the degree of perceived choice falls among relocatees. Thus, levels of satisfaction with the neighbourhood and home drop by 22-26% as the degree of choice changes from 'a lot' to 'none'. Within this, only 58% of families who had no choice about internal fixtures and fittings reported being satisfied with their 'new' home, and only 55% of older persons who had no choice about the area they moved to reported being satisfied with their 'new' neighbourhood.

That said, seven-in-ten of the Outmovers who felt they had no choice about their new home or neighbourhood nonetheless reported residential satisfaction after their move.

Table 4.5 Choice and satisfaction

	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
p	0.001	0.001	0.006

The Process of Moving

Distance moved

We estimate that on average Outmovers relocated a mean distance of 1.7 km from their previous home, the smallest distance moved being 100m and the largest 10.7 km. We can examine distances moved by area of origin, as Table 4.6 shows. The shortest distances moved were by people who lived in Shawbridge, where 54% moved up to 1 km, and only 10% moved over 2 km. Red Road revealed a similar pattern to Shawbridge, but in Sighthill, only a fifth of people (21%) moved up to 1km and 30% moved over 2 km away from their previous home.

Table 4.6 Distance moved by place of origin

Original Area (2006)	Percentage Moving Distance (row %)			N
	Up to 1 km	>1 to 2 km	>2 km	
Gorbals Riverside	71.4	0	28.6	7
Red Road	47.4	37.2	15.4	78
Scotstoun MSFs	3.8	28.2	28.1	32
Shawbridge	53.9	35.9	10.3	39
Sighthill	20.9	49.2	29.8	67
St Andrews Drive	0	0	100.0	1
All Areas	40.6	38.0	21.5	224

¹⁶Since we did not have the full origin addresses for most cases, we assigned the majority of Outmovers to the most common postcodes in their origin GoWell sub-areas in order to calculate the distances moved. Randomly assigning Outmovers across the postcodes in the origin areas and again calculating distances moved revealed a similar picture. When we produced a further alternative calculation using only the 50 longitudinal cases in the Outmovers sample for which we had exact origin addresses, the mean distance moved was similar, at 1.4 km.

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Discussion

A key concern in processes of restructuring and relocation is whether movement is voluntary or involuntary, but this is not straightforward to determine. Our research does not really tell us whether or not moves were voluntary at the time they occurred. Although three-quarters of Outmovers identified that demolition was the main reason for their move, we cannot tell whether or not they were happy to be relocated.

However, we have explored whether house moves were desired by people involved in a demolition process before their clearance occurred. We found that there are household-type differences in this regard. Most adult households and most two-parent families had been wanting to move, but most single-parent families and most older-person households had not. There may be several reasons (such as disruption from social and support networks, or reluctance to leave a familiar area) why these latter two household types were less inclined to be looking to move from what were very dilapidated and deprived environments. More research would be required to understand how and why different types of household felt different forms of attachment or inertia in Regeneration Areas.

Notwithstanding the availability of £2,750 in home loss and disturbance payments from GHA for tenants moved under a clearance programme (possibly more for any owners involved), a large proportion of Outmovers (45%) found the costs involved to be a problem. The focus groups conducted with Outmovers for GoWell¹⁷ indicated that people experienced three kinds of financial difficulty in moving: having to pay two rents in some cases where they had to wait for their new property to be ready to move into; having to buy new carpets and furniture to fit the new home (sometimes rather unexpectedly); and having to borrow money for the move whilst awaiting the disturbance payment to be made. This suggests that a review of the costs involved in relocation would be justified with a view to informing a review of the procedures involved in claiming and paying Disturbance Payments in particular, as these do not have a statutory limit although GHA offers a flat rate amount as a matter of course.

Research into individual experiences of relocation would assist us in understanding why three-in-ten Outmovers reported problems with being kept informed about where and when they might move. This may simply reflect poor standards of communication in some cases, or the fact that communication processes are not sufficiently tailored and flexible to keep up with some of the uncertainties and changes involved in identifying people's housing needs and matching them to rehousing opportunities. It is also worth noting that our focus groups with Outmovers identified two other types of information desired by Outmovers: information about the local area, where someone was moving to an unfamiliar location; and a schedule of things that need to be dealt with when moving house (e.g. a checklist of people to inform about your move), and when to address them¹⁸.

¹⁷BMG (2009) *MTA Outmovers Report: Prepared for GoWell*.

¹⁸*ibid*.

The Process of Moving

Despite (at least in theory) the use of the entire social housing system within the city (involving RSLs as well as improved and new build GHA housing stock), it may still be difficult to offer enough choice to everyone who needs to be moved under clearance, as there will still be a limited number of property types and areas available for use in rehousing. In addition, the legal definition, and/or local interpretation, of the requirement to offer people 'suitable alternative accommodation' may not match people's expectations, although GHA aim to offer alternative accommodation that is 'better' than that which people are leaving. Our focus groups revealed how complicated the issue of choice is within a clearance situation: several participants said they had felt 'forced' to accept the house they were now in, for fear of not getting a better offer, because they felt under pressure to make a decision, and through not having several alternatives to consider simultaneously¹⁹. Without observing the process of negotiating alternative accommodation for residents, it is hard to tell to what extent such perceived pressure is real or imagined as residents are likely to be anxious about securing a reasonable outcome.

Whilst we found large numbers of Outmovers (around half or more) reporting that they did not have choice about their new area, the type or size of their new home, or its internal fittings, this did not affect post-move satisfaction for all households equally. Our research indicates that older people are more affected by having choice in location, and families are more affected by having choice about the internal fixtures and fittings of their new homes. This last item had the lowest level of choice reported and is a difficult issue to address where people are moved to existing, improved housing stock rather than to new-build homes. More consideration might be given to how relocatees could be offered more choice about the internal qualities of their 'new' homes, and in what circumstances this might be possible.

¹⁹*ibid.*

Residential Outcomes

Summary of findings

- Outmovers had mostly transferred from high-rise flats to lower-rise tenement flats and houses.
- Across a wide range of items, Outmovers rated dwelling quality higher than Remainers, with the largest differences being in respect of external appearance, insulation, heating and security of the home. Thus, aspects of the dwelling which are known to be related to health were notably better for Outmovers.
- Psychosocial benefits of the home and neighbourhood – especially those related to status, personal progress and identity – were derived to a significantly greater extent by Outmovers than Remainers. This suggests that Outmovers were also making relative gains in psychological terms through relocation.
- In neighbourhood terms, Outmovers reported significantly better circumstances than Remainers in two broad areas: environmental quality (aesthetics and peacefulness) and the incidence of anti-social behaviour.
- Housing-related costs, notably rent and utility bills, were more often problematic for Outmovers than for Remainers, and this was true even when British citizens alone were examined. This may be due both to problems of adjustment and real differences in charges following relocation to different types of dwellings of better quality.
- Both housing and neighbourhood satisfaction levels were higher among Outmovers than Remainers. There is a distance-decay effect, with neighbourhood satisfaction declining among Outmovers as distance²⁰ from their origin location increased.
- Whilst three-quarters of Outmovers move to an area with less social housing than their previous locality, only 30% move to a less deprived area.
- Most Outmovers are settled where they are, with the vast majority being happy to remain in their new location and very few wishing to move back to their location of origin.

Dwelling gains

Most Outmovers (84%) had moved to an existing property rather than a newly built one. According to GHA procedures for clearance, this should be to a home improved to at least the Warm Homes Standard, rather than to an unimproved property. Most of the Outmovers (84%) remained GHA tenants after their move, with the remainder split between other RSLs and the private sector.

²⁰Measured by respondent identification of destination location (same area, adjacent area, remote area).

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Remainers may also have had improvement works carried out to their homes, though not to the same extent as GHA properties elsewhere. An earlier GoWell report, *Progress for People and Places* (p82), indicated that around a third of residents in TRAs and half of those in LRAs had experienced some works to their homes in the previous two years, most commonly the provision of new doors and locks, but sometimes other improvement works as well.

The most striking difference between the two groups is that whilst the vast majority of Remainers lived in multi-storey flats, only a minority of Outmovers did so – see Table 5.1. Most Outmovers lived in other types of flats, with a fifth living in houses. As a result of these property changes, 60% of Outmovers felt able to rate their dwelling as having ‘good’ access to a garden or somewhere to sit outside, compared with only 21% of Remainers²¹.

Table 5.1 Dwelling type (column percentages)

	Remainers	Outmovers
Multi-storey flat	80.1	20.2
Deck/maisonette flat	16.6	9.4
Tenement flat	3.0	40.4
4-in-a-Block flat	0.3	9.9
House	0.0	19.7
Other	0.0	0.4
N	664	223

p<0.0001

If we compare how the two groups rated different aspects of their homes, we see that the biggest gains for Outmovers appear to have been in terms of the external appearance of the dwelling/building, insulation, heating and security; in each case, the percentage rating the items as ‘very’ or ‘fairly good’ was over 20 points higher in the Outmover group (see table 5.2). These are all important items for health outcomes. The lowest rating for any item among the Outmover group was for internal decoration (63% rating this as ‘good’), and this is where the gap with the Remainers was narrowest. In our focus groups with Outmovers, one of the complaints made by some participants was that their new home was not clean or fresh enough, for example having dirty carpets or suffering the effects of the previous occupant being a smoker²².

If a similar analysis is carried out involving only the British citizens within our samples, the gaps in dwelling quality are narrowed (mainly because the Remainers’ ratings of dwelling quality are slightly higher among British citizens). The three items where the gap in quality is greatest are however similar: external appearance, insulation and heating (though not security).

²¹Note that a large numbers of Remainers (57%) and Outmovers (21%) deemed this item ‘not applicable’ to them. These respondents were not included in the calculation of the figures cited.

²²BMG (2009) *MTA Outmovers Report*. Prepared for GoWell.

Table 5.2 Dwelling quality [Percentage rating item as 'very' or 'fairly good']

	Remainers	Outmovers
Overall condition of home	49.1	68.2
Dampness & condensation	45.1	64.6
Overall space	55.5	71.3
Storage space	51.8	65.5
Bathroom/shower room	43.1	63.2
Kitchen	47.9	65.3
Heating system	55.3	76.2
Insulation	46.4	70.1
Internal decoration	51.0	62.8
External appearance	42.2	69.1
Security of the home	54.4	75.0
N (minimum)	673	221

For internal decoration $p=0.002$; for all other items, $p<0.0001$

Housing and living costs

We have already seen that a large number of Outmovers found the costs of moving problematic. The other financial consequences of movement might be that household-related costs alter as a result of relocation. To explore this, we asked respondents in both groups whether they experienced difficulties meeting domestic bills.

As Table 5.3 shows, on some items there was no difference in the frequency of financial difficulty, but in relation to rent and utility bills, significantly more Outmovers than Remainers experienced payment difficulties. This finding may reflect differences between the two groups in terms of the quality and types of property occupied. Within the Outmover group, adult household respondents were over-represented in those having affordability difficulties on four of the five items (all except rent), and single parent respondents were over-represented among those having difficulties for three of the five items (rent, fuel and council tax).

The significant result in relation to council tax payments relates to the fact that more Outmovers than Remainers said they 'very often' had difficulty paying this item, although the aggregate of all people experiencing difficulties at least occasionally, was very similar between the two groups.

Since asylum seekers and refugees have a different charging and payment regime from other residents, we also examined affordability issues for British citizens alone in the two study groups. The findings were almost exactly the same, with the main differences still being that Outmovers experienced more affordability difficulties for rent and utility bills, though the level of statistical significance of the two findings dropped slightly ($p=0.016$ and $p=0.031$, respectively).

Possibly related to these payment issues, we also found (looking at all respondents again) that more Outmovers (28%) than Remainers (19%) were worried about losing their home.

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Table 5.3 Affordability difficulties [percentage having difficulty meeting costs occasionally or often]

	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Rent or mortgage	13.6	21.9	0.001
Repairs & maintenance	8.8	14.7	0.028
Fuel bills	33.2	44.6	0.005
Food	18.6	20.1	0.146
Council tax	22.0	21.3	0.002
N	678	224	

Psychosocial benefits of home

How the home makes people feel is important for mental wellbeing. We asked both groups about a range of psychosocial benefits they may derive from their home, broadly divided into 'autonomy' and 'status' items. For five of the eight items, more Outmovers than Remainers derived the psychosocial benefit, with the differences being more marked in the case of the three 'status' items – see Table 5.4. Specifically, around two-thirds of Outmovers, compared with half or fewer Remainers, felt that they lived in a home that helped them feel a sense of progress in life, that reflected their personality and values, and that most other people would also like to have.

An examination of British citizens alone revealed similar differences in the attainment of status values, though two of the autonomy items (safety and retreat at home) were no different between the groups due to higher reporting of these benefits among British citizen Remainers.

Table 5.4 Psychosocial benefits of home

	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Autonomy Items			
Have privacy at home	65.6	74.1	0.019
Feel in control of my home	62.1	68.8	0.072
Feel safe in the home	64.7	77.7	<0.0001
Can get away from it all at home	63.1	72.8	0.008
Can do what I want at home	65.6	71.4	0.110
Status Items			
My home makes me feel I am doing well in life	49.9	68.3	<0.0001
Most people would like a home like mine	39.4	65.6	<0.0001
My home expresses my personality and values	49.7	65.2	<0.0001
N	678	224	

Residential Outcomes

Dwelling satisfaction

Satisfaction with the home was higher among Outmovers (78%) than Remainers (60% satisfied). Indeed, nearly three-quarters (73%) of Outmovers rated their current home as 'better' or 'much better' than their previous home: this was the case whichever type of dwelling they moved into.

We already noted that Outmovers lived in different dwelling types to Remainers. If we compare dwelling satisfaction between the two groups, controlling for dwelling type differences, we still find higher satisfaction among Outmovers. Two points are worth noting in particular:

- Of those living in multi-storey flats, more Outmovers (32%) than Remainers (12%) described themselves as 'very satisfied' ($p=0.001$).
- Of those living in other types of flats, more Remainers (19%) than Outmovers (7%) described themselves as 'very dissatisfied' ($p=0.024$).

Perceived neighbourhood quality

In addition to dwelling gains, one would expect that Outmovers might have made gains in terms of their surrounding neighbourhoods given that they were leaving Regeneration Areas. To assess whether this was the case, we asked both groups of respondents about three things:

- The neighbourhood environment.
- The quality of local services and amenities.
- Anti-social behaviour problems in the area.

In terms of the aesthetics and quality of the local environment, the differences between Outmovers and Remainers were even greater than for dwelling quality – see Table 5.5. Around 25-30 per cent more Outmovers rated their local environment as attractive and peaceful than did Remainers, indicating that Outmovers had made substantial gains in terms of local environmental quality, as expected. Similar differences between the groups were found when the views of British citizens alone were examined.

Table 5.5 Neighbourhood quality [Percentage rating item as 'very' or 'fairly good']

	Remainers	Outmovers
Attractive buildings	27.9	59.8
Attractive environment	31.0	57.1
Quiet and peaceful environment	34.7	65.6
N ¹	678	224

$p < 0.0001$ for all three items.

¹Base numbers include those who responded 'don't know'.

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Local amenities and services were more often rated as ‘good’ by Outmovers than Remainers – see Table 5.6. There was a significant difference between the two groups in respect of three items: social venues, policing, and street cleaning. In each case, around 10 per cent more Outmovers than Remainers rated the item as ‘fairly’ or ‘very good’. The biggest gap between the two groups was in terms of street cleaning, echoing the findings reported above on environmental quality. Differences on other items were not statistically significant, although the higher ratings reported by Outmovers for schools and children’s play areas approached significance ($p < 0.05$).

Thus, Outmovers appear to have made some gains in terms of local amenities and services, but have not experienced widespread improvements in this regard. Only one item – shops – was rated as ‘good’ by two-thirds of Outmovers.

Table 5.6 Local services and amenities [Percentage rating item as ‘very’ or ‘fairly good’]

	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Schools	40.7	49.1	0.028
Childcare & nurseries	22.3	27.2	0.129
Shops	59.7	66.5	0.071
Community & social venues	21.7	31.3	0.004
Youth & leisure services	18.7	23.2	0.145
Policing	43.1	53.6	0.006
Street cleaning	46.3	58.5	0.002
Parks/open spaces	54.7	54.9	0.960
Children’s play areas	28.5	36.6	0.022
N (minimum) ¹	678	224	

¹Base numbers include those who responded ‘don’t know’.

Both study groups were asked about 11 types of anti-social behaviour. As Table 5.7 shows, in most cases significantly fewer Outmovers than Remainers identified an item as a local problem (an analysis for British citizens only revealed an almost identical pattern). The biggest differences between the two groups were in respect of vandalism/graffiti and intimidation, with the latter being identified as a problem least often by Outmovers. There was no difference between the two groups with regard to identifying nuisance neighbours and house-breaking as local problems.

Table 5.7 Local anti-social behaviour problems [Percentage identifying item as a 'slight' or 'serious problem' in their local neighbourhood]

	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Vandalism, graffiti etc.	65.7	37.2	<0.0001
Violence, inc. assaults	51.2	33.3	<0.0001
Insults & intimidation in the street	47.6	21.4	<0.0001
Racial harassment & attacks	38.8	22.3	<0.0001
Drug use and dealing	60.2	35.7	<0.0001
People drunk & rowdy in public	67.3	41.9	<0.0001
Gang activity	55.7	35.2	<0.0001
Teenager hanging around	66.1	43.9	<0.0001
Nuisance neighbours & problem families	39.0	35.8	0.129
Rubbish and litter	56.9	35.3	<0.0001
House break-ins	24.3	22.9	0.066
N (minimum)	568	210	

To get an overall picture of perceived anti-social behaviour problems we created an index that combined the responses to all 11 items over a range of 0-100²³. The mean score for Outmovers was 13 points lower than that for Remainers (19.2 versus 32.6), confirming that Outmovers perceive fewer anti-social behaviour problems in their local areas than Remainers. Overall, the findings indicate that this is another area where Outmovers seem to have experienced a significant improvement in their residential conditions.

Psychosocial benefits of neighbourhood

We have already seen that Outmovers derived more psychosocial benefits from their homes than Remainers, particularly with respect to status-related items. This is also true with regard to the neighbourhood. Over twice as many Outmovers (70%) as Remainers (32%) said that living in their neighbourhood helped make them feel they were doing well in life ($p < 0.0001$). Outmovers appeared therefore to gain a sense of personal progress from moving to a new area.

However, as Table 5.8 shows, Outmovers were in the paradoxical position of being more likely than Remainers to feel that their neighbourhood had a good internal reputation, but also more likely to feel that their neighbourhood had a bad external reputation. Outmovers did not generally think they had moved to areas that were rated positively by most people in the city, but they did sense a more positive local feeling about their area than did people still living in GoWell Regeneration Areas. Indeed, of the 65 per cent of Outmovers who had moved to a new neighbourhood, only a quarter (26%) reported that they now lived in an area with a better external reputation than the area they had lived in before.

²³0=none of the items is a problem; 100=all items are serious problems.

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Table 5.8 Perceived area reputation

	Remainers	Outmovers	p
People who live in this neighbourhood think highly of it	35.1	50.4	<0.0001
Many people in Glasgow think this neighbourhood has a bad reputation	50.6	64.3	<0.0001
N	678	224	

Neighbourhood satisfaction

More Outmovers than Remainers were satisfied with their neighbourhood as a place to live: 85% compared with 66%. Three out of five Outmovers (62%) rated their current neighbourhood as 'better' or 'much better' than their previous one, the others being divided between those who thought their two recent neighbourhoods were the 'same' and those who thought their new neighbourhood was 'worse'.

Neighbourhood satisfaction declined the further the distance moved – see Table 5.9. Where Outmovers considered that they were still living in the same area as before, over nine-out-of-ten were satisfied with their neighbourhood as a place to live, but this declined to three-quarters being satisfied among those who considered that they now lived a long way from their previous neighbourhood.

Table 5.9 Neighbourhood satisfaction for Outmovers, by distance

Current Location	% of Outmovers	% Satisfied ¹ (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	223

¹Percentage 'fairly' or 'very satisfied'.

Neighbourhood status

A major issue when people are relocated by state-led or state-instigated redevelopment programmes is whether people are moved to 'better' or 'worse' areas in some objective sense. For our purposes, the most suitable way to assess this is to compare the position of the Outmovers' origin and destination locations on the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), which we have done using deciles of the SIMD for the two relevant years.

Table 5.10 shows that, using this method, Outmovers are divided into three roughly equal groups: 39.7% remained in the same deprivation decile; 29.9% moved to a 'worse' area, or one that was one decile lower than the area they were in previously (all moving from SIMD decile 2 in 2006 to decile 1 in 2009); and 30.4% moved to a 'better' area, being one in a higher deprivation decile than their previous area.

Table 5.10 Changes in neighbourhood deprivation for Outmovers²⁴

2006 SIMD Decile	2009 SIMD Decile (percentage of total Outmover Sample)		
	1	2	3+
1	20.5	13.4	10.7
2	29.9	19.2	6.3

N=224

Decile 1 is the most deprived; decile 10 is the least deprived.

We can also look at the housing tenure mix of the data zones in which Outmovers were located before and after their move. As Table 5.11 shows, the majority of Outmovers (74%) relocated to an area with less social rented housing than before (shaded blue); one-in-ten (11%) relocated to an area with roughly the same level of social rented housing (unshaded); and 14.5% moved to an area with more social housing than the area they left (shaded green).

Table 5.11 Changes in neighbourhood housing tenure profile, Outmovers

Percentage Social Rented Households (2006)	Percentage Social Rented Households (2009) (percent of total Outmovers Sample)						N (total=224)
	0-40	>40-60	>60-70	>70-80	>80-90	>90-100	
>40-60	2.6	3.1	6.2	2.2	0.0	0.0	32
>60-70	2.2	1.8	0.9	0.9	1.8	2.2	22
>70-80	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.4	6
>80-90	0.9	3.6	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.4	15
>90-100	10.7	12.9	18.8	4.0	12.9	7.1	149

Being settled

Although most respondents seemed settled in their homes, a notable number in both groups said they intended to move home within the next 12 months, though this was more common amongst Remainers (26% intending to move) than Outmovers (16%). In the case of both groups, twice as many people cited dwelling-related reasons than area-related reasons for wanting to move. The most common dwelling-related reason was to have a larger property, which was stated by 12% of all Remainers and by 5% of all Outmovers as a reason for a future move. The most common area-related reason was to get to a 'better' area, cited by 9% of all Remainers and by 3% of all Outmovers.

²⁴Deprivation was measured for the data-zones within which Outmovers were situated at the two points in time, using the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2006 and 2009. For 2006, Outmovers for whom we did not have the full origin address were assigned to the most common postcode units in the relevant sub-area as found in our Wave 1 survey.

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Sixty-four per cent of Outmovers who had lived in a *new* area for up to two years declared that they would be happy to stay in their current area 'for the foreseeable future'. Only a small number (3.5%) wanted to move back to their previous area, whilst 8% said they would like to move to another area altogether (neither their current nor previous one). The remaining fifth of Outmovers had yet to make their minds up about location.

Discussion

Given that the restructuring of Regeneration Areas had yet to progress very far, it is not surprising that Outmovers had made relative gains in residential outcomes compared with Remainers during these early years of relocation.

Despite the substantial investment made by GHA in heating systems and in new front doors for properties in Regeneration Areas (notwithstanding their future restructuring) the largest dwelling quality gains made by Outmovers were still in relation to heating, insulation and security. These are all very significant dwelling items for health and wellbeing outcomes, so Outmovers have made important dwelling quality gains through relocation.

Outmovers also gained in psychosocial terms, in particular in relation to feelings of status, personal progress and identity. In terms of both the dwelling and the neighbourhood, relocating appears to have been psychologically beneficial for Outmovers.

Whilst we found affordability difficulties to be more common among Outmovers than Remainers, we cannot tell whether the Outmovers were already experiencing more financial problems than others before their move. However, the high level of difficulty in paying utility bills reported by Outmovers indicates a degree of poverty among respondents. An examination by housing and service providers as to whether further advice on the use of heating systems, or changes to tariffs or payment arrangements would benefit this group would seem justified. It may be that GHA's energy saving advice service could be targeted at Outmovers²⁵.

In neighbourhood terms, two substantial gains appear to have been made by Outmovers, when their perceptions are compared with those of Remainers. Firstly, Outmovers rated their local environments as much more attractive and peaceful, but also the street cleaning services as better. The latter raises questions about the ability of environmental service providers to provide adequate services in often dilapidated, and structurally unusual (i.e. often without conventional street patterns) regeneration locations.

²⁵This service is available free upon calling a 'freefone' number to arrange a home visit, but it may be that home visits could be provided to Outmovers as a matter of course.

Secondly, Outmovers were far less likely than Remainers to identify local anti-social behaviour problems, and more likely to rate policing services as good. While socio-demographic differences between areas may be a possible explanation, these findings might again point both to service-adequacy differences and the effects of the environmental structure in Regeneration Areas (i.e. environments more prone to, and enabling of, anti-social behaviour).

Thus, the findings indicate that both environmental structures and service provision might be issues that need to be taken into account in the planning of regeneration, if Remainers are eventually to achieve the same level of residential benefits as Outmovers.

Objective assessment of whether Outmovers have relocated to a 'better' area depends upon the neighbourhood measures used, and one's interpretation of those. For example, three-quarters of Outmovers relocated to an area with a lower level of social rented housing than their previous location: whilst two-thirds of Outmovers lived in areas with 90% or more social rented housing previously, only one-in-ten did so after relocation. This outcome would be in accordance with a policy aim of accommodating more people in 'mixed communities', and appears to be a potentially positive development for those concerned, since it offers the possibility of greater bridging rather than bonding social capital (at least in theory).

On the other hand, only 30% of Outmovers relocated to a less deprived area (according to the SIMD) and 30% moved to a more deprived area. Thus, on a wider, statistical measure of neighbourhood quality, the outcome for people appears more varied and less consistently 'better'. Of course, this finding has to be read in the context of the fact that the city of Glasgow contains a large number of the most deprived (worst 15%) data-zones in Scotland, thus reducing substantially the chances of someone being moved to a non-deprived area²⁶.

Within one-to-two years of relocating to a new area, most Outmovers were settled, in that they were not looking to move house, and they were happy staying in their new area; this confirms our focus group finding that the majority of participants were settled in their new home and unlikely to move back to their old area²⁷. This is a favourable outcome for the clearance programme, but it remains to be seen what will happen in the medium term. Interestingly, very few Outmovers reported that they wanted to return to the Regeneration Area they had come from, indeed far fewer than those who said they had not been wanting to move beforehand. This suggests that until presented with new opportunities, people may not have thought about, or realised, what might be in their best residential interests; their overriding prior consideration may have been to avoid the disruption of moving despite any residential dissatisfaction they may have felt at that time.

²⁶In 2009, 43% of Glasgow's data-zones were in the 15% most deprived in Scotland, the highest share for any local authority in Scotland. Source: Scottish Government (2009) *Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2009: General Report*, Table 3.2

²⁷BMG (2009) *MTA Outmovers Report: Prepared for GoWell*

Social and Community Outcomes

Summary of findings

- A quarter of Outmovers who had moved to a different neighbourhood had retained their 'closest' neighbours from their previous area, i.e. they knew that their previous neighbours 'still lived very nearby'.
- Those who had retained their closest (i.e. nearby) neighbours were happier about this than those who had not. Nevertheless, four-out-of-five of those Outmovers who had not retained their neighbours were indifferent to this outcome, saying that they 'don't mind either way'.
- Several neighbourly behaviours were more common among Outmovers than Remainers, irrespective of whether or not the Outmovers had retained their previous 'closest' neighbours.
- Aspects of social capital – safety at night, reliance on others, trust in the honesty of others – were reported more commonly among Outmovers than Remainers, in particular feelings of safety walking at night.
- Outmovers had higher levels of availability of all three forms of social support (practical, financial and emotional).
- Perceptions of local community empowerment were higher among Outmovers than Remainers. The gap was highest in respect of proactive forms of empowerment (communities being able to find ways to improve things).
- Four times as many Outmovers thought they had moved to an area with a better 'feeling of community' than thought they had moved to an area where feeling of community was worse than in their previous location. This feeling declined the further Outmovers had moved from their previous location (though the positive balance of opinion remained in all areas).
- Specific aspects of sense of community (belonging in the neighbourhood, inclusion in the community, enjoyment of living in the area) were all higher among Outmovers than Remainers, even controlling for length of residence. However, the differences between the two groups were reduced and became less significant when the comparison was made only for British citizens who had lived in their homes for five years or less. Nonetheless, even in this case, significantly more Outmovers than Remainers 'felt part of the community' they lived in.

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Retention of previous neighbours

One of the concerns often mentioned in respect of processes of clearance and redevelopment is that those who undergo ‘forced relocation’²⁸ experience ‘displacement’ and suffer from a loss of close social connections and of their sense of community as a result of the change. We sought to explore whether this was the case for the Outmovers in our study. We have done this in two ways: by asking Outmovers for their views on whether they have experienced a change; and by comparing the perceptions of Outmovers with those of Remainers on issues of community.

Those Outmovers who had moved to a different neighbourhood to the one they were in previously were asked about changes in their close (i.e. nearby) neighbours. As Table 6.1 shows, most of these Outmovers no longer had their previously ‘closest’ neighbours living nearby²⁹. Only one-in-four Outmovers were able to say that their closest neighbours from where they lived before, still live ‘very nearby’ to them; the remainder were divided between those who said this was not the case, and those who didn’t know where their previous neighbours were after moving. The findings also suggest that those who moved further were less likely still to be near their old neighbours³⁰.

Table 6.1 Outmovers’ retention of ‘closest’ neighbours, percentages by distance

Closest neighbours still live ‘very nearby’	New Location Relative to Old (%)		Total %
	Adjoining/nearby old neighbourhood	A long way from old neighbourhood	
Yes	36.2	19.3	26.0
No	37.9	45.5	42.5
Don’t know	25.9	35.2	31.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	58	88	146

p=0.072

Although Outmovers who retained their closest neighbours were happier about the outcome than those who did not retain their neighbours, a large majority of Outmovers, seven-out-of-ten (eight-out-of-ten for British citizens), did not mind whether they retained their neighbours (Table 6.2). Indeed, only one-in-eight (13%) of those Outmovers who said their closest neighbours no longer lived ‘very nearby’ were unhappy about this outcome.

²⁸The term ‘forced relocation’ is used in the literature in relation to the effects of state-led regeneration and redevelopment programmes for social housing areas. Examples of its use include studies of the Movement to Opportunity (MTO) Programme in the USA (e.g. see Geotz, E. (2002) ‘Forced relocation vs. voluntary mobility: the effects of dispersal programmes on households’, *Housing Studies*, 17:1, 107-123) and of the Dutch Big Cities Programme in The Netherlands (e.g. Doff, W. and Kleinhans, R. (2011) ‘Residential outcomes of forced relocation: lifting a veil on the corner of neighbourhood selection’, *Urban Studies*, 48:4, 661-680).

²⁹The term ‘closest’ could have been interpreted in two ways by respondents: as those people who lived physically close to them, or those people who lived in the same block or neighbourhood and to whom they felt close. However, the use of the question about whether they ‘still live very nearby to you’ probably directed people to think about physical rather than emotional closeness when answering this question.

³⁰This finding was not statistically significant (p=0.072), though it approached significance when repeated for British citizens only (p=0.032).

Table 6.2 Satisfaction with retention of ‘closest’ neighbours

Closest neighbours still live ‘very nearby’	Feelings About Retention of Neighbours (%)			N
	Happy	Not Happy	Don’t Mind	
Yes	47.4	0.0	52.6	38
No	8.2	13.1	78.7	61

p<0.0001

Neighbourliness

Most of the neighbourly behaviours, or interactions with neighbours, that we asked about were more common among Outmovers than among Remainers. The one exception to this was ‘speaking to neighbours on most days of the week’, which was more common among Remainers – see Table 6.3.

Exchange-type behaviours (visiting or borrowing from neighbours) and acquaintance with neighbours in the wider area not just next door (knowing people in the neighbourhood and stopping to talk in the neighbourhood), were more common among Outmovers. These differences also existed when the analysis was repeated for British citizens alone. Within the Remainers group, it was nevertheless the case that most neighbourly behaviours were more common among British citizens than among others³¹.

The findings might indicate that Outmovers find their social environment more conducive to neighbourly interactions, either because the local population is less diverse in non-Regeneration areas (i.e. there are more people like oneself), or because residency is less unstable. But the findings might also indicate that Outmovers put more effort into neighbourly interactions, perhaps due to needs arising from moving (e.g. help with finding things locally), or to a determination simply to try to get to know people in the new area.

Table 6.3 Neighbourliness

	Remainers (%)	Outmovers (%)	p
Know ‘many’ or ‘most’ people in their neighbourhood	25.1	30.4	0.067
Speak to neighbours most days of the week	35.9	28.5	0.004
Visit neighbours in their home ¹	28.6	57.1	<0.0001
Borrow things and exchange favours ¹	12.0	46.0	<0.0001
Stop and talk to people in the neighbourhood ¹	51.3	65.6	<0.0001
Minimum N	669	221	

¹Those who answered ‘a great deal’ or ‘a fair amount’.

³¹Our accompanying report on the experience of Remainers between Waves 1 and 2 will provide more details on this.

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Where Outmovers had relocated to what they considered to be a different neighbourhood to the one they previously lived in, we can investigate the effect upon neighbourly behaviours of moving with or without one's closest neighbours. As Table 6.4 shows, neighbourly behaviours were highest among those Outmovers whose closest neighbours still lived 'very nearby', and lowest amongst those who were uncertain what had happened to their previous neighbours. Clearly, neighbourly interactions for the first group might well have been with their long-standing fellow neighbours from where they lived before; but having one's previous neighbours still nearby might also serve as a bridge to make more new acquaintances.

Table 6.4 Neighbourliness among Outmovers, by retention of neighbours

	Retention of Previous Closest Neighbours (row %)			p
	Yes	No	D/K	
Know 'many' or 'most' people in the neighbourhood	39.5	23.0	13.0	0.028
Speak to neighbours at least once a week ¹	84.2	61.0	69.6	0.052
Visit neighbours in their home ²	56.4	55.7	33.3	0.022
Borrow things and exchange favours with neighbours ²	56.8	45.2	13.3	<0.0001
Stop and talk to people in the neighbourhood ²	76.3	70.5	52.2	0.011
N	38	61	46	

¹Note this is a different variable from that reported in Table 6.3.

²Those who answered 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount'.

It is also interesting to note, if we compare findings in Tables 6.3 and 6.4, that amongst those Outmovers who said their previous closest neighbours no longer lived nearby, several neighbourly behaviours were nonetheless reported as more common than by Remainers (visiting, exchanging and talking in the neighbourhood). Thus, higher neighbourly behaviours among Outmovers does not appear to be a product of people moving together and 'sticking together' in an unfamiliar environment.

Social support

Respondents were asked about available social support from outwith their own household. Despite having relocated, Outmovers were more likely to report having all three forms of social support (practical, financial and emotional) available to them (see Table 6.5). Exactly the same pattern is revealed when the analysis is confined to British citizens only. It is possible that Outmovers had more social support available to them before moving, but we cannot tell this from our data.

Table 6.5 Availability of social support

	Remainers (%)	Outmovers (%)	p	Odds Ratio ¹
Practical	66.7	88.0	<0.0001	3.692
Financial	54.3	83.8	<0.0001	4.460
Emotional	63.0	79.0	<0.0001	2.186
Minimum N	597	154		

¹Relative odds of Outmovers having social support available, controlling for age and gender of respondents in both groups.

Safety and trust in local area and people

We asked a series of questions relating to how much people trusted those who lived around them in the local area. The results are given in Table 6.6 and show that Outmovers perceived local people to be more reliable and trustworthy than Remainers did. Whether we are considering feeling safe walking at night-time in the local area, being able to rely upon neighbours to intervene to exercise informal social control, or local people to be honest, in all cases between two- and three-times as many Outmovers as Remainers reported these feelings of safety, reliance and honesty. This was also true when the comparison was made for British citizens alone. The lower levels of trust among Remainers are not explained by the presence of migrants, as there was no difference in the levels of trust between British citizens and others among the Remainers group.

Table 6.6 Trust: Safety, reliance and honesty

	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	

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Sense of community

Half the Outmovers (53%) felt that they had moved to an area where the ‘feeling of community’ was better than where they had lived previously. A third either felt the feeling of community was the same as where they were before or they didn’t know how the two compared. One-in-seven Outmovers (14%) felt they had moved to an area where the feeling of community was worse.

Again, there was an effect of distance. Whilst very few of those who moved within what they considered to be the same neighbourhood as before, or to an adjacent neighbourhood, felt the feeling of community was worse, far more (one-in-four) of those who moved a long way from their previous neighbourhood felt this – see table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Relative sense of community, by distance (column percentages)

Feeling of Community in New Location Compared with Old	New Location in Relation to Previous (%)		
	Part of Same Neighbourhood	Adjoining or Nearby Neighbourhood	A Long Way from Previous Neighbourhood
Worse	2.6	10.5	26.4
Same	38.5	35.1	26.4
Better	59.0	54.4	47.1
N	78	57	87

p<0.0001

We asked both sets of respondents to state how much they agreed with three statements about how they felt about their position within the neighbourhood and community, as follows:

Belonging: “I feel I belong to this neighbourhood.”

Inclusion: “I feel part of the community.”

Enjoyment: “I enjoy living here.”

We analysed the responses to these questions in four ways: (i) using all respondents in both groups; (ii) using only respondents who reported that they had lived in their homes for 5 years or less – in order to compare groups of similar length of residence (which may affect their sense of community) (iii) using only British citizens – in case migrants (a significant part of the Remainers group) were less positive about their belonging and inclusion due to difference and unfamiliarity; and (iv) using only British citizens who reported that they had lived in their homes for five years or less. The results of all four analyses are given in Tables 6.8 and 6.9.

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Generally, Outmovers had a stronger sense of community than Remainers on all three measures, the differences being greater when groups of similar length of residence are compared (apart from 'enjoyment' where the gap remains the same in both analyses). The largest difference between Outmovers and Remainers, and the most consistently statistically significant one, is for 'inclusion'. More Outmovers than Remainers said they felt 'part of the community', even though the former is the group who have moved to a new community.

Whilst the differences between the two study groups are larger when one looks only at those who had lived in their homes for similar lengths of time (five years or less), the differences are smaller when the analysis is restricted to British citizens only, though they still exist. Within the Remainers group, sense of community was higher (on all three measures) among British citizens than among others.

Table 6.8 Sense of community, all respondent groups

	All Respondents (%)			Lived in Home for Five Years or Less ¹ (%)		
	Remainers	Outmovers	p	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Belonging	59.6	73.2	<0.0001	51.4	73.2	<0.0001
Inclusion	54.3	69.2	<0.0001	44.4	69.2	<0.0001
Enjoyment	71.1	82.1	0.001	69.2	82.1	0.001
N	678	224		354	224	

¹ as reported by respondent

Table 6.9 Sense of community, British citizens only

	All Respondents (%)			Lived in Home for Five Years or Less ¹ (%)		
	Remainers	Outmovers	p	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Belonging	70.1	75.2	0.175	65.2	75.2	0.036
Inclusion	63.9	70.9	0.081	54.4	70.9	0.001
Enjoyment	75.4	83.0	0.031	75.2	83.0	0.064
N	431	206		161	206	

¹ as reported by respondent

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Sense of local empowerment

We would expect a strong sense of community and a positive view of one's surrounding community to be reflected in people's assessments of the degree of power they think their community can exercise. Table 6.10 shows that Outmovers generally thought that their local community was more empowered than did Remainers, particularly in relation to proactive forms of power. The same pattern was found in the analysis of the responses from British citizens alone.

Outmovers' perceptions of local empowerment did not increase with length of residence. Indeed, the contrary pattern was seen in relation to 'exercising influence over others taking decisions affecting the area': those who had been living in the area for up to 12 months perceived community influence to be higher.

Table 6.10 Local empowerment

% Agreeing	Remainers	Outmovers	p
On own or with others, can influence decisions affecting our local area	31.1	46.4	<0.0001
People in the area are able to find ways to improve things	31.3	63.4	<0.0001
Service providers respond to views of local people	37.5	57.1	<0.0001
N	678	224	

Discussion

At this stage in the process of change and re-creation of home and community life in Glasgow, our findings run counter to the narrative that says that restructuring processes that remove people from their pre-existing local social worlds is bad for them. It would seem that Outmovers are not adversely affected in social terms by the loss of their previous neighbours; rather, they seem indifferent to this. Despite moving away from neighbours, Outmovers had higher levels of social support available to them, suggesting that neighbours may not be the primary source of this support or that Outmovers can recreate support networks more readily than often assumed.

The findings indicate that Outmovers may have made efforts to embed themselves in their new locations and communities, even though they were not in a situation where everyone around them was a new resident. Moving may have spurred people to get to know their new neighbours and acquaintances. This would explain why we found sense of community to be stronger, and neighbourly behaviours to be more common among Outmovers than Remainers (even when looking only at British citizens).

The findings might also be a reflection of the poor environmental and social conditions in the Regeneration Areas from which Outmovers had come – helping to explain why Outmovers felt safer and more trusting in those around them than did Remainers, and why feelings of empowerment were stronger among Outmovers. Remainers views may also be affected by the presence of large numbers of migrants within these areas (just over a third of the Remainers sample, 36% are non-British citizens), causing them to be less positive about the social environment. The fact that migrants within the Remainers group have lower levels of neighbourly behaviours, lower levels of trust, and a lower sense of community than British citizens, may be both a consequence and a contributor to the less positive views of the British Remainers group (compared with the Outmovers). For a long time, Regeneration Areas have been subject to more turbulent social change and greater environmental deterioration than other parts of the city, so it is not surprising that, once in new locations that did not exhibit such extreme conditions (even though they were often quite near their old locations and still living in relatively deprived areas), Outmovers would have felt a greater confidence in the reliance and efficacy of the local community.

Health and Human Capital Outcomes

Health and Human Capital Outcomes

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Summary of findings

- Outmovers' general health was worse than that of Remainers, partly because there was a higher proportion of Outmovers than Remainers with a long-standing health condition, and partly because there was a higher proportion of non-British citizens, who tend to have better health, among Remainers.
- Outmovers were more likely to report long-term respiratory, cardiovascular, digestive and liver and kidney illness, and headaches than Remainers, and on average each Outmover had around twice as many long-term conditions in total.
- Most long-term conditions were reported to have become worse for both Remainers and Outmovers over the period studied.
- Outmovers were more likely than Remainers to have suffered short-term health problems (sleeplessness, migraines and headaches, palpitations or breathlessness, fainting or dizziness, chest pain, managing physical activities, persistent coughing).
- Outmovers generally reported better general health if they were satisfied with their new home. This was not specifically associated with the built form of the home, access to a garden or available space.
- Levels of smoking were generally high, but more Outmovers than Remainers smoked. However, Outmover smokers were more likely to be smoking less since their move than Remainers. Furthermore, Outmovers who intended to give up smoking had more immediate plans to do so.
- Outmovers were more likely to drink alcohol than Remainers. Moving appeared not to have influenced Outmovers' alcohol drinking behaviour.
- Only 40% of Remainers and Outmovers ate the recommended five or more portions of fruit and vegetables daily.
- Outmovers were significantly more likely than Remainers not to have walked anywhere for at least ten minutes in the past week, and also more likely not to have walked around their neighbourhood for twenty minutes in the past week.
- Two-in-five Outmovers had consulted their GP at some point in the previous year about a mental health condition (stress, anxiety or depression): double the rate for Remainers. Outmovers were also more than twice as likely as Remainers to have had a long-term mental health condition, but its severity was no more likely to have changed.
- Across four measures of mental health (Role Emotional, Mental Health, Vitality, Social Functioning), values were worse for Outmovers than Remainers.
- Outmovers had poorer mental wellbeing than Remainers. This was not statistically associated with their desire to move, or their control over the choice of their new home and neighbourhood. Nor was it associated with negative comparisons of their new with their old home, neighbourhood and community.

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- On average, Outmovers and Remainers with a long-term health condition had similar mental wellbeing scores, but, surprisingly, Outmovers with no long-term conditions scored significantly worse on this measure than did the equivalent Remainder group.
- Outmovers were far less likely to have received training or education in the previous year than were Remainers, although about one-in-five people in both groups had actively sought work during the same period.

Introduction

One of the ultimate aims of regeneration strategies is to improve the physical and mental health and wellbeing of residents. These outcomes can be measured in terms of self-reported aspects of health and also the behaviours and lifestyle components that are known to influence health positively and negatively. In this chapter, we examine some of these characteristics in the Remainder and Outmover samples and consider in further detail various aspects of the health of the Outmover group.

We would not necessarily expect improvements in health to become apparent immediately, or even in the short-term (in the case of the Outmovers, we are considering here the maximum period of three years between which interviews could have been carried out in the two Waves), or to happen simultaneously with the move. Indeed, there may be negative as well as positive consequences of moving, at least initially. Furthermore, we need to keep the possibilities for regeneration-led health improvements in perspective. Health in the round is an outcome that reflects a whole range of influences that act over a person's life course. Although relocation has the potential to have positive impacts on health, it is unlikely that moving, in and of itself, will over-ride the effects of a person's lifetime experiences.

An examination of the British-citizens-only suggests that, across many of the aspects measured, their health is more likely to be poor than among the non-British sample. In general, the patterns observed in the whole samples are also seen in the British-only samples. However, the differences between Remainers and Outmovers tend to be smaller in the British-only sample.

Regeneration also has as an objective the enhancement of human capital. In this chapter we consider whether moving out of a Regeneration Area facilitates job-seeking and involvement in training and education.

Physical and mental health

Although the majority of respondents reported that their general health was good, very good or excellent, the percentage was significantly lower for Outmovers (58% for all; 55% for British citizens) than for Remainers (75%; 65%). This difference may reflect the fact that 10 per cent more Outmovers than Remainers (or 4% more for British citizens only) said they had a long-standing illness, disability or infirmity (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Health status of Remainers and Outmovers, percentages

	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Self-rated health: good-excellent	75.4	58.0	<0.0001
Long-standing illness or disability	20.6	30.8	0.002
Any GP consultation in past 12 months	79.5	81.3	0.570
N	678	224	

We asked respondents whether they had experienced any of six specific long-term health conditions over the previous 12 months. Table 7.2 shows that Outmovers were more likely than Remainers to report having all but one of these conditions. Most strikingly, more than a third of Outmovers reported a long-term mental health problem (stress, anxiety or depression) compared with only one-in-seven Remainers. Likewise, higher proportions of Outmovers reported respiratory problems (11% more), headaches and migraines (10%), cardiovascular illness (8%), and digestive, liver and kidney complaints (5%). Only skin conditions and allergies were not as common among Outmovers (3% less; not significant). On average, Outmovers reported suffering twice as many of the conditions as did Remainers (mean: 0.99 vs. 0.47, respectively; $p < 0.0001$).

Table 7.2 Frequency of long-term health conditions, percentages

Condition	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Skin conditions and allergies	5.3	2.2	0.055
Breathing problems, asthma, bronchitis	9.1	19.6	<0.0001
Heart, high blood pressure, circulatory problems	8.4	15.6	0.002
Stomach, liver, kidney, digestive problems	4.0	8.9	0.004
Migraine or frequent headaches	6.5	17.0	<0.0001
Stress, anxiety or depression	14.0	35.3	<0.0001
Other health problems	7.4	7.6	0.915
No long-term health conditions	67.1	52.7	<0.0001
N	678	224	

We also asked respondents with a long-standing health condition whether it had improved, stayed the same or worsened over the previous two years. In most cases, the largest number of respondents of either group said their condition had 'stayed the same' over time. The only noticeable difference between the two groups was that more Outmovers than Remainers said that their digestive, kidney or liver condition had got worse over time (42% vs. 23%, $p = 0.036$).

Outmovers also tended to report short-term conditions (suffered in the past four weeks) significantly more frequently than did Remainers – see Table 7.3. It is notable that those conditions that might be affected by a respondent's psychological state yielded the greatest differences, with the biggest

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difference being in the prevalence of sleeplessness (11% more Outmovers), followed by migraines and headaches, and palpitations or breathlessness (9% each), fainting or dizziness (8%), chest pain and difficulty managing physical activities (7%).

Table 7.3 Frequency of short-term health conditions, percentages

Condition	Remainers	Outmovers	p
Sleeplessness	18.7	29.9	<0.0001
Palpitations or breathlessness	8.4	17.0	<0.0001
Sinus trouble or catarrh	2.2	2.2	0.986
Persistent coughing	3.7	8.0	0.008
Fainting/Dizziness	1.3	8.9	<0.0001
Chest pain	4.0	11.2	<0.0001
Difficulty walking, climbing stairs, carrying, managing physical tasks	11.1	17.9	0.008
Migraines or frequent headaches	9.6	18.8	<0.0001
Any other pain	6.3	7.6	0.516
No short-term health conditions	65.0	53.6	0.002
N	678	224	

Despite the greater prevalence of chronic and acute ill-health among the Outmovers, they were not any more likely to have seen their GP in the previous 12 months than were the Remainers: about four-in-five of respondents in both groups had at least one primary health care consultation over that period (Table 7.1).

Health and the new home

The finding that Outmovers were considerably less healthy than their Remainder counterparts – either mentally, or with respect to broad categories of conditions that are believed to be influenced by the quality of mental health – raises the question as to why this should be so.

There is weak evidence of a positive relationship between Outmovers' overall satisfaction with their new home and their self-assessed general health ($p=0.037$; percentages not shown). However, on examination of some aspects of the new home that might influence general health, it was evident that neither the built form of the new home, access to a garden (either their own or a shared one), nor the relative amount of space in the new compared with the old home proved to be associated with the level of general health (Table 7.4). This may be because general health includes physical states, which are less likely than aspects of mental wellbeing to vary in the short term with residential circumstances.

Table 7.4 General health of Outmovers in their new home

Aspect of Home	Percentage Reporting Good–Excellent Health			p
	MSF (N=39)	Other Flat (N=169)	House (N=15)	
Built Form of New Home	65.0	58.3	31.3	0.064
Access to Garden	61.3	47.6	58.9	0.331
Space in New Compared with Old Home	55.4	51.0	55.0	0.874
	More (N=116)	About the Same (N=48)	Less (N=34)	

Health behaviours

The changes associated with moving home and neighbourhood may stimulate people’s aspirations to change aspects of their lifestyle, including those that affect health.

Smoking

Approximately three-in-five Outmovers were smokers – a particularly high proportion with respect to the Scottish average of 25.2 per cent³² – compared with just over one-third of Remainers (Table 7.5). For British citizens alone, the figures were about 50 per cent in the two groups.

Encouragingly, however, more Outmover smokers than Remainers reported that they had smoked less (and were less likely to report smoking more) than they did two years before (Table 7.5), suggesting that their change of circumstances may have prompted them to tackle their smoking habit.

Table 7.5 Changes in smoking habit over past two years, percentage

	Remainers (N)	Outmovers (N)	p
Currently smokes	35.3 (239)	57.6 (129)	<0.0001
<i>of whom:</i>			
Smokes more now	18.6	13.1	0.047
Smokes around the same now	62.3	56.6	
Smokes less now	19.1	30.3	
N*	215	122	

* excluding those smokers who refused to answer

³²Scottish Household Survey 2008

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About half of the smokers in each group intended to give up smoking at some point in the future but Outmovers with the intention to give up smoking were more likely than were Remainers to plan to do so within the next year (49.2% vs. 31.6%, respectively; $p=0.019$).

Drinking alcohol

Just over half of Outmovers drank alcohol, compared with less than half of Remainers (Table 7.6). This difference is statistically significant, but ceases to be so ($p=0.215$) if we consider only British citizens.

More drinkers than smokers reported that they had reduced their consumption over the past two years, but there was no significant difference between Outmovers and Remainers.

Table 7.6 Changes in alcohol drinking habit over past two years, percentage

	Remainers (n)	Outmovers (n)	p
Currently drinks	46.8 (317)	54.9 (123)	0.034
<i>of whom:</i>			
Drinks more now	3.4	0.0	0.343
Drinks around the same now	65.2	62.5	
Drinks less now	31.4	37.5	
N*	264	48	

* excluding those alcohol drinkers who refused to answer

Eating a healthy diet

The recommendation to eat at least five portions of fresh fruit and vegetables daily is widely known. At Wave 1 we found that many of the GoWell respondents did not appear to meet this criterion for a healthy diet. At Wave 2 we asked people in greater detail about the quantity and composition of their diet, recording how many portions of the following seven items they had eaten in the previous 24 hours: item of fruit as a snack, fruit as part of a meal, bowl of vegetable soup, bowl of salad, portions of vegetables with a meal, vegetable-based meal, glass of fruit juice. The portions were summed to derive the total amount of fruit and vegetables consumed (although any amount of fruit juice only counted as one portion).

Our figures suggest that a minority of Remainers and Outmovers – only two-in-five – consumed the recommended portions of fruit and vegetables, and there was no difference in the proportions of the two groups who were eating “five a day” (Table 7.7). While these figures are low, they are nevertheless strikingly higher than those for equivalently deprived areas of Scotland overall (9% of men and 16% of women in areas in the most deprived quintile of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation³³).

³³Scottish Health Survey 2008

Table 7.7 Consumed recommended number of portions of fruit and vegetables in previous 24 hours, percentage

	Remainers	Outmovers
0-4 Portions	59.6	62.1
5+ Portions	40.4	37.9
N	678	224

p=0.513

Physical activity

Walking is one of the most generally accessible forms of physical activity available. It can be undertaken for leisure, transport or for access to amenities (shops, schools, etc.). Walking is often a major contributor to a person's total moderate-intensity physical activity. The recommendation is for adults to do at least 30 minutes of moderate physical activity on at least 5 days per week as a means of preventing or ameliorating a range of physical and mental health conditions and to enhance their wellbeing. In Scotland, 39% of adults (45% of men and 33% of women) met these recommendations³⁴.

We asked Remainers and Outmovers to recall the number of days in the previous seven that they had walked (anywhere) for ten minutes or more at a time and the typical duration of these bouts of walking. This enables us to identify which residents may or may not have achieved the recommended amount of physical activity solely through walking.

A significantly lower proportion of Outmovers than Remainers (44% vs. 55%) stated that they had walked anywhere for at least 10 minutes at a time on five or more days of the previous seven. This is largely accounted for by the fact that Outmovers were more likely never to walk (21% of respondents) than were Remainers (15%). However, when we look at how many people walked for at least 30 minutes on five or more days in the previous seven (the recommended amount) we find no difference between Remainers and Outmovers: just over one quarter of residents in both groups managed this amount of walking (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8 Number of days walking for at least 10 or 30 minutes at a time in the last 7 days, percentage

	Remainers	Outmovers	P
5+ Days per Week of 10+ min	55.2	44.2	0.004
5+ Days per Week of 30+ min	26.0	26.3	0.910
N	678	224	

³⁴Scottish Health Survey 2008

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We also asked people how often in the previous week they had walked in their neighbourhood for at least 20 minutes (Table 7.9). A similar pattern emerges. Over a quarter of Remainders and Outmovers had walked in their neighbourhood for at least 20 minutes on each of the previous seven days. However, a significantly greater proportion of Outmovers than Remainders had not walked on any of the previous seven days (41% vs. 28%). This is partly because respondents with a long-term health condition, who made up a higher proportion of Outmovers than Remainders, were more likely never to walk than were their healthier counterparts.

Table 7.9 Number of days walking in the neighbourhood for at least 20 minutes in the last 7 days, percentage

	Remainders	Outmovers
0 Days per Week	27.6	40.9
1-6 Days per Week	43.5	32.4
7 Days per Week	28.9	26.7
N	678	224

p=0.001

Mental health and wellbeing

We asked our respondents to reflect on aspects of their mental health and wellbeing.

As a measure of poor mental health that respondents considered sufficiently serious a problem to warrant seeking help, we asked people whether they had spoken to their GP about a mental health problem in the previous 12 months. While around 20% of Remainders had sought help at some point during that period, almost twice as many Outmovers (38%) had done so ($p < 0.0001$).

As mentioned in the section on long-standing health conditions, a significantly higher proportion of Outmovers than Remainders (35% compared with 14%) stated that they had suffered from a prolonged period of stress, anxiety or depression in the previous 12 months. This may have been due to intrinsic differences between the type of people in the Remainder and Outmover samples, or might indicate detrimental effects of moving to a new home and neighbourhood. However, even if the move had initially negative consequences for mental health, we might expect people to recover over the longer-term as they settle in to their new environment. When we asked those respondents who had cited a long-term mental health condition how its severity had changed in the previous year, we found no difference in the proportions of responses among Remainders and Outmovers (Table 7.10): about one-in-seven said that their condition had improved, while 38% and 42%, respectively, stated their condition had become worse.

Table 7.10 Change in long-term mental health condition in past 12 months, percentage

	Remainers (N)	Outmovers (N)	p
Stress, anxiety or depression	14.0 (678)	35.3 (224)	<0.0001
<i>of whom:</i>			
Condition improved	14.7	14.3	0.884
Condition stayed the same	47.4	44.2	
Condition became worse	37.9	41.6	

A similar pattern of significantly worse mental health among Outmovers compared with Remainers also emerged when we asked people about four components of mental health evaluated for the previous four weeks, as measured by the scales of the SF-12® questionnaire³⁵: Role Emotional, which estimates how well people cope with daily tasks and activities in the face of possible mental health problems; Mental Health, which measures respondents' perceptions of their own recent state of mind; Vitality, which indicates how energised people feel; and Social Functioning, which addresses the effects of mental (but also physical) health problems on people's ability to maintain their perceived level and quality of social interactions with others (Table 7.11).

Table 7.11 SF-12 questions relating to aspects of mental health

SF-12 Scale	Question ¹
	During the past four weeks, how much of the time:
Role Emotional	1) Have you accomplished less than you would like as a results of any emotional problems, such as feeling depressed or anxious?
	2) Have you done work or other regular daily activities less carefully than usual as a result of any emotional problems, such as feeling depressed or anxious?
Mental Health	1) Have you felt calm and peaceful?
	2) Have you felt downhearted and depressed?
Vitality	Have you had a lot of energy?
Social Functioning	How much of the time has your physical health or emotional problems interfered with your social activities, like visiting friends or relatives?

¹Permissible answers (none of the time, a little of the time, some, most or all of the time) were converted to scores of 1 to 5, and summed where appropriate, and converted to values between 0 and 100, where higher values indicate better mental health.

In general, both groups exhibited relatively good recent mental health, as measured by the mean scores of each scale, which may range from 0 (worst) to 100 (best). These were high (>60) for all scales except Vitality (<40%) (Table 7.12). However, the mean scores of all four components were significantly lower among the Outmovers (by at least 7 points) than the Remainers.

³⁵12-item short-form health survey – see www.sf-36.org for more information.

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Table 7.12 Components of mental health (SF-12 scales), means

	Remainers (SD)	Outmovers (SD)	p
SF-12 Mental Health Scales			
Role Emotional	83.0 (26.83)	69.1 (33.75)	<0.0001
Mental Health	70.8 (23.97)	60.5 (14.36)	<0.0001
Vitality	39.5 (30.19)	31.0 (29.04)	<0.0001
Social Functioning	80.4 (30.12)	73.4 (30.56)	0.003
WEMWBS Wellbeing Scale	49.6 (10.77)	36.6 (10.66)	<0.0001
N	678	224	

In recent years it has become increasingly recognised that good mental wellbeing is not simply determined by the absence of negative factors (e.g. clinically recognised conditions), but by the presence of positive attributes. We can measure the latter using the Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale (WEMWBS)³⁶, which is derived from ordered responses to a set of 14 positively phrased statements (see Table 7.13) about hedonic (subjective happiness) and eudaimonic (effective psychological functioning) aspects of mental health³⁷.

Overall, the average WEMWBS score for Outmovers (mean=36.6, SD=10.66) was significantly lower than that of the Remainers (mean=49.6, SD=10.77) ($p < 0.0001$), and below the Scottish national average score of 50.7. The 13-point difference indicates considerably lower mental wellbeing among the Outmovers, and, in absolute terms, the score is firmly in the lower part of the possible range.

As Table 7.13 shows, each of the individual items contributed to the difference in WEMWBS scores between the two groups. For all 14 positive aspects of mental wellbeing, significantly more Remainers (44%-65%) than Outmovers (13%-34%) reported themselves as having attained that state 'often' or 'all of the time' over the last two weeks. Almost exactly the same patterns held true when we repeated this analysis for British citizens only in the two groups. The values for the Outmovers are all notably low. The largest differences in proportions between the groups were that around 5 times as many Remainers as Outmovers said they were mostly thinking clearly ('clarity') and able to make up their mind about things ('decision-making').

³⁶Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-Being Scale (WEMWBS) © NHS Health Scotland, University of Warwick and University of Edinburgh, 2006.

³⁷Responses are on a 5-point scale, from "none of the time" (1) to "all of the time" (5), which are summed to give an aggregate score between 14 and 70 across the 14 items.

Table 7.13 Components of the WEMWBS positive mental health scale, and percentages reporting being in that state “often” or “all of the time” over the past two weeks

Aspect	Item ¹	Percentage responding "often" or "all of the time"	
	Over the past two weeks...	Remainers	Outmovers
Optimism	I've been feeling optimistic about the future	54.9	20.5
Utility	I've been feeling useful	48.2	29.0
Relaxation	I've been feeling relaxed	48.2	24.1
Interest in Others	I've been feeling interested in other people	55.8	17.9
Vitality	I've had energy to spare	44.1	33.9
Coping	I've been dealing with problems well	59.3	14.3
Clarity	I've been thinking clearly	63.4	13.8
Self-Esteem	I've been feeling good about myself	61.5	21.0
Closeness	I've been feeling close to other people	59.0	21.0
Confidence	I've been feeling confident	60.3	16.5
Decision-Making	I've been able to make up my own mind about things	64.6	12.9
Love	I've been feeling loved	62.5	14.3
Interest in Things	I've been interested in new things	59.1	15.2
Cheer	I've been feeling cheerful	61.8	15.6

($p < 0.0001$, for all items except vitality, $p = 0.007$)

We looked at this difference between Remainers and Outmovers in greater detail, controlling simultaneously for the contribution of several socio-demographic factors: respondent gender and age group (16-24, 25-39, 40-54, 55-64, 65+ years), employment status (working, not working, or retired), citizenship (British citizen or not), long-standing illness (with or without), and the household type (adult, lone-parent family, two-parent family, older person). The difference between the Remainer and Outmover groups was confirmed in this analysis with the mean Outmover score being 13.1 points lower than that of the Remainers ($p < 0.0001$), after the significant sociodemographic factors were controlled for.

In addition, in both the Remainer and Outmover samples:

- Respondents' scores did not differ significantly between men and women, age group, British and non-British citizens, or between the household types
- Working and non-working people had lower wellbeing scores (by 2.8 and 4.9 points, respectively) than retired respondents ($p = 0.001$)
- Although there was no significant difference in the average wellbeing scores of those with or without a long-standing illness, surprisingly, Outmovers without a long-term condition had a 15-point lower wellbeing score than did Remainers who cited no such condition ($p < 0.0001$)
- There was no significant difference in the scores for the different household types.

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There are many possible influences specific to the circumstances and experiences of the Outmovers that might account for their generally lower level of mental wellbeing, and particularly of those without a long-standing health condition. We have investigated some of these, controlling for the significant characteristics described above. Although such analyses are unlikely to capture any temporary effects on wellbeing that may have happened immediately after the move, they do reflect the situation after Outmovers have been living in their new home for a while (up to three years by the time they were interviewed).

First, it is possible that Outmovers' wellbeing was affected by the degree of control they felt they had over aspects of their move. We asked this group of respondents whether, before moving, they had in any case wanted to move home or area. There was no evidence that residents' desire to move was associated with their subsequent wellbeing ($p=0.960$).

Likewise, the degree of choice people had in the area to which they moved or the new home, or the fixtures and fittings within the home had no significant effect on mental wellbeing ($p>0.188$). It is also worth noting at this point that the built form of the new home was not associated with differential average levels of wellbeing: people living in houses, low-rise and high-rise flats had similar WEMWBS scores.

Second, Outmovers' wellbeing might have been influenced by the degree to which they felt their new home, neighbourhood and community were an improvement on the old. However, comparisons of the WEMWBS scores of those who thought that these aspects were better or much better than the previous ones, with those who felt these aspects to be about the same, worse or much worse, did not suggest that an appreciation of improvement in such circumstances translated into gains in mental wellbeing ($p>0.266$).

Human capital: seeking to improve employability

Moving to a new home, neighbourhood and environment may prompt people to address other aspects of their lives in the hope of changing them for the better. There are high levels of unemployment in the GoWell communities, and one of the goals of regeneration is to enhance economic and human capital by boosting the number of people who are in work or who are receiving training or any other kind of education that would advance their work opportunities.

Considering only those respondents of working age, we asked whether they had actively looked for work or taken part in training or education at any time in the previous year. As Table 7.14 shows, a minority (one-in-five) of eligible adult Remainders and Outmovers had looked for a job during the year before they were interviewed. It should be noted that many respondents preferred not to answer this question at all.

There was, however, a very striking difference in the proportions of working-age Remainders and Outmovers who said they had received training or education: more than a quarter of Remainders compared with fewer than one-in-twenty Outmovers. This may partly be because a significantly lower proportion of Outmovers than Remainders with no long-standing illness had received training or education (3.0% vs 31.4%), while the proportions of Outmovers and Remainders with a long-standing illness were similarly very high (94.6% and 91.7%, respectively).

Table 7.14 Seeking to improve employability, working age respondents

	Remainders (N)	Outmovers (N)	p
Actively Sought Work in Past Year	19.7 (416)	19.6 (158)	0.980
Took Part in Training or Education in Past Year	27.4 (583)	3.7 (189)	<0.0001

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Discussion

Previous chapters have described generally improved residential, neighbourhood and community outcomes as a consequence of residents having moved out of their original Regeneration Area. However, the health status of Outmovers is in many respects worse than that of Remainers, with few signs of improvement following relocation. In particular, levels of mental health and wellbeing were considerably lower among the Outmover group than among Remainers; but general health and the prevalence of long- and short-term health conditions (especially those which might have a mental health association) were also worse for Outmovers.

Furthermore, whilst potentially deleterious health behaviours (smoking, drinking alcohol, poor diet, physical inactivity) were common among both groups of respondents, they were especially common among Outmovers. (This was true for smoking, drinking and inactivity). The only positive note here is that Outmover smokers showed more signs of reducing or quitting smoking than smokers in the Remainers group, perhaps indicating a positive effect of the new start represented by moving home.

We have not yet exhausted our investigations of the possible explanations for these health outcomes among Outmovers, but such striking inequalities, even within two broadly similar groups of residents, are a cause for considerable concern. It is possible that many of the health and human capital benefits of moving may only become apparent many years hence (particularly with respect to physical health conditions), and that the patterns described here represent temporary dips in the short-term before longer-term recovery and improvement takes place. Such trends will require close monitoring in subsequent waves of GoWell surveys.

Nevertheless, these negative patterns of health and wellbeing among Outmovers are not easy to interpret in the light of the psychosocial benefits of the new home, residential satisfaction, and positive neighbourhood and community evaluations described in earlier chapters. The links between these separate components of psychological wellbeing are not clear from the analyses presented here and warrant further attention, above all using longitudinal data from our Remainder and Outmover respondents.

The health and wellbeing results therefore present us with a conundrum that we cannot yet resolve. The greater proportion of people with long-term health conditions in the Outmover group may be at least partially explained by the low proportion of non-British citizens within this sample. We know that amongst the Remainers, non-British citizens (the majority of whom are asylum seekers and refugees) were less likely to report long-term illness than the British counterparts. The former group's relative scarcity in the Outmover sample may reflect a genuinely lower proportion of asylum seeker and refugee relocators, or may simply be a consequence of the inherently greater difficulty of tracing such households. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility that some differential selection has occurred during the clearance process, whereby those with a worse health status are more likely to be rehoused sooner, although relevant policy documents do not give any strong indication that this would be the case.

Furthermore, we also cannot tell at this stage to what extent our general observation of poorer health among Outmovers than Remainers may partly reflect any possible negative impacts of the clearance and relocation process itself. By expanding our longitudinal cohort of Outmovers at Wave 3, and by investigating the practices involved in the clearance process, we may in due course come closer to

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answering the questions of whether there is differential selection by health status within the clearance itself, and whether relocation impacts negatively (and/or temporarily) on residents' health.

Regeneration programmes aspire more broadly to build human capital through increasing skills and employability. We found no evidence that a change of home and neighbourhood had encouraged people to look for a job. Moreover, only a very small proportion of Outmovers either had the opportunity for further training and education, or took advantage of it where it was available. There is therefore an issue about whether relocation has in some way distanced people from education and training opportunities, either through availability or accessibility, which would run counter to some of the aims of regeneration.

Conclusions

Conclusions

We have explored the effects of relocation through regeneration by examining outcomes in the short-to medium-term for Outmovers (those who relocate) compared with Remainers (those who continue living in Regeneration Areas in the earlier phase of redevelopment). The study has produced several important findings.

First, the movement process itself does not seem to be as brutal as is often assumed in discussions of what is called ‘forced relocation’³⁸. Half the Outmovers wanted to move in any case before being relocated and significant numbers reported having choice about their new location and home, though sizeable proportions did not. The majority of Outmovers also considered that they had moved within a familiar area rather than a long way away. These ‘cushioning’ factors of choice and near-distance proved to be influential in Outmovers’ post-move satisfaction.

Residential outcomes for Outmovers compare favourably with those for Remainers, particularly in relation to some aspects of dwelling quality (pertaining to warmth, security and appearance), status-related psychosocial benefits from the home and area, neighbourhood environmental quality and reduced perceptions of anti-social behaviour problems. Most Outmovers also seem to have achieved a degree of ‘settlement’ in their new area within a short period of time (around 2 years), with the majority saying they would be happy to stay in the new location and very few wishing to return to their area of origin. It is worth remembering that the relocation process studied here aimed to move people to better quality accommodation (improved by GHA) than that in which they had previously been living.

There are, however, some less welcome residential outcomes from moving, mostly relating to costs. A significant number of Outmovers (45%) found the costs of moving itself problematic, despite the home and loss and disturbance payments available. Once in their new homes, Outmovers were more likely than Remainers to experience difficulties paying their rent and utility bills, perhaps because the costs are higher, reflecting the higher quality reported. We have no evidence that Outmovers are, or were, in worse financial circumstances than Remainers as an alternative explanation.

The other constraint on improvement of outcomes is that most Outmovers continue to live in deprived areas, with four-fifths of Outmovers living in areas within the two most deprived deciles in Scotland (though this is less than the 100% who did so beforehand). Thus, whilst perceived neighbourhood quality has improved, the reality is that relocation has not substantially changed the nature of the areas within which people live, although they are no longer living in the very ‘worst’ areas.

Our findings also shed new light on social outcomes for those relocated by regeneration. Many aspects of social connections and feeling part of the community appear more positive among Outmovers than Remainers, contrary to the notion that relocation results in social dislocation. Even when we restricted our analysis to British citizens, and only to people in the two groups who had lived in their area for similar periods of time, we still found sense of community to be higher among Outmovers than Remainers. Further, whilst moving alongside one’s neighbours may be better for people than not doing so, we interestingly found that many people who did not retain their closest neighbours after the move were in fact indifferent to this outcome; indeed, those people who ‘lost’ their neighbours through moving

³⁸The term ‘forced relocation’ is used in the literature in relation to the effects of state-led regeneration and redevelopment programmes for social housing areas. Examples of its use include studies of the Movement to Opportunity (MTO) Programme in the USA (e.g. see Geotz, E. (2002) ‘Forced relocation vs. voluntary mobility: the effects of dispersal programmes on households’, *Housing Studies*, 17:1, 107-123) and of the Dutch Big Cities Programme in The Netherlands (e.g. Doff, W. and Kleinhans, R. (2011) ‘Residential outcomes of forced relocation: lifting a veil on the corner of neighbourhood selection’, *Urban Studies*, 48:4, 661-680).

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have managed to establish new patterns of neighbouring that were more common than similar activities among Remainers. These findings suggest that Outmovers had responded positively to their new social environment and made efforts to embed themselves locally. But it must be the case that this relatively positive picture for Outmovers also reflects the relatively poor social environment which exists for Remainers within Regeneration areas.

Given the positive picture in terms of residential and social outcomes for Outmovers, our findings on health and human capital outcomes are surprising, and yet to be adequately explained. Outmovers appear to have worse health than Remainers, particularly mental health and wellbeing, and a number of potentially associated physical symptoms. Notably fewer Outmovers rate their own health as good. Our data suggest that the clearance process might have a tendency to move less healthy people first – which would make sense in terms of attempting to improve people's circumstances; however, we would need to investigate and substantiate this further through qualitative research with the policy-makers and practitioners involved. Further, we cannot yet tell the extent to which the prior health circumstances of Outmovers have changed over time and/or influenced other post-move outcomes. These are things we shall be better able to examine once we have a longitudinal cohort of Outmovers established within the study.

Health behaviours were also worse among Outmovers, with the only positive finding being that Outmover smokers showed a greater inclination to reduce or cease smoking sooner-rather-than-later than did smokers in the Remainder group. The more positive view of local environmental quality among Outmovers was not reflected in a greater propensity to walk locally. Thus, it seems that moving people to better residential circumstances and giving them to a degree a 'new start' does not on its own lead them to adjust towards more healthy lifestyles, nor spur them to seek employment as a route to 'betterment'. The potential benefits of linking relocation to additional behavioural support programmes therefore merit some consideration.

Our task within GoWell is to continue studying the impacts of regeneration upon Remainers and Outmovers in the future. There are some questions raised in these findings (e.g. whether relocation impacts negatively upon health and wellbeing) that we can only address once we have a larger, longitudinal cohort of Outmovers to examine. There is also the possibility that the balance of outcomes between the Remainder and Outmover groups may change in the future. For Remainers, regeneration programmes should have more impact upon origin locations over time, with the potential to improve outcomes for this group.

On the other hand, future cohorts of Outmovers could be different to those we have studied here (possibly with more older age groups moving), and relocation itself could take longer to achieve and with less choice available as vacant property supply reduces. These things might produce slightly less positive outcomes for Outmovers. The regeneration programme, then, does not stay the same over time and there may be periods which exhibit different balances of effects and outcomes.

We also need to study the process of clearance and relocation more closely from two perspectives. From the perspective of practitioners, we will be interested to examine how housing officers implement clearance strategies and policies; to see how responsive and flexible they can be in meeting movers' needs; and to identify those factors that make relocating people easier or harder. From the residents' perspective, we wish to find out what influences their views of the prospect and process of relocation and how their views change over time both before and after the move, since it is probably false to assume that residents hold a fixed view of such things; their perspectives may be altered by changes both within the clearance process itself and by how the process of relocation intersects with changes in residents' personal lives. Relocation is of course both a regeneration component and an important life event.

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