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Can't leave, won't leave.
A study of households' responses to housing stress in a pressured area.

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates that constraints on displacement as a consequence of gentrification can be complex. It suggests that some of the barriers to leaving an area that households face have been under-emphasised in previous research. It analyses the behaviour of households dealing with housing stress in a Scottish local authority area, East Lothian. This is a 'pressured area,' as defined by the Scottish government, where the 'Right to Buy' council houses has been suspended in most parts because of lack of affordable housing.

The thesis uses qualitative methods to examine in depth how households respond to housing problems when their options for solving them are restricted. It investigates first, the kinds of problems that they face. These include unsustainable housing costs, overcrowding, antisocial behaviour and poorly maintained or unsuitable houses. Their attempts to improve their housing are then shown. The households are asked why they think they have been unable, so far, to solve their accommodation problems. They describe the housing market in East Lothian and they explain how they think it has impacted on their housing aspirations and choices.

Gentrification theory predicts that, usually, pressured households will move to lower housing cost areas to meet their housing needs. In this study, the majority of the participants were resisting displacement. Their reasons for resistance are analysed and it is proposed that the role of 'place attachment' in holding back displacement has been under-emphasised in previous research. It is suggested moreover that households may be reluctant to leave because they believe that the government and local authorities have a duty to provide affordable housing in their own area, and expect them to do so.

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Acknowledgements

Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signed:

Michael Lloyd

Chapter 1 - Introduction

> "Similar to well performing shares on the stock market, good quality East Lothian property has always had more demand than supply. The reasons ... include better than average local schools, world renowned golf courses, beautiful coastline and countryside, excellent leisure amenities and catering, good infrastructure and a better than average climate/rainfall rate."
> (Article in, 'East Lothian Life,' spring 2010, p.11)

> "Ah've been all over the shop and I never felt at home until I came home, had a bag of chips, from Johnny's went to the Goth and had a pint and stood on the beach and smelled the salt ...and that's when I knew I was home." [1]
> (Mr I, (40), council tenant, Prestonpans)

1.1 The origins and aims of this study

This study analyses the behaviour of a group of households who were struggling to find a suitable home in their area because of rising housing costs. It shows how they weighed up their options and that most rejected the alternative of moving somewhere cheaper.

A qualitative research project, it was conducted in the Scottish local authority of East Lothian where prior quantitative research had identified a gap between need and the supply of affordable housing. (Tribal HCH, 2005, 2008, 2011)

The fieldwork was carried out over an eighteen month period, from mid 2009 to late 2010. Thirty-two households were questioned about their housing needs and their reasons for being unable to meet them.

1.1.1 A pressured area

East Lothian is a popular area to live in, but it is not always an easy place for some households to find suitable housing. 1,196 households applied to the local authority for homelessness assistance in 2009/10, an average of more than three every day.[2] During the fieldwork almost 5000 people were waiting to be housed by East Lothian Council (out of a

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[1] This quote can be read in context on p.205

[2] These dates coincide with the fieldwork for this project. In 2010/11 the figure was 1,193. (ELC 2012/3)

population of over 97,500)[3], yet only around 300 new lets were being made each year. As will be shown in Chapter 2, East Lothian has some of the most expensive private housing in Scotland and amongst the longest queues for council housing. The council's housing stock had shrunk from just over 18,000 units in 1980 to roughly 8,000 at the time of this study's fieldwork, although local Housing Associations held a further 2000 units. (Tribal HCH, 2005)

This is one of the few local authority areas to have been granted Pressured Area Status (PAS) by the Scottish government, in 2011. PAS limits the right of social tenants to buy their homes. At the time it was awarded, councils were exempted if judged to be in housing stress[4] by the Scottish government. East Lothian's PAS application was supported by statistical evidence, drawn from housing need and demand analysis conducted by Tribal HCH, (2005, 2008, 2011).

1.1.2 Looking beyond the figures

Quantitative research had demonstrated the extent and type of housing need in East Lothian. The snapshot these studies produced, whilst credible, was taken from a statistical viewpoint. The figures provided answers to the *'which?'* and *'how many?'* questions about households, but *'how did this happen to them?'* could be shown only in aggregate. Supply and demand imbalances could be demonstrated, or the lack of affordable housing, but not the reactions of households whose housing options had been restricted by rising prices.

This prior research, along with other indicators (such as the high level of homelessness presentations) suggested that the impact on households required investigation. How were affected households coping? Were they tolerating worsening housing conditions or were they being squeezed out of East Lothian because of increasing housing costs? It seemed the best way of answering these questions would be to consider affordability issues from the perspective of the lived experience of individual households. Quantitative research had focussed on predicting need according to normative standards. The policy-makers did not

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[3] This figure has not dropped much since. At 08.41 on 26.02.14 the figure was 4,512 (ELC, 2014)

[4] The use of the terms 'need' and 'stress' is explained in Ch 2 and ELC's stressed housing market is analysed, in section 2.2.4

set out to assess the 'felt' need[5] of lower income households, so they were not given a voice in the research studies. To understand their aspirations and frustrations, the households' *own* perceptions of their needs needed to be investigated.

Some evidence about their views already existed, albeit sketchy and incomplete. A report evaluating an East Lothian Council pilot project called 'Homeseeker,' offered clues. (ELC, 2004) The Homeseeker project had been set up to give housing options advice, because of the shortage of social housing in the area. The project report showed that many of the households interviewed considered that they had restricted housing choices. Recurrent themes during housing options interviews included the un-affordability of housing in the private sector and the unavailability of cheaper public sector accommodation. Interviewees blamed their predicaments on a variety of causes, including the 'yuppification' of East Lothian, the greed of developers and the failure of the Council and the Scottish government to build adequate amounts of social housing. The project report showed that officers sometimes struggled to suggest any housing options that their clients had not yet tried.

'Homeseeker' housing options interviews were comprehensive, but they did not seek to investigate the wider social issues that might have generated the household's problems. They were designed to offer advice about specific problems according to preset criteria. They did show however, that as these individuals and households journeyed through their housing careers, some had made unfortunate choices or simply been unlucky, which may have reduced their housing opportunities. Life events such as divorce, illness, disability and unemployment had all restricted their housing options. An unfortunate combination of events could leave households with very few, often unpalatable, choices.

Housing problems were not confined though, to those that had suffered setbacks. Households could find themselves struggling to cope for a variety of reasons, of which the most significant was their lack of financial resources. The quantitative research had highlighted an undersupply of affordable housing in the area. Researchers identified two main causes for this; high private sector housing prices and an emptying pool of public-

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[5] The difference between 'normative' need as judged by policy-makers and 'felt' need is explored in Chapter 2

sector housing. East Lothian Council (ELC 2004, 2012) viewed this combination as restricting the housing options of households with low incomes. By analysing the behaviour of these struggling households, by showing how they understood the housing market and by examining the choices they made the impact of local affordable housing shortages could be shown.

1.1.3 Gentrification and the East Lothian housing market

As well as the households' behaviour, the drivers of rising housing costs required further analysis. Migration figures suggested that East Lothian was a popular destination for households from Edinburgh, especially at certain life stages such as starting a family. The figures showed as well, that in-migrants had higher incomes on average than the indigenous population. The east of the local authority had seen an increase in up-market renovation and repair of former farm buildings, which sold at premium prices to wealthy buyers. Could it be that gentrification was taking place and if so, what was its relationship to the pressured housing market? The idea that gentrification might have played a role in raising prices had not been considered in previous research. The extent to which (and the means by which) it may have been a factor in exacerbating housing stress, by pushing up costs, needed to be understood. This issue is considered further, in Chapter 3 (3.10).

1.1.4 Displacement pressures and resistance

If gentrification was occurring as seemed likely, then its consequences required investigation. Classic gentrification theoreticians like Glass (1964), Smith (1979) and Ley (1986), believed displacement to be an inevitable outcome of gentrification; housing costs rise and the poor leave the gentrifying area. There is a lively academic debate about whether and to what extent displacement happens. The conditions for it to occur appeared to exist in East Lothian. This study offered an opportunity to discover whether households in difficult circumstances had considered solving their problems by leaving East Lothian.

Qualitative studies of displacement elsewhere suggested it was unlikely that a household's decision to go or stay would rest on a simple economic calculation. The work of Lyons (1996) for instance, looking at the displacement pressures faced by poorer households in

inner city London, had shown that other considerations can be uppermost, such as the benefit of kinship support.

As it transpired, the majority of the households interviewed for this research were found to be resisting displacement and their explanations for that resistance suggested a wider than anticipated range of reasons for wanting to stay. Many were prepared to tolerate increased housing stress rather than abandon their 'home' territory. Most considered that migration would not improve their housing opportunities, sufficiently. Place attachment was intense amongst households that had put down deep roots across generations. For them, migration was seen as a last resort. Other explanations for displacement resistance emerged during the research. Amongst these was a sense of entitlement. Households were reluctant to leave because they believed they had a right to expect the 'authorities' to help them solve their problems.

1.1.5 Summary and study approach

In summary then, this study seeks to add to knowledge about gentrification by showing how, and why, households that might have been expected to be displaced from an area where housing costs were being influenced by gentrification, resisted moving. As well it sets out to refine understanding of housing affordability and need by offering a holistic and detailed analysis of how a particular group of stressed households behaved in an area of housing pressure, East Lothian. It suggests that the impact of place attachment and a sense of entitlement to decent housing have been underestimated, as reasons why households do not leave despite facing severe housing stress.

These matters are considered as follows. The literature concerning affordability is discussed in Chapter 2, which also analyses how 'unaffordable' housing is, in East Lothian. Chapter 3 considers competing explanations for the causes of gentrification and its effects. It sets these explanations into the context of evidence for gentrification in East Lothian. Chapter 4 weaves the themes of the literature about affordability and gentrification into the research questions to be pursued. Following on, Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are devoted to the exposition and analysis of the views of the participant households. The present chapter

concludes by profiling the research area, considering its topography and social and economic indicators.

1.2 About East Lothian

1.2.1 Administration.

East Lothian is a Scottish local authority of some 97,500 inhabitants (ELC 2012) which lies to the east of Edinburgh. It is adjacent to Midlothian and the Scottish Borders, as well as the capital. The area became an unitary authority at the local government re-organisation of 1996, previously having been administered as East Lothian District Council within Lothian Region. Before 1974, it was a county council, and many towns within it had their own burgh councils. East Lothian is still referred to as a county by many long-term residents.

1.2.2 Topography and population distribution

Geographically the area forms a lozenge-shaped quadrilateral about forty miles from west to east and about thirty from north to south. It is bounded by the sea on the two northern sides and to the south it ends in hilltop moorlands. The majority of the population lives along the transport corridor represented by the A1 trunk road and the main Edinburgh to London railway line. With the exception of the town of North Berwick, settlement is sparse away from this corridor and scattered amidst the countryside. There are many small communities on the coastal plain, where farming is intensive. As well, some hill villages sit on the edge of the moorland.

There are six main towns, Musselburgh, Tranent, Prestonpans, Haddington, North Berwick and Dunbar. The largest town Musselburgh, at the western end of the authority, has a population of about 21,000 (ELC 2012) and a built-up area that merges with suburban Edinburgh. The other five towns are quite evenly spaced across the authority, from Tranent, close to Musselburgh, in the west, to Dunbar at the north-east corner.
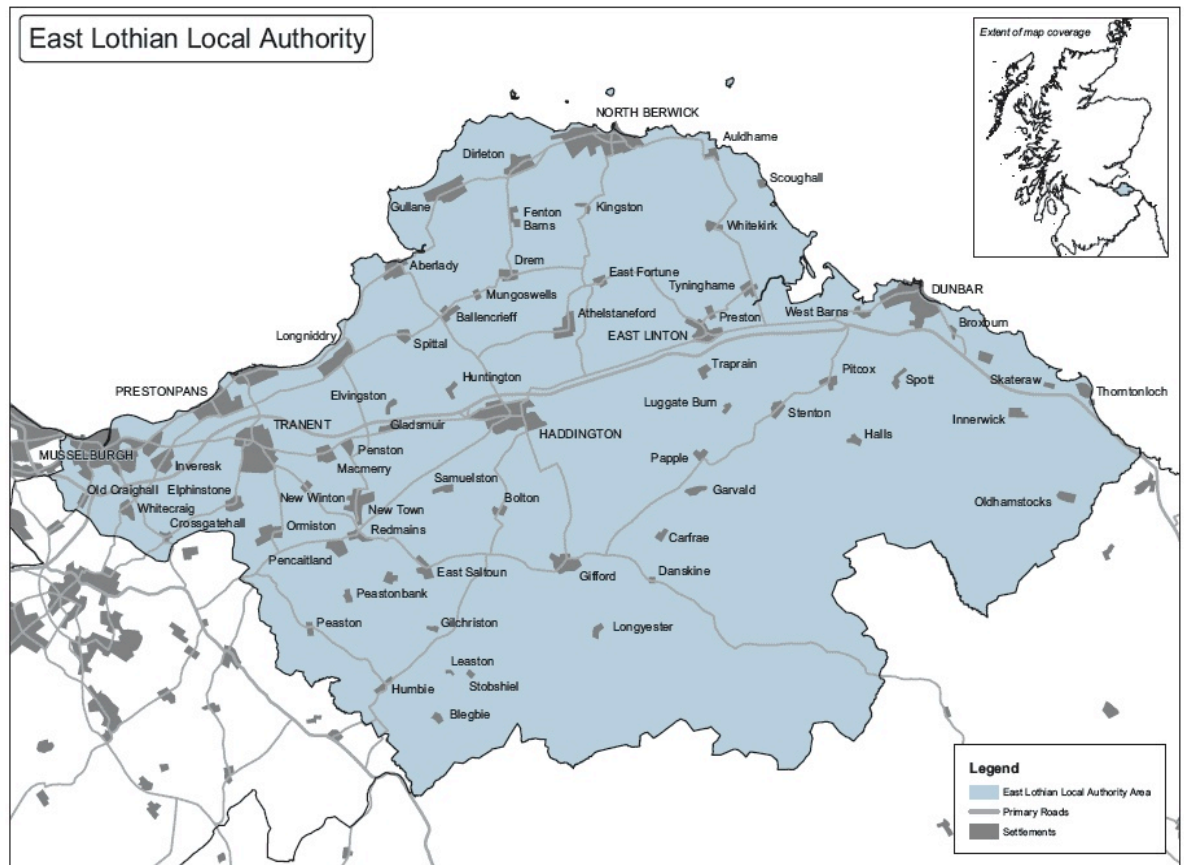
Fig. 1 East Lothian Local Authority Area (Source: Scottish Government)

1.2.3 Industry and Agriculture

Prior to 1974 and the incorporation of Musselburgh into East Lothian District Council, the economy of East Lothian was driven primarily by agriculture, with significant fishing from ports along the northern coast as well as some coal mining. A large power station was built during the 1960s, between Prestonpans and Port Seton on the northern coast, originally to use local coal. Musselburgh's incorporation into East Lothian in 1974 added heavy industry, especially along the River Esk, where a variety of factories milled cloth. A wireworks and foundry had been built on the riverside as well, and had established an international reputation; it provided cables for the Forth Road Bridge. These industries employed several thousand workers at their height. The current employment situation is very different. Most of the Musselburgh mills have closed, as has the wireworks. Smaller-scale light industries have taken their place and employ fewer people. The mines have been shut and fishing is much reduced, with only a small quantity of inshore boats harboured in the easterly towns. Some large-scale new industry has developed, including a cement works and a waste management facility near Dunbar, as well as Torness nuclear power

station at the extreme eastern edge of East Lothian. Between them, these employ more than 250 people.

1.2.4 Population change

Compared with Scotland as a whole, East Lothian has seen a significant growth in population. Although it dipped in the mid 1950s and remained static for much of the next two decades, it began climbing steadily from 80,715 (GROS) in 1983, to an estimate of 97,500 (ELC, 2012) in 2012. According to local authority figures, population growth accelerated between 2000 and 2010, with an 8.4% increase, compared to 3.1% for Scotland, nationally (ELC, 2012), making it the third fastest growing authority area in Scotland during this period. This trend is predicted to continue with an annual rate of change in East Lothian from 2008 until 2033 of 1.3%, compared to 0.3% nationally. That implies that the local population will have grown by more than a third by 2033, as against growth of 7.3% for Scotland generally. (ELC, 2012)

1.2.5 Summary - the study area

East Lothian is one of the smallest local authority areas in Scotland but its population is growing faster than most. It has seen many changes to its social composition in the past fifty years and these are discussed in Chapter 3, below. One of the most significant developments is the rise in the number of incomers, who use the East Lothian's good transport links to their employment in Edinburgh, whilst enjoying the amenity of this semi-rural area. These immigrants have arrived concurrently with the decline in employment in the traditional industries of East Lothian, farming, fishing, mining and metalworking.

Conclusion

It has been shown that East Lothian is a pressured area, where certain low income households are suffering from housing stress. Exactly what 'stress' means will be discussed later (p.25), but key components are whether households can afford their housing and meet

their needs.[6] Ways of measuring this are described in the next chapter, which also analyses the evidence for affordability problems in East Lothian.

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[6] As well, "Housing Stress" singular, used in a technical sense, needs to be distinguished from what households saw as their particular 'stresses'. See p.25 for further discussion.

Chapter 2 - Housing need and affordability

This chapter considers the meanings given to the terms 'affordability' and 'need' and the ways in which they have been measured by researchers, both academic and in government. It will be shown that the terms have developed usages that diverge from the perceptions of their housing 'needs' felt by many households, including the study participants. On an individual household level, affordability is one of the needs-related questions that it must answer when seeking housing. Simply put, it is one of the barriers a household faces, when attempting to meet its housing need.

The academic literature rarely considers affordability and need from an individual household's perspective. These ideas are discussed usually at an aggregate level. The academic debate has centred around ways of developing effective methods for measuring affordability and need. Government policy makers have developed their own definitions of these concepts, to help them implement policy. Governments and academic researchers often work together, since governments seek guidance about where they should intervene to assist households' housing aspirations (Bone & O'Reilly 2010) and academics devise methods for doing so.

Within the research community then, the words 'affordability' and 'need' have specific, technical meanings. Specifying these meanings reduces their ambiguity. Individual households for example, may assess their 'need' in terms of their housing aspirations, which can lead to them being 'under' or 'over' housed judged by technical 'need' criteria, an issue discussed further below (2.2). These technical meanings need to be defined, in order to understand what they measure as well as to distinguish them from everyday usage by non-specialists. Bradshaw (1972) has classified four types of need, which are:

- *normative need* - as defined by a standard set by an academic or a policy maker. This compares a predetermined 'desirable' standard of need against the standard that actually exists.
- *felt need* - this is the idea of need that would be understood by individual households and expresses their wants and desires.

- *expressed* need - can be shown by the demand demonstrated, for example, by the length of housing waiting lists.
- *comparative* need - this shows the level of need of one group of households with certain characteristics, whose needs have been met, contrasted with a second group with similar characteristics whose needs have not been met.

Households generally express 'felt' need, whilst policy makers focus on the other three types, especially 'normative' need. Methodologies for assessing normative need have evolved over more than a century. Because governments use the concept of need to help determine public policy, they too focus on 'comparative' and 'expressed' need, to help them predict the demand for housing or to meet a current need, such as providing homes for key workers.

There are methodological debates about the best means of measuring both affordability and need. The affordability debate centres on the competing claims of various models for assessing affordability, in particular the 'ratio' and 'residual income' models. (Stone (2005); Wilcox (1999); Chaplin & Freeman (1999); Whitehead (1991)). In the debates about need, the discussion has focussed on ways of setting standards, especially about the elements of need that should be included in calculations and how it can be determined that need has been satisfied. For example, Leishman and Rowley (2009) question whether a household's needs are satisfied, simply because its bricks and mortar requirements are met.

In reviewing the literature, the approach taken in this chapter is to begin by considering the origins and history of the concepts of affordability and need and then to examine the issues that emerge when attempting to define those concepts. Next, the measurement models of first affordability and then housing need will be explored. Following this survey of meanings and measures, the literature about affordability issues within the context of the UK housing market will be discussed. Finally, the literature related to affordability and need in the study area of East Lothian will be reviewed. This research, primarily quantitative, was conducted on behalf of a group of local authorities in south-eastern Scotland by Tribal HCH consultants (2005, 2008, 2011). East Lothian Council

itself has commissioned academic studies on aspects of housing affordability and need in the past two decades, as well as carrying out small-scale research using its own staff.

2.1 The concept and calculation of 'affordability'

2.1.1 The history of the concept

Hulchanski (1995) traces the history of the idea of housing affordability. He suggests that whilst many of its assumptions originate with the German statisticians Ernst Engel and Herman Swabe, who formulated 'laws' about the relationship between income and housing expenditure in the 19th century, subsequent development and use of the idea of an affordability 'ratio' has been largely government led. The earliest debates about the conceptual problems of affordability raised issues that are still pertinent today.

> "What should be included in 'housing' costs: cash rent, some or all utilities, maintenance, furnishings? What is meant by 'income': gross or net, one or all adults' income, children's income if any? What about sharp temporary fluctuations in income and non-cash sources of goods and services, which would otherwise have required expenditure of cash income? What about income from roomers, if any?" (Hulchanski, (1995), p.474)

Over the last 150 years, these questions have been answered in a variety of ways. The methodology that has come to dominate public policy makers' discourse on affordability is the so-called 'ratio,' by which spending on housing is compared to household income. This suggests that affordability can be measured by determining the percentage of income that should be available to spend on housing. Although Hulchanski traces the concept's origins to Engel and Swabe he acknowledges that it may have its roots in folklore. Hulchanski quotes an adage common amongst working men at the end of the 19th century in the United States that, 'One week's work for one month's rent,' is what the 'average' household 'ought' to be spending on housing. He describes this as unscientific and without theoretical or observational basis - a 'rule of thumb.' He asks if such ratios can be valid and reliable and whether the, "'rule' actually measure(s) what its users claim it is measuring." (p.472)

Hulchanski is sceptical about usage by governments of ratios, such as 20 or 30 per cent of income spent on housing, to show whether it is affordable for a household:

> "...*(they)* are based on not much more than grossly generalised assumptions about the amount that average households tend to or ought to pay for housing (the distinction is rarely made clear) without ever specifying which households are being averaged or how the normative 'ought' statement was derived." (p.475)

2.1.2 How robust is the ratio method?

One of the staunchest critics of the ratio method is Michael Stone. In a 2005 paper, in which he builds a case for an alternative 'Residual Income' (RI) approach, he states that any affordability standard should have, "some independent logical or theoretical basis against which households' actual circumstances can be measured." (p.157) He agrees with Hulchanski that the concept underpinning the ratio method, that every household sets aside a fixed percentage of its income on housing, is fundamentally flawed.

Stone suggests that taken to its logical conclusion, the idea of a ratio is absurd, "...the lower the income of a household, the lower amount it requires for non-shelter needs, with no minimum whatsoever..." (pp.162-163) In other words, by failing to take account of the actual level of a household's income, the ratio does not explain how a household with a very low income can expect to pay its housing costs, whatever percentage of its income is spent on housing. In addition the calculation takes no account of the households' expenditure. It is likely that a large household will pay more for its non-housing needs than a small one. For example, even if it is paying only 30% of its income in housing costs, the remaining 70% may not be sufficient to cover a household's other requirements, such as heating, food, clothing and so on.

Consider two households, both with an income of £1500 a month and housing costs of £500 a month. Household 'A' consists of a couple with no children, in a well-insulted house with low heating and travel to work costs. Household 'B' lives in a hard to heat house and faces an expensive commute to work. There are three children in this household; one of them has a disability, requiring expensive care. The ratio approach proposes that both households can afford to pay, say, 33% of their income on housing,

even though the housing costs of couple 'B' will be considerably less manageable than those of couple 'A'.

If Household 'C' is then considered, which has an income equivalent to households 'A' and 'B' combined, a further flaw in the ratio system is exposed. Once 33% of household 'C's' income is spent on housing, much more may be left over for its other needs than would be available to households 'A' or 'B.' Whether that amount is adequate will of course, still depend on the composition and circumstances of the 'C' household.

In practice, the ratio method can be applied with more subtlety. Adjustments can be made for the circumstances of groups of households. For instance, affordability ratio calculations may exclude high earning families. In Australia, variations of the ratio method have been used, particularly the so-called 30/40 rule, whereby the 30% ratio is applied only to the bottom 40% of earners. A further variation excludes the bottom ten per cent as well, giving a 30/10-40 ratio. (Nepal, Tanton & Harding, 2010)[1]

Despite such refinements, many commentators still criticise the ratio method. The authors of a paper for the London Research Centre (1996) suggest that it is fundamentally flawed, because, "...it is not possible to identify a threshold value which can be used as a basis for identifying excessive housing costs or inadequate residual income." (p.10)

Chaplin and Freeman (1999) summarise the failings of the ratio approach under three headings:

- It ignores specific levels of housing and non housing expenditure
- It takes no account of - often diverse - household types and circumstances
- It does not consider regional variations in housing and non housing costs (p.1950)

A further consideration, when considering the affordability ratio, is how sustainable housing costs are. The ability to meet them fluctuates in most households according to

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[1] The bottom ten percent is dropped, according to Nepal et al. (2010), "due to the concerns that the reported incomes of the bottom ten per cent do not always accurately reflect their living standards." (p 214)

changing circumstances. Jewkes and Delgadillo (2010), for example, criticise the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development for using only the current income of the household to calculate the affordability ratio. They consider it would be more appropriate to consider income over the lifetime of the household. They suggest many reasons why households' incomes are not constant. An earner may be forced into a lower paid job or made unemployed. S/he may wish to go back into education, reducing their income. Utilities costs may rise above inflation. Other inflationary pressures such as fuel prices could be added; likewise mortgage and rental cost fluctuations. Jewkes and Delgadillo agree with Bogdon and Can (1997) that, "It makes more sense from a policy perspective to use permanent income to show long-term affordability rather than affordability at a given point in time." (Jewkes and Delgadillo, 2010)

2.1.3 Alternatives to the ratio - residual income

Rather than judging affordability as a fixed percentage of household income, Stone's (2005) RI model allows "...a sliding scale of housing affordability with the maximum affordable amount and fraction of income varying with household size, type and income," to emerge (p.164). This method acknowledges that for most households housing costs are the largest and most inflexible item of their expenditure. So, affordability problems begin when a household cannot purchase non-housing essentials after paying their housing costs. Stone claims that his RI methodology takes into account the varied composition of households.

Applying the residual approach to our earlier example, of households 'A' and 'B,' a simple calculation of affordability would determine *not* whether they spend 33% of their income on housing, but what proportion they have left to spend on housing, after their other essentials have been paid for. This would show clearly, that the proportion of income available for housing is much less for household 'B' than household 'A,' even though they have the same income.

2.1.4 Setting a standard

When making RI calculations in particular, a standardised method of assessing affordability needs to be determined. Kutty (2005) and Stone (2006) have attempted to develop affordability measurement techniques, following decades of debate about suitable measures for affordability standards. The requirement to set criteria had been discussed for example by writers such as Bramley (1990, 1994) and Hancock (1993). Hancock agreed with Bramley's view that affordability should be determined by a societal consensus, restricting housing costs to, "...a net rent which leaves them enough income to live on, without falling below some poverty standard." (Bramley (1990) p.16, quoted in Hancock (1993), p.129) Whitehead (1991) suggested that: "Suitable definitions for what is adequate must be developed." (p.872) She emphasised that the idea of setting a standard is problematic however, because of the requirement to determine what is 'reasonable.' She said that there has to be an objective measure of this, "... in the eyes of a third party."

Stone and Kutty proposed that affordability should be measured against, "a conservative, socially defined minimum standard of adequacy for non-housing items." They suggest that a method of calculating living costs has to be devised, that is acceptable to a broad range of researchers, from academics to policy-makers. In a 2006 paper, Stone attempts one for the UK, by devising a "Shelter Poverty scale," (p.460), which takes into account five elements:

- Definition of Shelter Cost
- Definition of Income
- Specification of standard for Non-Shelter items for prototypical household types
- Specification of Equivalence Scales for other household types
- Computation of Maximum Affordable Shelter Cost as a function of income and household type. (p.480)

Stone recognises that the robustness of this calculation will rest on the adequacy of his definitions and in his income definition for example, he tries to include all likely eventualities.

"Disposable weekly household income has been defined as follows: cash income from all sources, including all state benefits and tax credits other than Housing Benefit and Council Tax Benefit, net of personal taxes and social insurance contributions. Note that Housing Benefit[2] and Council Tax Benefit are not part of the definition of income because the definition of 'shelter cost' is net of these benefits. Since Housing Benefit is paid on behalf of an eligible tenant, is not fungible and cannot exceed the amount of the rent; it is logically a housing subsidy not an income supplement..." (p. 463)

Kutty took a similar approach to defining household needs in a paper the previous year (2005), in which she refined ideas drawn from Stone's earlier research into 'Shelter Poverty.' She focused on the relationship between poverty and affordability, using figures derived from the US government's official poverty line statistics. Like Stone, she emphasised that it is impossible to judge a household's ability to afford housing purely in terms of income, and said that it should be measured instead by the relationship between its income and its needs. She compared methods of measuring household needs and concluded that affordability is lacking for the very poor, on the basis of most measures, whatever the ratio of their income to housing expenditure. She believed as well that housing could induce poverty, since it is an inflexible need for most households.

2.1.5 The debates about the value of the ratio and residual income models

The Residual Income method has been criticised by some researchers. Mulliner, Smallbone and Maliene (2012) suggest that whilst it may adjust affordability according to overall income availability, it shares some shortcomings of the ratio method in that, for example, it does not take account of either the quality or location of the housing itself. Bogdan and Can (2007) criticise Stone's approach to shelter poverty, saying that the statistics on which it is calculated are flawed. Despite criticism the RI method, or variations of it, are generally accepted amongst academic researchers as being less flawed than the ratio calculation (Kutty 2005). RI has not found widespread acceptance amongst policy makers however; they continue to favour the ratio method. The ratio remains the dominant affordability measurement tool amongst policy-makers. The

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[2] See further discussion about Benefits and affordability at 2.4.4 below and in Chapter 6 (6.2.2)

Scottish government for instance, recommends assessing housing costs by the ratio of price or rent to household income.

Stone (2005) questions why the RI method has not found more favour with governments, given that most commentators acknowledge its superiority. He thinks this is due in part to it not being well known, particularly by bureaucrats. He acknowledges furthermore, that it could require housing subsidy criteria to be rethought. If, as Kutty, Stone and others suggest, the ratio calculation fails to measure housing costs accurately, it may be responsible for both under and over estimating the number of households with affordability problems. Resolving that difficulty, by adopting the RI methodology and increasing households' subsidies to cover housing costs more accurately would increase the subsidy bill, which might be unwelcome to many governments.

This may not be the only reason why policy makers have failed to engage with the RI method. More significant perhaps, is the complexity it brings to the calculation. To be used effectively the household's expenditure needs to be considered as well as its income. Given governments' reliance on secondary sources when making housing needs assessments, a whole new body of research would be required, into spending needs and patterns. As well, the RI approach works best when the expenditures of individual households, or at least comparable groups of households, are considered. Although household expenditure statistics do exist, it is impossible to extrapolate from them to individual cases. Even if the figures were available, it might not be practical to assess affordability at that level. As the Communities Scotland Housing Systems Good Practice Guide puts it, "what is used in practice tends to reflect not just technical and ethical judgements but also the practicalities of data availability." (Communities Scotland 2004, p262)

Hulchanski believes that the ratio measurement method has become widely adopted by governments and public policy makers both for its relative simplicity and because of its flexible, ambiguous nature. When public bodies such as governments use these measures though, he says they are not taking an objective view but rather, "...a subjective judgement call made in allocating means-tested subsidies." (p.488)

2.1.6 Summary of affordability issues

The discussion of affordability in the literature centres around its measurement and the competing claims of the ratio and residual income methods. Moreover, there is a continuing debate about how best to set robust housing affordability standards. As with need (the literature about which will be examined below) these standards are set by normative criteria. Academic and commercial researchers, policy-makers and politicians judge what level of affordability is economically, socially and politically desirable for their society, at that time. The direction of travel is towards ever more sophisticated methodologies for determining affordability. The level of sophistication in the discourse amongst academics and researchers appears however, to be higher than amongst the policy-makers.

2.2 Defining and measuring housing need

A range of definitions and approaches to measurement of housing need has been developed by policy makers and academics over a long period, at least as far back as the 19th century. These have served mainly to provide evidence for policy making, particularly in drawing up housing strategies and planning frameworks. This work is focussed on determining normative need. Robinson (1979) describes it thus:

> "Housing need may be defined as the quantity of housing that is required to provide accommodation of an agreed minimum standard and above, for a population, given its size, household composition, age distribution, etc., without taking into account the individual household's ability to pay for housing assigned to it." (p. 55-56)

Barnett and Lowe (1990), discussing need and the provision of social housing, suggest that three key elements are intertwined in its assessment, "...the definition of acceptable standards of accommodation, the total number of households, and the supply of housing of at least the required standard." (p.184) In other words the calculation of need, at least for social housing, is based on whether certain households are able to obtain a predetermined standard of housing.

The issue of setting standards for housing need has been and remains contentious. A key question is how to determine whether a household is adequately housed? If it is to be argued successfully that some households under-consume, i.e. spend less on housing and more on other goods that they should, or over-consume, by buying more housing than their income can sustain, then an assumption must be made about the amount of housing that households in given income groups, in given circumstances, need. If the standard is set too low then households will not be adequately housed for their needs and may suffer overcrowding, and other problems.

Any standard is unlikely be set in isolation from political and social norms and pressures. As voiced in the debate about welfare, current at the time of writing (February 2014), politicians can have different views about entitlement from the households seeking assistance. If households in social housing are judged to be over-housed when they are on Benefits and using public money, then they may be criticised in the media along with any politician that allows them to be so.

Consensus about a normative standard is hard to achieve therefore, because it cannot be divorced from the views of academics and politicians, and these may be influenced by their social, or ideological positions. Unsurprisingly perhaps, no single attempt at producing a quality 'standard' has gone unchallenged in the academic literature and politicians continue to set standards according to their political priorities.

Once the criteria have been set though, the actual assessment of housing need by public bodies has become technically sophisticated in recent decades. It is not proposed here to describe every method used for calculating housing need. For this review it is sufficient to note that the approaches are based on assumptions about the key factors determining need and that these factors are often weighted and calculated according to mathematical formulae.

These approaches model need by considering matters such as changes in population structure, household migration, economic development, household incomes and stock availability. Although the validation of these formulae is beyond the scope of this review, it should be noted that there is no single, universally accepted, statistical

methodology (Newhaven (2011); Communities Scotland (2004)). Although they differ in the emphasis given to particular 'inputs' causing need, certain consistent factors run through most of these methodologies. They tend to ask for example, what the level of available housing stock will be, in particular tenures, to meet the needs of households in those tenures over a given future period.

2.2.1 Government assessment of need

A government's principal motivation when asking for an assessment of need is to predict the level of support, planning and investment that will be necessary to supply the required amount of housing in particular tenures. Consequently, most methods of determining need focus on assessing present problems in housing supply, set against predicted future requirements. Since this research is taking place in Scotland it is the Scottish public authorities methodologies that are discussed, here.

The Scottish Government, through the former housing regulator, Communities Scotland, published in 2004 a 'Guide to Local Housing System Analysis.' This, it says:

> "...is a system built from a network of components that interact and influence each other through a range of flows. These components can be thought of as the different tenures available or different sections of the housing system." (Communities Scotland (2004) p.1)

The methodology used in Scotland at the time of the fieldwork was derived from a model developed by the UK Office of the Deputy Prime Minster, for English local authorities, modified by the Scottish government, in 2008. This sets out the rules by which local authorities must determine housing need, and says that their work will be "examined" to test whether they have been followed. The required calculation has been summarised by consultancy firm, Newhaven Research, as follows:

> "1. Count the number of households in backlog (known as 'current' need) These are households whose current housing circumstances fall below accepted minimal standards.
> 2. Subtract the existing stock available to meet housing need (but exclude social tenants wishing to transfer to another tenancy).
> 3. This gives a 'new current need' figure.

4. But this has to be divided by time it will take to reduce the backlog (fixed at ten years).
5. This provides an annual quota of new households in need
6. To which must be added the annual number of newly forming households and...
7. ... the annual number of existing households falling into need.
8. Less the supply of affordable housing, including allowing for planned new supply of housing units.
This should give the estimated net annual need - although local authorities are obliged to produce a range of estimates based on different assumptions about a range of economic and social indicators."
(Newhaven Research (2011 p. 31)

These estimates produce the "Housing Need and Demand Assessments," or "HoNDAs," which attempt to predict the requirement for all types of housing, in all tenures, in every Scottish local authority. They can be long, complex, documents. HoNDAs are intended to analyse and project market trends for housing need. The Scottish government has set out their aims and objectives, as follows:

"* Enabling local authorities to develop long-term strategic views of housing need and demand to inform local housing strategies and development plans;
* Enabling local authorities to think spatially about the nature and influence of the housing markets in respect to their local area;
* Providing robust evidence to inform policies aimed at providing the right mix of housing across the whole housing market - both market and affordable housing;
* Providing evidence to inform policies about the level of affordable housing required, including the need for different types and sizes of affordable housing;
* Supporting local authorities to develop a strategic approach to housing through consideration of housing need and demand in all housing sectors - owner occupied, private rented and affordable - and assessment of the key drivers and relationships within the housing market;
* Drawing together the bulk of the evidence required for local authorities to appraise strategic housing options including housing supply targets, social housing allocation priorities, the role of intermediate housing products, stock renewal, conversion, demolition and transfer; and
* Ensuring the most appropriate and cost-effective use of public funds."
(Scottish Government, 2008 p. 5)

The HoNDA process is linked with the requirement that local authorities, and/or partnerships between them, should devise Housing Strategies for their areas. In addition it connects with the idea of local housing system analysis, described above. Individual

local authorities and cross-boundary council partnerships are responsible for estimating housing need to meet *strategic* aims for all tenures, i.e. getting a housing system 'in balance' (as the regulator puts it), and *social* aims, often the provision of sufficient affordable housing.

Methods of assessing normative housing need continue to be refined and are debated in the academic literature. One current debate for example, centres on the unit of study of housing need. Should it be a local authority, a neighbourhood or a Housing Market Area (HMA)? Jones, Watkins and Watkins (2011) argue strongly for the latter in a paper that suggests that assessments of need ought to be calculated independently of local authority boundaries, since they consider that these are artificial and based on nothing more than administrative convenience.

The processes by which these market areas should be derived however, have themselves been questioned. Brown and Hincks (2008) have evaluated the advice given by consultants DTZ Pieda's, in their *Housing Market Assessment manual,* that HMAs are, "areas within which people are willing to search for housing," and, "...geographical areas which contain both the origin and destination of the great majority of households who move home." (DTZ Pieda, 2004, p.26). Brown and Hincks consider the techniques used to measure these migratory flows are flawed, for example because, "...it must be acknowledged that migration patterns are not a pure measure of demand and are unable to reveal the scale of excess demand as unsuccessful movers are not included in migration statistics." (p.6) They point out as well that consideration of submarket areas is required for a more sophisticated understanding of housing need and demand, within the HMAs in which people live and work. Moreover, Jones (2002) has suggested that in practice many HMAs lack a sound economic basis.

In spite of these criticisms, governments tend to make use of administrative areas when determining HMAs. In the context of the present research the HMA in which the Scottish government has situated East Lothian is part of the so-called SESPlan HMA, composed of local authorities within the travel to work catchment of Edinburgh. The

boundaries of the HMA (with the exception of Fife[3]) were determined by the boundaries of the local authorities.

2.2.2 Households' assessments of their own needs

The point has been made above that households use the word 'need' in a different sense from policy-makers, when calculating their own housing needs. They have what Bradshaw (1972) calls 'felt' need. Essentially this means what each, individually, wants. Barnett and Lowe (1990) distinguish between what they call a 'social decision makers' view, equating to Bradshaw's 'normative' need concept and the 'consumer preference' view - close to Bradshaw's 'felt' need. They define people in housing need as, "those households who do not have access to accommodation of at least the required standard." (p.187)

Households however, are unlikely to evaluate their needs against any externally devised standard. The housing standard they set will be unique and particular to their circumstances and tastes. The household's view about the level of housing that meets its needs may not match that of the policy maker, not least because the household may choose to be under or over housed, as discussed at 2.2 above.

In some respects however, the difference between the concept of need used by householders and that devised by policy makers may be narrowing, as normative need estimates grow more sophisticated. It is more widely accepted that affordability and quality are not the only factors households take into account when they determine their needs. For instance, Leishman and Rowley (2009) question whether, "...a low income household (is) always to be considered adequately housed if their physical housing requirements are met." (p.2) Households must deal with practical considerations such as employment prospects, school location, commuting distance and personal safety. Is the house close to amenities? Is it in a 'good' neighbourhood? What are the commuting costs? These questions are generally answered according to the felt needs of individual households.

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[3] Fife is split between the southern and eastern area, which is seen as commutable to Edinburgh and the northern and western section, which is not.

Because of this growing appreciation that need isn't necessarily met because the 'bricks and mortar' can be afforded, some scholars argue that policy-makers should calculate normative need in a more subtle and complex manner. A study by Mulliner and Maliene, investigating the sustainability of housing affordability, suggests that when estimating normative need policy makers should recognise and take more account of the 'felt' need of households.

> "The affordability definitions proposed and utilised by many academics and policy-makers certainly have little regard for what households get in return for what they spend on housing, in terms of housing quality, location and neighbourhood characteristics." (Mulliner and Maliene, (2011), p. 967)

Mulliner and Maliene investigated how highly households rated a series of indicators of need, in research set in seven local authority areas in Merseyside and Cheshire. Although both house prices and rental costs (in relation to their income) ranked first amongst these households indicators, close behind them on their ranking scale came quality of housing, availability of housing and access to employment opportunities.

These researchers suggest that householders don't just seek the most affordable housing, but the best *overall* set of housing circumstances that they can afford. A problem for those on lower incomes, according to Abelson (2009) however, is that they have less choice, because areas with better amenities tend to have higher prices. "For any given supply of housing, house prices rise with the quality of associated infrastructure." (p.36)

An Australian study, *"Beyond the normative: Low income renters, Perspectives of Housing Affordability and Need for Housing Assistance,"* (Seelig and Phibbs, 2006) stands out in the literature for its focus on 'felt' rather than 'normative' need. This qualitative project attempted to supplement quantitative studies of need by gathering the views of low-income households about their housing preferences and choices. The authors showed that participating households had not chosen to live in the cheapest housing available and instead had prioritised location, house condition and amenity (p. 59).

The choices any household makes will be closely tailored therefore, to its situation. To those mentioned above might be added the preference to stay near social support networks of family and friends. (Mulliner and Maliene, 2011)

2.2.3 Affordable housing - a semantic confusion?

In a UK context, one example of the gap between households' perceptions of their 'felt' need and the policy makers' 'normative' need can be given by deconstructing the use of the term, 'affordable housing.' This expression is favoured by policy-makers and developers in assessing the need for, and marketing of, housing that is on offer at submarket rates either for sale or to rent. Housing considered 'affordable' by policy-makers however, may not be so, for some of the households they have targeted. This is because the term is used in a normative sense, which may not match the felt needs of individual households. They may question for whom the housing is affordable, because it certainly isn't them.[4]

A related problem is that the use of affordability as a criterion for assessing need is considered contentious, by some. Hulchanski for instance (1995) rejects using the term affordability in this context because he thinks the ratio assessment, on which most policy-makers base it, is flawed. He claims affordability criteria have 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' uses. He warns that setting affordability standards may be an 'illegitimate' way in which to calculate what housing needs to be provided and at what price.

Affordability is a 'legitimate' tool he says, when making a description of household expenditure, or an analysis of trends, or attempting to define who should be allowed access to social housing. It is 'illegitimate' however when used to define housing need for public policy purposes, or to predict whether a household can afford to pay rent, or to meet selection requirements when households are seeking a mortgage or private let. The term 'affordable housing' is flawed, Hulchanski says, because (usually) the proponents will be relying on a ratio-based calculation when assessing its affordability. It has been shown above that affordability cannot be compared between different households, purely in terms of their level of income. Thalmann and other writers such

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[4] This issue emerges amongst participants in the research findings - see Chapter 7 section 7.1.1

as Stone (2005), as well as Hancock (1993), have demonstrated just how complex and varied household circumstances can be. Factors affecting affordability include the composition of the family, how many in the household are earning, whether it has expensive dependents such as people with disabilities, whether they are overcrowded because of the household size.

2.2.4 Housing Stress

Finally in this section, the term 'Housing Stress,' connected in the literature to both affordability and need, is considered. It has multiple meanings and these mirror the difference described above between 'felt' and 'normative' need. Housing Stress, in a technical sense, is a term that originates with Australian policy makers and academics (e.g. Seelig & Phibbs, 2007; Marks and Sedgewick, 2008; Nepal, Tanton and Harding, 2010). It draws together a variety of problems that occur in an area (which can be of any size) when housing need is not met.

Often these can be affordability issues, but housing stress may be evidenced as well by supply shortages, poor amenities, poor neighbourhood quality and high levels of migration. Stress is sometimes called housing 'difficulty' (Hulchanski 1995) and its usage is somewhat loose and descriptive. It is nevertheless a useful word for depicting a basket of normatively determined housing problems faced by households, related to affordability and need.

In this study households sometimes talk of their 'stresses' in a looser sense. They use the word 'stress' as a synonym for 'problem' or 'issue,' or to describe the psychological impact of their difficulties. The distinction is similar to that between 'felt' and 'normative' need. Households that feel stressed are not necessarily stressed households, if that word is used in a technical, normative, sense.

2.2.5 Summary, housing need

The techniques for assessing housing need by policy makers and academics have been evolving over recent decades and become more sophisticated. A range of quantitative

methods exist and are accepted by most policy-makers and academics, though points of detail may be debated.

It is possible that over time, normative calculations of need will begin to incorporate more elements of the felt need of households. The gap between felt and normative need remains hard to bridge however, because assessment of normative need cannot be carried out at individual household level. The sheer variety of individual households' circumstances means that the policy makers and households are never likely to consider housing need, or needs, in exactly the same way. Households will continue to assess their 'felt' needs in ways that are not judged against 'normative' need standards. For example they will take into account not only their requirement for cheap accommodation, but that it is the right location, connected to work and family support networks. In normative terms, many households may be judged to be under, or over-consuming housing. They may be putting up with overcrowding or paying more than a needs assessment might suggest they should. They will not see it that way because their needs, as Hulchanski puts it, 'are as diverse as individual humans.' (p.489)

The difference between 'felt' and 'normative' need has been emphasised here, to avoid semantic confusion when describing the 'needs' of the households interviewed for the fieldwork. This study is interested in the felt needs of households. It does not seek to relate these to normative need assessments in East Lothian, except insofar as prior quantitative studies suggested that there were research questions to be asked, about the needs of local households.

2.3 Housing need and affordability issues in a UK context

The affordability and need literature is very extensive worldwide and issues vary from country to country. Since the present research is centred on the UK, it is reviewed here largely from a UK perspective, although global affordability issues are not lost sight of. In particular, section 2.3.4, which considers issues in the rural housing market, compares UK rural issues with those of our European neighbours, because the affordability and need problems identified in this study are rooted in rural gentrification.

2.3.1 Booms and busts

There is a fierce debate about the causes and impact of affordability problems in the UK. A key feature of the UK market since the end of the Second World War has been a long-term rise in the cost of buying housing, which has increased in price far above the level of general inflation. Of course house prices fluctuate everywhere, but in the UK they appear to follow a cyclical 'boom and bust' pattern (Muellbauer & Murphy, 2004). Bramley, Munro and Pawson, (2004) point out that the UK market has a long history of price instability. They suggest that there have been three major price peaks, from 1971-3, 1977-80 and 1986-9. Subsequent to their analysis, there has been another cycle, running from the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century until the financial crash of 2008/9.

At the top of each cycle, affordability problems have been particularly acute for some buyers. Munro and Tu (1996) have argued though, that in the long-term house price inflation is not as extreme as the booms appear to suggest, since (at the time of their writing) on average, house prices had increased at an annual rate of 2.07% over the past 25 years. Hamnett, writing in 1999, also believed that in the long run house prices do not run far ahead of general inflation, but booms, "are triggered by changes in the numbers of people in the key first-time buyer age groups, by increases in real income and mortgage availability."[5] (p.12) He describes the UK housing market nevertheless, as a 'casino' with winners and losers. Other writers, including Bramley (1994) have emphasised that this 'boom and bust' phenomenon has implications for all housing tenures, not just the ownership market.

2.3.2 The causation debate

The debate about the causes of the phenomenon appears to have become polarised, between writers who blame housing supply constraints and those that believe that a combination of irresponsible lending and a fevered investment 'gold-rush' mentality is responsible. Even allowing for the fluctuations of the boom and bust cycle, housing in

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[5] These assessments do not take into account the housing 'bubble' of the decade 2000-10

Britain is often regarded as expensive in comparison with most other developed countries (Freeman, Chaplin and Whitehead (1997)).

This is blamed by some on inelasticity of supply, due to overly restrictive planning laws. Barker (2006) has suggested that the UK planning system pushes up the price of land, by reducing its availability. However, Norris and Shiels, (2007) reviewing the working of the planning laws in Ireland, which are less restrictive than those of the UK, claimed that more relaxed controls there have not lead to greater affordability. As well, the UK planning laws, particularly in England, have been said to have some positive effects. They have been used, for instance, to generate additional affordable housing. In a review of the planning agreements which developers make with local authorities, Christine Whitehead (2007) asserts that: "The land-use planning regime in England is probably among the most favourable of any in the world in its use in the provision of affordable housing." (p.39) These agreements require a proportion of 'affordable' homes to be built on private housing development sites.

Bone and O'Reilly (2010) reject the supply argument and claim instead that the UK housing market, like that in the US, has been the victim of poorly implemented financial deregulation. They quote analysis by the Economist magazine, which suggests that the 2000s 'boom' was unlike any previous one. "Never before have real house prices risen so fast, for so long, in so many countries," they quote the article as saying. (p.232; The Economist, July 2005).

They suggest that the reasons for the boom are political, "...its causes and consequences can be understood as being one feature of a wider climate of instability and excess that has its roots in the (re)marketization of economy and society, and the deregulation of financial markets, that emerged in the late 1970's." (p.232) Bone and O'Reilly assert that easy availability of credit led to unsustainable levels of lending, which fuelled a market 'frenzy,' in which people treated housing as an investment vehicle, rather than a merit good. This drove prices ever higher. Bone and O'Reilly criticise both the media and politicians for encouraging this frenzy, and for failing to appreciate (or care) that it could have undesirable consequences, such as pricing large numbers of first-time buyers out of the market.

Bramley, Munro and Pawson, (2004) writing just before the last UK price 'bubble,' acknowledge both the supply issue and cultural factors as responsible for making the UK one of the most expensive places to find housing, in the developed world. They point out that unlike many other such cycles, housing booms get favourable coverage in the press.

> "Although high and fast-rising prices may be difficult for new entrants to the market, for the great majority of home-owners these conditions provide windfall wealth gains, which require no effort and can be seen as very significant" (p.43)

They attribute booms, in part, to a British cultural affinity for treating housing as an investment, but also to the relatively fixed supply of housing in the UK. Like Bone and O'Reilly, they describe a 'frenzy' effect, whereby as prices get higher, households get increasingly desperate to buy. This effect has been noted as well by Muellbauer and Murphy (1997), who point out that despite the large "lumpy transactions costs" of entering the market, "...the greater is the appreciation of house prices, actual and prospective, the more households are pulled over the transaction costs hurdle to engage in trade" (p 24).

Affordability issues are present as well in the rental sector, especially in the private market. The relationship between high purchase prices and rents has been discussed by amongst others Bramley (1994) and Bone & O'Reilly (2010). The latter suggest that property is such poor value for money, that buyers are forced into rental accommodation, which is itself often overpriced; meanwhile the availability of social housing alternatives continues to decline.

2.3.3 Other explanations for un-affordability

There are of course, other explanations for high housing costs in the UK. Societal and demographic changes are said to have played a part. More households are being created for instance, because of changing social dynamics, including more frequent divorce, separation and single parenthood. (Bramley (1994)) Furthermore these new households may be being formed in places where there is already a shortage of supply, and shortages are one of the most serious housing problems in the UK. As Bramley (2003)

has pointed out in the context of social housing provision: "The ...distribution of need is quite different from ...the current distribution of social housing investment." (p.4) Lack of investment in affordable housing for rent by the UK government in recent years is considered significant by Bone & O'Reilley (2010) as well as lobbyists like Shelter and the social housing professional body, the Chartered Institute of Housing, which campaigned (unsuccessfully) for 30,000 new affordable houses to be built in Scotland in the three years between 2008-2011.

Wilcox (1999), Wilcox, O'Sullivan and Young (2007) and Whitehead and Monk (2010) are amongst many authors who suggest that there is insufficient housing, both for households with very low incomes (despite the availability of Housing Benefit to cover their costs) and for those with incomes above benefit entitlement, but below the level at which either rental or purchase is possible, in many parts of the UK.

More controversially, immigration has been cited as leading to increased pressure on the housing stock, particularly within the private rented sector, (Rutter & Latorre 2009). Putting aside the political arguments about the pros and cons of immigration it is a fact that the UK's population has been rising for two decades or more.

2.3.4 Affordability need and stress issues in the UK's rural housing markets.

Given that the present study considers the impact of gentrification taking place in a rural area of East Lothian, the issues faced by the UK's rural housing market(s) are particularly relevant. The factors specific to rural areas that cause problems in a UK context can be identified more clearly, by contrasting them with rural housing issues experienced by other European nations.

Rural housing affordability problems in the UK vary according to the scope for colonisation by the middle classes, according to Shucksmith (1990) and Satsangi et al. (2010). Really remote areas, with little economic activity tend to have cheaper housing than areas that, whilst having all the attributes of country living (pretty small villages, lack of pollution, a peaceful environment), are nevertheless within commuting distance of a main town.

Shucksmith and Conway in a chapter on Scottish rural housing in Gallent, et al. (2003) *Housing in the European countryside* suggest that Scotland is a patchwork quilt of rural housing markets, some under pressure because they are well situated and therefore popular, others under threat of depopulation because they are not.

> "Overall the population of rural Scotland is growing while the cities are losing people, but this conceals wide variations and different processes operating at different scales." (p.168)

The authors point to rural planning policies pursued by successive governments as restricting development in the countryside. This issue is taken up by Satsangi et al. in *The Rural Housing question* (2010) in which British planning policy and practice is contrasted with that in the Republic of Ireland. Although these countries share some legislative and cultural roots, their housing systems have diverged starkly. The southern Irish favour rural development and emphasize the need to allow as much rural housing as possible, whilst in the UK, under the influence of both environmental and 'nimby' lobbyists, there is often a presumption in favour of preserving the countryside.

Gallent et al. (2003) identified three sets of politico-cultural attitudes to rural development, in the ten European nations they studied. There are 'cohesive' strongly regulatory regimes in Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and France, which attempt to strike a balance between rural and urban interests by law. Then there are atomistic cultures, which take a laissez-faire attitude to this question, in Ireland, Spain and Italy. In between come what the authors call 'unstable,' or 'divisive' cultures, where urban-rural policy is constantly pushed and pulled between those who favour development (and particular types of development) and those who seek to preserve the countryside status quo.

This issue is considered further at 3.4 below, however the point that these authors make is that restrictive planning policies, coupled with an attitude which gives certain countryside locations a social 'cachet,' has resulted in middle class capture of attractive and accessible rural places, helping to push up prices and restricting the housing choices of poorer indigenous inhabitants.

2.3.5 Conclusions, UK affordability need and stress

The issues evident in the UK in recent decades have arisen chiefly because of the high cost of housing in the private sector, both to rent and buy. Private sector increases have been driven (depending on the point of view of the commentator) by restrictive planning laws, or a failure to recognise that housing is a merit good as well as an investment, or by some combination of the two. At the same time as costs have restricted entry to the private market for many, the subsidised 'social' sector has faced cuts, forcing up rents and reducing house building targets. Along with societal factors such as immigration, household breakdown, single-parenthood and unemployment, this has led to increasing numbers of households facing severe housing stress, in many parts of the United Kingdom. (Bone and O'Reilley (2010); Bramley (1994))

2.4 Need, affordability and stress in the housing market in East Lothian

Affordability and need have been extensively researched in the context of East Lothian. The literature is primarily quantitative and the studies carried out by consultants DTZ Pieda in 2001 and Tribal HCH in 2005, 2008 and 2011 assessed need by normative standards. These studies indicated that there was considerable stress in the housing market in East Lothian. The next chapter considers the extent to which gentrification may have contributed to this stress; here the needs that were uncovered will be analysed, with reference to the wider academic literature. Significantly for this research, the analysts found that lower-income households were disadvantaged in the local housing market and had fewer housing options.

The literature is focussed principally on the affordability and need profile of East Lothian, including snapshots of housing costs and household incomes at and around the time of the fieldwork (2004-11). Market conditions then were influenced by the last of the UK's periodic housing bubbles, as described at 2.3 above. Purchase prices had not fallen back to pre-bubble levels however, at the time of writing.

2.4.1 House prices in East Lothian

A key finding in prior research has been that house prices in East Lothian are above those in the other Lothian authorities, outside Edinburgh. The evidence for this is presented below, but first some caveats need to be made about the calculation of those prices.

The measurement of house prices is considered complex, in part because no two houses are alike. As well, not all houses are on sale at the same time and so the types of houses available to purchase in an area may vary. Different methodological approaches have been taken, both to tracking house prices over time and to estimating average prices. The main price calculation methodologies used to track the movement of prices in this East Lothian study are therefore described below.

The figures presented in this study are drawn from the Sasines, Register of Scotland database, Scotland's land registry. The Sasines figures were used by consultants Tribal HCH in their analysis of affordability. (Tribal HCH 2005, 2008, 2011)[6] The Sasines database records land transactions including housing and publishes a record of housing sale prices. This presents simple average house prices, but this simplicity has been shown to have drawbacks, for price analysis. A briefing paper drawn up by the Bank of England (Thwaites and Wood, 2003) explains for example, that by not adjusting for the mix of house types sold, it may be misleading to calculate the mean price.

> "Different types of house may be transacted at different rates or at different times. So the mean transacted price will be an unreliable guide to the mean price of all houses: changes in this mean price over time may reflect changes in the mix of houses being sold rather than in the value of the stock of dwellings. Suppose, for example, that detached houses are typically more expensive than terrace houses. If the proportion of detached houses sold in a given period rose, a simple average of transacted house prices would increase even if the price of both types of houses were unchanged."
> (Thwaites and Wood, 2003)

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[6] Some comparisons were made between Sasines house price data and sale prices recorded by solicitors associated with the Edinburgh Solicitors Property Centre, but these were small-scale.

Statisticians have developed techniques to correct for these imbalances. They are principally *hedonic regression*, which places emphasis on the attributes of houses sold, that is to say its location, number of bedrooms and so on, or *mix-adjustment,* which groups houses with similar characteristics into sets of cells before price analysis. Both methods can allow for a more nuanced set of figures.

Because the figures used in the present research have not been adjusted, the mean, median and quartile prices quoted may vary from mix-adjusted prices. The point of the comparison here however, was not to show in detail where and what type of houses were affordable. It was to demonstrate that for many East Lothian residents, buying a house was outside their financial reach, even in the least expensive areas.

Prices rose sharply in the local authority during the first decade of the 21st century, and remain significantly higher than in all neighbouring authorities, apart from Edinburgh. According to the Council's own estimates they increased by 72% from 2002 to 2006 (Craigforth/ELC 2008). The figures in Table 1, below, show how prices varied between council areas in Eastern Scotland. Local authority housing policy strategists have identified house purchase affordability as a problem for more than a decade, but in the five years preceding the fieldwork, affordability worsened significantly.

All the local authorities in the Edinburgh hinterland have a role as commuter dormitories for the city, and they provide similar quality transport links and amenities. Yet the 2009 (July-Sept) figures in Table 1 (over) show that properties in East Lothian commanded a premium of almost 25% above neighbouring authorities, outside Edinburgh.

The Lothians Housing Needs analysis conducted by the consultants, Tribal HCH, in 2008 considered how prices had varied across the four Lothians local authority areas, in 1997, 2002 and 2007. This analysis indicated that East Lothian had consistently the highest average prices of all the Lothian authorities outside Edinburgh. The mean price in East Lothian in 2007 for example was £190,000, whereas in West Lothian it was £127,000 and Midlothian £162,000. Lower quartile prices also show a significant price difference, with East Lothian on £112,000, West at £83,000 and Midlothian £100,000.

The lower quartile price in Edinburgh, for comparison, was £120,000. (Tribal HCH 2008)

Area	Average residential property price
Edinburgh	£208, 221
East Lothian	*£191,813*
Midlothian	£167,252
Scottish Borders	£164,143
Fife	£140,883
West Lothian	£140,800

Table 1 - House prices, 2009 (Source: General Registers of Scotland Executive Agency (GROS), 2009)

The price differentials have remained broadly similar since the last decade of the 20th century. For example, the lower quartile price in 1997 was £37,000 in East Lothian, £30,000 in Midlothian and £27,000 in West Lothian. In 2002 the lower quartile figures were, for East Lothian £44,000, Mid, £41,000 and West £37,000. (ibid) It has been suggested (ELC 2012) that prices at this level can cause affordability problems for sections of the area's indigenous population. Affordability issues are considered in more detail at 3.4.4 below.

It is evident that East Lothian was caught up in the speculative housing bubble that dominated the UK housing market during the first half of the first decade of the millennium. In 2002, the then East Lothian mean price of £74k (Tribal HCH, 2008) would have left households earning below £23k struggling to buy. A mortgage income multiplier of three times £23k for instance would have secured a loan of only £69k (although houses were more affordable in the lower quartile then, at an average of £44k).

House price inflation ran significantly above both income and general inflation between 2002 and 2007 however, and the lower quartile price rose to £112,000. At that level, and assuming a 100% mortgage, a household with two earners would have required a joint income of approximately £30k to purchase. Prices have now fallen, but remain much

higher than their 2002 levels. The average house price was still £182,264 (compared to the Scottish average of £149,952) by June 2012 despite a tightening of the market, evidenced by the fact that 100% mortgages for first time buyers were impossible to obtain at that time. (Scottish Government, CHMA, 2012)

There is evidence in the report by consultants Tribal HCH (2005), that incomers pay higher prices for housing in East Lothian than locals. For East Lothian, Tribal HCH suggests that locals paid 92-93% of the average market rate in 2004 whilst incomers paid 107% of the average. (p.23) This was not a pattern unique to East Lothian, however. West Lothian purchasers paid 111-112% over the average price, which is a higher percentage, though Tribal HCH (2005) suggests that the disparity may be partly explained by East Lothian's higher overall house prices. (ibid.) There could be many explanations for this apparent incomer purchase premium. For instance, it may be that they are buying at a later life-stage, when they have accumulated more equity. The difference may also imply however, that on average they have greater purchasing power than locals.

2.4.2 The market(s) for owner-occupied housing in East Lothian.

Prices vary according to the location of the property within East Lothian. A report prepared by consultants Tribal HCH (2011) for the members of SESPlan, a joint local authority strategic planning group for Lothians, Borders and Fife, divided East Lothian into three areas - East, Central and West - and compared average residential sale prices between 1990 and 2004.

The figures show that the western area (which includes large lower income communities centred on estates of council and ex-council owned properties) had sale prices below the East and Central areas. In 1990, for instance, houses in the Western district were selling for an average of £42,928, whilst those in the East averaged £66,956 and the Central district prices stood at £55,788. By 2004, not only had all prices escalated (considerably ahead of inflation), but the gap between areas had widened. The equivalent 2004 figures were, for the West £118,489, for the Central area £141,603 and for the East £194,785. (Tribal HCH 2011)

Price variation is even greater when small market areas are considered. Parts of Gullane and North Berwick, in the Eastern area, have some of the highest house prices in Scotland, whilst ex-council houses in relatively unpopular estates, such as Pinkie Mains in Musselburgh look inexpensive set against mean prices for East Lothian as a whole.

To understand why East Lothian house prices vary by location, some background is required about the local housing market(s). Chapter 3 considers how gentrification may have played a part in generating house price differences. In this section however, the broader characteristics both economic and social, which have influenced the variations in housing need and demand across the housing market(s) of East Lothian, are explored.

First, the Housing Market Area criteria established by the Scottish government and used in local quantitative studies need to be understood. By the Scottish government's definition, East Lothian is not a self-contained HMA.[7] In the Lothians Housing Need and Demand survey of 2005 (Tribal HCH, 2005) it was one of the four Lothian authorities studied and by the time of the Tribal survey's 2008 update had become a component of the SESPlan HMA, related to a travel to work area which encompasses Edinburgh, the Lothians Councils, the Scottish Borders and the southern half of Fife. Tribal HCH explains that local authority areas were chosen because, "...the strategic planning requirements related to development plans are based on these higher geographies." (Tribal HCH, 2008, Section 1.4.2 p.2)

This research project is not focussed on the larger SESplan HMA. It is centred on East Lothian alone, because it is the behaviour of certain households in the local authority area that is under investigation. Within the local authority boundaries there are many housing sub market areas, each of which has its own characteristics and which may be contiguous with sub market areas in neighbouring authorities. A single 'East Lothian Housing Market,' as such, does not exist. For these reasons, it is the housing submarkets within East Lothian that are considered here. The importance of this distinction for the present project is that it will be shown that the various subareas within East Lothian have different need and demand patterns and one in particular, the East subarea, shows evidence of gentrification as a driver of house prices.

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[7] [7] See 2.2.1 for a discussion about definitions of HMAs
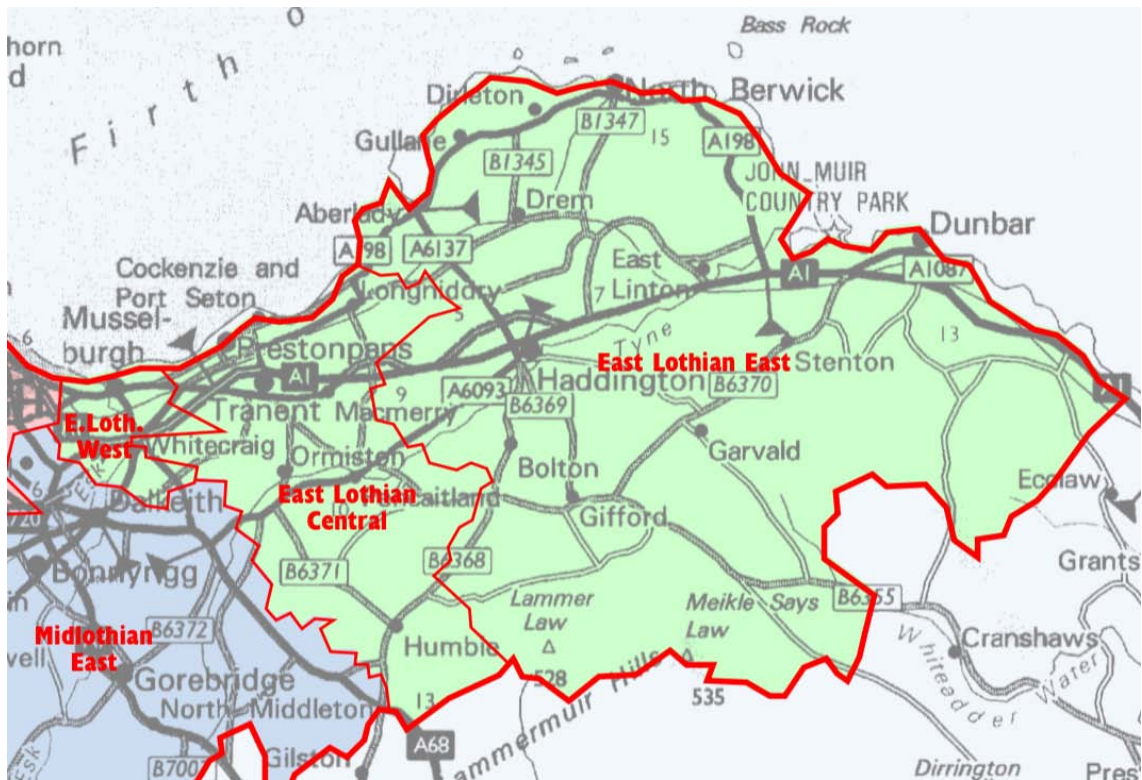
Figure 2. East Lothian by submarket areas (Tribal HCH, 2005)

Tribal HCH consultants divided East Lothian into three subareas, East, Central and West for their quantitative studies.[8] The urbanised West and Central subareas of East Lothian border on Edinburgh and Midlothian and appear to share some need and demand drivers with subareas in the neighbouring local authorities. Each of the subareas has combinations of features that affect house prices in different ways. As the 2005 Tribal HCH survey describes it:

> "The East Lothian market is segmented between east and west, with the
> market in the East experiencing significant over-demand. Prices have been
> rising, and there is now significant difficulty in relation to affordability. In the
> West the significant supply of new build properties over the last two decades
> has facilitated supply at the lower end of the market, and the market here is
> more favourable for first time buyers. Easy access to Edinburgh has also
> stimulated the market in this area." (Tribal HCH, 2005, Section 4.51, p.63)

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[8] "For housing strategy purposes East Lothian is considered to contain three subareas each of which have some distinct characteristics. The subareas are based on historic secondary school catchment areas and comprise:
East Lothian East – including Haddington (the administrative centre), North Berwick and Dunbar. The largest sub-area in terms of population and geography. The most rural subarea.
East Lothian West – including Musselburgh. The smallest subarea in terms of population and geography. Highly urban and bordering Edinburgh
East Lothian Central – including Tranent and Prestonpans. A mix of urban and rural areas. Contains the most deprived areas of East Lothian."
(ELC *Housing Strategy 2012-17* (2012) East Lothian Council, p.17)

The Tribal report hints at some reasons for segmentation, in particular the availability of new build properties in the West, but there are likely to be others as well. The causes are likely to be complex. They have roots in the economic and social history, not only of the geographical subareas but the towns and villages within them.

To consider the West and Central subareas, first. As can be seen from the map (Figure 2), together these cover a very much smaller area than the East subarea but they have a considerably higher population density. Historically, employment has been dominated within them by major industries, including mining, fishing and metalworking. This is reflected in the quantity of social housing in the subareas, built to house largely working class communities. Before the sale of council houses began in 1980, 11,750 of East Lothian's 16,304 Council houses were in situated the Western and Central parts of the county (72%). These subareas have seen, subsequently, the biggest sale of council houses. By 2011, 5842 had been sold. Four of the settlements in the West and Central subareas share boundaries with Midlothian and Edinburgh. Musselburgh, Wallyford, Whitecraig and Oldcraighall between them contained nearly a third (29.97% - 4887) of all East Lothian's council houses in 1980, before the Right to Buy policy was introduced. The proportion of council housing stock in the East Lothian West and Central submarket area has remained the same since 1980 (5908 out of East Lothian's 8187 (72%) by 2011); nevertheless the sale of nearly 6000 ex-council houses in these subareas has ensured an influx of relatively cheap properties onto the private purchase market. (East Lothian Council, 2014)

These areas have seen as well, major employment change. As described in the next chapter (3.7.2), from the mid-sixties to the 1990s work in the heavy industries shrunk. Mines closed, the wireworks in Musselburgh, which employed more than a thousand at its peak, also shut and inshore fishing was no longer viable. The employment changes in this area were similar to those experienced on the southeastern fringe of Edinburgh and in Midlothian, which were also mining areas. These neighbourhoods have risen again as dormitories ringing Edinburgh, thanks to excellent commuting links to the city. As Tribal HCH has observed, the west of East Lothian along with Midlothian and Southeastern Edinburgh have seen much new-build, and this has been encouraged by planners.

Turning to consider the East, it is possible to explain the higher prices in this subarea by its relative rurality and associated attributes, such as aesthetic appeal and the social cachet of living in the countryside. Unscarred by industry it has a relatively low housing density and many attractive small settlements. It has also experienced tighter planning control over new build (ELC 2008/4). Much of the eastern subarea, which extends from just west of Haddington to the boundary with Scottish Borders Council, would fit the Scottish government's 'accessible rural' classification, "Areas with a population of less than 3,000 people, and within a 30 minute drive time of a settlement of 10,000 or more." Shucksmith (1990) proposes that a rural price premium is a nationwide feature of such areas within the UK housing market, which has come about largely because of British social attitudes, "...the cultural association of upward social mobility with the pursuit of the rural lifestyle..." (p.227).

As will be shown in Chapter 3, the East is the most gentrified part of East Lothian and this can be explained by considering the drivers of rural migration. Rural areas within commuting distance of cities areas, according to Marsden et al. (1993), have seen an influx of the affluent middle classes, "...newcomers have now firmly established themselves in rural society, recreating it by participating in, and in some cases dominating, various local social and political institutions, including the planning system." (p.181).

Although the sub market areas of East, Central and West have their own need and demand characteristics, it is not proposed that all of parts of each of them are similar. Consultants Tribal HCH acknowledged that variations within those submarket areas mean that they are not price homogenous. There is for instance, what estate agents might describe as an 'exclusive' gated village at Inveresk, where houses can sell for more than a million pounds. This is sited only 250 metres from one of Musselburgh's largest council housing schemes, at Newbigging.[9] Here former council homes are size for size, considerably cheaper. A three bedroom ex-Council house would have sold for c. £120,000, in 2009. (ELC 2012/3)

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[9] See Appendix D for more background about the Inveresk gated village

This differentiation is not just evident in the West. In the East area, the town of Dunbar is not usually considered gentrified, unlike (see 3.7.2) nearby former farm steadings and there is a similar price differential between former council houses there and gentrified dwellings nearby.

Even though these areas are not homogenous, it is suggested, and backed by the quantitive evidence presented by Tribal HCH, that there are significant differences between each subarea *taken as a whole*, that these mirror their separate social and economic histories, and that house prices in these areas also reflect those differences, overall. These issues will be considered further at 3.10, below, which discusses the influence of gentrification on house prices.

2.4.3 The (un)availability of social sector housing

Tribal HCH Consultants proposed that there was severe pressure on the social housing stock in East Lothian, and that the surrounding local authorities faced supply problems as well (Tribal HCH 2005, 2011). In 2007 the council let less than 400 houses and had a list of people requiring housing of just under 5000 (ELC, 2008).[10] Lets are prioritised to households with the very highest needs, as determined by the Council's Allocations Policy. Under homeless legislation the council must allocate a high proportion of new lets to homeless people. This percentage rose to 70% in 2008 (Craigforth/ELC 2008) but had fallen back by 2012 to just 61% (ELC 2012/2).[11] If 60% of - say - 500 lets a year were to be allocated to non-homeless applicants, then less than 300 of the c.5000 people on the Council's general (i.e. non-homeless) housing list would be housed, in any given year.

Housing Associations, which own about one-fifth of the total social housing stock in the area, (c.2,000 out of approximately c.10,000 properties) are also under pressure. They

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[10] The more recent Local Housing Systems Analysis (ELC, 2012) gives the following figures. "As at 1st. April 2011, 4,403 households were on the Council's housing list and each year around 600 social lets are made ...or 4-5% of existing social rented stock." This includes transfers to existing tenants, however. (p. 25)

[11] Net of transfers

too must allocate a relatively high proportion of their stock to homeless applicants under Nomination agreements they hold with the Council (Craigforth/ELC 2008).

East Lothian Council has acknowledged in its Homelessness Strategy that it will struggle to meet the obligations to house the homeless placed on it by the Scottish government (ELC 2008/2). At the time of writing (February 2014) homeless people made up a large proportion of social let allocations (>40%) and because of the abolition of the 'priority need' homelessness test in 2012, an even higher proportion may need to be allocated to them in the near future. The authority has been undertaking a programme of social house building however, which is amongst the largest per capita, in the UK. It remains to be seen when, and to what extent, this will affect the market, since the programme had barely begun at the time of the research fieldwork. East Lothian Council and local Housing Associations built 825 new houses for social let (of which 43 were for Low Cost Home Ownership) between 2003 and 2011 (ELC 2012) and more are planned. Consultants pointed out however, that even on the most favourable assumptions there would be insufficient public housing available by 2012 to meet the authority's statutory obligations under the homelessness legislation (Craigforth/ELC 2008).[12]

2.4.4 The private rented sector in East Lothian

Although recently it has been growing rapidly, the private rented sector in East Lothian was the tenure with the smallest stock of houses at the time of the fieldwork. Despite the sector's size however, households with restricted housing options were advised frequently to consider private lets, during ELC housing options advice interviews. (ELC 2005) Lets were expensive by comparison with the public sector (see p. 24, below), yet it was the only tenure available to tenants at short notice - an advantage given the long queue for social housing. East Lothian Council itself was becoming more reliant on the private sector to house homeless households that it had insufficient temporary accommodation for. (Craigforth/ELC 2008) It had contracted a private sector housing

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[12] Sources within the council indicate that this policy may need to be reviewed, because of the impact on council debt and the capacity of the Housing Revenue Account to service it. Numbers may be reduced.

provider, Orchard and Shipman, to procure and manage private lets on behalf of their owners. This facility was used to ease pressure on the council's own housing stock.

At the time of the fieldwork it seemed unlikely that the private rental market would be able to divert much demand away from the public sector. The 2001 census stated that the sector comprised only 6.2% of East Lothian's housing stock - 2,361 properties. When consultants Craigforth carried out a homelessness needs assessment (to underpin the Council's Homelessness Strategy) in 2008, it put the figure at 8%. (Craigforth/ELC 2008). The introduction of compulsory landlord registration has provided the Council with potentially more accurate figures. It had 3915 lets on its books in July 2011, which is around 9% of all dwellings in East Lothian (ELC 2012). This is still well below Craigforth's estimate for nearby Edinburgh however, where 13.5% of rentals were in the private sector before 2008 (Craigforth/ELC, 2008). Because statistical sources can use different methodologies, there is a need for caution about what appears to be a 70% increase in the private rented sector in East Lothian during a single decade. It is likely that the increase is more than a statistical anomaly, however. 'Buy to Let" was a popular investment strategy from 2000 until the end of the boom in house prices in 2008.

More recently there has been anecdotal evidence from lettings agents, that households that cannot sell their homes in a stagnant market have been renting them out.[13] As well, East Lothian has seen an influx of students following the move of Queen Margaret University from Edinburgh to Musselburgh. This may have boosted the private rental sector, although at the time of writing (February 2014) it was not clear whether it has stimulated the market to provide more lets, or soaked up existing properties that might have relieved pressure.

A second reason why the private rented sector may struggle to meet local housing demand is that it is hard to afford by those tenants whose earnings place them just above the Housing Benefit (Local Housing Allowance (LHA)) threshold. Two groups provide the sector with its biggest pool of potential tenants and have helped to keep prices high. Paradoxically one is the very poor - tenants on Housing Benefit (Local Housing Allowance (LHA)) - who are cushioned from the high prices, at least so long as they

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[13] See research interviews follow up - Appendix B

stay on the benefits. Landlords have been able to charge them rents up to the limit of the LHA rates for the area[14], confident that the state will pay. Furthermore, the area attracts 'transient' renters. These can be well-paid young professionals who want the flexibility to move often and quickly.

Figures compiled by the Council show that these market pressures have helped rents to reach high levels. During the research fieldwork, rents for the most basic properties, in the least desirable areas, averaged £486 pcm, with the price rising to £1732 for larger houses in better areas. (ELC 2011) It remains to be seen whether recent Benefit reductions will bring these rents down. The proposition (ELC 2004) that the private rented stock will remain too expensive for households that have insufficient income from work, or a combination of work and benefits, is further explored in the next section, concerning affordability.

2.4.5 How affordable is housing in East Lothian?

The difficulties of assessing the affordability of housing have been discussed at 2.1 above. In particular a distinction has been drawn between the various methods of calculating it, using either a simple ratio of household earnings to income, or by the amount households have left to spend on housing after their other needs are satisfied. It has been shown as well that the standard of housing to which households aspire can vary. They express their 'felt' need for housing, whereas governments set 'normative' standards by which their needs are judged. These issues apply of course, when considering the assessment of the affordability of housing in East Lothian. This research takes the position that because it is the behaviour of households that is being studied, it is the affordability of housing *for them* that is important. In other words it is their felt need that is paramount.

This section however, considers affordability from a normative perspective and uses the criteria set by the consultants who have studied affordability problems in East Lothian. The views of many of the participants in this research, that they had affordability problems, are not held up for scrutiny in this section; nevertheless it is important to

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[14] Approximately £800 a month for a three-bedroom house, in 2009

show that prior research had indicated that by normative standards certain groups of East Lothian households did face affordability issues. These had come about either because their present housing costs were unsustainably high, or more commonly because it was too expensive for them to move to resolve other problems, such as overcrowding.

i) Household income

Some idea of the cost of housing, to rent or buy in East Lothian has been given already. How then do these costs relate to the incomes of local people? There is a variety of sources of data about household income in East Lothian and these sources provide a surprisingly wide range of estimates. One reason is that methodologies vary. Some take account of gross and others of net income. Some focus on earned income, others on income from all sources. In addition obtaining data from small areas can be problematic. Consultants Tribal HCH changed their statistical methodology between their report in 2005 and the one published in 2010. For the second set of calculations they used a commercial firm called CACI Paycheck, which models estimates of gross household incomes using variety of data sources, at post-code level. This methodology has been criticised as flawed by Birkin and Clarke (2006) because,

> "...although of undoubted value, these clustering systems do not in themselves allow for the identification of income or spending power, but rather identify the general socioeconomic profile of areas. This profile may give an indication of levels of income and expenditure but probably masks the way in which individual and household incomes are distributed within a zone." (p. 537)

Neither CACI Paycheck nor any other income estimates exist for East Lothian therefore, that accurately model the income of households by the submarket areas used in the Tribal/SESPlan study. The figures given here are only a guide to the likely range of incomes, and should be considered as approximations. Table 2, below, shows the variations between definitions used to calculate income. Despite this methodological variation however, comparisons with other local authorities suggest that, broadly, East Lothian households have income levels in line with but marginally higher than, those in neighbouring councils, except for Edinburgh.

One of the highest estimates of household income was made by Tribal HCH consultants, in a report into housing needs in East Lothian in 2005. They quoted figures from the Lothian Household Survey for 2004/5 giving a mean income for households with two earners at £31,154, above the average for the Lothians as a whole (of £29,854) and higher than all other authorities, even Edinburgh. The median income is lower at £25,732 and here Edinburgh has the highest figure at £26,000. (Tribal HCH 2005 p.15) These figures however, relate to households in employment. When households not in employment are considered, the median figure for East Lothian falls to £15,663, which is still over two thousand pounds more than the median for Edinburgh at £13,000. The figure for West Lothian however, is similar to East, at £15,600. (Ibid.)

The Scottish Government Centre for Housing Market Analysis (CHMA), quoted in East Lothian Council's Local Housing Systems Analysis (ELC 2012) gives a median income for all households, in 2010 of £27,820 and compares this with a Scotland-wide figure of £26,323. This is based on statistics collected by the CACI Paycheck analysts and includes all income - earned and from Benefits or other sources. Alternatively, there are the NOMIS official labour market statistics for East Lothian, which claim that in 2009, the median earned local (full-time) annual income was £25,141. (NOMIS 2009).

These are not the only income figures available. A Scottish government Income and Statistics Team study of relative poverty across Scottish Local Authorities (SGIT 2010), looking at figures for 2007/8 (sourced from the Scottish Household Survey) claimed that median net household income before housing costs in East Lothian was £22,400, compared with £21,900 in Edinburgh, £23,200 in Midlothian and £22,800 in West Lothian. (Scottish Gvt. 2010). It produced equivalised figures as well, taking into account the size of the household and the number of dependents. Here, East Lothian drops below Edinburgh, £21,400 against £22,900. Midlothian was lower still at £21,200, whilst West Lothian was higher at £26,000.

Source of Household Income calculation	Gross	Net	Earn-ers	Mean or Median?	Earnings from employment only?	Year	Notes
Tribal HCH (2005)		£25,732	All	Median Mean is £31,154	Yes (For *all* households the median income was £15.663)	2004	Sourced from the Lothian Household Survey. The 2010 Tribal HCH survey used CACI Paycheck data (see below)
CHMA (CACI)	£27,820		All	Median	No - all income	2010	
NOMIS	£25,411		All	Median	Yes	2009	
Scottish Government Income and Statistics team		£22,400	All	Median - mean is £26,700 Q1 is £13,000	No - all income	2007 /8	Un-equivalised - i.e. does not take housing costs into account

Table 2 - Sources of household income calculation and their variations in East Lothian

There is scope for a more thorough and nuanced analysis of the figures than is possible here. The point being established however, is that the income statistics suggest that the East Lothian house price 'premium' is unlikely to have come about because *average* incomes are higher amongst local households than in the neighbouring authorities. Given their variability and margin for error, the main conclusion to be drawn is that East Lothian incomes are broadly in line with those in neighbouring council areas, perhaps with the exception of Edinburgh. It may seem surprising that an area with above Scottish average house prices is not more obviously affluent. The SGIT team suggest that, "...between 2002 and 2008 the percentage of households in relative poverty in East Lothian increased from just below, to roughly equal to, the Scottish average." (SGIT 2010 p. 20)

ii) Income and house purchase

Even on the highest estimates for household income given above, it seems clear that house purchase is out of the reach of many households. The 2005 Tribal HCH report

stressed that East Lothian in particular, had an affordability problem thanks to relatively slow growth in incomes at a time of huge house price rises (2000-3).

> "The widening gap between wage growth and house price inflation has impacted on housing affordability in the Lothians over the 4 years to 2003. While Scottish residents wages rose by 18% (to £430 a week) between 1999 and 2003, house prices increased by 37%. In East Lothian, house prices grew by nearly 80% - 6 times the rate of growth in wages (14%) over the same time frame." (Tribal HCH (2005), p.15

East Lothian Council's Local Housing Systems Analysis uses the government's standard but questionable (Stone, 2006) ratio method to assess affordability [15]. It proposes that housing costs may be unaffordable if they make up more than a quarter of a household's outgoings. (ELC 2012) On that basis it considers that house prices, in relation to income, are often unaffordable:

> "In 2010, the median household income in East Lothian was £27,820 compared to £26,323 nationally (CHMA, 2010). The lower quartile income was £15,949 compared to £15,067. This means that a household with a median income would be required to borrow 5.2 times their salary in order to by a median priced house, assuming they had a 15% deposit (£25,500). For a household whose income is in the lower quartile they would be required to borrow 6.7 times their salary in order to buy a lower quartile house in East Lothian, again assuming a 15% deposit was available (£18,750)." (ELC, 2012, p22)

This analysis does suggest however, that houses in certain areas can be more affordable:

> "...a household purchasing a two-bed property in Prestonpans would require an £18,000 deposit and a mortgage of 3.7 times their income." (LHSA ,2012, p.23)

The SESplan Housing Needs and Demands Study of 2011 (Tribal HCH, 2011) also emphasises that East Lothian contains considerable variation between subareas:

> "In Lothian as a whole in 2004, the 20th percentile price was almost £84k. Three subareas have 20th percentile prices above this: East Lothian east (£92k), Edinburgh Rural west (£92k) and Edinburgh City (£90k). Three subareas were significantly below this: West Lothian (£65k), Midlothian east (£75k) and East Lothian west (£77k). .....Overall, the most expensive area is East Lothian east, with the top percentile reaching nearly £300,000. However,

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[15] See 2.1.2 for a discussion of the problems of using this method

there is clearly considerable variation between subareas in East Lothian, as it contains the most expensive area and one of the cheapest areas in Lothian." (pp. 59-60)

The report says furthermore, that demand in the East Lothian market is variable, "with the market in the East experiencing significant over-demand." (p.63) It demonstrates as well, that there is poor affordability throughout the SESPlan area:[16]

"Only 2.9% of the area *(in 2009)* has an affordability ratio of 3.5 times household income to house price. 59.7% has a ratio of between 5 and 10." (SESplan Honda, Addendum, (2011) p.13)

Some small-scale policy initiatives to make house buying affordable were available during the fieldwork. One example is an 'assisted purchase' shared equity scheme called LIFT, funded by the Scottish government. This contributes up to 40% of the cost of a house if certain criteria are met, with the loan repayable on sale. The open market[17] version of this scheme was restricted to social housing tenants between 2010 and 2012 and is, in any case, out of range for many lower-income households because of the high average cost of purchase. (ELC, 2008) Local Housing Associations occasionally offer shared ownership and other low cost ownership options. These properties could be useful, potentially, to middle-income households, but they have been on offer rarely in East Lothian.

iii) Income and the private rented sector

Considered against the average income levels described above, it appears that private lets in East Lothian are very expensive. A key question in the context of affordability in the private rental market however, is whether the household is receiving Local Housing Allowance (Housing Benefit). At the time of the field work (2009) Local Housing Allowance, (LHA) rates for a three bedroom house anywhere in the Lothians (apart from West Lothian) were set at £785 for four weeks, or approximately £800 a month (Tribal HCH, 2011). This was slightly more than the average cost of an East Lothian let, which research compiled by the Council (ELC 2011) put at £770 pcm in that same year.

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[16] Which includes the Sottish Borders and part of Fife, as well as the Lothians and Edinburgh

[17] 'Open market' means that properties can be picked from any on sale locally provided they meet lending standards, rather than being designated new-build properties by social landlords.

As with average house prices it is likely that this figure varied according to the location of the property.

Unfortunately there is no indication in East Lothian Council's statistics of the sample size, nor are any figures available that break down cost by area. The authority's figures for three-bedroom lettings in other years suggest there is a wide margin of error. In 05/06 for example, the average was £538, whereas the next year it had jumped to £721. Firmer evidence that East Lothian's prices are higher than West Lothian's exists though, through consideration of LHA rates. The LHA rate set for West Lothian in the same period was only £549. This suggests that rental prices in West Lothian were on average much lower. (Tribal HCH 2011 p. 35)

It is possible to calculate average annual rental costs using the 2009 LHA rates given for East Lothian. Whilst this does not reflect the actual rent for every three bedroomed property, it gives some idea of the likely average. On the basis of the £785 figure the annual rental would be £9,420. Assuming that the property is in Council Tax band 'E,' a household in work would pay over £1800 a year. This amounts to an annual cost of more than £11,000 for rent and Council Tax.

Using East Lothian Council's own favoured measure - the ratio - for estimating affordability, that household would have to be in receipt of an annual income of four times that sum, £44,000 (net) for the property to be affordable. This is considerably greater than the average household incomes outlined earlier.

A further problem for private tenants concerns deposits. Households are usually required to pay a minimum of a month's rent in advance and then a further month as a deposit. This can amount to between £1000 and £1500 for a two or three bedroom house in many districts of East Lothian. Such sums are often beyond the resources of lower income households. Although East Lothian Council operates a rent deposit scheme, it is prioritised in favour of families in danger of becoming homeless.

iv) Income and Council and Housing Association rents

The gap between prices in the social rented and private rented tenures is wide in East Lothian, despite recent Council rent rises. The local authority does not consider its own rents unaffordable and centres its development strategy on providing more low cost Council housing for rent (ELC 2012). Recent figures are set out in its Housing Market Analysis of 2012.

> "An analysis of average rents in East Lothian shows that between 2006/07 and 2009/10, average council house rents increased from £38.32 to £45.63 per week. In 2005/06, the average RSL rent was £52.98 increasing to £63.04 per week in 2009/10. Average rents in both Council and RSL stock are significantly lower than found in the private rented sector. In February 2012 a rent increase of 4.3% was agreed for 2012/13 following consultation with tenants in which 84.6% of respondents indicated the increase was fair." (ELC 2012 p28)

v) Benefits and affordability

The relationship between state Benefits and housing costs is a complex one. Estimates of household income usually include income derived from Benefits, and if all that is considered when calculating affordability is the *total* income, (using perhaps the ratio methods espoused by governments) then it might be asserted that it doesn't matter from whence the income derives. Certain issues concerning affordability and Benefits however, muddy the waters.[18] The most important of these is their interface with employment. The steepness of the so-called 'taper' under which claimants receive a diminishing amount of Benefit as their income increases, can affect the long term viability of renting in the private sector. A household may find itself worse off in employment than on Benefits, under certain circumstances.

It has been claimed by commentators such as Atkinson (1993), and Wilcox (1998) that the way that the UK Benefit system operates creates disincentives for the unemployed to find work. Wilcox and Sutherland (1997) considered that there were many barriers to returning to work, including the lack of cheap reliable child care. Reforms of the Benefits system under the Labour government of 1997-2010 may have reduced these disincentives, with the introduction of Working Tax Credit, which, by providing tax incentives to return to work diminishes the impact of the loss of Housing Benefit.

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[18] For a fuller discussion of these issues, please see 2.4.4

However, Stephens (2005) has claimed that there remain two 'traps' for Benefit claimants. The first is the unemployment trap whereby people can be worse-off in, than out of, work. This isn't necessarily Stephens argues, a question of household income but of the associated costs of return to work such as travel and, "the loss of 'passported' (contingent) benefits (such as free school meals)." (p.122). The second is the poverty trap. Despite reforms such as Working Tax Credit, single people and childless couples can still lose money by returning to work especially, "when Housing Benefit withdrawal is combined with tax and the loss of other benefits." (p. 122) Turton (2001)[19] describes a method of measuring the unemployment trap - the Replacement Rate (RR), which considers the relationship between disposable income in work and out of work:

$$RR (\%) = \frac{\text{Disposable income out of work}}{\text{Disposable income in work}} \times 100$$

If the percentage is more than 100, then the household will be worse off in work than out of it. Turton says the UK Treasury acknowledges that an RR over 70% may represent a significant disincentive to finding employment.

The impact of these traps is claimed to be worse in areas where house rents are relatively high. (Turton 2001, Wilcox and Sutherland 1997) In East Lothian there is evidence that households that are not entitled to full Housing Benefit, but have incomes just below the average for the area, may struggle to cope with private sector rents. Working participants in the present research commented that they did not want a private let because they could not afford the rent (see 6.2.2, ii). There is evidence too, from research into Housing Options carried out by the Council (ELC 2004) that households with incomes of less than £21k per annum struggle to rent in the private sector given the cost of private lets.

A further factor in assessing the impact of Benefits on affordability is the complexity of the system and the requirement for claimants to let the Department for Work and Pensions know every time a household's circumstances change. Research by Royston (2007) for the Department of Work and Pensions has suggested that lack of

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[19] Derived from Giles C, et al.1996) "Living with the State." For full citation see references

understanding amongst claimants and administrative problems often leads to under or over payments, which impact heavily on households reliant on Benefits income.

Owner-occupiers in receipt of payments such as disability allowances or tax credits will also be vulnerable to any Benefits taper when moving in or out of employment. Those in receipt of mortgage relief will lose that Benefit income when they return to work, which may be a barrier, depending on the circumstances of the household.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the terms 'affordability' and 'need' are used in the literature and it has been explained how usage amongst academics and policy makers may diverge from that of individual households. The difficulties of reliably and consistently measuring both affordability and need have been explored and it has been shown that in recent times, increasingly sophisticated techniques have been developed for assessing both.

The recent history of affordability and need problems in the UK has been surveyed and demonstrates that the country has some of the least affordable housing in the world. The reasons for affordability problems have been variously ascribed to the planning system, market deregulation, investment 'fever' and a geographical mismatch between supply and demand.

Literature that outlines affordability and need questions in the study area of East Lothian has also been reviewed. This has shown that the area is one of high housing demand and restricted supply, especially in the social sector. Reasons for affordability issues in the area centre on the high cost of housing in the private sector, either to buy or rent, coupled with a level of household income that appears not to be significantly greater than in areas with less expensive housing. This confirms the importance of exploring the participants' own perspectives on affordability in this study, and to discover whether they have similar views about affordability problems to the local policy-makers, or see these issues differently.

The affordability literature highlights the varied ways in which households consume. Policy makers may set standards for the amount of housing that households need, but individual households do not necessarily agree with them. How households set their own priorities - why they seem prepared to pay more for a house in a certain location for example, or near to particular amenities - will be investigated using the group of households recruited for this study. Above all, this chapter has shown that whilst the housing needs of households in aggregate can be modelled and planned for, the actual needs of individual households are much harder to pin down.

This chapter has not touched on the influence gentrification may have had in exacerbating high housing costs in East Lothian. That matter is considered in the next chapter, which reviews gentrification literature and considers the evidence for it having occurred in East Lothian.

Chapter 3 - Gentrification, a review of the literature

It has been shown in the previous chapter that East Lothian households can have significant affordability problems. It is not claimed that all the housing cost pressures faced by East Lothian households are a direct result of gentrification, but this chapter considers the part it may have played in creating or exacerbating those problems. One consequence of un-affordability, frequently asserted by gentrification researchers (Glass 1964, Smith, 1979), is that pressured households are 'displaced' to areas with lower housing costs.

The literature about gentrification's causation and impact is surveyed first, and then set in the context of housing stress in East Lothian. The origins of the ideas of 'gentrification' and 'displacement' are considered and their conceptual development is traced. Gentrification literature is extensive and there is a lively debate about its causes and effects. Because this study is focussed on the impact of housing stress on households, the argument about gentrification's influence, whether it is positive or negative, is particularly relevant.

The concept of displacement is central to this study. Where once it was considered an inalienable characteristic of gentrification, it is now a contested outcome. This research sets out to inform the debate about the impact of gentrification, in particular the arguments over whether or not gentrifiers squeeze the poor out, and to what extent. Displacement analysis has spawned a sub-genre of gentrification literature but whilst that is extensive, the debate has been driven often by the ideological perspectives of the authors. Less research has taken place into the individual views of potential or actual displacees who consider they have few options to resolve their problems. Lyons (1996) has suggested that, contrary to Glass's (1964) theory of gentrification, it tends to be the middle-income groups who are displaced, because they can better afford to move out of a gentrifying area than the less well off. Lower-income households can develop ties, such as social networks, which disincentivise moving. The behaviour of stressed households may be influenced by their place attachment, as well. This is a strand of research literature, rarely considered in gentrification research, which can help to explain why some households are reluctant to leave areas subject to gentrification-induced housing pressure.

Moreover, the relationship between gentrification and migration is relevant to the discussion. It might seem obvious that demographic changes such as replacement and displacement as a result of gentrification are types of migration, yet the interactions between these gentrification impacts and other population flows can be complex, subtle and difficult to distinguish. This is reflected in the debates within the literature. For instance, some writers now consider that in-migration of wealthy incomers is not necessarily a defining characteristic of gentrification, (Phillips 1993) because indigenous households may improve their properties without moving, becoming gentrifiers *in situ*.

Once considered an entirely urban phenomenon, gentrification has permeated the countryside. Extra-urban social change, whether as a result of gentrification or other social and economic pressures, has spawned a literature of its own. The debates about rural gentrification have centred on the extent of middle class 'capture' of the countryside (gentrification is seen often as a major component of this) and whether rising housing costs and shrinking employment opportunities are squeezing out the rural working classes. This review considers evidence for social change in the countryside, and explains why many authors argue that gentrification is occurring in a rural setting.

The review is structured as follows. It looks first at the ways in which the term gentrification has been defined and the attempts that have been made to pinpoint its cause. Second, it considers views for and against gentrification as a positive or negative agent of change. Then the relationship between gentrification and migration is examined, and one particular effect, displacement, is considered in more detail. The potential for place attachment to mitigate displacement pressures is discussed. Finally, the debates in the literature are analysed in the context of what is known about gentrification in East Lothian. It is proposed that this is a long-running process, focussed on certain localities, rather than an event embracing the whole local authority.

3.1. Definitions of Gentrification

Gentrification has been viewed as an indicator of significant changes in social structure, for more than forty years. First use of the term is attributed to the English academic, Ruth Glass in her introduction to a collection of papers about social change in post-war London

(Glass, 1964). For Glass it encapsulated the process by which relatively wealthy individuals colonise a low income area and in doing so displace poorer groups. Her use of the term carried clear implications of class conflict, with high-income groups establishing dominance of an area, sometimes that their own forebears had abandoned.

From this small seed, the meaning of gentrification has grown to such an extent that for some (Rose 1984; Hamnett 1991; Lees, 2000) it no longer conveys a precise concept. For Wildin and Minnery (2005), the term "has been Balkanised into a series of competing and intensely held positions." (p.1) Whether this is as a result of the very wide range of disciplines (including sociology, economics, urban and geographical studies) that have contributed to refining the term, or whether it is so malleable as a concept that it can be considered from multiple perspectives, is unclear (Hamnett 1991). The debates that gentrification has spawned however, have focussed more on theorising cause and effect than on pinning down a definition. As a result, authors have been able to pick and choose aspects of the concept that suit their own theoretical position (ibid.).

Although there is a degree of consensus about gentrification's inalienable characteristics as an agent of social change (built upon Glass's original definition), there is now a broad range of approaches to how its attributes should be weighted. An idea of the definitional diversity can be demonstrated by contrasting the sociological viewpoint of Redfern (2003) "gentrification is fulfilling a need (for identity through the connection of a 'place')," (p. 2363) with the economic focus of Smith (1987), "The crucial point about gentrification is that it involves not only a social change but also at the neighbourhood level a physical change in the housing stock." (p.483) Others such as Beauregard (1986), take the apparently tautological view that, "...gentrification is defined by the presence of Gentrifiers."

Two interlinked but fundamentally separate debates have influenced the meaning of what Phillips (2004) describes as a, "congested and contested" term. These have centred, first on causation (how gentrification happens) and second on its social costs/benefits - whether or not it is a positive influence on society. The debates are discussed in detail below, when considering the causes and effects of gentrification Their impact on its definition are examined, as well. The arguments are often between writers with radically opposed

perspectives about social change. The battle has been so hard fought that gentrification can no longer be considered as a neutral term. It has acquired a range of highly politicised meanings. (Slater, 2005)

In the causation argument, the dispute centres on whether economic or societal forces are the prime movers for gentrification. The economic argument has tended to a Marxist perspective. Likewise an ideological fault line runs through the second debate, in which the effects of gentrification are described as negative, positive or neutral, according to the standpoint of the commentator. Freeman (2005), for example, highlights the benefits of inner city revitalisation, "gentrification brings with it increased investment and middle-class households to formerly forlorn neighbourhoods. This could potentially enhance the tax base of many central cities and perhaps increase socioeconomic integration as well." For Clark, (1992b) on the other hand, it is simply an aspect of class warfare; "gentrification is the outcome of a struggle over urban space."

In her seminal description of the process, Ruth Glass makes a stand against the social changes engendered by gentrification. Most early authors take for granted that the word itself is pejorative. There is even a strand in the literature which celebrates the struggles of the poor, attempting to avoid being dispossessed by the wealthy as they sweep in to gentrifying areas (Short, 1988, Blomley, 2008). The term, 'yuppification,' has served for some as a synonym. "Yuppification involves the destruction of an existing community and its replacement by a new one with consequent changes in the meaning and the use of space." (Short, p.185) Van Creikingen and Decroly (2003) for example, argue that inner cities are being transformed by an influx of, "high paid residents, typically business services professionals," and that this, "brings displacement of the neighbourhoods initial population." (p.2452) Writers who wish to stress the benefits rather than the costs of gentrification (for example Sumka, 1980) initially preferred to shy away from the term altogether and to invent synonyms, such as 'revitalisation.' In the more recent literature though, writers who are sympathetic to gentrification have been happier to use the term.

The assumption that it is always a negative description of social change however, can no longer be made. In fact the definition has shifted to the point that opponents of gentrification such as Slater (2005) argue that the word has been hijacked by politicians

and academics who, according to Allen (2008), may themselves be gentrifiers. It has suited their purposes, Slater thinks, to sanitise gentrification by blending the term's meaning with words such as regeneration. Slater considers that this under emphasises the adverse effects on indigenous working class populations:

> "...the term was coined with critical intent to describe the disturbing effects of the middle classes arriving in working class neighbourhoods. It has since been appropriated by those intent on finding and recommending quick-fix 'solutions' to complex urban problems, and in extreme cases depoliticized and called something else." (Slater 2005 p. 752)

Redfern (2003) cautions against emphasising the class-oriented nature of gentrification however, suggesting that gentrification has no independent existence as an idea - it depends on the viewpoint of the observer:

> "Someone well-off but well known in the area, who inherits a property from their grandparents would not normally be considered a gentrifier, whereas a stranger who purchased it, would." (p. 2360)

Is migration necessary for gentrification to take place? There is relatively little research into in situ gentrification and until recently it has been seen as axiomatic that you must move into an area in order to become a gentrifier; you cannot merely improve your existing property. Lyons in her 1996 study of displacement in London places migration at the heart of her enquiry. She describes it as, "...the shared and defining characteristic of gentrification everywhere." More recent writers, especially about rural gentrification, have become less convinced that migration is a, 'defining characteristic.' Writers like Phillips (2002) have emphasised the semiotics of gentrification. From this viewpoint the cultural signifiers, the Aga cookers, the 4x4 cars and the designer clothes of the gentrifiers are more important evidence that gentrification has taken place than the origins of the gentrifying households. It is not that writers like Phillips and Redfern (2002) think that migration has no part to play in the definition of gentrification, just that for them, it is no longer a *necessary* one.

Likewise, the consensus that displacement is crucial to the definition of gentrification has been challenged. Freeman's 2005 paper, '*Displacement or Succession*,' argued that displacement has only a minor role to play in gentrifying areas and that poorer households

are not necessarily forced out. Both the effects and extent of displacement are contested and the social cost/benefit argument is discussed further in section 3.3 below. Although it remains central to the concept of gentrification for most academics - whether they think it damages the social fabric or revitalises decaying areas (Slater 2005, Clark 1992, et al.) - the extent to which displacement is emphasised as synonymous with gentrification varies in the literature according to the ideological position of the writer. The supporters of gentrification (and those who take a more neutral stance) downplay its influence, focussing instead on the environmental and amenity improvements gentrification brings, which are said to benefit residents at all income levels. (Byrne 2003) Freeman even criticises authors like Slater for citing displacement to prove that gentrification has negative effects. Freeman argues that, "...gentrification's impacts are multi-faceted affecting different people differently and even the same individuals in different ways." (Freeman, 2008, p.186) From a left-wing perspective however, these attempts to rehabilitate gentrification or abandon it altogether in favour of a more 'positive' expression such as regeneration have been seen as revisionist attempts to take class politics out of the issue. (Smith, 2008)

Although it seems unlikely that the debate between neo-Liberals and Marxists will ever conclude with one, all embracing, definition of this social phenomenon, a consensus has built over time about certain key characteristics. Most authors would agree with Atkinson (2003) that it is composed of two key components; a class-based colonisation of formerly inexpensive neighbourhoods and a reinvestment in the physical housing stock. Atkinson has emphasised as well, that it can be distinguished from other types of regeneration or neighbourhood improvement by the lack of consideration that incomers show, for the impact on the indigenous population.

> "The central problem of gentrification is raised where decisions are made en masse and by social groups whose market power is significantly higher than that of existing residents. It seems to me that these two factors remain the kernel of any useful definition of gentrification." (Atkinson 2008 p.10)

3.2 Causes of gentrification

The debate about causation centres around two sets of explanations - broadly economic and social - of how gentrification comes about. This debate runs parallel with, but is largely separate from, the argument about whether gentrification is a positive or negative

social influence. Researchers may find themselves on the same side in the causation argument yet opposed over its social consequences, and vice-versa.

The first explanation for the phenomenon is sometimes referred to as the 'production side' argument, advocated by urban geographer Neil Smith (1979). He considered gentrification to be caused by the imbalance between property prices in the suburbs and inner city areas, in the decades following the Second World War. At this time, prices tended to rise in the suburbs and fall in inner city neighbourhoods. Smith argued that the cost of inner city land and property had fallen in many cases, to a level below its real value. That created a "rent-gap" and provided an incentive for developers and wealthier individuals to regenerate these neighbourhoods and raise their rental value.

Critics of this theory have argued that whilst this may create the necessary conditions for gentrification, it is not a sufficient explanation of why it takes place. (Hamnett, 1991; Atkinson, 2003.) It does not show for example, why some neighbourhoods gentrify, whilst others with a similar economic profile do not.

Ley, (1987) proposed another explanation - that developers only realise the potential of an urban or rural area, once it has already been 'colonised' by the middle classes. In this 'consumption side' argument, the demand for property in run down inner cities and post industrial sites (such as abandoned warehouses) has risen because of 'lifestyle choices' which the middle classes make simply because they can. (Zukin, 1982) They seek out areas of historic or aesthetic appeal near to cultural amenities and often, their workplaces.

In the UK context, a classic example would be Islington in North London where the potential of once elegant but rundown Georgian properties has been realised by highly paid city professionals. It was the middle classes rather than the super rich who first saw the potential however, suggesting that the rich do not always lead gentrification. (Ley, 1996) Butler (2003) has described the colonisation of Barnsbury, also in North London, by the middle classes, seeking to participate in the 'social cohesion' they imagined a run down (but attractive) working class area could provide, as well as cheap properties to renovate. Gentrification may come in 'waves' according to Wyly and Hammel (2001) and others. An

initial gentrification by middling income gentrifiers may raise the value of the area to the point where they in turn are pushed out by more wealthy gentrifiers.

There have been various attempts to integrate the 'production and 'consumption' arguments. Hamnett (1991) suggests that both Smith and Ley's theories are only partial explanations and that they are not mutually exclusive. As an analogy he uses Aesop's fable of a group of blind men, each attempting to identify an elephant by touching a different part of its anatomy. They can only describe it by what they feel and their description is necessarily incomplete. "Neither may have recognised the elephant of gentrification at first, but they each identified a key part of its anatomy, and other researchers have subsequently been able to piece together a more integrated explanation." (p.188)

Clark (1992), responding to Hamnett's metaphor, agrees that the explanations each have something to offer but cautions against oversimplification. He says that: "Attempts to draw connections between different aspects of gentrification call for ambidexterity in dealing with concepts which may defy reduction to a single model." These two explanations remain the dominant theories however, and most authors support one or the other, or a hybrid of both.

More recently, Lees (2000) and Slater (2005) complained that the energy seemed to have gone out of this debate. Moreover, Lees argues that the discourse has become less adversarial (Lees, 2000, p.402). She has called for the scope of gentrification to be enlarged to encompass what she calls, "financifiers" - or super Gentrifiers - as well as the impact of third world immigration, the roles of class and gender and the influence of urban policy. She describes this as a, "geography of gentrification." (p. 389)

Other more recent contributions to the debate centre on the influence of younger 'transient' gentrifiers who may move into an area and improve it during one life stage, before moving on to other housing more suited to their next life stage. In particular, single young professionals may favour city centre locations for social and employment amenities but move on to more spacious and suburban spaces when they wish to bring up a family. (Buzar et al. 2007) This process is discussed in more detail in the section about migration, below (3.5). Commentators like Atkinson (2008) have added further economic drivers into

the explanatory mix, for instance, "income and wealth inequalities, patterns of neighbour-hood disinvestment ... the crisis in housing affordability and supply constraints." (p.9)

The trend then, has been to expand the explanations for gentrification and in the process test the limits of the definition, and this expansion shows no sign of abating. Smith himself in his book, *'The New Urban Frontier; gentrification and the revanchist city'* (1996) softened his emphasis on purely economic causes of gentrification and embraced some of the arguments on the social side of the debate - albeit without abandoning his view that the economic causes have primacy.

3.3 The impact of gentrification - the social policy controversy

As touched on above, there is an ongoing debate about the extent to which the term 'gentrification' has been sanitised by neo-liberal commentators. Although some writers highlight the positive impact of gentrification and play down its negative influence, none deny that there are social consequences when it takes place.

Freeman (2005, 2008) and Hoggart (2007) for instance, have questioned the extent to which gentrification is a measurable social problem. In particular they point to a lack of hard evidence for displacement (further discussed at 3.6, below). Freeman would like to see, "...more empirical research that documents how gentrification affects people and neighbourhoods along with an articulation of how society as a whole loses when the least among us are threatened by gentrification." (Freeman, 2008, p.5) Freeman is one of a cohort of neo-liberal writers who use the argument that a rising tide lifts all boats. He accepts that there may be some (small) consequences to gentrification, but claims that these are outweighed by the improvements it brings to the fabric and amenities of run down areas.

US legal scholar, Elorza, in an article for the Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy, (2007) describes gentrification as one component of a trickle down approach to improving neighbourhoods for the benefit of all residents. It is said to promote social mixing and disperse ghettos of poverty.

"Even if some existing residents are displaced, by combining the literature on concentrated poverty with that on gentrification, we see that dispersing and integrating the poor is precisely what is called for. For the existing tenants who are displaced, so long as localities can prevent them from re-segregating in other blighted neighbourhoods, their living conditions will improve. The result will be neighbourhoods that are more stable and communities whose members will be better positioned to participate in mainstream society." (Elorza, 2007, p. 48).

The assumption of trickle down benefits has been strongly criticised, amongst others, by Lees (2007) who argues that there is little or no research evidence to support the idea that social mixing will occur. In addition, she says governments often assert that there will be mixing, and that the mixing will be beneficial to all, without feeling obliged to show how this will happen. There is research evidence to support the argument that gentrification's effects are largely negative, she insists. Butler (2003) for instance, studying gentrifiers in North London, found that their children had almost no contact with children from other social backgrounds and that, "...the middle classes and their children inhabit entirely separate social spaces from other, and more disadvantaged, groups." (p. 2469)

Other researchers have attempted to disprove the alleged benefits of gentrification. Atkinson (2002) argues that the negative effects swamp the positive. He regards the benefits as mainly unproven or disputable, whilst the costs are demonstrable. He is concerned that politicians and developers are increasingly ignoring these costs, whilst trumpeting the benefits. Other authors, such as Lees and Ley (2008) agree, arguing that the increasing incorporation of gentrification into the urban regeneration agenda has made politicians accentuate the positive.

"State-led gentrification today is being promoted in the name of community regeneration (in the face of supposed social / community breakdown / degeneration) through policies of mixed communities..." (Lees and Ley, 2008, p. 8)

These authors suggest such ideas were used to support both the neo-liberal political agenda in the United States and the 'third way' philosophy of the UK's then 'New' Labour government. Atkinson summarises the perceived advantages and disadvantages of gentrification in a comprehensive table.

Positive Effects	Negative Effects
Stabilisation of declining areas	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Increased property values	Community resentment and conflict
Reduced vacancy rates	Loss of affordable housing
Increased local fiscal revenues	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement.
Increased social mix	Homelessness
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Increased cost and changes to local services
Decreased crime	Increased crime
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas

Even if gentrification is a problem it is small compared to the issue of:
   - Urban decline
   - Abandonment of inner cities
	Under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas

	Gentrification has been a destructive and divisive process that has been aided by capital disinvestment to the detriment of poorer groups in cities.

Table 3 Positive and negative effects of gentrification   (Atkinson, 2002, p.7)

3.4 Is gentrification exclusively an urban phenomenon?

The majority of authors assume that gentrification is essentially an urban phenomenon. Hamnett (1991) for instance, suggests that, "...gentrification is particularly concentrated in a small number of large cities such as Paris, London, New York, San Francisco, Toronto, Sydney and Melbourne." (p. 176) Rural researchers, such as Smith (2002), call this a "bias of perception", and have argued for acceptance that gentrification can take place in the countryside as well. For Phillips (2004), the problem is that rural gentrification is

comparatively under researched. He considers that studying its rural manifestations will enrich the debate because:

> "...there may be significant commonalities of process and complex interconnections in senses of urban and rural gentrification which are worthy of exploration, and which if anything serve to increase, not lessen the complications of interpreting gentrification." (p. 477)

Even authors whose research focus is entirely urban have recognised that the metaphor on which the term gentrification is based has its roots in rural society. Hamnett (2003) and Redfern (1997, 2003) point to the world of Jane Austen. Redfern comments on Williams's book, *The Country and the City,* (1973), arguing that, "Austen's characters, gentry all, refer only to members of their own social class as their neighbours, even though there may be 5 or 15 miles of country between them." (2003 p. 2362)

Phillips (1993) proposes that, in theoretical terms, there are a number of concepts central to the urban understanding of gentrification that appear to apply equally in a rural context, " ...namely, as a manifestation of the uneven circulation of capital, as a strategy to reduce reproductive labour, or as a strategy to buy into particular lifestyles." (p.138) Smith and Phillips (2001) have examined the link between middle-class incomers "transforming" the local landscape in rural areas and the, "displacement and marginalisation of low income groups". Phillips is particularly concerned to show that gentrifiers 'consume' the rural lifestyle and that they remake rural spaces in order to establish their dominance of them (2002). This is not just a physical process, of renovating and re-valorising rural properties, but a social one. Moving into the countryside allows certain middle class groups to enhance their sense of their own value. Redfern (2003) agrees and argues that:

> "...gentrification is fulfilling a need (for identity through the construction of 'place'.) ...In creating a place for themselves, gentrifiers at the same time exclude the original inhabitants from belonging to this place." (p. 2363)

Whatever the indigenous population may think of the incomers, it is clear that many local authorities welcome their impact on the local economy (Shucksmith and Chapman 1998). Some writers see parallels between the political imperatives driving regeneration of the cities and the economic agenda of rural development. Shucksmith (1994) and Shucksmith and Chapman (1998) have suggested that local council planning and housing policies

favour the middle-classes in rural areas with, "an over emphasis on owner-occupation," which fails to recognise the need for housing for rent especially affordable housing.

Surzaker and Shucksmith (2008) note as well that the, "gap between supply and demand is at its highest in rural areas." They blame anti-rural interests for deliberately restricting housing supply in the countryside in the interests of protecting the amenity of those who can already afford to live there. They claim that groups like the Campaign to Protect Rural England have changed the meaning of the environmental concept of 'sustainability,' to support arguments for restricting development in the countryside. They suggest that government policy has been 'captured' by this lobby, so that rather than providing amenities which would enable rural living to become sustainable, instead the lack of those amenities is used to bolster the argument that development, of affordable housing in particular, is not sustainable. (Surzaker & Shucksmith 2008).

This emphasis on rural 'preservation' has been discussed at 2.3.4 above and is seen as a distinctive feature of government and planning policies towards the countryside in the UK and some other European countries. (Marsden, et al., 1993) The contribution restrictive countryside planning policies make to gentrification, is to keep prices high in rural areas within easy commuting access of large conurbations. As Marsden et al. put it: "The greatest pressures ... have been experienced in country towns and villages   accessible to urban labour markets and set in picturesque countryside." (Marsden, p.181)

A consequence of this according to Gallent, et al. (2003) has been the exclusion of lower income households from housing in these areas. "The link between income and exclusion, brought on by increasing housing demand and tightening regulation - in the name of environmental protection and under the auspices if sustainability - is apparent throughout Europe." (Gallent et al., p. 227)

A major tenurial change has emerged in rural East Lothian since the 1980s because of the sale of council housing. Several studies of the effects of this sale on the social composition of rural areas have been undertaken, and whilst it is clear that this is not in itself gentrification, the Right to Buy could have effected a social change that would facilitate gentrification. For example, Chaney and Sherwood (2000) consider that due to very high

rates of sale and then resale in the English shire counties studied, "the turnover process has substantially reduced the proportion of 'working class' households in the former local authority stock." (p. 84)

A study of the operation of the 'Right to Buy'[1] in East Lothian by Rosenburg (2001) revealed similar high sales and re-sales levels in rural areas and suggested that resale prices in particular were so high that they were beyond the means of most first-time buyers, let alone people waiting for council houses. The significance of the shift in social mix engendered by this relatively new housing market remains an open question, so far as gentrification is concerned.

Urban local authority housing tends to cluster in areas where gentrifiers are unlikely to tread. Rural council houses by contrast are often scattered across small towns and villages in more attractive settings. The issue of whether these social changes make it easier for gentrifiers to move in to rural areas appears to be under-researched.

3.5 Migration patterns and their relationship with gentrification

One of the key strands in the argument over gentrification's social impact is the debate about its consequences for indigenous (usually working class) residents, especially the extent to which the former population is displaced - emigrates - as the gentrifiers move in. Of course there can be many reasons for migration, but within the context of gentrification literature, the term 'displacement' carries a particular set of meanings that are often politically and emotionally charged. The disputes about the extent of gentrification's influence, and who is actually displaced by it, will be considered at 3.6, below, but first the relationship between gentrification and the other drivers of migration needs to be considered.

These drivers vary between urban and rural areas, as well between countries with different housing and planning policies. They depend on particular social and economic pressures and migratory outputs diverge according to local circumstances.

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[1] The right for social tenants to buy their houses at a discount was introduced in the UK in 1980

3.5.1 Urban migration

In urban migration studies both counter-urbanisation and re-urbanisation (respectively the moving out of, and in to, cities) have been extensively researched. Patterns of urban migration have been dominated in the last half-century by a 'flight to the suburbs.' This is generally assumed to have been more acute in the US, where cities have acquired a so-called 'doughnut' shape, in which the centre is hollowed out by migration, stranding lower income groups who cannot afford to move. This is seen as a lesser problem in Europe including the UK (Kasarda, et al., (1997) and others). In the US some of these 'abandoned' inner city areas have subsequently become prime sites for gentrification. UK and European cities have fewer 'abandoned' areas, possibly thanks to post war housing shortages (Lees, 1994) and restrictive planning policies. (Redfern 1997) Many non-US cities have nonetheless experienced a measure of gentrification and most exhibit some evidence of urban flight, so the relationship between this suburbanisation and gentrification is far from clear. (Halfacree, 2008) Even in the US, it is evident that not all the depopulated areas are being gentrified and a drift to the suburbs continues alongside gentrification. (Sumka, 1979, Kasarda et al. (1997)) Many authors, particularly those based in the United States, add race into the mix. Bostic and Martin, in a study of black homeowners, suggest that there is, "a racial component to gentrification, which follows a well-defined pattern." (Bostic & Martin 2003 p. 2427) 'White flight' has been a theme of some gentrification research in the US. This is the tendency of white families to move out of the inner city and the consequent creation of black ghettos.

Bostic and Martin argue however, that high earning blacks were involved in 1970s US gentrification. Laws that prevented them from moving into non-gentrifying affluent areas have subsequently been abolished though, so black people have more choice. They suggest this may have reduced the impetus for high earners to gentrify, since they can find high quality housing in suburbs once off limits to them. Bostic and Martin's research emphasises the need to distinguish between gentrification and other migratory processes. The blacks that were involved in the gentrification process were high earners who could afford the supposed advantages of their gentrified lifestyle. They could well have been moving into areas from which poorly paid blacks were squeezed out.

The doughnut city is thought by most authors to be a phenomenon in the United States (and some other liberal-market economies) that is created by a plentiful supply of land and planning policies that do not inhibit suburban 'sprawl' (Redfern 1997). Recently there have been attempts both in the US and the UK to regenerate the inner cities, enticing back the young and upwardly mobile.

In the UK there is some evidence that these policy initiatives can be successful in slowing the suburban exodus. Public policy may have influenced patterns of migration to a different degree in regulated as compared with liberalised markets. This question appears however, to be under researched. Lambert and Boddy (2002) consider the case of Bristol, which has experienced population growth in its city centre. They compare it with seven other English cities. They conclude that the 'flight to the suburbs' has greatly diminished in most of them and in two - Bristol and Manchester - apparently been reversed. There remains however, a problem of distinguishing gentrification from the 'background noise' of other migrations. Lambert and Boddy do not consider all the city centre incomers to be gentrifiers, since they are moving mainly into new build properties, don't share the middle-class social profile that most authors consider essential for gentrification and so, "...to describe these processes as gentrification is stretching the term and what it sets out to describe too far." (p.23)

Van Criekingen in a study of migration in to and out of Brussels's central historic core, agrees that more clarity is required about the relationship between these regeneration processes and gentrification, commenting that, "paradoxically...this aspect remains under-investigated in the gentrification literature." (Van Criekingen, 2009, p.827). His paper considers the social composition of the 'Pentagon' district, and compares the age, occupational and gender profiles of its long-term residents with those who have recently moved in.

Van Criekingen explains that the area is one in which the population was declining rapidly until the arrival of a new economic stimulus, in the shape of the European Union bureaucracy. Well-paid Eurocrats wanted to live near their work in atmospheric and aesthetically appealing surroundings. Thanks to the under valuation of the Pentagon area, a classic gentrification rent-gap emerged, encouraging landlords to improve their properties

and hike the rents. As a result, Van Criekingen says the profile of the new residents is quite different from that of the indigenous population. Young single people who are private renters and who stay for short periods of time now make up a significant proportion of the population. The age of the longer-term 'stable' residents is fairly evenly distributed with a slight dip at 20-34 years, in contrast with the 'in-movers' whose ages strongly peak in this range. Only 29.5% of the stable residents have higher educational qualification, whilst amongst the in-movers in 2000-1 the figure is 53.2%. The tenure mix is also very different. 23.7% of the long-term residents are owner-occupiers, as opposed to 7.1% of the in movers (2000-01) and only 39.3 % rent from a private landlord whereas for the newcomers the figure is 68.3%.

Van Criekingen claims the lack of rent regulation in Belgium has permitted prices to rise to a point where staying is no longer an option, for some indigenous renters. He concludes that, 'exclusionary displacement' is taking place, "...the ability of low income households to move into Brussels central core is clearly decreasing." (p. 845) As well, rising housing costs have pushed out long-term residents. However these displacees account for only one fifth of all those who moved out of the area, suggesting that the level of displacement may be obscured by other migrations taking place and in particular, "the quantitative importance of the rapid turnover of educated young adults in the private rental market." (p. 845)

A similar movement by young professionals has been noted elsewhere, especially by Bondi (1999) in Edinburgh. She focuses on the housing 'journeys' of households, including single parents, young single people and childless couples. She concludes that for some, the gentrification of inner city areas is just a life stage and that even the gentrifying classes move to manage changes in their household composition, as much as to gentrify their housing, "...for many young professional people, gentrification is less of a lifetime alternative to suburban lifestyles and more of a staging post on a journey likely to proceed towards parenthood and suburban or ex suburban living." (Bondi, 1999, p.217)

Other authors such as Buzar et al. (2007), have emphasised the multiplicity of the migration trends that are altering the population dynamics of cities. In a study of what they call 'urban resurgence' the authors analyse how cities come to be 're-urbanised,' and by which groups. Many of these groups are not those that the literature would normally

associate with gentrification. Like Van Criekingen the authors emphasise that this phenomenon is under-theorised, and that its relationship to gentrification is unclear. Against this background they investigate re-urbanisation in four European cities, Leipzig, Ljubljana, Bologna and Leon. Using census and registry data alongside surveys and interviews, their research suggests that there are multiple migratory trends taking place, simultaneously, in all four cities. They ascribe this in part to social change, with the rise of single person apartments, delay in child rearing and the unravelling of traditional family structures. This has increased the number of young people, such as students and those starting their housing careers, that find city centres congenial places to live.

Simultaneously however, middle-aged flight from the city centre to the suburbs continues. A further complication is that increasing numbers of immigrants are coming to live in the city centre, especially those working in the service industries, and they gravitate to low income, working class areas. The authors claim that this, "...has led to a rapid rise in the total number of urban households, while contributing to the re-densification and rejuvenation of selected parts of the built environment." They also assert that these migration patterns are "multidirectional ...as well as multifaceted." (Buzar et al., 2007, p. 672) This is a more broadly-based migration than any assumed under gentrification, with its supposed class roots. The authors describe gentrification as just one component of social transformation of the inner cities. A consequence of this trend in migration, they argue, is that concepts such as gentrification and displacement need to be re-theorised, since a reorganisation of urban space is taking place, which is "splintering," and making inner city quarters "more socially diverse." (p. 673)

Howley, (2009) uncovered similar findings about patterns of migration in to and out of Central Dublin. The case of in-migrants to the burgeoning modern apartment complexes in the city centre is considered. Like Bondi's Edinburgh young professionals, these in-migrants appreciate the advantages of city centre living, such as closeness to work and cultural amenities. They see their time there as a life-stage, with most preferring to move out to lower density locations at an appropriate moment. When they do move away they are likely to be replaced by other transients with a similar social profile (i.e., other young professionals).

Howley suggests that this group's preference for low-density living may have cultural roots in Ireland. Residents of other European countries studied by Neuman (2005) found the lifestyle qualities (environmental, social, suitability for children) they required, even in high-density cities. He concludes nonetheless that unless more stable and balanced inner city communities are created, such re-urbanisation movements may not be sustainable.

The migration patterns for a broader cross section of young people, at all income levels, are considered by Lyons and Simister, (1999), in a paper on migration and intergenerational change in London, over the years 1971-91. The authors followed the housing histories of young people, from living at home with their parents to living as independent adults. Two groups fared better than the others in finding suitable housing. Those that moved out of London were generally more able to find accommodation they could afford and the children of Londoners who were already homeowners were more likely to receive help from their parents to find what they needed. By contrast in-migrants and children of parents who were not homeowners fared badly. The study suggests too, that migration out of London to the South East of England by the middle-aged, can signify upward social mobility - a finding consistent with Lyons's earlier study (1996), discussed above. This implies that gentrification is not always a one-way ticket bought by the upwardly mobile. As well it is not the only migratory direction taken by better off individuals, who may chose suburban or non-gentrified housing, and neither is it necessarily the final stage of their housing journey.

3.5.2 Rural migration

As with urban migration, people move in to, as well as out of, the countryside and there is consensus that migration patterns include an element of gentrification. 'Counter-urbanisation,' under which the better off migrate not only to the suburbs but beyond into the countryside, is a prominent strand of the literature.

Counter-urbanisation is a contested term. Mitchell (2004) considers that it, "...is too broad to cover its depth of meaning." (p. 15). She suggests that there are three predominant groups of authors using the term.

- Those that do not attempt to describe what it means, using it "arbitrarily."

- Those who simply review other authors definitions but come to no explicit view

- Authors who define it by equating it with one of two things, migration or settlement change (p.17)

In a critical review of the state of counter-urbanisation research, Halfacree (2008), suggests it should be defined as a process of restructuring of rural areas, though in contrast Mitchell argues against too precise a definition, "we need a flexible model of counter-urbanisation." (p. 491) Although possessing a class component, it is seen by Halfacree as distinct from gentrification since, "...it does not seem to have the explicit 'class struggle' element of, for example, (urban) gentrification." (p. 482) According to Smith (2007), counter-urbanisation is a more significant phenomenon than has sometimes been recognised. Smith quotes a report by the English Countryside Agency suggesting that four times as many people left the city for the country in the UK, between 1981 and 2002, than moved from the North of the England to the South. The report shows that rural populations rose by 14% in that period and claims they have been, "reconstituted." Not all of these households of course, are gentrifiers. Ex-urbanites recognise that, "...the countryside is no longer ...primarily a food factory, but ...a place for leisure and residence," according to Halfacree in a study of counter culture communes. (2006) For Halfacree the proponents of the communal life (at least originally) had very different social goals to the gentrifiers. He acknowledges however that studies have shown them to be predominantly middle class and suggests that in towns such as Hebden Bridge in North Yorkshire, what began as a hippie movement has turned bourgeois over the years. (p. 311)

Smith and Phillips (2001) suggest nevertheless that it is not only individuals that have moved into rural areas with gentrifying intent, but also commercial gentrifiers, "seeking to produce ready-made 'rural' commodities aimed at attracting managerial and professional inhabitants." (Phillips M, et al., 2008, p. 5)

What then, of the out migrants? In a classic gentrification, immigrant gentrifiers should provoke an exodus of poorer households, excluded by rising prices. As has been shown however, gentrification is only one facet of a more complex pattern of migration. Moreover, according to Smith (2007) and Hoggart (2007), the rural working classes are

proving resistant to displacement. Hoggart acknowledges that the middle classes may have 'captured' the countryside, but he questions whether that implies that the working classes are in decline there. "...We do not know what this has meant for those with working class occupations, in terms of how it has impacted on traditional occupational communities." (p. 306)

Hoggart suggests too, that it can be hard to make social classifications work in rural society. For example he claims that more rural than urban workers have a partner in a different social class (32.4% against 26.7%). He also cautions against establishing an artificial theoretical divide between urban and rural society and calls for a, "...shift to explore how urban and rural interaction within city regions create geographies of disadvantage and opportunity that transcend the rural-urban divide." (p.313) It is evident from other studies though (Jones and Jamieson, 1997, Champion, 2007), that there is pressure on lower-paid, or unemployed people (especially the young) to move from the countryside to the cities. They emphasise that the shortage of affordable housing makes it difficult for the young to live independently and that there are narrow and decreasing employment opportunities. Paradoxically however, many writers have concluded that it is mainly the better off youngsters who have the freedom to move. Shucksmith (2004) suggests that middle class young people are more able to emigrate from rural areas as they have greater educational opportunities than their working class peers.

According to Rugg and Jones (1999), low earning young people with few prospects are only able to hang on in the countryside because of their access to support networks. If parental support breaks down, then they are more likely to move to a nearby urban area to find work.

Partly as a result of decades of under investment in both amenities and social or affordable housing, Shucksmith and Chapman (1998) argue that in rural Scotland a high percentage of people are in low paid occupations and that, "a disproportionate number of the poor are elderly and a disproportionate number of the elderly are poor." (p.8)

Against this backdrop, the young have to decide whether to stay or go. Burrows (1999) identified four categories of potential migrant, whilst investigating whether young people still have, "a place in the country."

- Committed leavers - who have decided that they want to leave and have the means or the opportunity to do so
- Reluctant stayers - who wish to move but for economic or social reasons find it impossible
- Reluctant leavers - who do not wish to leave but have no other options, and
- Committed stayers - who are determined to stay, even though better opportunities beckon elsewhere.

Overall, this study found that up to two-thirds of the young people wanted to leave and only one-third wished to stay.

Finally, as discussed at 3.4 above, it should be remembered that accessible rural Scotland can be an attractive migratory option for the monied middle-classes, whether as gentrifiers or purchasers of so-called 'executive homes.' Migratory patterns in to, and out of, rural areas are complex however, and gentrification is only one element of them. Phillips (2008) suggests that "there appears to be considerable variation in both the extent and form of middle class colonisation of the countryside." (p.18) Phillips, Smith and others have identified some of this movement as gentrification. But there is evidence as well, of the middle classes moving out of the countryside to seek opportunities and, from Hoggart, of the working classes resisting displacement.

3.6 Displacement - the key migratory impact of gentrification?

As has been shown above, the migratory movements engendered by gentrification can be seen as cross currents in the migratory tide. The principal migratory impact of gentrification however, is said to be the displacement of the indigenous population. The mechanism of this displacement is now considered more complex than was originally posited by Ruth Glass. This section considers who leaves - and whether they have to go. It asks moreover, why those that stay do so and what is known about the impact on them of resisting displacement.

3.6.1 Determining who leaves and whether they have to go

Researchers who have focussed on displacement processes have found them difficult to measure. Atkinson (2000) for instance, combined cross-sectional census data (between areas) with longitudinal census data (over time) in a study in London and concluded that displacement had taken place. He emphasised the pitfalls of measuring displacement however, not least in distinguishing it from replacement. He suggests it can be very hard to track the displaced and that, "...gentrification may not necessarily displace anyone at all; people may migrate by choice rather than by force or economic necessity." (p.150)

For Atkinson and others it is largely a question of pricing out, either by economic measures such as rent increases or physical ones like eviction. Atkinson recognises though, that it can be difficult to distinguish this process from the overall social change in an area, which may be led by welfare and labour market changes, as well as voluntary migration. Atkinson used census data to track the rate of occupational change in a sample of wards in Greater London. He grouped occupations into categories and analysed the changes, concluding that gentrification was "active and extensive," and affected, "...above average levels of losses of groups associated with displacement in the past."

In a longitudinal study published in 1996, Lyons used census data for the period 1971-81 to consider the social impact of gentrification. Choosing inner-London, in part because the uneven development of gentrification allowed cross-borough comparisons to be made, she considered which groups were migrating, to where. The period studied was one in which inner-London boroughs as a whole were suffering depopulation. Lyons found that high status households were more likely to move outside their borough, whilst lower status ones were more likely to move within it. This tendency was more obvious in gentrifying boroughs such as Islington, than elsewhere.

This might seem to suggest that an older pattern of migration, away from the inner city and towards the suburbs was taking place, in contradiction to any expectation that gentrification may have slowed or reversed this long-term trend. Lyons accepted that a flight to the suburbs had been taking place. However, she said that did not mean that gentrification wasn't happening, but rather that its interaction with the migratory flows was

complex. Gentrification was forcing out middle class families who, prior to the cost rises it had brought, might have been able to afford to meet their housing aspirations locally. This had lead to: "The progressive elimination of the middle ground from the housing market of gentrifying boroughs."

It appears that gentrification is not a once-and-for-all event but a process, as areas are successively 'invaded' by in-migrants with ever-greater resources. Such a view seems to accord with Wyly and Hammel's idea (1999) that, in areas with a strong gentrifying pull, it comes in waves. It also fits Bondi's contention (1999) that the initial gentrifiers can be middle income rather than upper income groups.

One aspect of displacement that appears to be under-researched concerns the fate of the actual and potential displacees. Where do they move to? Atkinson has pointed out that it is easier to collect information about those who remain in an area, than those who have left it. (Atkinson, 2003) If some households cannot easily leave an area (Lyons, 1996; Marcuse, 2005) what sort of properties do they move to within it? Are their housing circumstances worsened to the point where they experience overcrowding, poor quality housing or even homelessness?

Given Lyons's research, showing that it isn't necessarily the poorest households that leave a gentrifying area, the second question that arises is whether anyone has to leave, at all?

Neo-liberal writers have been keen to play down the displacement pressures caused by gentrification. Whilst not denying they exist, writers such as Sumka (1979) and more recently Freeman & Branconi (2002) assert that they are considerably less problematic than often assumed. In a study of displacement in New York, Freeman and Branconi argue that it is not gentrification, but succession that causes displacement because:

> "...the primary mechanism seems to be normal housing succession; when rental units become vacant in gentrifying neighbourhoods, they are more likely to be leased by middle-income households. Only indirectly, by gradually shrinking the pool of low-rent housing, does the re-urbanisation of the middle class appear to harm the interests of the poor." (Freeman and Branconi, 2002, p.4).

The authors argue as well, that there is much less evidence of movement by lower income families than might be expected as a result of gentrification. Marcuse (2005) amongst others has challenged this contention. He suggests that Freeman and Branconi do not consider whether there may be constraints on the ability of the poor to move.

> "Do they not move because there are no feasible alternatives available for them to move to, in a tight housing market? Do they have a 'lower propensity to move' because they are finally getting decent neighbourhood services? (an odd phrase, incidentally, quantitatively considered: judging just by statistics, prison inmates have a 'low propensity to move')" (Marcuse, 2005).

Lyons considers that the key issue is the extent to which households have a choice. They may be living in subsidised, socially rented housing, and their social and economic links to their area may limit their scope to move away.

> "Dependence on neighbouring, on family ties, on local acquaintances for work, on familiarity with social services, and on entitlement to council housing, combine to tie low status households to short distance moves if they move at all. ... This would not be inconsistent with a model of gentrification which assumed an increasing residualisation of remainders as gentrification progresses..." (Lyons, 1996, p.58).

3.6.2 A further explanation - place attachment as a reason to remain

Besides the constraints on displacement suggested by Lyons and Marcuse the literature concerning the idea of place attachment offers another set of motivations for resisting moving. Place attachment is a strand of academic inquiry that considers the psychological motivations of individuals, when they attach to places. (Lewicka, 2011). Researchers in this field have frequently been interested in displacement, though rarely as a result of gentrification. One of the earliest studies, by Fried (1963) considered the emotional impact of displacement on households from a neighbourhood being improved in the West End of Boston. Residents that had been moved from their original homes grieved for their loss. In this instance it wasn't gentrification that caused the displacement, but well intentioned social housing policy.

The study of place attachment has attracted researchers from a variety of disciplines, from Urban Studies, though Geography, to Sociology and Psychology. It may be that the breadth

of academic interest, and the variety of approaches to researching it, have contributed to a sense that it is a rather diffuse and under-theorised concept (Lewicka 2011). That point will be returned to, but first it needs to be asked, what is meant by a 'place'?

Y-F Tuan, in the earliest era of place attachment research saw it in terms of an individual's understanding and awareness of their world. "Place is a center of meaning constructed by experience" (Tuan 1975 p.152). Tuan, although a geographer, saw 'place' in quasi-psychological terms. He meant by this definition that place is something which human beings find vital to their understanding of who they are. Where people come from is one way in which they construct their identity. Place can have specific meaning for individuals though, depending on their circumstances. In the home for example,

> "My favorite rocking chair, wedged between the fireplace and the curtained window is my special place within the house. It has specific location, it has special meaning for me, and this bond between the rocker and me is recognised by other members of the family." (Tuan 1975 p.153)

This is not to suggest of course, that place attachment is centred around the concept of the 'home,' which has an extensive literature of its own. Rather, Tuan recognises that 'home' is one significant place. Others range from the smallest, the bed, to the largest, the universe. In between are the places which have been most studied by place attachment researchers; neighbourhoods, towns, city, regions and countries. Tuan argues though that the process of identification with places is very similar across these various scales, because the same psychological processes are at work.

3.6.3 Place attachment definitions and concepts

Place attachment researchers have considered its meaning from many perspectives and there is a constellation of related concepts, which Giuliani and Feldman (1993) offer as, "rootedness, sense of place, belongingness, insidedness, embeddedness, affiliation, appropriation, commitment, investment, dependence, identity, etc." (p.273)

A broad consensus about how to define place attachment has developed, nevertheless. Hidalgo and Hermandez (2001) call it, "an affective bond or link between people and specific places" (p.274). They also quote definitions by Shumaker and Taylor (1983), "a

positive affective bond or association between individuals and their residential environment" (p.233), Hummon (1992), "emotional involvement with places" (p.256) and Low (1992), "...an individual's cognitive or emotional connection to a particular setting or milieu." (p.165) Hidalgo and Hermandez identify a potential semantic confusion, highlighted by Lewicka (2011) as well, because place attachment is sometimes used interchangeably with other terms such as 'residential attachment' or 'residential satisfaction.' For this reason Hidalgo and Hermandez narrow down the term, in a study of place attachment in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Spain to, "...the desire to stay close to the object of attachment." (Hidalgo and Hermandez, 2001, p.274).

Scannell and Gifford have devised a useful framework to facilitate place attachment enquiries (2010). They propose a tripartite arrangement, looking at attachment in terms of the person, by examining individual experiences of place, or its historical or religious significance for certain groups. Second, considering the places themselves and asking what it is about them that generates attachment. Is it the social aspects of the place or its physical characteristics that make people attach? Scannell and Gifford consider a third element as well; the processes by which attachment happens. This focuses attention on how people are affected emotionally, the role place has in giving their lives meaning and how it affects their behaviour.

3.6.4 The theoretical underpinnings of place attachment research

There are competing understandings of how place attachment can be measured. Lewicka, in a review of place attachment research progress over the past 40 years, considers that this is in part because it remains under-theorised and lacking a consistent methodology. (Lewicka, 2011)

Whilst debate continues about whether an overarching theory of place attachment is possible, certain of its attributes have been theorised. For instance, typologies have been developed. Relph (1976) considered how people become attached to place and describes seven stages of 'insidedness' ranging from alienation to immersion into it. Hay (1998) distinguished five types of place on the basis of how rooted the participant is there.

Hummon's (1992) typology includes people that are unattached to their community, as well as those that are attached.

Much place attachment research has been quantitative, often with a positivist outlook. Many quantitative studies have been carried out (e.g. Riger and Lavrakas 1981, Boniaiuto, 1998, Williams and Vaske, 2003), and these view attachment as measurable, statistically. Lewicka for example, describes the research of Brown and Raymond (2007), in which:

> "Participants are asked to assign a certain number of tokens to place according to the degree to which they represent 12 different values (aesthetic, recreation, therapeutic, biological diversity, wilderness, home, heritage, family connection, intrinsic, economic, spiritual life, sustaining, learning and future). Intensity of particular values can be quantified by computing the number and value of assigned tokens in each category." (Lewicka, 2011, p.221)

Likewise Hidalgo and Hermandez (2001) talk of obtaining, "a precise measure of place attachment". (p.276)

Qualitative studies have been undertaken as well, though fewer of them and most relatively recent. For instance, a study by Van Patten and Williams (2008) used the conceptual framework of discursive social psychology to understand how participants understood the meaning of their second or seasonal homes. They considered how important these were to them as a refuge and how central to their lives. There have also been multi-method studies, such as that of Devine-Wright and Howes (2010) into the attitudes of local residents to wind farm projects in North Wales. This used psychometric measures of attachment, focus groups and interviews, to determine how opposition to wind farms varied depending on the degree of place attachment.

3.6.5 Place attachment concepts that are useful when studying displacement

It is primarily the processes that bind people strongly to places of attachment that are useful when studying displacement as a consequence of gentrification. Lewicka (2011) calls these 'predictors' of attachment. If these can be identified amongst the study participants it will be likely that they influenced their decision(s) to stay in the face of housing stress. Predictors proposed by researchers have included the following:

- *Length of residence* - people who have lived longest in an area are inclined to become most attached to it (Kleit and Manzo, 2006, Riger and Lavrakas, 1981)

- *Home ownership* - home owners said to be more attached than renters (Bolan 1997) (though most research has been carried out in the United States, where the letting market neither has a strong public sector, nor much private regulation.)

- *Age* - older residents are claimed to have more attachment than younger ones (Pretty et al. 2003). However Pretty has suggested that this is mediated by...

- *Available activities* and *scope for fulfilling life goals*

- *Income and social status* - wealthier households are said to have greater place attachment (Livingston, Bailey and Kearns, 2008)

- *Relations with neighbours* - although Lewicka, (2001) says it is not clear whether this is a cause of attachment, or an effect

- *Sense of security* - (Brown et al. 2004) how safe households feel, which may link with...

- *Social stability and lack of pollution* - how good the local environment is (Harlan et al. 2005)

- *Social capital* - the more a person has invested in the area, socially, the greater his/her attachment (Bonaiuto et al. 1999, Brown et al., 2004). This overlaps with relations with neighbours but includes friends and support networks as well

3.6.6 Summary, the migratory impact of gentrification

Although the extent of displacement thanks to gentrification is contested, there is consensus in the literature that it occurs. Aspects of the process appear however, to merit further investigation. In particular, place attachment research concepts could help to explain why certain household types are strongly resistant to displacement.

3.7 Gentrification in East Lothian - evidence of social change

This section considers what can be known from the literature, about gentrification within the study area of East Lothian. It assesses the evidence for gentrification and sets it in the context of the wider literature, reviewed above. It will be shown that gentrification has

been a process rather than an event and that it is unevenly spread, primarily amongst smaller settlements in rural parts of the local authority area.

Historical evidence for gentrification is examined first, drawing on local texts such as social and economic surveys, transcribed oral history accounts and parish records. This data is then evaluated against the theoretical concepts of gentrification described in the literature. This analysis of the evidence demonstrates the kind of gentrification that has taken place in the area. The literature throws light on the way, and the extent, to which gentrification has exacerbated housing stress in East Lothian. It highlights issues that need to be addressed in the research questions.

3.7.1 Sources of evidence

Along with small-scale histories and memoirs, three main strands of literature about employment and social history in East Lothian provide evidence for gentrification. Changes in the social mix of towns and villages are documented in the East Lothian Fourth Statistical Account (4ELSA). (Baker, ed., 2003-7) This is a comprehensive survey of all the parishes of East Lothian which, as well as showing occupational changes, details developments in agriculture, industry, housing, social activities and religious observance, during the period 1945-2007. It contains oral and verbal evidence from residents of these parishes about social change during their lifetimes and it provides a selection of statistics to illustrate these developments.

The main sources of information about employment are data from the Scottish census and the parish valuation rolls. Nether of these sources provides a comprehensive picture of employment change, however. The valuation rolls list the occupations of the residents of each parish only until the end of the 1950s, but the census did not and does not collect data about occupational groups in small localities. Despite this it has been possible, with some caveats, to contrast the rolls' data about occupations in rural settlements in the mid-1950s (ELCC 1953-4) with 2001 census statistics about residents' work status.

3.7.2 Not an event but a process

The literature suggests that gentrification has not started recently in East Lothian. The 4ELSA shows how agricultural properties began to be abandoned by their former tenants, mostly farm labourers, as the mechanisation of farming gathered pace following the end of the Second World War. Homes in small towns and villages and farm settlements that had lost their agricultural accommodation function, became targets for high added value property renovation, particularly during the 1960s,70s, and 80s. This process continues today, albeit at a slower pace.

There was concern amongst planners about depopulation and lack of employment opportunities from the 1950s onwards, as the traditional industries of East Lothian died, or became less labour intensive. Former county planning officer Frank Tindall recalled in his memoirs that shifting employment patterns during this period were disruptive:

> "It was a time of job losses with collieries closing, agricultural manpower declining rapidly, pre-war and wartime industries failing. The figures were dreadful: a decline in the insured population from 13503 in 1950 to 11396 in 1960, and in 1960, 2509 people travelling out of the county to work, compared with 823 travelling in." (Tindall, 1998, p.105)

Tindall's point is that lack of work in the county was forcing residents to look elsewhere for employment. East Lothian miners for example were now travelling to Midlothian's Newtongrange colliery. At the same time, incomers were beginning to be attracted to East Lothian. Census data indicates that from the late 1970s, East Lothian was increasingly popular as a dormitory for commuters whose work was elsewhere. By the time of the 2001 Census, only a third (33%) of employed East Lothian households worked locally. (Tribal HCH, 2011) The census shows that these commuters were (and are) not confined to the gentrifying neighbourhoods and can be found throughout East Lothian, especially close to the main transport routes. In many cases, villages suited to commuting have seen rises in population. Dirleton, near North Berwick had a population of 2817 in 1951 but this had become 3278 by 1991, in spite of lower occupation levels at individual properties. The number of elderly inhabitants had gone up, too. "Many people work outside the parish and, as has been the case for the last 50 years, there are a considerable number of retired residents." (Baker, ed., 2003-7, 4ELSA, vol. 4, p.41)

Planning policies have restricted new build in the eastern rural part of the area and were brought in to reduce pressure for over-development, as Tindall recalls. "Speculative builders... in the 1960s turned their attention to the growing prestige and attractions of East Lothian." (Tindall 1998 p.144) Tindall describes a surge in applications for up-market self-build housing in the 1960s (p.146), but for most wealthy incomers renovation was the main route to a country lifestyle. A resident of picturesque Humbie, set in rural woodlands, describes the process in the ELSA:

> "...the majority of properties had by that time *(late 1980s)* been renovated and/or extended. All of the non-agricultural 'tied' properties recorded in 1953 were sold to private buyers when they became surplus to original requirements." (Baker, ed., 2003-7, 4ELSA, vol 3, p.90)

At the time the 4ELSA was written (mid 2000s) the authors considered these changes to be established and historical. Housing in most rural settlements in East Lothian had changed from agricultural to (often upmarket) dormitory use. The 4ELSA assumes that these properties were renovated by wealthy incomers, on the basis that the social composition of the settlements had changed. This may be the case but a note of caution about the origins of the gentrifiers is necessary. It has been established that there has been (and continues to be) an influx of households from outside the area, into East Lothian. 25% of all house sales were to people from Edinburgh in 2007 (Tribal HCH, 2008). As well, it is clear from the evidence (see below) that a social change has occurred in these locations. There is however, no certain means of knowing what proportion of these gentrifiers are from outside East Lothian. It is reasonable to assume than many of them will have come from other local authority areas but likely as well that some will have moved to gentrifying areas from other parts of the county, or indeed may be locals who gentrified in situ.

Missing from the accounts in 4ELSA is any suggestion that displacement has occurred in gentrifying localities. The incomers arrived *after* the original inhabitants had dispersed to look for work elsewhere, unlike in a classic gentrification scenario. This is not to say that there was (and is) no displacement. Given that gentrification continued over a number of decades however, it is likely that displacement pressures built up slowly. The impact of gentrification on displacement is discussed further at 3.4 below and it is suggested that its influence came later and was diffused over a wider area, rather than impacting only at its original locations.

A narrative of change runs through the oral accounts, about incomers, migration, loss of employment and lifestyle. For example, local resident Liz Strachan describes the occupations of incomers to picturesque Tyneholm Cottages in Pencaitland (rural south/ middle of East Lothian.)

> "In 1975, six stone cottages, originally built for miners about 1820 all belonged to elderly people who had lived in Pencaitland all or most of their lives.....Now all the cottages have rebuilt extensions and/or loft conversions....the owners are now all commuters, with the exception of one who is retired. ....They are occupied by a nurse, a retired teacher, two computer whizz kids and an air-hostess." (Baker, ed., 2003-7, 4ELSA, vol. 3, p. 117)

Although in a higher social class than the labourers they replaced, these households might be considered too low down the social scale to count as gentrifiers, within some conceptions of gentrification. Authors such as Phillips (1993) have emphasised however, that rural gentrifiers are not necessarily all senior managers or professionals. His study of gentrifiers in the Gower peninsula includes middle managers, the self-employed and one participant who describes himself as from the, "proletariat." For Phillips the key point is that these gentrifiers have sufficient wealth to improve the built environment. It is notable that Strachan's account refers to "rebuilt extensions and loft conversions." One of the characteristics of rural gentrification in particular has been the reconfiguration and extension of relatively small farm cottages into much bigger homes (Stockdale, 2010).

The 4ELSA documents occupational and social class change, particularly in the East of the county, over a period of some fifty years. Moreover the account suggests that there were considerable numbers of incomers. A resident of Garvald, on the edge of the moorland, noted that the population fell from 448 to 242 between 1951 and 1991 and that, "...in 2000 there was nobody who 'belonged' to the village in the sense that their forebears lived there." (Baker, ed., 2003-7, 4ELSA Vol. 2 p.15) A similar situation is described at Whitekirk, twenty miles away and on the road to North Berwick:

> "In 1945 most of the population in the parish were in one way or another connected with farming and estate work. This profile has drastically changed. By 2000 no one living in Whitekirk was involved in farming, the only animals being domestic dogs and cats, a cockerel and three hens. With this change...the type of people living here has changed too. Farm workers have been replaced by retired,

still active persons or commuters, their cottages lovingly done up." Baker, ed., 2003-7, 4ELSA, vol. 4, p146)

3.8 Social change in three settlements

In order to demonstrate in more detail how gentrification has progressed in East Lothian three attractive rural communities were studied, which might have been expected to have experienced gentrification. They were conveniently sited for commuting. These are typical of the settlements in which social change is described in the 4ELSA. The intention was to determine whether there was statistical evidence of social change in these settlements that would confirm the oral evidence in the 4ELSA. In particular it needed to be asked, whether more managers and professional people were living in these localities, than before the agricultural employment market shrank, and whether the increase was more significant than the overall rise in numbers of managers and professionals in East Lothian and elsewhere in Scotland.

The chosen settlements were Aberlady, a wealthy village on the coast, East Linton, in the heart of the lowland farming plain and Gifford, a large village on the edge of the southern moorland. These places were selected because they are geographically quite far apart within the county area but, more importantly, they were likely to demonstrate signs of change if gentrification had occurred. The evidence would indicate a higher percentage of households in the managerial and professional classes than previously, as well as high house prices relative to other parts of East Lothian.

These settlements were chosen as well because they are of a manageable size for analysing their valuation rolls. Current valuation rolls do not provide employment details however, as they did in the 1950s. Hence it was impossible to compare data directly between the 1953-4 rolls and the present day ones. Instead the information about occupations contained in the rolls has been compared with the occupational groups data for localities, drawn from the 2001 census. This comparison confirms the hypothesis that the class composition of these towns has not only changed, but has done so to a greater extent than in East Lothian overall. Some words of caution are necessary. It is unclear whether the parishes as defined in the 1953-4 valuation rolls are the exactly the same areas considered as 'localities' by the 2011 census enumerators. They do however, provide a broad match. Second, the valuation

rolls do not categorise occupations they only list them. The occupations described in the rolls therefore have been fitted to the 2001 census categories. It cannot be an exact fit, but is sufficient to demonstrate social change. Third, it is unclear whether the valuation rolls provide occupational details for all households. The listings do appear to be substantially complete however, and are ambiguous only in a small number of cases.

Percentages in each occupation by village and year	Gifford		East Linton		Aberlady		East Lothian		Scotland	
	1953	2001	1953	2001	1953	2001	1953	2001	1953	2001
Managers & Senior Officials	0	18.3	2.9	18	3.2	17.5	3	13.6	5	12.6
Professional occupations	5.3	12.1	2.2	15	5	17.2	12	9.8	15	11.2
Associate prof. occs.	6.6	12.1	3.7	14	12.2	16	45	13.3	48	14.3
Admin & secretarial	1.3	9	2.9	11	3.2	11.3		14.7		13
Skilled trades	70	21.4	63	19	60.6	15.4		21.1		22.6
Personal Services	0	10.3	2.9	6.7	1.35	5.9	34	8.2	17	7.1
Sales / Cust. Services	1.3	3.4	1.4	6.9	0	5.1		7.8		7.4
Elementary	16	13.4	21	9.4	14.5	11.6	6	11.5	15	11.8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4. Occupational groups in three East Lothian villages in 1953 and 2001

(Figures rounded to one decimal place)

(Sources: East Lothian County Council Valuation Rolls (1953/54); 2001 Census data (2001)) [2] [3]

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[2] Derived from historical GIS information from, 'Vision of Britain' graphs which can be viewed at Appendix 'I' (GIS, 2007)

[3] Note that the social class classifications used by the Registrar General in the 1950s were:
1	Professional, etc., occupations
2	Managerial and Technical occupations
3	Skilled occupations (N) non-manual (M) manual
4	Partly-skilled occupations
5	Unskilled occupations

There is no direct match with the classifications used in the 2001 census, so jobs have been allocated to the nearest equivalent category. This inevitably means that a direct comparison is difficult to make. However, it can be said that categories 1 & 2 (professional and managerial) of the 'old' classification are relatively close to the equivalent categories in the 2001 census.

For simplicity, two 2001 census categories have been combined. 'Skilled Trades' and 'Process plant and machine operators', since the latter are in effect, skilled (or semi-skilled) trades. Table 4, above, shows significant changes in the occupations of residents of these settlements, between 1953/4 and 2001. The left hand column shows the percentage of local people employed in each category in 1953/4, whilst the right hand column shows local occupations in 2001.

3.8.1 Analysis of the evidence for social change

Three principal aspects of gentrification driven change are evident. First of all, there has been a striking increase in the percentage of managers and professionals settled in these villages. They are no longer localities where the professional and managerial classes are under-represented by contrast with East Lothian and Scotland as a whole; instead they are over-represented. In 1953, 20% of Scotland's population were managers, senior officials or professionals and in East Lothian as a whole 15% were. This contrasts with 5.3% in Gifford, 5.1% in East Linton and 8.2% in Aberlady. By the time of the 2001 census, 24.4% of East Lothian's population were in this managerial/professional group (in Scotland, 23.8%), whereas in Gifford, this has gone up to more than 30%. In East Linton the figure had risen to 33% and in Aberlady to more than 35%. Types of professional are not listed in the 2001 census, but the valuation rolls show that in 1953/4, these were primarily people who served the local community, such as doctors, teachers, ministers and lawyers.

Second there has been a steep decline in the number of skilled workers living in all three locations. More than two-thirds of the inhabitants of Gifford were skilled tradesmen in 1953. By 2001, only 21% fell into this category. In the villages, the skilled workers were almost all connected with agriculture. Ploughmen, tractor-men, pig-men and stable hands figure strongly in the lists. In East Linton there were also railway workers, but here too rural trades are evident. Work in the agricultural trades diminished as farms mechanised during the 1950s and 1960s. The population of villages fell and houses and cottages emptied. The decline in the skilled labour-force in these villages has not been matched by a decline in unskilled workers however, or the decline has been considerably less marked. The proportion has fallen by a little over 2% in Gifford, less than 5% in Aberlady but a more significant 11% in East Linton. It is unclear from the statistics why this group has not

declined so severely as the skilled labour force. One possibility may be that they have greater employment flexibility, not being tied to a trade, and another that relatively cheap council housing has, until recently, been easily available in these locations.

A third indication of gentrification in these villages emerges by contrasting the percentages of senior managers and professionals living in East Lothian as a whole with those living elsewhere in the Lothians. According to the Scottish government's 2008-9 Annual Population Survey (APS), the average proportion of East Lothian residents in the professional occupational group was slightly higher than those in other authorities bordering Edinburgh. They made up 13.7% of the population compared with 10.5% in Midlothian and 9.8% in West Lothian. All the Lothians' authorities stood in the shadow of Edinburgh however, where professionals made up 21.9% of those in employment. (APS 2009) These figures indicate a higher proportion of residents of East Lothian in this high earning category than might be expected, given that areas like West and Midlothian share some of East Lothian's characteristics, such as their role as 'dormitories' for employment in nearby Edinburgh. Similar comparisons can be made when the percentages of graduates are considered - 21.8% for East Lothian, 15.2% each for Mid and West Lothian, and 41.3% for Edinburgh. (APS, 2009)

The East Lothian percentages nevertheless, are only marginally higher than in the other Lothians authorities and if the associate professional classes (who are not necessarily high earners) are added to the mix then West Lothian (12.9%) and Midlothian (15.1%) have more than East Lothian (12.2%). Moreover, despite the marked increase in the upper occupational classes in East Lothian, it retains a large proportion of the working population that is not in highly paid employment. Nearly 60% of the workforce is in lower-earnings employment, as compared to just 47% in Edinburgh. (APS, 2009) Overall then, the proportion of the East Lothian population in the higher social categories is greater than, but not dissimilar to, the proportions in West and Midlothian. This suggests that although East Lothian as a whole has not gentrified, certain locations have.

An apparent anomaly arises from these figures since, as has been shown in chapter 2, house prices in East Lothian are above the Scottish average, and higher too than in neighbouring areas, apart from Edinburgh. That is despite a proportion of managers and

professionals in East Lothian that is only average for Scotland. This issue is analysed further, in section 3.9, below.

3.9 Evidence concerning migration and displacement

Whilst the evidence for gentrification-led social change is strong in East Lothian, it has to be acknowledged that it is harder to show either where the gentrifiers have come from, or who has left as a result of gentrification. In part the reasons for this are similar to those that might be found in any gentrifying area. Finding the displaced has proved an elusive task (Atkinson, 2003, Marcuse, 2005). There are however special features of gentrification in East Lothian which make it harder to trace the displaced than in many other places. These reasons are outlined first, and then the evidence for migration flows and displacement is considered.

3.9.1 The kind of gentrification that has taken place in East Lothian

The point has been made above, that gentrification in East Lothian has been an event and not a process. It has involved the serial replacement of skilled agricultural workers by managers and professionals. The former have not been squeezed out by the latter, but nonetheless gentrification has engendered housing cost increases which create ongoing pressure for displacement of lower income households.

It should be emphasised that the gentrifying areas of East Lothian are largely rural. Whilst the gentrification debate was initially focussed on urban gentrification, writers like Stockdale (2010) and Phillips (2002, 2005) have suggested that both Smith and Ley's arguments can apply within a rural context, as well. For Phillips, rural spaces are made by man, just as urban ones are. "The countryside may be a space of nature but this space has been socially constructed and reconstructed." (Phillips 2005, p.5) In the context of the abandoned agricultural buildings of eastern East Lothian, it appears that gentrifying households have appreciated both the financial and the lifestyle benefits of regenerating and improving the built environment.

As discussed above (3.1), there are competing explanations about what gentrification *is*, and some of these arguments are relevant in the East Lothian context. On what can be called the 'supply' side of the argument, the required conditions for gentrification as espoused by Neil Smith (1979) were certainly present in East Lothian from the late fifties and early sixties. Smith's rent gap idea fits the local situation in that the value of redundant agricultural properties had fallen below their potential. The economic conditions may have been right, but as Hamnett (1991) has pointed out, just because an area *can* be gentrified doesn't mean that it *will* be. Ley (1980) insisted that gentrification pressures are not purely financial. His 'demand' side argument is that property values rise and houses are restored because gentrifiers are attracted to live in an area. Ley argues that colonisation begins because the neighbourhood has amenities and features that suit the lifestyle of the gentrifiers, which may be cultural attractions, pleasing architecture or social facilities like bars and restaurants. This explanation seems to fit the circumstances in East Lothian.

3.9.2 Who are the Gentrifiers and where are they from?

East Lothian has experienced an influx of in-migrants as one of Scotland's fastest growing local authorities (ELC, 2012). It is not known however, how many are gentrifiers. Little data exists about households' motivations to move to the area. Even migratory facts that can be measured statistically, such as age groups, income levels and tenurial preferences are not known at small area level. There is no specific information for example, about which social class groups have moved to towns and villages of the local authority. Data does exist about some aspects of the migratory flows however, and these are discussed below.

i) Migratory flows - overview

The Tribal HCH (2005, p.11) report described migration into and out of East Lothian using figures from the 2001 census. The report considered migration flows for West, East and Central East Lothian. It compared these figures with those for migration in to the Tribal study area as a whole (the Lothians including Edinburgh), as well as with Scotland and the rest of the UK.

"This indicates that there is movement both into and out of East Lothian, with overall net in-migration to East Lothian East and Central, and net out-migration from East Lothian West." (Tribal HCH, 2005, p.11.)

Table 5 below shows the net gain or loss for each submarket area of East Lothian when all the population flows in to and out of the area are considered. The East area, where gentrification has been shown to have the biggest impact, has seen a net gain of 95 people from the whole study area and 2 from the UK, but this is balanced by a net loss of 37 people to the rest of Scotland.

To/From	From within Study area	From Rest of Scotland	From rest of UK	TOTAL
E.L.East	95	-37	2	60
E.L.West	-13	-44	13	-44
E.L.Central	76	-16	-12	48
East Lothian	158	-97	3	64
Study area	0	2,144	672	2,816

Table 5, Net migration 2000-2001 (No. of moving groups) (Source: 2001 census / Tribal HCH, 2005)

By 'total' is meant the overall change in numbers, for example 60 in the East area. This is derived by subtracting the net gains (97) from the net losses (37).

These figures may be underestimates because they show a lower level of in-migration than is revealed by other statistics - in particular those published by the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS), which have indicated that the population of East Lothian as a whole rose from 80,715 in 1983 to an estimated 97,500 by 2012 (quoted in ELC, 2012). The GROS statisticians considered that growth will continue up to 2033, in contrast to the demographic profile of many other Scottish local authorities, which are seeing net emigration. The reasons for the disparity between these figures and the TribalHCH/Census estimates remain unclear, although census data does represent only a 'snapshot,' - a picture of the statistics taken at one point in time.

The migratory flows are largely between the local authorities around Edinburgh and the city itself, rather than between the surrounding authorities. Tribal HCH sampled migration

during the first two quarters in three years, 1994, 1999 and 2004. These samples indicated more households moved from Edinburgh into its 'satellite' authorities than moved between the neighbouring authorities. A similar migratory pattern was observed in the other direction - households moving into Edinburgh from the nearby council areas far outnumbered those who moved between those councils. This suggests that migration patterns are stronger to and from Edinburgh, than between the other authorities. According to the consultants, people moving from Edinburgh make up more than half of all the incomers to East Lothian (Tribal HCH, 2005, p. 23) In 2004, about 25% of house sales in East Lothian were to Edinburgh households (Tribal HCH, 2005).

ii) Migratory flows - income, tenure and age.

When looking for evidence of gentrification it needs to be asked what social types are moving in and out, in this case of the East Lothian east submarket area, which has been proposed as having the majority of gentrifying settlements. Gentrifying households are likely to be better off than average and it has been suggested at 3.5.1 above that they are often at a particular life-stage, at which they have met with life/career success and wish to demonstrate their social status and earning capacity.

The chart of migratory statistics (Table 6, over) shows that in-comers outnumber out-movers overall in East Lothian. Leavers predominate at 18 years, whilst in-comers peak a little later, at around 20 or 21. Between that age and 35+ more households are migrating in than out, though unfortunately, the statistics do not identify which social groups are staying and which leaving. It is impossible to draw firm conclusions without that information, but the pattern does fit the idea that life-stage influences migratory decisions. It is consistent with, even if it does not prove, the notion that incomers are people wanting to move from the city to the country in search of a better lifestyle. If correct, some of these people could be gentrifiers.
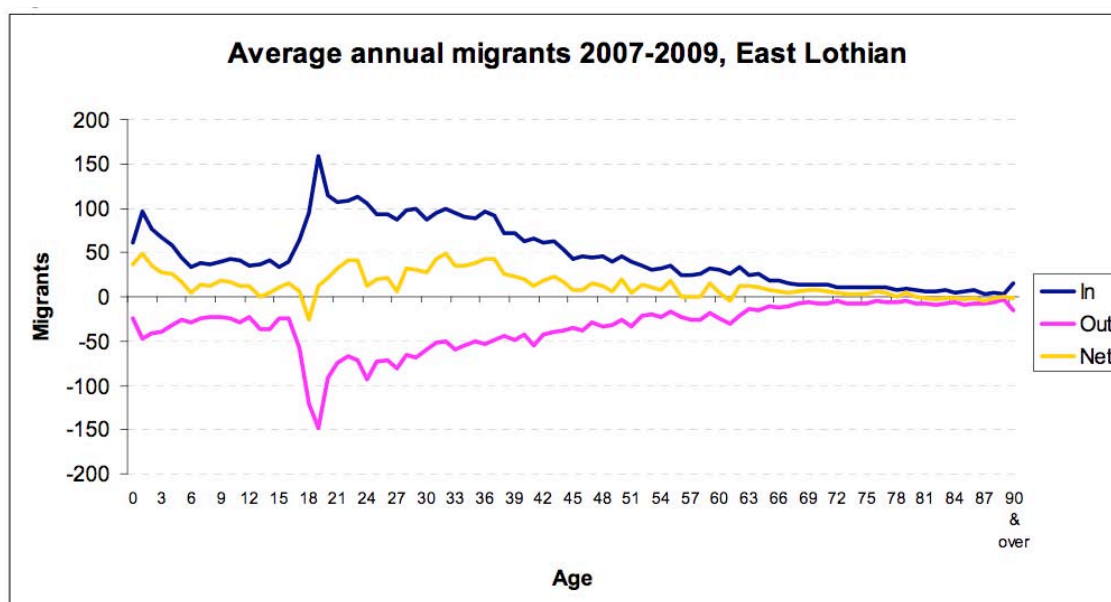
Table 6 - Average annual migrants to and from East Lothian, 2007-9 (Source: GROS, 2010)

Table 7 (below) shows the tenure of the in-migrants. In 2004 the majority of those moving in to the East Lothian area were owner-occupiers. The percentages stood at 69% for East Lothian, 71% for Midlothian and 68% for West Lothian. By contrast, only 35% of in-migrants to Edinburgh from East Lothian wanted to buy their homes, whilst 59% wanted a private let. (Tribal HCH 2005 p.19). This suggests that the flow from East Lothian to Edinburgh was of relatively low income households, whilst that in the other direction, relatively high income ones. It should be noted however, that this pattern was not unique to East Lothian. Midlothian's percentage of incoming households seeking to buy was higher.
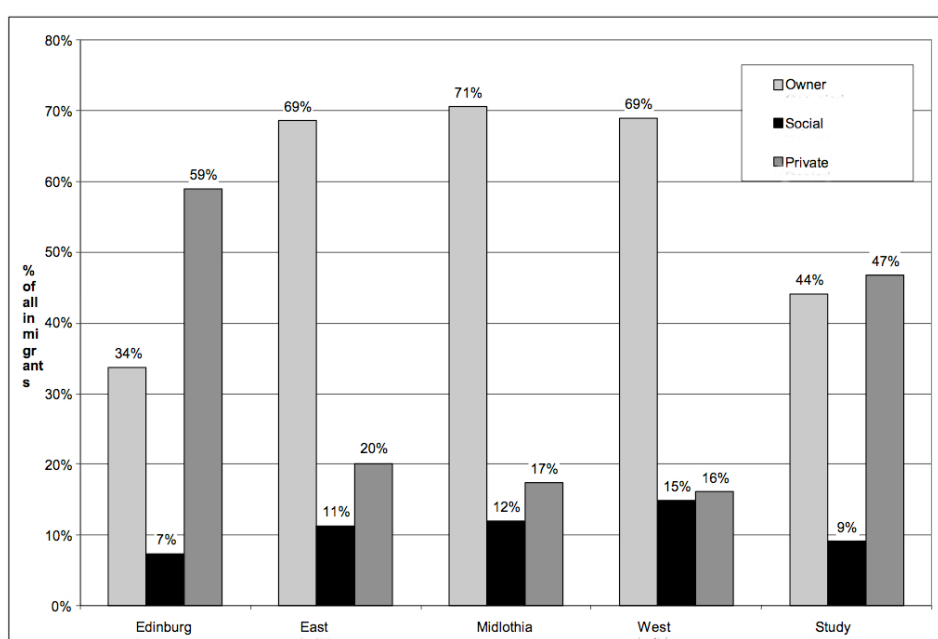
Table 7, In-migration by tenure 2000-2001 (Source: 2001 census / Tribal HCH, 2005)

Missing from this data however, is any indication of the price-level of the housing the in-comers were looking to buy. It cannot be assumed that purchasers were seeking housing in a similar price range because, as has been shown at 2.x above, East Lothian has the highest median house prices, outside Edinburgh. East Lothian East is on a par with the two most expensive Edinburgh sub areas studied by the Tribal HCH researchers. (Tribal HCH, 2005)

Although settlement level figures are absent, there are some indications from Sasines data at submarket area level[4] of where buyers in East Lothian come from. Perhaps unexpectedly, this shows that the East area of East Lothian has the lowest percentage of Edinburgh in-comers and the West area, the highest. Figures from 2007 show that in East Lothian East subarea 59% are from the area itself, compared with 22% from Edinburgh. Very few incomers are from other parts of East Lothian. The highest is EL Central at 5%. Higher percentages moving in from central Edinburgh are noted in East Lothian Central (26%) and East Lothian West (35%). (Sasines figures quoted Tribal HCH 2005, 2)

The (relatively) few Edinburgh households moving to the East area must nonetheless be paying high prices, especially since they tend to buy above the high mean price levels. (Tribal HCH, 2005) Certainly the East submarket has the highest percentage of households with incomes in the £40-100k p.a. range, at 29% compared with 24% (Central) and 26% (West) (CACI Paycheck data quoted in Tribal, 2005, 2.) They could, therefore, be gentrifiers. Although there may be a higher percentage of in-comers to the Central and in particular the West area, they will be paying the lower prices available in these submarket areas, and are less likely to be gentrifiers.

A caveat needs to be made about these assertions given the fact, discussed at 2.4.1 above, that none of the submarket areas are homogenous. There are some expensive localities in western East Lothian, for example Inveresk, and some relatively poorer ones in the east, such as West Barns near Dunbar.

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[4] See Ch 2, 2.4.2 for the definition of submarket areas in East Lothian

iii) Migratory flows - summary

Even though the migration data is not satisfactory for establishing gentrification it does seem to offer some clues. In particular, it is known that in-comers to East Lothian peak at a life stage where gentrification is likely to happen. Second, although fewer incomers move to the East Lothian East submarket area, it is likely that those that do have more money than households that move to West or Central areas because prices are significantly higher.

Clearly, there are large gaps in the evidence, principally concerning the social groups moving to each of the submarket areas. Moreover, the data does not reveal whether gentrification has been undertaken by households that are indigenous to East Lothian or by those that have moved in from elsewhere. Even if the statistics were more comprehensive however, they would still show neither the motivations of the incomers, nor their lifestyle aspirations, nor what they do with their properties to enhance their value. The available migratory data may be less useful as an indication of gentrification in East Lothian therefore, than other signifiers of the process, such as social and lifestyle changes.

3.9.3 Displacement in East Lothian

Less data is available about displacement from East Lothian, than about migration into the area. Whilst figures show how many people have left, their reasons have not been recorded. It is clear though that displacement has not taken place along the lines predicted in Ruth Glass's original gentrification theory. Glass suggests that wealthy incomers move in and the urban poor are squeezed out. (Glass, 1964) That view has been refined over the last fifty years and most researchers now consider the idea of a straight swap of one class for another to be too simplistic.[5] The theory does not seem to be applicable in East Lothian, in any event. In the absence of statistical data, what is known or can be surmised about the process of displacement in East Lothian is considered first below and this evidence then related to the theoretical debate.

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[5] See sections 3.5 and 3.6 for a full discussion of this issue

i) The evidence for displacement in East Lothian

It has been noted that displacement can be hard to measure. The circumstances of gentrification in East Lothian have compounded the difficulties because it has been a process and not an event.

The economic history of agricultural eastern East Lothian has engendered a particular kind of gentrification, under which displacement may have been less visible. In urban centres Glass's process is more easily observed. Working-class neighbourhoods are colonised first by middle class, then upper middle class incomers, and indigenous groups may have to leave. Sometimes the earliest middle class incomers are themselves squeezed out by the greater economic power of waves of higher-income gentrifiers. In rural eastern East Lothian however, there is little evidence of this kind of displacement. That is because gentrification in the eastern areas came about *after* they had been depopulated, mainly by agricultural mechanisation. As in some of the gentrification scenarios described above (3.6) some lower income groups have remained in gentrifying areas nonetheless, either in social housing or agricultural tied houses, which are integral to their employment. They did not (and do not) face severely rising rents forcing them from their homes, as is proposed in classic gentrification theory.

That does not mean there has been no displacement pressure in East Lothian. One example of that pressure is, that when farm workers retire they may be unable to stay in the area in which they have spent their working lives. Unless they can find a council house they face a steep rise in housing costs (in private rental), at the very time that their incomes have declined because of retirement. Their children are unlikely to be able to stay in the area when they leave home either, unless they have found very well paid employment, locally.

Furthermore, as discussed at 3.10 below, rising housing costs have affected even the non-gentrifying parts of East Lothian. Expensive housing has spread the pressure across the local authority, whilst creating 'hot-spots' of very high costs. There is however, no evidence in the migratory data examined here to indicate how many of the households leaving East Lothian or the East submarket have been forced to leave because they needed to lower their housing costs.

ii) Does displacement evidence matter?

How much this lack of evidence matters to the present study needs to be considered. One the one hand displacement is now a contested outcome of gentrification for many researchers. Authors debate both its extent (Freeman, 2005, Freeman and Branconi 2004), and which households have to go. (Lyons 1996.) Other signifiers of gentrification have emerged, which compete with displacement for consideration as a defining characteristic. Researchers such as Phillips (2002) and Redfern (2003) have focussed on the semiotics of gentrification. Redfern has suggested that gentrifiers are simply people who are choosing their housing as a way to, 'say something' about themselves, in the way others may wear designer clothing. Whether or not anyone is displaced seems to be of less importance in establishing gentrification to these researchers, than was once the case.

Nevertheless, this study accepts that displacement *is* a potential outcome of gentrification. Even though it cannot be measured easily and has not been in East Lothian, it is far from irrelevant to the present research because the study is focussed on the reactions of households to cost pressures that are usually assumed to cause displacement. Neither the relatively sparse data about in-migrating gentrifiers however, nor the lack of statistical data for displacement undermine the socially derived evidence that there are gentrifying areas of East Lothian. It is proposed that displacement pressure exists, but the impact may be less visible than in classic gentrification theory both because of the kind of gentrification that has taken place and the difficulties of measuring its consequences.

iii) Displacement - summary

This study makes no claim that there is statistical evidence for gentrification-led displacement in East Lothian. The phenomenon has never been measured and the slow pace of gentrification has made it difficult to observe. Nevertheless, as is shown elsewhere (3.7, 3.8, 3.10) there are strong reasons to believe both that gentrification has occurred in certain locations and that there are displacement pressures in East Lothian. Their impact can best be observed by analysing the housing histories of local households that have not moved, but feel under pressure to do so.

3.10 Gentrification and East Lothian housing costs

An assessment of the impact of gentrification on housing costs in East Lothian can be made by considering the reasons for the variations between submarket areas, as discussed above at 2.4.2. House prices have risen unevenly across the local authority. The key to understanding these variations may lie in the differences between the drivers in the three submarket areas of East Lothian. As has been observed, gentrification has taken place mainly in pockets of the Eastern subarea and the factors that have driven prices higher there have been present only in a more diluted form, in the other subareas of Central and West East Lothian.

House prices in all East Lothian submarkets have been influenced by their excellent communications to Edinburgh, and as has been shown in Chapter 2 (2.4.2), numbers of indigenous commuters and in-migrants who still work in the city have increased, in all parts of East Lothian. Consultants Tribal HCH (2005) have indicated an East-West split in the market however, whereby housing in the West of the local authority costs less than in the East. Potential reasons for this include a generous supply of former social housing (nearly 6000 units) in the West, which commands lower prices than the rest of the private stock, the relative shortage of quality private property to 'improve' and the post-industrial nature of the physical environment in many places. In this regard settlements such as Wallyford, Whitecraig and substantial parts of Musselburgh have more in common with neighbouring Midlothian and south-eastern Edinburgh than they do with, say North Berwick or Haddington in East Lothian.

A further factor has been the restrictive planning laws in the eastern half of the county - the locus of most gentrification. Evidence about these restrictions is available in the strategy documents drawn up in planning departments of the former East Lothian County Council, and East Lothian District Council, as well as the current East Lothian Council. In the last half of the 20th century planning restrictions were strictly adhered to in the East of East Lothian, though more recent local plans (ELC 2008/4) have been less constraining. Especially in the early part of this period, private housing estates were constructed mainly in the western half of the county, particularly around Musselburgh and Prestonpans.

Relatively few estates were developed in Haddington and, until early in the 21st century, even fewer in Dunbar.

So, at the very time that the authority's popularity was rising with incomers, the most popular - eastern - area was restricting the supply of newly built housing. There was a ready supply of former agricultural properties in the eastern part of East Lothian however, which were suitable for development into upmarket homes. This kind of development was inhibited by fewer planning constraints. These refurbished properties were in attractive locations and the quality of conversion brought in buyers who were prepared to pay more for their housing.

If house prices rose unevenly in East Lothian, nevertheless as a whole they outpaced those within nearby authorities. Several reasons can be suggested for this. First, the physical environment of East Lothian is generally less scarred by former industry than either West or Midlothian. Even houses in relatively run down council 'schemes' are near open countryside and the amenities this offers for country pursuits. Secondly gentrification itself played a part in pushing prices higher. Its role was to add petrol to the flames. It both fed off, and created a sense of exclusivity about eastern East Lothian, that matched the aspirations of the gentrifiers. Redfern (2003) for example, proposes that gentrification impacts on housing costs over a wider area than its immediate locus because it changes household's perceptions.

> "It is a metaphor in which the part stands for the whole. Hence, its symbolic significance far outweighs its quantitative significance. Gentrifying neighbourhoods may be small in number and size, but the reason they attract such attention is that what goes on in them has resonances for us, wherever we may live and whatever our station in life" (p.2360)

Confirmation of this view can be found amongst researchers who support gentrification as a renewal strategy or as a catalyst for regeneration projects. They argue as Duany (2001) did that, 'a rising tide floats all boats.' Many of the arguments for 'positive gentrification' - boosting the economy of an area - stem from the United States. Duany explicitly promotes gentrification as an engineer of growth:

> "Whether induced or spontaneous, once gentrification begins, the chain reaction tends to continue. The difficulty with any attempt to intervene,

supposedly on behalf of low-income residents, is that urban gentrification is organic and self-fueling." (Duany 2001 p3)

Writers such as Freeman and Branconi (2002) have emphasised the virtues of gentrification, and Atkinson (2002) has characterised these as stabilising declining areas, increasing property values and the tax take, encouraging further development, improving the social mix and reducing crime. Lees (2008) describes how such positive attributes have been used to defend gentrification, in the Netherlands:

> "As in the US, city governments in the Netherlands see the facilitation of s o c i a l mix as a way of attracting higher-income residents who will improve the tax base, support local businesses and improve the governability of the city - for well educated, middle-class urbanites are less of a burden on social services and are likely to play an active part in neighbourhood revitalisations." (p.8)

This approach has been considered in the UK, as well. Cameron (2003) describes the 'Going for Growth' strategy by which Newcastle City Council planned to improve swathes of the inner city, by setting up regeneration projects that purposefully included a gentrification element. The underpinning idea was that by encouraging the gentrifiers, property values would remain high and the project would thereby be made more sustainable.

The notion of that gentrification can have a positive *social* influence may be hotly contested in the literature but no commentator denies that it can boost house prices. Even its fiercest critics would not dispute either, that it creates a more 'up market' atmosphere in a neighbourhood. If there are many of these neighbourhoods in an area, it has been argued (Duany 2001, Freeman, 2004) that the whole area is rendered more desirable, not just its gentrifying parts, by the emergence of a better 'image.'

The influence of gentrification on house prices in East Lothian can be posited as well, by speculating about what might have happened if there had been none. If the potential for developing the value of rural properties had not been realised, they would have lain empty and swathes of rural East Lothian would have remained depopulated. Money would not have been injected into the local economy by wealthy incomers buying goods and services. The rural parts of the county would have presented as depressed and run down, as some in West and Midlothian do. In these circumstances it is unlikely that East Lothian houses,

particularly in these areas, would have traded at a premium. What happened instead was that the gentrifiers raised the value of houses, and indeed whole neighbourhoods, in towns and villages across the area. They bought local goods and services, they improved their locales and they gave East Lothian an intangible 'cachet' which is not evident in the other Lothians authorities, or the Scottish Borders.

This un-measurable but potent quality is most evident in the east of the county. Amongst housing market specialists and participants in this research alike however, there is a view that East Lothian *as a whole* is an upmarket location, whichever part of it is chosen to live in. Although the gentrifiers have colonised mainly the rural east, their impact on house prices is likely to have been felt across the whole county. They have stimulated demand in the east and given the county a reputational boost, everywhere. Gentrification then has undoubtedly played a part in increasing housing costs, and these costs have raised displacement pressures throughout the local authority area.

Conclusion

If the process of gentrification in East Lothian was to be evaluated according to Ruth Glass's original definition, it would meet her criteria in some respects but fall short in others. Demonstrably there has been a re-valorisation of some neighbourhoods and within these small settlements a dramatic shift in their social composition, from housing skilled workers to professionals and managers. With them, these social groups brought wealth and displayed it, sometimes ostentatiously, as near derelict cottages were restored and extended to become large, upmarket, family homes. They brought as well, attitudes to lifestyle and consumerism that Phillips (2002) has seen as signifiers of gentrification.

Some characteristics of gentrification as defined by Glass are not however, to be found in East Lothian. Most obviously, gentrification has taken place in rural settlements and not urban neighbourhoods. Second, it remains unclear where the incoming gentrifiers came from. They may have come from Edinburgh, the rest of the UK or even from abroad,[6] but equally they may have been East Lothian residents. Finally, there is no evidence of a mass displacement of the rural poor, as a single event.

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[6] This issue has been discussed above at 3.9

Displacement pressure is at the heart of the present enquiry, nonetheless. The lack of an obvious, clear-cut exodus from the gentrifying areas can be explained by the time lapse between these rural properties falling out of use, and the impetus to realise their potential. Swathes of agricultural workers did not leave East Lothian because of gentrification. They went away because the market for their services ceased to exist. As the agricultural workforce shrank, it continued to be accommodated in tied cottages and social housing, which had been built in sufficient quantities for the previous, larger agricultural workforce.

Although gentrification has not led to displacement as Glass conceived it, nevertheless it has caused displacement pressure, principally through the rise in housing costs. All the local authorities in the shadow of Edinburgh experienced an influx of 'dormitory' commuters and city people seeking a more spacious environment or better value for money than in the urban area. In East Lothian however, the price of housing rose above the level found for example in West or Midlothian. Gentrification was the extra factor fuelling this price differential. Its impact on housing costs should, under gentrification theory, increase pressures for displacement amongst certain of the lower income household groups in the area. It is their reactions to this pressure that are the focus of this study.

The literature suggests some reasons why displacement pressure may be resisted. There are broadly two schools of thought, with the neo-liberals arguing that the poor don't have to go and may even enjoy the amenities of a gentrifying area. In contrast critics of gentrification such as Marcuse (2005) and Slater (2005) suggest that they often don't move because they can't. There is another way of considering displacement resistance however, which posits that households do not go because they do not wish to leave the area. They can show evidence of strong place attachment, which appears to override their economic need to move. This may leave them precariously situated, in unsuitable housing. The views of the households participating in this study about how they wish to solve their housing problems, should throw light on the calculations by which potential displacees assess their options to go or stay. How these issues informed the questions to be studied in this research will be considered in the next chapter. It shows the ways in which the themes that have emerged both in this chapter and the previous one, about affordability and housing need, are relevant to studying the behaviour of stressed households in East Lothian.

Chapter 4 - Developing the research questions

This chapter demonstrates how the research topics were developed to enable this study to meet its goals of refining and extending the understanding of gentrification and displacement. It draws on the literature discussed in the previous chapters to establish the aspects of the participants' reactions to their housing problems that needed to be explored in depth. It links with the methodology chapter that follows, which sets out how the questions devised in this chapter were used to generate and analyse data.

4.1 The research aims - enhancing and extending displacement theory

Displacement is one of the most contested areas of gentrification research (Freeman, 2004; Marcuse, 2005). It has been shown in Chapter 3 that there are competing explanations about why it does or does not happen. These are often influenced by the social and political perspective of the researcher (Slater, 2005). Broadly speaking, the argument divides between those who believe displacement does take place and is a social evil, and those for whom it is discounted as an issue because gentrification is generally good for an area, raising standards and improving amenities. It has been claimed moreover, that displacement is sometimes resisted in spite of the stress generated by gentrification. The present study focuses on this response and asks why those who resist displacement, stay.

Displacement as a consequence of gentrification has been studied largely in aggregate, by measuring the numbers of households in certain income groups leaving a gentrifying area. It is rarely researched by considering the choices made by individual households. This study seeks to understand those choices, and how households came to make them.

Households themselves do not (usually) speak of displacement, but they may talk about migration - being forced by circumstances to leave an area. Consequently, households resisting displacement are more likely to think about the housing options open to them, than the social and economic forces that have created their difficulties. The key to explaining their behaviour lies in understanding *how* they weigh up their options. The basis on which they make their decisions about whether to go or stay needs to be better understood. Are they, as some commentators insist, reluctant to leave a gentrifying area

because they are enjoying improved amenities or might there be other factors restraining them from moving away? Discovering the reasons for displacement resistance amongst the study households would provide evidence to support or contest certain of the positions taken in the displacement debate.

Before showing how the research proposed to find this evidence, the areas of the debate requiring illumination need to be identified. Challenges to the certainty of displacement as a gentrification outcome have been extensively discussed in Chapter 3, but, to explain how the direction and scope of the present enquiry were determined, key elements of the displacement resistance debates are again summarised, below.

The once unassailable view that displacement is an inevitable and necessary consequence of gentrification is now disputed. This concept was at the heart of the very first attempt to define the phenomenon by Glass, in her 1964 paper.[1] It was believed axiomatic that poorer people would not be able to afford increased rents. Either they would leave when the rent went up, or their leases would not be renewed by landlords who realised they could attract a 'better' kind of tenant; that is, one with more money.

Research evidence suggests that the process is more complex and nuanced than Glass believed. First of all, there is the question of who leaves. Lyons's (1996) studies of London boroughs, similar to those considered by Glass, indicated that in many cases the poorer inhabitants were less likely to leave than those who were better off. In part the explanation was to be found in circumstances particular to the UK housing market. Social housing was more easily obtained at that time than it is today. It was not affected directly by large private sector rent rises in the gentrifying areas. Lyons offered social and pragmatic reasons for displacement resistance, as well. These included the importance to poorer families of social networks for childcare and other support requirements.

Glass's concept has been modified moreover, by research which shows that mixed communities are still possible in gentrifying areas. In his investigation of one gentrifying London area, Barnsbury, Butler (2003), came to the conclusion that what was happening

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[1] For a full discussion please see Ch 3, 3.1

was not necessarily a wholesale replacement of households, richer for poorer, but rather that two social 'worlds' were living side by side with little interaction.

> "Gentrification has not so much displaced the working class as simply blanked out those who are not like themselves: they do not socialise with them, eat with them or send their children to school with them." (Butler, 2003, p.2484)

His essential point is that these groups survived alongside each other, but they did not have social contact. Closer geographically to the present research and nearer in time, Doucet in his study of gentrification's consequences in Leith (1999), found a very similar two-worlds scenario. Long-term, poorer residents were not expecting forced relocation, provided that they were in social housing, or staying in one of the more rundown and low rent neighbourhoods of an area that was partially gentrifying. They felt they had benefited from some of the improved amenities, such as a large shopping mall and entertainment complex.

These findings question the idea that the cultural alienation felt by the indigenous population is a cause of displacement. Atkinson (2002, 2008) and others such as Slater (2006) have described this alienation, which is said to come about in part because of social change and partly because indigenous households are not able to afford the new shops and amenities that gentrification engenders. The gentrifiers not only bring changes to the local housing stock, they are assumed also to exert a cultural influence. It has even been claimed (Phillips 1993) that in a rural area they cause more cultural change than they do to the built environment. If both 'old' and 'new' residents can live side by side in relative harmony however, it may not be an incentive for the older ones to leave, especially if they are protected from cost rises by living in subsidised housing.

Another way in which Glass's concept has been challenged is by questioning the extent to which the poorer residents are actually under pressure to leave. This can be seen in the work of Duany (2001) and Freeman (2005), which maintains that gentrification does not always disadvantage the poor and may even create incentives not to leave an area. Their view, influential amongst right-leaning free market thinkers in the United States, is that everyone gains from gentrification and the disadvantages are over-emphasised by socialists who want to make a political point, or who are being sentimental about the loss of working class culture.

The evidence on which to base arguments about displacement and other consequences of gentrification has come largely from aggregate studies (e.g. Marcuse 1986, Atkinson, 2000). The displacement debates outlined above however, require more depth than statistical analysis can provide, in order to understand the responses of potential displacees to gentrification pressure. Certain practical considerations help to explain why there have been more quantitative studies of displacement than qualitative. Those that have left an area are hard to trace (Atkinson, 2000) and statistical records rarely exist that provide a detailed demographic account of the leavers. It may be as well, that many researchers have considered measurement of the extent of displacement to be more important than the reasons for it. By showing that large numbers of households have migrated away from a gentrifying area, it may be argued that this in itself demonstrates that displacement is an output of gentrification. Such an approach does not however, explain why this process is happening - nor what the forces may be, operating on households' decisions to migrate or remain.

By taking a qualitative approach in this study, examining the responses of households, within an area with traits of gentrification, it ought to be possible to throw more light on the ways in which households calculate whether to go or stay, why and how they come to their decisions. Do they really appreciate the opportunity to sup a latte at their local cafe, or are they forced to stay because they can't afford to pay for childcare and nearby granny will babysit for free? Perhaps both factors may influence their decision. Revealing their reasoning should add richness and complexity to the understanding of displacement processes. Qualitative research into the *actual* behaviour of individual households facing gentrification-induced stress will generate data previously in short supply.

4.2 Choosing the study area, East Lothian

The reasons why East Lothian was considered a suitable area for meeting these research aims are now outlined. Primarily, it was chosen because of evidence that certain local households were in housing stress and that their difficulties were in part generated by gentrification.[2] The presence of gentrification distinguished this local authority from

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[2] As discussed at 3.10 above, it is not claimed that all of East Lothian has gentrified, but that certain areas have and that has raised housing costs, compounding other housing cost pressures, such as population growth in the county and the housing bubble of the first decade of the 21st. century.

neighbours such as Midlothian and West Lothian, which also faced rising housing costs. Stressed households would be likely to be considering their options about how to respond, including whether to go or stay. Some households unable to meet higher housing costs would, theoretically, be expected to be displaced both to cheaper housing in the local authority and from East Lothian as a whole. By studying the behaviour of a selection of those stressed households their reactions to housing stress and their reasoning in making their choices, could be analysed.

4.2.1 Evidence - the major studies

The main statistical evidence of affordability and need issues in East Lothian had been generated by the three, interconnected, studies carried out by Tribal HCH consultants (2005, 2008, 2011), on behalf of a group of local authorities including East Lothian, into housing need and demand. This work is considered as robust and credible by the Scottish government (ELC 2012). Earlier quantitative studies of need had been undertaken for East Lothian Council by another housing consultancy, DTZ Pieda (2001). Further research had been commissioned by the local authority on specific issues such as homelessness (Craigforth Consultants/ELC, 2008), and the needs of older people (East Lothian Council, 2009).

These studies showed that there was a mismatch between demand and supply and that particular groups of households were disadvantaged because they could not afford their housing costs. It demonstrated as well that they would struggle to find housing they could afford elsewhere in East Lothian. Neither the Tribal HCH research nor the ELC commissioned reports sought however, to understand the impact of this problem on individual households. How they had reacted to their shrinking options within the housing market remained unexplored.

4.2.2 Household-level evidence - the Homeseeker project

As well as these major studies, an internal council paper revealed something of the felt needs of individual families. In 2004 the Council published an evaluation of a pilot scheme to provide Housing Information and Advice to local residents, called 'Homeseeker.' The

Homeseeker project had been established to help East Lothian residents cope with the shortage of Council Housing by advising households in housing stress about alternatives to public sector housing. The project, which ran from 2002 to 2004, offered residents in the East area an interview about their housing options, if they considered themselves stressed. The East area comprises the towns of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick and their surrounding villages. This has been shown in Chapter 3 to be the most gentrified part of East Lothian. The information captured during Homeseeker interviews offered insights into the ways individual household's sought to improve their circumstances. Although those interviewed were asked to consider as wide a range of housing options as possible, including moving out of East Lothian, most did not want to leave.

Council officers advised 103 households that believed they had very limited housing options during the eighteen-month course of the Homeseeker project. The Council has subsequently instigated regular Housing Options interviews. The Homeseeker project report makes it clear that some of these households might have resolved their problems by moving away. Ninety-five sets of Households' views were recorded in the Homeseeker database.[3] The needs of the interviewees and the solutions they sought are tabulated over the page in Table 8.

The purpose of the Homeseeker housing options interviews was to see whether, and in what circumstances, the interviewees could move house either within or outside East Lothian to solve their housing problems. The Homeseeker report makes it clear that the advice service had been set up against the backdrop of declining availability of council housing and higher housing costs in the private sector, which were narrowing the options of lower income residents. Although a large proportion of the interviewees (55%) would have liked social housing in East Lothian, they were made aware at interview that they had little chance of being offered such accommodation.

Because the project aimed to help the interviewees find alternatives to Council housing either in East Lothian or elsewhere, its restricted availability was emphasised. As table x below shows, a majority nevertheless aspired to social housing, usually because any other tenure was too expensive.

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[3] Some interviews do not have detailed notes

Problem or issue raised	%
Seeking to rent a house (Council/RSL)	55
Family/relationship breakdown	38
Seeking to rent a house (Private Sector)	36
Financial issues	34
Benefits issues	31
Health issues	21
Looking to buy a house	10
Just need information	10
Other	8
Overcrowding	8
Neighbour issues (incl. Harassment)	5
Leaving tied accommodation	5

Table 8 - Homeseeker database evaluation (ELC 2004)

(The numbers add up to more than 100% because some households had multiple issues.)

36% however, were prepared to pay a higher price for private sector rental, which as has been shown in Chapter 2 could be up to three times more expensive. These people were likely to need a move quickly and did not have sufficient priority on the Council's housing list to be allocated a house in time. Looking at their issues, a third (34%) had financial problems with their present accommodation and 31% had problems with their Benefits. It is likely, though figures are not available, that a significant proportion of people with financial problems were also suffering from Benefits problems.

Additionally, 38% had suffered a family breakdown and 21% had health issues. Miscellaneous issues included antisocial behaviour (5%), overcrowding (8%) and leaving tied accommodation (5%). Only 10% were seeking to buy a house, perhaps because those with sufficient money would seek advice elsewhere, at a solicitors for instance, rather than from the Council. In this set of responses, which it should be acknowledged might have been biased towards lower-income groups, not only did 31% of respondents have difficulty coping with their current housing costs, but also a much higher proportion had insufficient money to move house to solve other housing problems, unless they were allocated social housing.

Although the focus of the interviews was on moving house within East Lothian, interviewees had to complete a form that asked them to state *all* options, including moving

away to live somewhere outside the local authority area. This option was included in part because the Council wanted to take pressure off its own housing list (ELC 2004) and partly because it was aware that local alternatives were expensive. The figures below show that displacement from the area was not often considered.

Leaving raised	Reasons for leaving	Leaving not raised	Unknown (no or insufficient notes)	OOA - wants to move in or return
3	1. Single male. Work is in Edinburgh, no need to stay in EL following divorce 2. Couple living in Dunbar, suffering racial abuse 3. Couple considering returning to country of origin (Wales)	67	11	14

Table 9 - Leaving the area? East Lothian Council (2004-5) (00A = Out of Area)

Only three (4%) of the households wanted to move away and each had specific reasons for doing so, which were unconnected with housing stress. One man wished to return to Edinburgh to be close to his work following a divorce, a couple in Dunbar had been racially abused and a third household wanted to return to its Welsh roots.

In eleven (12%) cases the Homeseeker notes are not sufficiently detailed (or there are none) and so an evaluation of intentions is not possible. In sixty-seven (69%) of cases however the households wanted to stay in the area, despite sometimes very serious housing stress. Perhaps surprisingly however, fourteen (15%) of households wanted to move *in* to the East area, the least affordable part of East Lothian, to buy or rent in the private sector.

The figures from the Homeseeker report are not sufficiently comprehensive to throw light on patterns of migration in to or out of East Lothian. As discussed in Chapter 3 (3.9), detailed analysis of such patterns is not possible using any available data. They are an indication and *only* an indication however, that East Lothian households may have felt social and other pressures to stay in their area, which counterbalanced their need to find cheaper housing somewhere else. Of course, the interviewees may have been reluctant to

tell the Council that they wanted to move away from East Lothian, although they were encouraged to be as open as possible (ELC 2004). This indication of displacement resistance nevertheless required further investigation, since it raised questions about why households in poor housing circumstances would choose sometimes to stay in an area that they knew could not meet their needs.

4.2.3 Other relevant prior research

A pilot project for the present research was the only purely qualitative prior attempt to understand housing issues in East Lothian. It re-interviewed some East Lothian households that had been given Homeseeker interviews by the Council, to establish whether their circumstances had changed. It asked the respondents for their views about the cause of their problems and what they believed their housing options were. The households were selected randomly from amongst the original Homeseeker interviewees. East Lothian Council contacted 61 of the original households on behalf of the researcher, and a small number - seven - agreed to be re-interviewed. Although these small numbers suggest that the results should be treated with caution, this research confirmed that the concerns of the stressed households remained similar to those expressed in the Homeseeker project report. (Lloyd, 2009)

4.2.4 Summary, choosing the study area.

Although the data provides strong evidence of housing need, shows where this is greatest and details the many affordability issues for households in East Lothian, certain evidential aspects are incomplete, especially concerning in-migration and displacement.[4] Whilst this does not undermine the argument that there has been and remains housing stress in East Lothian, it does raise an issue relevant to gentrification. It is not possible to determine from the available evidence whether gentrification in East Lothian has been carried out by incomers or taken place in situ. This is not merely a question of whether incomers from outside the local authority are the gentrifiers, but whether they may have moved to the gentrifying locations from other parts of East Lothian. Likewise data about displacement is

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[4] See Ch 3 (3.x) for a full discussion of these issues

missing. No prior study had considered this issue in this area although the Homeseeker research does provide some tentative evidence of displacement resistance.

It should be emphasised however, that East Lothian was *not* chosen because it was anticipated that it would be an area of strong displacement resistance. Rather, it seemed a suitable place to study the behaviour of set of stressed households, in order to demonstrate the complexity of their choice-making and their reasons for the housing decisions they eventually made. It was hoped that this would show, for example, if they felt they were constrained from being displaced by practical considerations, such as the cost to move, or they liked the amenities of a gentrifying area, even if living there rendered their housing costs unsustainable. In short, this would generate data to fulfil the research aims.

4.3 The focus of the study and the research questions

Questions were devised to explore the attitudes of stressed[5] East Lothian households. It was anticipated that the manner in which they made their housing choices would add to the canon of displacement research, within gentrification studies. Although the idea that there are constraints on displacement had been considered previously, (Lyons, 1996, Marcuse, 2005) the mechanisms were comparatively under-researched. Yet, households' perceptions of their options are central to the debate about whether gentrification has a positive or negative social influence, as well as to the parallel debate about whether households choose to leave a gentrifying area or are pushed out. The research questions were developed to analyse their motivations, in East Lothian.

First of all it was necessary to show the types of stress being felt and the consequences on households of that stress. It needed to be asked: *What kinds of stress are participant households experiencing - how do they manifest themselves?* From the clues in the existing research data, the issues that could be most fruitfully explored appeared to be:
- The affordability of their current housing for the households
- The size and layout of their accommodation
- The impact of antisocial behaviour or crime
- The unsuitability (for a variety of reasons) of the location of the property

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[5] The term stress is here used in the 'felt' rather than the 'normative' sense.

- Problems with their landlord

- The condition of the house

- Overcrowding

- Unmet health and disability needs

Second, the research sought to discover: *What kind of housing have households looked for to solve their problems and where?* Here it was considered that the issues might include:

- The type of housing that was sought after

- ...and in particular the favoured tenure

- The locations the households had looked at for their housing

- ...and why those particular locations

Of course it was possible that households might have attempted to improve in situ rather than moving, perhaps by building an extension, or persuading their landlord to make changes, so this aspect had to be explored. As well, some households could have been at an early stage in coming to terms with their stress and made no moves, yet.

Since the unmet housing needs of the households were to be the focus of this enquiry, it had to be understood why they had not solved their problems. The third question was therefore: *Why do they think they have been unsuccessful in finding better housing?* Their answers could provide insights, not only about the bureaucratic or financial barriers they faced, but also about their relationship with the housing market in which they were seeking a solution. The research sought not simply to discover the reasons for the failure of individual households to improve their circumstances, but to understand how they thought that East Lothian housing market worked against them. The issues to be explored included:

- Shortages of affordable housing

- The impact of gentrification on the housing options and choices on longer term, less well off residents

- The consequences of social housing allocation policies based on need, which prioritised certain groups. (e.g. ex-prisoners, single parents and the homeless.)

- Any perceptions of queue-jumping amongst households waiting for social housing

To test for resistance to migration, households' attitudes to displacement needed to be investigated. So the fourth research question was: *Could displacement have resolved these households' housing stress?* This question set out to discover whether this group of participants had considered leaving. Of course the research sample would have to be of households that had remained in East Lothian up to the present. Nevertheless, these households could have thought about moving, or even been about to do so. If they were reluctant to move it would be necessary to understand why. Their reasons could be:

- The importance to them of social networks and personal relationships
- The cost of moving - including deposits for private lets, commuting, etc.
- Their sense of belonging - place attachment
- The value of local amenities, particularly schools, shops and recreation facilities
- A view that a move would not solve their problems, perhaps because cheaper housing was as difficult to find elsewhere

It was anticipated that evidence of the kinds of housing stress experienced by households in East Lothian would emerge from these enquiries. The data should show who was suffering from stress and why, what they had tried to do about it, whether and why they were resisting being displaced from the area.

This study had of course, to focus on *potential* displacees. In part this was because, as the gentrification literature indicates, the views of the already displaced are not easy to come by. Once they have left an area they can be hard to track down. (Atkinson, 2003) In many respects the views of the not-yet displaced might prove more interesting however, when considering the impact of gentrification-led housing stress. They could explain their decision-making processes at the very time that they were making up their minds, rather than reflecting on their choice with the benefit of hindsight.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated why and how the research questions were devised and the ways in which they are connected both to the literature reviews and to what was known about the phenomenon of housing stress in East Lothian. How these questions were

pursued and the research project was designed and implemented, is outlined in the next Chapter.

Chapter 5 - Methodology

The last chapter has demonstrated how the research questions were arrived at and this chapter explains how they were pursued. It shows the standpoint from which the study was conducted and how it was designed.

The chapter begins with an explanation of the ontological and epistemological perspectives of the research. It outlines the position taken about what can be known about households in housing stress in East Lothian and how it can be known. The processes of the research are then shown, starting with the methodological approach and the reasons for taking that approach. The selection of suitable participants and the development of a guide to the questions, follows. The data gathering fieldwork is then described and the methods used to analyse that data are explained. The ethical issues of this research are examined, and consideration is given to the impact that the researcher's job as a Council officer may have had on research data gathering and subsequent analysis. Participants were informed about his role as a service development officer, when their agreement to be interviewed was sought.

5.1 The Research Approach

5.1.1 The scope of this investigation

This study was designed to investigate the responses of households to difficult housing circumstances. It sought to analyse how they weighed up their options, in order to better understand why they prioritised certain choices; for example when deciding whether to leave or stay in their area. This was not in order to determine whether they had made 'correct' choices, but to aid understanding of households' behaviour under stressed conditions and provide a basis both for refining gentrification theory and to inform public policy discourse about affordable housing. By studying the ways in which households participating in this study resolved their problems and how they coped with stress, insight could be gained in particular, into the mechanism of displacement. It was accepted that the households' behaviour could provide only a partial understanding of

the complex causes of housing stress in East Lothian however, and that the participants themselves would have varying conceptions of what constituted that stress.

It was anticipated that the answers to the research questions were likely to be complex. When asking, "*What kind of housing households have looked for to solve their problems*?" for instance, it was not expected that all possible housing decisions could be compiled as a list from their answers. The households' range of responses, and their decision-making processes, would require analysis, rather than a simple description.

Furthermore, that analysis would need to be reflexive (Mason, 2002), because the researcher had prior knowledge of (and a connection with) the circumstances in which stressed households found themselves within East Lothian, as a council official partly situated within the participant's world. These issues are discussed further, in section 5.3, below.

It seemed likely from the pilot study undertaken for this project (see 4.2) and the responses of stressed households revealed in the Homeseeker report (ELC, 2005), that both the problems of the households and the attempts they had made to solve them would be multi-faceted. It was important not only that each aspect of their stress was reported on, but also that the complexity of the relationship between their problems and their attempted solutions could be shown in the analysis.

The idea of housing stress has been described in Chapter 2 (2.2.4) and the distinction between the 'stresses' as described by the households and the policy-makers' normative usage of the term, 'Housing Stress' has been explained. It was the symptoms of 'felt' stress that were being looked for and of course these varied between households. Certain manifestations were likely to be common between many participants however, for example an inability to afford more suitable accommodation. In analysing the effects of their stresses on these households, connections could be made between the experiences of households with quite different situations. Of course, the complexity and variety of the situations in which households can find themselves stressed made it impossible to capture *every* aspect of household stress in East Lothian in this study. Instead the study was designed to show multiple stresses that the participants

encountered. It sought as well to analyse their responses to their housing stress. The research approach, and methods to be used, had to be chosen with these objectives in mind.

5.1.2 Ontological and epistemological issues

Before outlining research methods, the ontological and epistemological standpoint of the research should be explained. An attempt to understand causation lies at the heart of this research. The questions, outlined in the previous chapter (4.3), seek to discover what caused the participant households to behave in the ways that they did, in the circumstances in which they found themselves.

The ontological position taken by researchers is often either positivist, whereby it is held that events in the 'real' world can be tested and measured empirically, or interpretivist, in which the notion of an underpinning reality is rejected in favour of an analysis of the meaning that the participants' ascribe to their own situations. (Easton, 2009; Fitzpatrick, 2005; Bryman, 2008; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003)

Neither of these standpoints were considered satisfactory for answering the key questions in this research project. Underlying the positivist position is the assumption that variables can be measured. This mode of thought is suitable for a statistical analysis of need such as that undertaken in the prior research in East Lothian by, for example, Tribal HCH (2005, 2008, 2011). Such an approach does not however, help to answer the 'why' questions that are central, here.

An interpretivist position seems at first sight to be more appropriate, given that it seeks to understand how people themselves see their needs and actions. This viewpoint especially suits research where consideration of causality is less important. (Fitzpatrick, 2005) In this project it would have allowed explanation and description of the issues as seen by the participants. It could not have shown however, that external pressures, acting independently of their perception of their problems, may have influenced the households' behaviour. Whilst the views of the participants were central to the research, it was not assumed that they were aware of all the influences that had produced their

housing problems. Although the researcher set out to understand how they thought, and took no position as to whether their opinions were 'right' or 'wrong,' he did consider that political, social and economic forces were at work, shaping their worlds.

The ontological view that seemed best suited to the project was therefore that of critical realism. This asserts, like positivism, that reality exists and attempts can be made to discover it. It holds as well however, that this is not a matter of simple empirical experiment. Reality is complex, multi-faceted and difficult to grasp. In some cases it may be unknowable, in its entirety.

Critical realism takes a different view of causation to positivism. According to Sayer (1992, 2000), considered one of its leading exponents, social objects and structures exert pressures, 'tendencies,' which may or may not produce results, 'actual events,' depending on circumstances, 'conditions'. Sayer (2000) has called critical realism a, "...third way between empiricism and positivism on the one hand and ...relativism ...on the other." (p.2). As Easton (2009) describes it:

> "Critical realists propose an ontology that assumes that there exists a reality "out there" independent of observers. A naïve realist epistemology would assume that this reality can be readily accessed. This is a view often espoused by researchers in the natural sciences because of their ability to measure accurately and their access to controllable and / or closed systems. However these conditions rarely occur in social systems. As a result critical realists accept that reality is socially constructed." (p. 120)

Sayer considers that "meaning has to be understood, it cannot be measured or counted." (Sayer, 2000, p.17). Easton (2009) suggests that whilst this definition makes critical realism appear similar to social constructivism:

> "The difference between critical realists and social constructionists lies in the acceptance of the possibility of knowing reality in the former case and its rejection in the latter who, in general, concentrate instead on uncovering the constructions that social actors make." (p. 123)

Easton argues as well, that when analysing data, "...any explanations are necessarily fundamentally interpretivist in character." (p.124) He does not mean ontologically interpretivist, but rather that in any analysis of causal tendencies and their resulting

actions, interpretation is essential. Sayer explains that, "... critical realists argued that while interpretative understanding was an important and necessary feature of any social science, it did not mean that there was no scope for causal explanation." (Sayer, 2000, p. 6)

Critical realist ontology was considered appropriate for this research, because the researcher believed that real underpinning social economic and political pressures, or tendencies existed in East Lothian and were acting on the participants. The research focus however, was on how their own perceptions of these pressures influenced the participants' behaviour. It was a question of what they did or did not do, given the assumptions they themselves made about causation. That such external, 'real' tendencies or pressures existed was nonetheless a tenet of the research project.

5.1.3 A Case study approach

Given the ontological approach outlined above, and considering as well, the research questions outlined in Chapter 4, it appeared that the most appropriate method of enquiry would be a qualitative case study. The full reasons for this are given below, but before considering why, what type of case study, and what the case(s) should be, the guiding principles of case study research are briefly outlined.

According to Yin, (2009) it involves the study of a 'case' within a real-life setting, which should be contemporary. The study Yin considers, should explain complex causal relationships, describing the context(s) in which they occur. Yin says as well that case studies answer 'how' and 'why' questions about causality.

Cresswell (2007) considers it as both a method to investigate a phenomenon in itself, and a stepping stone to provide data and ideas for further research. Yin says that case study analysis should test initial theoretical propositions against the data, by categorising the evidence and then reviewing it, (Yin, 2009).

Yin (2009) and Stake (1995) propose that case study research includes certain essential ingredients. It should examine an issue within a bounded area. In this case that area was

the local authority of East Lothian. The research should be contemporary and was, in that the participants were experiencing their problems at the time of the fieldwork. Finally, it should be conducted within a set time frame; this research fieldwork was carried out over an eighteen month period.[1]

The case to be studied here was how households in housing stress in East Lothian responded to their problems. Their understanding of the causes and consequences of those stresses would be at the heart of the study, as well as how they reacted to them. Understanding their *felt* needs would be paramount. The study would not judge housing stress in East Lothian by some pre-determined definition of normative standards. East Lothian was the container of this set of stressed households however; their problems would be studied within a defined local context. Because the research aimed to compare and contrast the effects of stress between individual households it would be what Stake (1995) calls a collective study, in which particular households are themselves cases to be studied, within a broader case study framework.

Case studies can take many forms and so the *kind* of case it was, had to be considered. Case study types have been categorised by Yin (2009) as follows:

- *Explanatory* - these attempt to answer questions posed by the causal links in the issue under discussion. They offer explanations of how a phenomenon has occurred.
- *Exploratory* - these seek to explore the features of a particular problem or issue and may be used as a preliminary to a further more analytical study.
- *Descriptive* - these describe the issue or phenomenon.

Building on Yin's categories, Stake (1995) offers the following set of approaches to case study research:

- *Intrinsic* - research that focuses on the particular case and is not undertaken primarily because the analysis could illuminate other cases. It is that *particular* case that is of interest.

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[1] Some follow up interviews were conducted after the main field work, see below for details,

- *Instrumental* - research that is intended to provide insight into an issue or to help refine a theory. The research is primarily focussed on the broader issue the researcher wants to address and the case is *instrumental* to this.

This study aimed to go further than simply describing the situation that these households found themselves in. It sought to explore and explain the phenomenon of housing stress and in particular throw light on its outcomes. It could best be described as an 'instrumental,' case study, because the idea of displacement as an outcome of gentrification was being tested.

The impact of the housing stress in this area is of clear interest for public policy reasons. This study was designed to offer insights into these households' problems that would extend understanding of them by both academic and local government researchers. Moreover, the findings could be tested in other situations and circumstances. Generalisations would be developed in the research from the reactions of East Lothian households to stress, which would add to the understanding of the process of displacement in gentrification. As well the research should help to extend knowledge of the strategies that stressed households adopt under certain conditions, especially when they have limited options. The findings should extend understanding not only in this area, but others where gentrification has led to housing stress. In particular, in semi-rural areas within the commuting belts of large prosperous cities, where house prices have come under pressure through gentrification and inward migration of wealthier than local households.

5.1.4 Ontological considerations in case study research

Many ontological approaches have been used in case study research. It has been stated at 5.1.1 above that the present project takes a critical realist position, but other viewpoints would have been feasible. Myers (2009) says that case studies are often positivist. They may use triangulation for example, whereby the data is verified as 'correct' by considering it from multiple viewpoints. However, Myers states that case studies, alternatively, may take an interpretivist viewpoint. In interpretive case studies an attempt is made, "...to understand the phenomena through the meanings that people

assign to them." (Myers 2009, p.80) The critical realist approach taken here does not adopt either of these positions, but shares with the interpretivists, scepticism about taking a naïve positivist viewpoint. Some researchers consider critical realism a good 'fit' with case study research because as Easton (2009), says:

> It justifies the study of any situation, regardless of the numbers of research units involved, but only if the process involves thoughtful in depth research with the objective of understanding why things are as they are. (p.119)

5.2 Research Strategy and Tools

Having settled on a case study approach, the project was designed to facilitate the exploration and explanation of the households' responses to housing problems, in the particular circumstances of East Lothian.

5.2.1 Sampling and recruitment

When looking for suitable candidate households to explore the issues surrounding housing stress, a suitable sample of those participants needed to be identified - and then it had to be decided how to recruit a sample as near to that ideal, as possible.

There are many reasons for housing stress and the idea that only poor households are affected is too simplistic[2]. It was clear from the affordability issues outlined in the literature reviews, that there is no typical kind of stressed household. The stress varies with the composition of the households, the life stage of its members and factors such as disability and family cohesion/breakdown. Households that do not have enough money to satisfy their housing needs are not necessarily those with the lowest household income. Households with little income may, in some circumstances, be more tolerant of housing stress than those with slightly more money. As shown in Chapter 2, prior studies have confirmed that it is rarely possible to predict whether a household will have housing problems by considering its income, alone.

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[2] For a full discussion of the reasons, please see Chapter 2 (2.1)

If household income had been the main criteria for selection, the research would have failed to capture households that, although unstressed in terms of a simple ratio of their income to household expenditure, might nevertheless struggle because of their circumstances. It could be an especially large household for example, or one with a disabled member, or one with large utility bills or commuting costs. As has been shown in the affordability literature review, more sophisticated means of determining affordability are available than the ratio, especially the residual income method. This however, requires a very detailed knowledge of household income and expenditure, which would have been impossible to obtain, in advance of recruitment.

The questions of how and by whom housing need should be assessed were also a sampling consideration. The difference between felt and normative need has been discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2). Since households' perceptions were at the heart of this enquiry, it was clear that their felt need should be paramount. To choose households on the basis of some externally determined normative standard for what they *should* need, would have negated a fundamental premise of this study. Since felt needs were central to the understanding of these households' circumstances, it seemed appropriate to select suitable participants on the basis of their own perceptions.

The sampling had therefore to draw in a range of examples of housing problems, suggested by the literature reviews, studies of both normative and felt need in East Lothian and the local council's analysis of advice given about housing options, to people in stressed conditions. Ritchie and Lewis (2003) describe this as criterion based or purposive sampling, "where units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of, or groups within, the sampled population." (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p.78) They outline a range of purposive sampling techniques and the one which seemed to fit the purpose best was what they call, "Stratified Purposive Sampling," where, "the aim is to select groups that display variation on a particular phenomena but each of which is fairly homogeneous so that subgroups can be compared." (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p.79)

As well as reflecting the many reasons why they can have housing problems, the households to be sampled needed to feel frustrated by their failure to resolve their problems. This approach posed potential difficulties. It had to be considered for

instance, whether sampling by self-selection would facilitate the recruitment of households in a sufficiently wide range of stressful circumstances. There were a number of related issues. One was that only the most desperate might volunteer, biasing the sample in favour of the most stressed households. As well, since this method relied on households pro-actively contacting the researcher, it might be difficult to control both the numbers of people volunteering and the type of households coming forward. Alternatives were considered. Particular categories of household could have been sought, for instance. A one parent family say, or households with disabilities, or young people in their first tenancy. There were two difficulties with that approach. There are many varieties of household circumstances and a judgement would have had to be made about which to prioritise. Some obviously stressed households that had volunteered would have had to be excluded because there were 'too many' in one category. As well as this drawback, it would have been a time-consuming approach and a difficult one to take forward within the constrained resources of this project.

Although it was difficult to resolve all the problems inherent in the self-selection approach, a recruitment method was devised in which groups of households with differing characteristics were sought by diverse routes. For instance, recruitment was targeted through organisations that offered housing support, or at locations such as council offices where local householders turn up with problems and queries. This was to ensure that a range of different types of households in varying circumstances came forward. To give a concrete example, an organisation that supports young and vulnerable East Lothian residents, called Bridges Project, was requested to ask its clients whether they might be interested in participating.

Households that had been seeking housing options advice were targeted by poster and postcard advertising in public buildings, especially at Council offices where such households would be likely to seek assistance with their housing problems. Households that were perhaps better-off financially, yet still stressed, were sought by advertising the research on East Lothian Council's own Intranet. This approach generated a selection of participants whose incomes were relatively high, yet they still faced stressful situations. The full list of sources was as follows:

- Poster and postcard 'advertising', in prominent public locations
- Internal advertising on the East Lothian Council Intranet site. (The council is by far the largest employer in the area and has a very wide range of pay scales)
- Publicity in the local media, including the East Lothian Courier newspaper and East Coast FM radio station. This included the researcher being interviewed 'on air' twice, letters to the newspapers, 'small ads', and editorial copy.
- Households interviewed for previous research projects
- Households seeking Housing Options advice from East Lothian Council[3]
- Requests for help from individuals representing a particular household group i.e. the Chair of the East Lothian Tenants and Residents Panel

The most fruitful sources of interviewees proved to be the first two listed above. Posters and postcards placed in public buildings, such as libraries, housing offices and community centres attracted six responses and eight more participants were recruited from an advertisement put on the Council's Intranet site. Council employees who responded came from all tenures (apart from Housing Associations) and their incomes ranged from c. £18,000 to more than £35,000. It is not possible to know exactly how many respondents were alerted by publicity in the local media; however there were six direct responses to the contact number given on air and in the advertisements.

Another potential source of participants was the Housing Options advice service run by the Council. Households on the East Lothian Council housing list usually consider themselves to be in housing need and many of them have complex and interesting housing histories. Unfortunately the Council decided that it could not contact these applicants directly, on behalf of the researcher. This was because it might have been seen as an unwarranted intrusion; also the work required to identify and write to the households was considerable and difficult to justify, in terms of the council's core business aims. There were data protection issues, as well. The council did agree however, to contact a much smaller sample of people who had approached it for a Housing Options interview. Letters were sent on behalf of the researcher, explaining the purpose of the research and attaching an ethical statement prepared for the project and authorised by the University. Five further participants were recruited this way. Two

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[3] See section 5.5 below, for discussion of the ethical issues involved

further interviewees came forward, as a result of publicity in the Bridges Project, which helps young people into housing and employment.

Previous studies of housing need in East Lothian were drawn on as well. A pilot study for this research took place in 2008 (Lloyd, 2008) and participants in that project were asked whether they would like to take part in the present research. Four of them agreed to be interviewed. Second, customers who had received a Housing Options interview during the Council's experimental 'Homeseeker' Housing Options advice service, (2003-4), were approached. Letters were sent on behalf of the researcher again by the Council, which accessed names and addresses of individuals on the Homeseeker database. This recruited a further two interviewees.

The publicity material circulated during recruitment (including information sheets, postcards and posters) posed a question to potential recruits, about whether they were able to find the housing they needed. This question was formulated to cover as broad a range of circumstances as possible. It encompassed households in all tenures and the use of the word 'need' was intended to trigger responses from households with strong felt need, the exact type of which would naturally vary from one to another.[4]

It took about twelve months to recruit volunteers using this strategy, which is longer than might have been the case had a more selective approach been adopted. Nevertheless households with a wide range of circumstances were attracted to participate. Overall, the sample contained participants in a range of ages, household sizes, locations, and tenures. It was anticipated that a sample of 25-30 participants would be found. In the event, 33 volunteered, but one had to be discounted because she was found to be based outside East Lothian. Given that the research was centred on East Lothian households and their desire to move away, clearly this did not fit.

The circumstances of three other participants had changed between the time of their recruitment and their interview. Two had been offered houses by East Lothian Council and a third had found the money she needed to improve her privately owned house. It was decided to interview these three households as well, because their experiences of

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[4] The postcard used is shown in Appendix F

housing stress and frustration were very recent and fresh in their memories. The council tenants had not expected to be housed, so quickly. They had been waiting a long time for housing and had all but given up hope, at the time that they had volunteered to be interviewed.[5] They had pertinent points to make about their own and other households' housing problems and valuable views about the local housing market. They contributed insights into both the problems of local stressed households and what they themselves had attempted as solutions.

Consequently, 32 households participated in the data gathering.[6] Whilst it is not claimed that these households are a representative sample, the researcher had experienced a wide range of household circumstances when giving housing options advice at East Lothian council, and considered they were not untypical. The Homeseeker project review paper (ELC 2004) contained similar case-types in similar proportions, and drawn from a larger sample (over 100 cases). It should be acknowledged, nevertheless, that more participants may have emerged from some sets of household circumstances than others. The balance of responses may have borne a skewed relationship to the actual housing problems of households of East Lothian. The aim of the study however, was not to show how many local households in each category were in difficulties but rather to examine the range of difficulties experienced by a variety of household types. The sample offered a wide range of households and an equally varied set of household circumstances.

5.2.2 Gathering the data

Data was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews. The interviews were undertaken on a one to one basis, and conducted face to face. They were long interviews, lasting at least an hour, using semi-structured techniques. They were framed with the help an interview guide devised by the interviewer.[7] This was an aide-memoire

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[5] The focus of the interviews was not on their relief at their unexpected success, but on the problems they had experienced, this matching the focus of the other participant interviews.

[6] A table of the participants, including details of the household composition, income, employment, and ages is available in Appendix A. Participants who had been rehoused by the time of their interview are identified in the text, or footnotes, in Chapters 6, 7 & 8.

[7] See Appendix C

rather than a set of tick-boxes. It ensured that the relevant topic areas were covered, and that the interviewer could focus on the responses of the interviewee, rather than mechanically completing questions about all the issues in the guide, even those irrelevant to that household's circumstances. It allowed the interviews to range widely and pursue topics raised by the interviewee, without losing sight of the study's overarching objectives. The questionnaire was set out under a series of topic headings, such as 'Housing History,' and the order of tackling these topics was varied according to the circumstances of the respondent.

This semi-structured approach has been seen as valuable in exploratory interviewing, although as a consequence the relevance of the data obtained is not always apparent at the time of collection. Its value may emerge only in conjunction with information gathered later. "Even the most incomprehensible remarks may become understandable when reviewed in the light of later conversations or events," according to Taylor and Bogdan (1998, p.77) In addition this technique encouraged participants to offer rich descriptions of events for instance by recalling anecdotes. The responses of the interviewees were used to modify the questions, as the research progressed. The guide also helped to manage the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, so that the research intentions were unambiguous and less liable to be mediated by preconceptions and/or misunderstandings, establishing, "...channels for direction and scope of discourse," as McCracken puts it. (1998, p.24)

Questions were designed to explore the overarching research aims outlined in the previous chapter and centred on main "themes" which encompassed the main areas for enquiry. It should be stressed that the project interview guide was not a rigid list of questions, each of which had to be asked before moving on to the next. It was instead a guide to the areas of enquiry, focussed on providing data to help answer the larger research questions. Whilst comprehensive it was not a fixed survey, but rather a starting point for discussion. Topics inappropriate for a particular household were not explored and new ones were added as required.[8]

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[8] The topic guide can be found in Appendix C

In the first section, the current circumstances of each household were considered and the problems they were experiencing were explored. It was essential to know how it was composed because this could be an indication of stress, for instance if participants felt there were too many people in the household given the available space. The property's location was discussed as well as its size and shape, to allow households to explain if they faced high commuting costs or would have lost closeness to family and support networks, by moving. The condition of the property was important since, especially in the private rental sector, poor housing condition can be both a contributory factor to stress and a spur to look for another house. The state of household members' health was considered, along with any interaction there might be between health issues and the condition of their house. Finally their income was discussed, both in the context of whether they found it adequate for their housing needs at present and the extent to which it allowed them to find alternative accommodation. The participants were questioned about welfare benefits when this was relevant, and over the extent to which they relied on them to sustain their housing.

The second section focussed on the aspirations of the household. The questions centred on what they would consider 'ideal' accommodation and what was blocking them from finding it. Often this was a financial issue. Whilst the household might be able to afford to stay in the housing it found inadequate currently, it could lack the resources to move somewhere more appropriate. The attempts it had made to make a move and the reasons for its success and failure were next examined. If households felt, as often they did, trapped in their current house, they were asked what they proposed to do about that. Did they have a plan and what chance did they think it had of succeeding?

Because the research aimed to extend gentrification theory, one of the key issues was whether the households saw moving to a less expensive area as a solution. They were not asked explicitly about 'displacement' as a concept however; rather they were questioned about where they might move to, how far away and what the pros and cons of such a move would be for them.

The third section looked at the housing histories of the participant households. This was to uncover the impact of any bad decisions made by households, which may have

affected their housing options and circumstances in later years. A classic example would be for instance, that during a marital breakdown one partner left the house expecting to be housed as homeless, and found that s/he was not entitled to accommodation from the local authority because s/he had made him/herself intentionally homeless.

The origins of the household were important. If they came from outside East Lothian, would they be more likely to return to their roots and might this weaken the constraints on them being displaced elsewhere? If they had lived for many years locally, conversely, did that strengthen their ties and make them more reluctant to leave, even if leaving might be financially advantageous?

Finally, the households were asked for their views about the housing system in East Lothian. They were not asked to comment from a standpoint of technical knowledge, though some were well informed about the problems in housing locally. The intention was rather to understand how they perceived the situation. How did they think housing pressure in the area had come about? Who did they think was responsible and what should be done about it?

These questions were asked not only to understand how they saw their own situation in context, but also because their perceptions of the local housing market may have influenced the housing choices they made. They might for example not have bothered to seek a council house because they believed they were unlikely to be entitled to one.

Interviewees were not hurried, with time taken to allow them to 'warm up' before the questions were asked. New topics that emerged during the interview dialogue were actively encouraged, and in some cases these modified the approach taken in the subsequent interviews. Interviewees were talked through the guide in advance and were told that they could request transcripts of their interviews, though none did so. An assessment of the ethical issues raised by the research was carried out, before it began, and is described in detail at 5.5.

To aid explanation-building, the initial intention was to re-interview each household at yearly intervals, over a three year period. It was hoped this would show whether they

had come any nearer to their goal and aid understanding of the reasons for their progress or lack of it. On consideration, it was decided that this information should not be included in the main body of the research analysis. It was thought that it might conflict with the research's focus on households' perceptions of their felt need, at a particular point in time. The past was an important influence on those perceptions, but the future clearly could not be. As it turned out, it proved impossible to re-contact some of the participants, so a full-scale analytical comparison was impossible. A summary of the responses of participants that could be traced has been complied though, and can be read in Appendix 'B'. Some of the households had resolved their housing problems.

5.2.3 Data Analysis

The data collected during the field research amounted to more than 30 hours of recorded interview material, as well as field notes. The field recordings were transcribed and the transcriptions were gathered together in a software program called NVivo. This offers a structured repository for themes and categories, which was found valuable. It was not used to generate the categories, however; instead these emerged from the researcher's own analysis. A preliminary survey of the transcribed texts took place, to search for themes in the data. This involved reading and re-reading individual interview transcripts, and sorting the data by theme in a cross-sectional analysis. These themes formed the basis around which the data was later searched for patterns and organised into categories.

The themes reflected the broad topic areas devised for the project guide but they were not identical to them. There were nine themes in total.[9] The first four were centred on the current circumstances of the household, their financial and employment positions, the reasons why they felt they needed to move and the housing histories which had led to their current circumstances. The second four centred on their efforts to move house, looking at the attempts they had made, the reasons for their failure, the extent to which migration away from East Lothian was possible for them and the consequences for the household of not managing to move. The final theme concerned the household's perceptions of the housing market in which they were attempting to move. It included

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[9] A tenth category summarised their personal details.

their views not only about how their own individual struggle had been affected by market conditions, but how they thought the market was affecting all households in the area. It encompassed as well, their opinions about social change in East Lothian and especially their perception(s) of the influence of gentrification.

The second stage of the analysis involved searching the themes for patterns and associations, during which some issues emerged as more significant than others. This went further than simply counting how often a particular issue was mentioned. As well, the extent to which it mattered to the participant was measured. This was judged by the strength of the language used and the tone of voice in which it was presented.[10] For instance, one of the commonest complaints when discussing the local housing market, concerned households jumping the queue for social housing - 'scamming.' This was mentioned by 24 of the 32 participants, with a total of 63 references. The respondents were often angry. By contrast, in the same local housing market thematic section, only one respondent thought that the physical condition of housing in East Lothian was unsuitable or inadequate and the view was expressed calmly.

Rather than attempting to rank the issues that were most significant for the respondents by summing all the references to particular topics, linkages were sought between the major concerns that emerged from their interviews. Mentions of scamming for example, were likely to be present when the interviewee was also concerned that their household had not been able to obtain social housing. Many such households perceived social housing allocations as unfair and criticised the bureaucratic rules which surrounded and some would say enmeshed them.

Very few of the participant's decisions were taken on the basis of a single issue (for example affordability), and the complex linkages between the various elements of stress, and the possibilities and constraints on finding solutions to it, could make it hard for them to decide what to do.

These linked themes in the data helped to build a further set of categories centred on the participants concerns about, and responses to, their housing problems. These were now

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[10] This could not be captured, always, in transcript, but the recordings were checked

'free' of the structure of the interview guide. The categories were created not only by analysis of the participants' responses however, but also the researcher's interpretation of those responses. For instance, whereas 8 participants explicitly mentioned their attachment to a particular area as a factor influencing them to stay there, this could be interpreted as a factor in the decision-making process of 15 participants in all, 7 of whom did not mention it in their interviews directly.

No attempt was made at this stage to link these emerging categories to the research questions directly, but they were useful 'leads' to be followed in pursuit of understanding the participants problems and their approach to solving them. There were 15 such categories and they ranged from relationships and networks, place attachment, and commuting requirements, to the attempts made to resolve the problems and reactions to social change. Some of these overlapped with the themes found at the first stage of analysis, e.g. *'failed attempts to move,'* whereas others, e.g., *'no escape, the problem is the same everywhere,'* had not featured in the first-stage analysis.

In the third and final stage of the analysis, the categories developed from both the direct and interpreted responses of the participants were used to help answer the research questions. For example, question three, *"Why do households think they have been unsuccessful in finding better housing?"* seeks to understand the reasons households gave for being unable to solve their housing stress. Alongside some of the reasons that it had been expected would be found, such as financial constraints, the life-stage of the respondents and social and economic change, other issues emerged.

These included, for example, their attitude to the authorities in local and central government. It was became clear that the majority of the participants believed that the 'authorities' controlled many of the external forces that were restricting their housing opportunities. Moreover, perhaps more importantly, many seemed to think it was the authorities' responsibility to help them solve their problems; they could not do it alone. This made it important to consider whether such an attitude had made their reactions to their situations more passive. The data was consequently re-evaluated for evidence that this might be the case.

The issues the majority of participant households faced and their constraints on tackling them were revealed to be more complex and subtle than had been anticipated from the literature concerning affordability and gentrification. Their problems - their reasons for considering themselves in housing stress - are set out from Chapter 6 to Chapter 8. The households described a range of difficulties, and explained why they felt their housing options were restricted. They spoke about what they thought they could do to resolve their problems and outlined the barriers they believed stood in their way. A key finding was that a high proportion of households rejected moving away from East Lothian, as a means to solve their problems.

5.3 Interviewer neutrality and influence

Although it was believed that the issues that the participants' faced could be explored and explanations produced through observation and analysis, the researcher was aware of the potential of his role as a council official to influence both the gathering of data and its evaluation. His relationship to the research issues was not and could not be a neutral one. Since his job involves helping people suffering housing stress to solve their problems, he had a priori knowledge that inevitably influenced his approach to the research design and analysis. His position was in some ways akin to a participant observer, since he had been immersed in the culture of local residents with limited housing options for more than ten years.

It will be helpful therefore, to explain why and in what ways it was perceived that this influence could and did impact on the research project. First of all, it influenced its design and development. Prior knowledge of housing stress in the area, of affordability problems and of the issues created by gentrification does not originate solely from the literature reviews. The researcher had practical experience of the kinds of situation in which local households find themselves.

He had piloted a housing information and advice giving project in East Lothian[11] and was a member of a council working group striving to improve information and advice provision. His work required him to make himself aware of the kinds of solutions to

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[11] Homeseeker project (2001-2003)

housing stress that are available to local people. This knowledge influenced both the research design and the research analysis because already a point of view was held, about the types of households that would be most likely to face stress. So far as analysis was concerned, whilst the data for this project was drawn exclusively from the responses of the 32 participant households, the stressed situations of several hundred other households that the researcher had become aware of during advice interviews, were inevitably in his mind. It has been made clear both in describing the design of the project and the way the analysis was conducted, where, why and how this prior knowledge may have influenced his thinking.

It was not only the researcher's local knowledge that had to be taken into account when pursuing the research questions and analysing the data. Ethical and practical issues arose because of the researcher's status as a council official. Participants had to be informed at the outset that the research was not being carried out on behalf of the council and that it was being conducted solely as a research project at Glasgow University. Participants were informed before they were asked to consent to be interviewed that the researcher was an official, because it might have influenced their decision about whether to participate. It was stressed that the researcher would not share the information they provided with East Lothian Council. Participation in the interviews was voluntary and the participants were informed that they could stop the interview and/ or withdraw their consent for the material to be used at any point during the process. Further ethical safeguards are outlined at 5.5 below.

The main practical issue needing to be addressed concerned the perceptions of the participants of the researcher's role at the council. A power dynamic existed that could have influenced the interview process. Given that many of the respondents would have liked to obtain council housing, they might have assumed that by praising the council or demonstrating their support for it to an official, their chances of being housed would be improved. Instances of direct praise for the council however, were exceptionally rare. Most of the respondents were critical of the council, some highly. This negative response could have been engendered by the researcher's role as well, because the participants may have wanted to vent their anger at not being (as they saw it) sufficiently prioritised by the council, for housing. Furthermore, they could have

exaggerated their needs, in the belief that he held some influence over their application for housing and could champion their cause.

It is however, difficult to establish for certain whether and to what extent the interviewer's employment by the council influenced the responses. It is certain in any event, that an interview process cannot be entirely neutral. Taylor and Bogdan have pointed out that life stories collected in interviews are not autobiographical, "they do not write themselves." (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, p. 135) The researcher interacts with his/her subjects both editorially and in the interviewing process. That can interfere with the content of the material gathered, in part because an interviewee may not always give a response to a question that reflects his/her actual views, but also because the response may not be interpreted correctly by the researcher. Silverman (2004) sums up this issue by quoting the researcher Harvey Sachs, "I can tell you something but you have to be careful what you make of it." (p363) This ties with a wider debate about the ontological pitfalls of qualitative methods.

Many authors, (Denzin, 2003, Corbin & Strauss 2008, etc.) have cautioned against the assumption that data can be 'mined' during an interview in a straightforward manner. McCracken (1988) even suggests that in some circumstances it is necessary for the interviewer to conceal the extent of his or her knowledge. "Qualitative researchers who present themselves as university professors," he writes, "will find their respondents alarmingly quick to accept this self-characterisation." (p. 40)

As Denzin (2003) views it, "Post-structuralists and postmodernists have contributed to the understanding that there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lens of language, gender, social class race and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of - and between - the observer and the observed." (p31)

It would have been unacceptable to conceal from the interviewees that they were being interviewed by someone with knowledge, if not of their own housing histories, then at least about housing issues generally in East Lothian. These influences had to be noted, and any issues that arose because of the interaction between the researcher and the

participant households had to be made explicit in the analysis. For instance, when the researcher was aware that he could give advice to a household about its likely housing options, he postponed offering it, if it would have influenced their responses to his questions[12].

When participants made mistaken assumptions about council policy and practice, or their analysis of a situation was factually incorrect, the researcher did not correct them or dispute with them. For example, one interviewee was very sure that East Lothian Council allocated exactly 22% of its housing to Eastern European immigrants. No such policy exists. Whilst inaccurate, this assertion was a useful insight into how that participant positioned his own problems in the context of the housing system in East Lothian. If the researcher had intervened, not only did that risk changing the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, but also he would have lost the opportunity to gather valuable data about that participants' understanding. In all cases he wanted to avoid contaminating the views of the participants with his own knowledge, which could have influenced and changed the data that he was seeking to collect.

5.4 Ethical considerations

The ethical requirements of Glasgow University have been met in this research project. Aside from the issue discussed above, of the relationship between the researcher as a council official and the participants, the research did not present specific ethical challenges. It was recognised nonetheless, that social research can be intrusive and involves participants in giving sometimes intimate details of their lives and circumstances. For this reason participants were provided with comprehensive information about the project prior to their agreeing to take part, and this information had been reviewed and sanctioned by the University authorities. Participation in the interviews was voluntary and the participants were informed that they could stop the interview and/or withdraw their consent for the material to be used at any point during the process.[13]

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[12] In cases where there was advice to be given, where possible it was delayed until after the interview

[13] Consent sheets are available for scrutiny, and the ethical outline of research, and information documentation seen by participants can be found in Appendices E, G and H

As discussed above, it was made clear to the potential interviewees that the research was not being carried out in the researcher's capacity as an employee of East Lothian Council, but rather as part of his studies at Glasgow University. Arrangements were made for the interviews to be conducted at a time and place that suited the participants. They were given the opportunity to be interviewed over the telephone, at their own homes, or at another location of their choosing, whether that was a council office or somewhere they considered 'neutral' ground. All the interviewees consented to face to face interviews but three requested that these be carried out in council offices. Interviewees were given an opportunity to say whether they objected to the interviews being recorded, but none did.

It was made clear that the information participants provided would be anonymised. No-one other than the researcher and his supervisors/examiners had access to the original research material, apart from individual participants who retained the right to see/hear what they had said, and what was written about what they had said. An ethics form application, detailing the implications of this research, was submitted and approved before any interviews took place. Signed consent forms were obtained from all participants and these are available for inspection. The participants were given the researcher's contact details and advised to get in touch with him if they had any further questions about the research.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the aims of this research project and laid out the methodological options for analysing the research issues. It has discussed some of the practical and epistemological issues connected with conducting the research. It has explained how the research results were analysed and indicated how its findings were arrived at. The results of the research are outlined in the next three chapters. The first considers the housing stresses that the participant households faced - and what they did about them.

Chapter 6 - The housing stress experienced by the study households

Introduction to the research results - listening to the households

It has been shown in Chapters 2 and 3 that at the time of the fieldwork certain lower income East Lothian households were facing housing stress. In this and the following two chapters, some of these households give voice to their views. They describe in their own words the problems that they wished to resolve, how they resolved them, how they understood the causes and consequences of high housing costs and why (in most cases) they did not want to move far from their current neighbourhood, town or village, to find cheaper housing.

Consistent with the critical realist ontology of this study, no attempt will be made to evaluate the degree of stress that each household was facing, against some external, normative, standard. Understanding felt need(s) of the households is paramount because this study's primary aim is to show how they themselves understood their choices and made their decisions about housing.

As these chapters will demonstrate, some of the households may not have analysed their options optimally. Their level of understanding about local housing issues varied and may have been influenced by peer or other social pressures. They might have been seeking solutions which were not the best for them. Their expectations of what they were entitled to from local and national government may have been unrealistic. What is being investigated here however, is not whether they had made a sound analysis, but rather what *kind* of analysis they had attempted and how that had motivated them. Influences on their behaviour and their responses to them are of central interest to this study, which seeks insight into the actual behaviour of these households under housing stress, irrespective of how well or poorly informed about their choices they might have been.

The research results are organised as follows. In this chapter the problems that the households' experienced are examined, and the solutions they had attempted are analysed. In Chapter 7, the households' understanding of the causes of their problems are explored and they explain why they found them so hard to resolve. They situate their own

difficulties within the context of their understanding of the housing market in East Lothian and they give their views about the social, economic and political causes and consequences of pressures in that market. Finally in Chapter 8, one aspect of these households' responses to their circumstances is focussed on. Displacement is often proposed as an inevitable consequence of gentrification. Gentrification has been shown to influence the East Lothian housing market and yet these households were resisting displacement. The attachment that most of the participants felt to their locale emerged as a significant factor in constraining them from moving from their area to find cheaper accommodation. This suggested that the causes of displacement needed to be re-evaluated, and that the reasons why households decide to leave an area, or stay, may be more complex than are sometimes asserted.[1]

It is not proposed however, that the participants' housing problems all stem from gentrification. Some causes of stress, such as high private rental costs, had a direct or close connection to it - but their actual housing issues were often similar to those faced by households in other parts of the UK, whether in gentrifying areas or not. Gentrification played an important role nevertheless. It restricted the households' options for solving their problems, by helping to make housing less affordable. Many respondents believed as well that, reinforced by other migratory movements of 'outsiders' into East Lothian, gentrification had diminished the distinct local identity of their area.

Chapter 6 is structured as follows. To begin with, there is a description of the types of household that took part in this survey. Second, the specific problems each household encountered are considered. Their problems were often multi-faceted. For instance, participants who spoke about inadequacies in the size or layout of their homes sometimes had disability or health issues which exacerbated their difficulties. In the final section the households show what they did, to resolve their issues. In Chapter 7 their explanations for failure to solve those problems will be analysed.

6.1 The types of households taking part in this survey

It has been made clear in Chapter 5 that the participants were not identified as a controlled, representative, sample of local household types. The households volunteering for the

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[1] For a full discussion of this issue, please see Chapter 4

research project nevertheless came from a wide range of ages, social and personal situations.[2] An overview of the main household types is given below, and a table of all the participants, which includes details about their household circumstances, can be found in Appendix A.

The interviewees spanned a wide range of ages, with the youngest participants being Ms S and Ms A, both aged 17, both unemployed and both still staying with their families. The oldest was Mrs R, a widow of 77 staying in a bought council house on which she had a relatively small mortgage.

Seven participants were in their twenties, eight were in their thirties, six in their forties, three in their fifties and four in their sixties. There was representation therefore, of households across many life stages.

More were employed (twenty-one) than unemployed, and of those not in employment five were retired and one, Mr I from Prestonpans, was on long-term sick leave. Some of the unemployed had partners who worked. For example, Mrs F's partner worked as a railwayman, supporting her and her three children.

Looking at the composition of the households, eighteen contained children and of those seven were single parents, including two male single parents, Mr Z, who worked in sports development, and Mr L, a manager with the Council. There were eleven couples with children and two without, Mr T a bank official and Ms GH, an administrative worker in the Council's Adult Social Care team. The remaining households contained single people with no children.

Incomes ranged very widely and for twenty households was earned, whilst four received purely welfare benefits and eight a mixture of earned income and benefits. Lowest was that of Ms A at c. £6000 a year (pa), whilst Mr T, a banker living in a mortgaged house in

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[2] The participants were anonymised to protect their identities in the research report. They have been given letters instead of surnames but the letters have no significance in themselves; they are merely labels. They are not lettered by age, income, date of interview or in any other way. Two letters had to be used for participants after the initial single alphabet letters were used up. Participants' children have been likewise anonymised.

Musselburgh, who earned more than £30,000 pa had the highest, with his household income boosted by a further (undisclosed) amount from his partner, who worked as well. Five households had incomes less than or around £10,000 pa. Eleven received less than or around £20,000 pa and a further eleven less than or around £30,000 pa. The remainder were either earning in excess of £30,000 or did not wish to declare their income. An analysis in Chapter 2 (2.4.4) shows that the mean earned household income in East Lothian at the time of the fieldwork, was about £26,000. Twenty-seven of the participants had incomes below this figure.[3]

Fewer than one-third of the interviewees were owner occupiers, just eight of them. Ten were staying in private lets, eight were council tenants and six participants were living in their parental home but wanted to leave. This included some who had returned to their family because of financial problems, like prison transfer officer, Mr P. One, Mr D, a shop-worker, was in temporary accommodation after being accepted as homeless by the Council.

Two of the participants had disabilities, 66-yr. old Mr G a former soldier who lived with his wife in a council house in Athelstaneford, near Haddington and 39-yr. old Mr Y, an owner-occupier living on a private estate in Musselburgh. In addition Mrs E, who worked part-time in the Financial Services sector had a very seriously disabled daughter living with her, and was a single parent in an owned house in Dunbar. As well, Mrs AB and Mrs F both had children with attention deficit disorder. One of Mr I's children had a serious and progressive illness and Mr I himself, living with his family in Prestonpans had been off work sick for many months.[4]

6.2 The participants' problems

The households' issues varied as much in combination, as in type. No two sets of household circumstances were identical. Given the complexity of housing need, it is likely that a much larger sample of the East Lothian population would have had to be interviewed in order to uncover households with similar circumstances. Common factors, such as

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[3] See Chapter 2 (2.4.4)

[4] Throughout the research analysis chapters reminders are given about the participants' details within the text. Supplementary information is included beneath quotations, when appropriate.

overcrowding, un-affordability and landlord problems were nevertheless present in many cases. The households explained the inadequacies of their accommodation in their interviews. Many reasons for seeking a move were cited but the size and layout of their current house was very common (eighteen out of thirty-two). Many households (ten out of thirty-two)[2] were worried about the affordability of their accommodation, and a similar proportion were concerned about crime and antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhood (eleven out of thirty-two).

The location of the property could be problematic in other ways. For example, it might be too far from amenities, schools or work (fourteen out of thirty-two). Some households faced disability or health issues that either exacerbated their already difficult housing situation, or were the main reason for seeking a move (nine out of thirty-two). Some households struggled to maintain the fabric of their homes, either because of recalcitrant landlords, or because they could not afford the upkeep (ten out of thirty-two).

6.2.1 Accommodation size and layout

Lack of bedrooms and/or living spaces was a frequently given reason for dissatisfaction with participants' current housing, especially when they had a growing family. "They fight like cat and dog," complained Mrs K, whose family lived in a small two bedroom Council flat in Dunbar, about her two teenage children.

> "G's got his friends round then H will start moaning that, 'I can't go into my room because you've got your friends round', and vice versa."
> (Mrs K, (36) employed, living with partner (26) and three children)

As well as lack of amenity and privacy for the children of the family, a shortage of bedrooms could have health consequences. For example, Mrs F, staying with her husband and 3 children in a draughty Victorian private let in Musselburgh, said she had no option but to put her son up in a "cupboard" in the hallway of her flat. The refusal of her landlord to allow carpets on the floor made the room dusty and, she claimed, the child's health suffered.

> "C has severe dust allergies and in here (the kitchen) it's fine because we have a wee cornice bits between the floorboard and the skirting board, but in the rest of

the house there's a gap about that space actually going into the wall (demonstrates gap with fingers), and his bedroom is an utter nightmare. I mean, sometimes you go into his bedroom and it looks like an episode of CSI because there's blood over the walls because his allergies are that bad that he's lost the lining inside his nose. So he sneezes and sneezes and it explodes. But we're not allowed to put carpets down."

(Mrs F, (29) not working, husband low-income railway worker, (40))

Mrs F faced other size-related problems in her flat, with its large draughty spaces. She was unable to heat the high ceilinged rooms adequately because of poor and expensive heating.

"I've got the thermometer thing, you know these cards that you put somewhere and even if I've had my heating on all day it comes up, 'Warning, danger of hypothermia.' Three young kids, it isn't ideal..."

Overcrowding was a serious problem for some participants, especially young people living in concealed households.[5] Mr N for example lived in his parents three-bedroom council house in Whitecraig, a large local authority estate near Musselburgh. He felt that he shared with too many siblings to allow him the personal space he needed.

"There's only one bathroom between six people, so it's a bit of a rush in the morning. Living accommodation.... well big brother sleeps downstairs on the couch at the moment because there's not enough room. The rest of us? I share with my little brother, my two little sisters share and ma mum's got a room."

(Mr N, (21), chef)

Ms S also lived in a concealed household and found her living arrangements, sharing a one-bedroom council flat in Musselburgh with her father and her grandparents, intolerable.

"Ma Papa's disabled so me and my Gran sleeps in a double bed and then my Papa sleeps in a single bed in the same room and my brother sleeps in the living room."

(Ms S, (17), unemployed, living on benefits)

It was not just teenagers and young people however, who faced overcrowding. For example middle aged Mr P, a prisoner transfer officer, had to move back into his parents' small privately owned bungalow in Musselburgh, when his marriage ended in his early

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[5] There are several potential definitions of a 'concealed household.' In this study the term refers to households that were living in another household and did not want to be there. This could be single people couples or families.

forties, causing household disruption and creating living arrangements that he found unsatisfactory for himself and his parents.

> "I'm coming up to 42 next week and it's a bit demeaning, I mean you should be looking after your own self, at this type of age. It's not suitable… I've got a daughter of 14 so I can't really bring her in here. It's a 2-bedroom house. I live in one room, Mum and Dad live in the other room. They also are grandparents from my brother who has two young childs, so when they appear here I've got to go like to my pal's that night, Saturday, Thursday, Friday night, whatever, in order for my mother to do her granny bit with the children. I'm staying at my mate's basically for that period of time, so she can have her grandwains down for a visit and that."
> (Mr P, (42), prisoner transfer officer)

Overcrowding stress can be compounded when households contain someone with health problems. Although not overcrowded at the time of interview, Ms A recalled sharing a two bedroom house in Dunbar with five other people, including her older sister's children,

> "...my middle nephew he's got Aspergers Syndrome. He used to wake up at half four in the morning and like I was in Grammar School and it was quite tiring for all of us 'cos we had to get up when he got up because he used to wake us all up."
> (Ms A, (17) living with father in council tenancy in Dunbar)

Ms A was now trying to leave her parents' home because she felt oppressed by antisocial neighbours (6.2.4 (i)). Many of the overcrowding issues in this survey were faced by social housing tenants, but similar problems were apparent in all tenures. Single mother Ms C, living as a concealed household within her parents' owned Port Seton home, sensed that her presence was causing her family overcrowding and privacy problems. She would have preferred to live independently with her young son because her mum and dad:

> "…would like their own space. I don't think they would admit it. My brothers are like that as well. Mum and Dad go out on a Saturday night, they canna have people in to have a party or whatever cos obviously D's up the stairs sleeping, so it does kind of cause... like that they don't have time for themselves because me and D are always here under your feet."
> (Ms C, (25) employed a clerical worker part-time with local authority)

Space issues were not always about overcrowding. Owner, Mr T, felt dissatisfied with the size of the rooms of the house that he shared with his partner on a newly-built private estate:

> "...with it being a new build it's got particularly small rooms and having got stairs in the living room as well, so that reduces the space. Storage is really the big concern; the lack of cupboard space and the attic is just full of things at the moment. Because we have to go up into the attic to get things down it's used quite regularly."
> (Mr T, (36), Banker, owner-occupier, Musselburgh)

A house could be too large rather than too small for a household. Mrs R (77) had lived in the same 3-bedroom ex-Council house for more than 50 years, bringing up a family. Now that her husband was dead and the children had left home, she wanted to move to accommodation more suited to her circumstances, despite her emotional attachment to the house, "...it's too big. There used to be eight of us in here."

Retired academic researcher, Mr B though still fit and active in his early sixties, was looking to his future housing needs, and realised that he could not rely on his good health continuing. He knew that he would reach a life stage at which he need to downsize from his three bedroom, privately owned house, which:

> "...is certainly bigger than I need and I can anticipate that as I get older it might well be preferable to move into an easily-maintained small unit for one person."
> (Mr B, (62), bought council house, low pension income, c.12k pa)

6.2.2 Housing costs

Determining affordability can raise complex issues and as has been shown in Chapter 2, it is not always a straightforward calculation. In the context of this research however, it is the views of the respondents about housing affordability *for them* that are of interest. Their perceptions of what they could afford influenced the housing choices they made, as will be shown in the following chapters. High housing expenditure was likely to be a problem for these households in two, distinct, ways. First of all in the sustainability of their current housing, which they talk about below, and second (as shown in Chapter 7) because cost could be a barrier to resolving their difficulties, by moving.

Ten out of the thirty-two participants were worried about losing their accommodation. Their reasons varied, according to tenure. Council houses in East Lothian were amongst the cheapest in Scotland at this time, with rents between a half and one-third of those in privately rented houses, and no participants living in them said that they had affordability problems. Unsustainable housing costs were more likely to be experienced in the private sector, although the types of issues raised by owners and renters were often different. Owners tended to be concerned about their ability to keep up mortgage payments, or maintain the fabric of their properties, whilst private renters faced a variety of problems surrounding Local Housing Allowance (LHA).

a) Renting on Housing Benefit

Participants who were on benefits considered their housing costs to be sustainable, provided that their incomes did not suddenly rise above the cut off point for either Housing Benefit or Local Housing Allowance. Problems arose however, when renters found work, or their income fluctuated unexpectedly. Renters in all tenures expressed concerns about the steepness of the so-called 'taper' whereby recipients lose a proportion of their Benefit as income increases. This issue is highlighted in Chapter 2 (2.4.4(v)). As Stephens (2005) has shown, the problem is not simply a question of household income, which may marginally increase even with the steepest taper but loss of a range of passported benefits, such as free school meals. The 'poverty trap' described by Turton (2001) and Stephens (2005) has been lessened with the introduction of Working Tax Credits but respondents felt that it still had an impact on them, council and private tenants alike. The latter tended to be more concerned since their accommodation was at least twice as expensive as social housing. Many believed their housing would be unaffordable without state help and were worried about losing it. For instance, Mrs J, a school support worker living in a private let in Haddington, on a total income from all sources of only £870 a month, was anxious because she had been allocated more hours in her part time job.

> "There will come a point when I can't afford to live here. Up until now, just recently, I had been given a small amount of Housing Benefit, not a small amount but not a huge amount, but my hours have been extended at work. I've been given extra hours and I think that will take (it) away. I haven't had a full decision from them yet, but they've suspended my Housing Benefit for the moment."
> (Mrs J, (46), single parent with ten-yr. old daughter)

Out of her household income, as a parent with one child, Mrs J had to find £490 in rent and more than £150 in Council tax. When utilities bills were taken into account, she said she had only £80 a month left to live on. "My outgoings, just my bills, my direct debits for fuel and all the rest of it, they're £790."

Many of the participants (fourteen out of thirty-two) were aware of the Benefits trap. 17-yr. old Ms A said it had made her wary of taking a private let, because she thought the amount of rent that she would have to pay, if she got a job, could reduce her income very suddenly.

> "I've seen folk getting in trouble with the Housing Benefit and stuff. I don't want to go down that avenue... like Housing Benefit getting stopped or something and then they're in debt with their rent."

Conversely, some of the respondents did not appreciate the extent of their benefits entitlement. Ms C, a single mother in her early twenties staying at home with her parents, said that she had not realised that she might get help with her rental costs, even though she was working.[6]

> "I thought you got your rent paid if you didn't work. I've got quite a few friends they've got houses of their own but they don't work and they get their rent paid for them."

The council tenant participants in this study were not affected by the Benefits trap at the time of the fieldwork, perhaps because their rents were so much cheaper. Although they were sometimes unclear about how the system worked, especially concerning tax credits, they were usually aware that they were in a more flexible position than private tenants. They would lose a lower proportion of their income if they had to pay rent. Mrs G spent a lot of time caring for her disabled partner and children but was keen to find part-time work to increase the household income. Her husband worried that Benefits might be withdrawn if his wife worked, though he wanted her to do so.

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[6] Her potential entitlements were discussed after her interview

"It's a precipice, isn't it really. You're either OK or you're … so that's what I'm saying, depends on how much she earns, depends on whether we're going to be slightly worse off or slightly better off, you know ...We're not going to be aware of that until she's actually working. We'd rather be in a situation where she's working and earning."
(Mr G, (66), disabled, retired, wife (38) and 3 children in 3-bed council house in village of Athelstaneford, near Haddington)

One participant thought that housing would become affordable for him, if he gave up work. Mr D had recently divorced from his wife and was living in temporary accommodation provided by the local authority homelessness service. He said he could not afford a private let although he was working, because he had child support costs and his earnings were relatively low (c.£25,000 pa). He didn't want to give up his work but he believed that he would pay less for his housing, if he did.

"I think you're paid up to £495 a month if you're not working. That's for a single person. And most of the rents are about £500 and a lot of the landlords know that £495 is the most that is paid, so a lot of them advertise at £495, knowing that they'll get DSS folk into their flats or houses to rent.... If I wasna working I would probably have a roof over my head."
Mr D, (31), shop worker, in council "Bed and Breakfast" in Prestonpans)

b) Renting without Housing Benefit

At the time the research was conducted the rental cost of private housing in East Lothian was amongst the highest in Scotland[7]. Participants on low incomes said they would struggle to afford the rent without Housing Benefit or Local Housing Allowance. Households that earned just slightly too much to claim Housing Benefit or Local Housing Allowance could find their housing situation financially precarious. Mrs F from Musselburgh for instance, spent a very a high proportion of household income on her housing.

"The rent is £695 a month; Council Tax is £200 because we're on the High Street. With the draught and the heating problems, in the winter it's about £40 a week in gas... so it is extortionate. I mean, it's a £1000 before we buy a loaf of bread, 'cos that's with the rent and Council Tax. And then on top of that say you've got £15 electricity in the winter. We've had two bad winters, so you can hit £60 a week on gas..."
(Int.) Extraordinary. That's a lot. What proportion is that £1000 of your total income into the house? That's including things like benefits ....

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[7] See chapter 2 section 2.4.3 for discussion

(Mrs F.) I think it's about £1600 pounds we get."
(Mrs F, private renter in Musselburgh with 3 children and railway worker husband)

Although only her husband was earning, Mrs F felt unable to take a job to improve the family finances since she would have had spend most or all of her additional earnings on child-care.[8]

Even households that had a higher than average income found private rental a struggle. Mrs X, privately renting a bungalow in Haddington, had a joint income with her husband of more than £50,000, a year. Because their former home had been repossessed however, they had debt to pay off, which took several hundred pounds out of their monthly income. She explained:

"... we do all our bills monthly, so that we know exactly where we are. But by the time the bills, insurance, petrol in the car for my husband to get to work and food, there's virtually nothing left. You know we very rarely have any nights out. There's been an instance where one of my boys has wanted new shoes, but they've had to wait until payday because the sole fell off his shoes. But we couldn't afford to replace them until we got paid. He had to wear his trainers to school. It's wee things like that. We don't have the luxury of having any money left at the end of the month, whatsoever."
(Mrs X, (47), living with husband and two children, boys, aged 15 & 19)

Even participants with a higher level of disposable income said that they found private lets unaffordable. For example, Mr N had been forced to move out of his parent's home when younger, following a court order banning him from the house. For a while he took a private let with his brother but, despite earnings of a thousand pounds a month and sharing the rental cost, he found he could not sustain the tenancy.

"It was all right at first like because I had that much savings. It was £625 a month the rent, that's not counting Council Tax food and the rest. It kind of crippled me. I was in there for six moths, seven maybe. Then I had to move back oot 'cos I couldna, I was a bit skint, so..."
(Mr N, (21), chef, living in parental home)

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[8] Mrs F's circumstances are discussed in more detail in a case study in Chapter 8 (8.3.2)

Mr N said that he went to the Council for help after giving up the tenancy but was told that he had made himself intentionally homeless. Fortunately for him, he was allowed back into his parents' home.

c) Ownership - sustainability

Financial insecurity was prevalent amongst the owner-occupiers interviewed. The term 'marginal ownership' describes the housing insecurity that householders may face, as a result of having insufficient income either to maintain their properties or pay the mortgage, or both. (Painter et al., 2002). Marginal owners can be in as precarious a financial situation as renters. Ms H, a Council administrative support worker, bought her renovated one-bedroom flat in a Haddington tenement with the help of a shared equity scheme subsidised by the Scottish government. Since she did not have to make a monthly mortgage payment on the shared equity portion of the flat, her housing costs were reduced over the standard mortgage level, for properties of similar price. Despite this, and taking on an extra part-time job to bring in more income, Ms H only just managed to make ends meet and said she lived in fear of unanticipated bills, such as for house repairs.

> "I work two jobs just now. I have a Saturday job as well and it's fine paying my bills. Like I say, I only pay a 60% mortgage. I couldn't pay a 100% mortgage, to be honest. I couldn't afford to own this flat myself at the moment, anyway. Also, as I say, the bills are fine, but any repair that needs done, then I start to really worry because I just don't have savings because I can't save and I don't have any spare income. It's kind of all taken up."
> (Ms H, (29), income c.£25k pa)

Mr W (48), a community worker, also from Haddington, would have liked to build an extension to his bought Council house, to solve overcrowding. Not only was that plan unaffordable for him but he worried he might be unable to continue paying his mortgage, whether he went ahead with it, or not.

> "There's not a lot of pennies left at the end of the day, shall we say... for a long time a single wage was coming in while my wife was looking after the children. Now she's managed to get back into work it's only basically part-time... I've done second jobs and such to try to boost the income, but with the wages I have we're kind of up against it ... So I'm going from not bad, not comfortable, but head above water, to - 'Oh my God!'"
> (Mr W, ex-council house owner living with wife (35) and children aged ten and eight)

6.2.3 Life events - health and relationship breakdown

The ability to meet housing costs is dynamic in that it varies over time and is usually influenced by major life changes. Participants felt that life events such as unemployment, sickness, disability and divorce had impacted on their ability to pay for housing.

i) Relationship breakdown and other issues

Relationship issues had caused housing stress for twelve of the participants, though in seven cases these were connected with the need to support relatives, rather than a relationship breakdown. The housing histories of the five participants who had suffered a breakdown revealed how this disruption of their personal life had led them to their unsatisfactory housing situation. Financial crises followed failed marriages or partnerships. These impacted on the ability of respondents to manage their housing costs. Although earning an above average wage, of just under £30,000 a year, Mr Z, a council officer privately renting a flat in relatively expensive North Berwick, said he had little left at the end of the month. He was bringing up two young boys on his own, having left his partner.

> "I consider myself to have a decent job and a decent income, but it's just the standard of living, particularly in North Berwick. But saying that, I've looked everywhere and the cheapest you'll get a flat anywhere renting is about £450. I couldn't find anywhere cheaper."
> (Mr Z, (30), living in top floor tenement flat in town centre, with two boys under ten.)

He considered it unfair that he could barely manage to pay for his flat, despite his earnings, whilst his ex-partner did not have to worry about her housing costs.

> "She still lives in the house that we stayed at and that's £600 a month rent and she doesn't work. I don't know where that comes from. I assume that Housing Benefit will cover that."

Mr L was paying child maintenance to his ex-wife and despite a wage of more than £35,000 a year he found it hard to afford the private let cottage he lived in, deep in the countryside between Haddington and North Berwick.

> "It's tight. I earn a good wage, but when you take into account the fall-out from the marriage, debts remaining, which invariably I got landed with twice and I

suppose paying that off and the car, you know you need a car, so it's tight every month. There's Child Support that I'm still paying as well."
(Mr L (50), a manager with East Lothian Council)

Homeless shop-worker Mr D was in a similar, but arguably more difficult, financial position to Mr L. With an income of c.£1000 a month he could not claim housing benefit, yet he had to pay child maintenance to his ex wife.

"Affordability. That's basically what it comes down to. I've got my daughter that I pay child maintenance for and trying to rent a place and trying to get a mortgage just now for my income…I just couldn't get one."

Mr D had tried to cut his costs by sharing previously, but found that didn't work for him. "I was in a 4-bedroomed private rented house and it was just basically renting a room because that's all I could afford at the time. It was £375 a month just for a bedroom."

Marriage breakdown is a known cause of homelessness (Anderson & Christian 2003, Crane, Warnes & Fu, 2006), in part because if one of the parties moves out of the house s/he may be assessed by the local authority as 'intentionally' homeless (provided the cause was not domestic violence.) This was evident in the housing history of Mr D, who had struggled to afford a previous tenancy, after his wife left. The first time he presented himself to the Council his homelessness was assessed as intentional and he was given assistance only to find a private let. When that let ended however, (through no fault of his own) the Council did accept him as homeless.

Mr L had found that staying in the former family home following a relationship breakdown was not easy and eventually he felt he had to leave. He made his own arrangements, rather than approaching the Council as homeless, and went to live with his sister. As well as the expense however, another reason he couldn't face living in the former family home, was that it reminded him of what had happened.

"I moved back to the property but I couldn't sustain the mortgage on my own…. there's a bit of you as well with all the memories around you, you don't want to go there anyway."
(Mr L, (50), Community Development Manager, private let.)

A relationship breakdown can be between family members who are not marital partners. Mr O, (24) a community warden, had moved to a privately-let farm cottage outside East Linton, were he stayed with his partner and a friend. He had decided it was time to leave home because: "… to be honest I'm very like my Mum and we don't get on because of that." The cottage in which he was now staying was expensive and he said that was limiting his opportunity to save for a deposit for a house, which he would have found easier had he remained at home.

ii) Health and Disability problems

Health and disability problems usually had an impact because the housing the participants occupied was not suited to their needs. Mrs E for example found her privately owned bungalow severely limited the amount and type of care she could give her severely disabled 12-yr. old daughter.

> "...she has a lift and walker and she likes to be independent and she likes to, she doesn't like to be sitting down. She likes to walk around and she has a walker that can't go into this house because it's just not big enough. The doors aren't wide enough. So from that point of view it makes it difficult to try to keep her happy. Because if she's not happy, and if she gets frustrated, she hits herself and bites herself. She's got accelerated growth as well as part of her condition...she's about 5ft 4ins now and I've got to lift her up and down the steps and I've got to lift her around the house sometimes. And that's difficult because of the space."
> (Mrs E, (41), carer, working part time, marginal owner)

Adaptations were available from the Council, to help resolve these sorts of problems, but Mrs E said that the Council had decided that her house could not be successfully adapted and that a move was her only option. Like most of the participants, she could not afford this. Mr Y, who had suffered the unexpected onset of a degenerative condition, during his thirties, was another owner living in a property unsuited to adaptations. His main problem was the shape of the house:

> First of all it's the stairs to the bathroom and the bedrooms, I canna do the stairs and I canna use the bathroom and I canna use the bedrooms. But down the stairs between the kitchen and the hall, between the living room the kitchen and the conservatory it's quite a tight ... so therefore, because of the size of the wheelchair, it does dictate, and the size of me I'm having to lose a few stone to get into a wee'er wheelchair, but it's still really tight navigating these spaces. The

biggest thing for me is the stairs. Although they tried to compensate by putting a stair lift in they had to take it out again, because we weren't allowed to take a wheelchair up the stairs, fire, health and safety.

      (Mr Y, (39), retired sick, wife and daughter, living in Musselburgh)

The council tenants with health issues and disabilities in this group faced a different issue. They were seeking transfers to more suitable housing, but had waited a long time. Dunbar tenant, Mrs K was seeking a move. Her health needs, as well as overcrowding, were her main reasons for seeking a transfer to another council house. That had not been forthcoming at the time of her interview. Climbing the two flights of stairs to her flat (and her house's internal staircase) had become difficult, following an operation.

"I had a slipped pelvis just before I had my son, my last, the baby. So it was kind of … it was difficult, you know. And it's still not …I was off work for a while. I was on maternity leave, but I didn't go straight back. I was off sick for a long time. I just recently went back in October. Just a struggle and I was stuck in the house, you know."

      (Mrs K, (36), living with partner and three children)

Disability needs may grow with time, if a health condition worsens. Mrs I, a council tenant living with her partner and children in Prestonpans, feared that her son's degenerative illness would deteriorate without warning. It was possible that a ground floor property might be required for him in the future. He had not reached the point at which that could be necessary however, and it was impossible to judge whether he would.

"We don't know my son's limitations until he gets older, whether he'll be able to walk upstairs. There's nothing to say he won't be able to walk upstairs and things."

      (Mrs I, (29), wife of long-term sick partner and three children, 7,8 and 3 months, one with degenerative condition)

The impact of disability can fall on others within the household, rather than the disabled person. Ms S, living in a one-bedroom house with her grandparents, found that her grandfather's health condition made the atmosphere in the house uncomfortable, and the situation was exacerbated by their overcrowding; the family could only use their bed in shifts. The situation put intolerable pressure on the household and generated bad feeling.

"Papa can (be grumpy) because he took a stroke and he can't do anything and he does get...yeah. It's hard 'specially in the morning and at night-time because I

can't go to bed until my Papa goes to bed. And I can't get up, my Papa's has to get up first."

(Ms S, (17), concealed household, living with grandparents)

6.3.4 Location

The location of the house was unsuitable for fourteen of the households, for reasons which ranged from physical danger (severe antisocial behaviour), through commuting costs and inconvenience, to a general lack of local amenities. Often a combination of such factors was evident, from criminal neighbours, to being distant from work or too far from personal support networks.

i) Antisocial behaviour and crime

For eleven participants, the main difficulty was the prevalence of antisocial behaviour or crime in their area. Mrs K for instance, felt that in her flat in a Dunbar housing scheme she was surrounded by people who had no consideration for others and who brought up their children without setting a good example.

> "Some are kind of dragged up by the ears, it's not very nice. And there are a lot of drug problems around here, in some houses, anyway. Drink and things like that."

Mr I, who had been off work ill, for many months, said he faced intimidation from his next door neighbours. "There's drug dealer and he's been letting his house to be like a gang hut basically, for all the junkies in the area." Mr I's wife explained she had been threatened.

> "A couple of weeks ago the Police came to the house looking for somebody. The neighbour is actually in gaol, but the people he allows in that house in there that's not meant to be in the house, threatened myself to stab myself ... he was going to stab me and my son opened the door and heard and witnessed that."

Mr I was angry, believing that not enough was being done to protect his family.

> "So now my wife's been diagnosed with panic attacks. She's been hiding that from me, but she canna go outside if she sees one of them. So I'm sort of tied now to make sure the wife's OK."

Ms A, in a concealed household with her father on a council housing scheme in Dunbar had experienced violence from neighbours, as well:

> "They're moving more and more like young families, say in their early twenties, but some of them like those across the road are exchanging and the folk they're exchanging with are drug-takers. We're not very happy about that."
> (Ms A, (17), living in parental home in Dunbar)

Ms A said despite living in the area trouble free for a long time the family had had their sitting room windows smashed with a brick four times in the previous three years. "I was upset. It's never happened, we've been in that house about twenty years and it's not happened."

Experiences of antisocial behaviour were not confined to participants in public sector housing. Private owners had problems too, whether from other owners or people in nearby rented houses. Ms H felt she was at the mercy of whoever the landlord of the next door flat in her Haddington tenement chose as tenants. She had experienced trouble in the past and although it had died down she was always fearful that it might erupt again.

> "There were two young boys staying in there and for about six months I complained to the property place along there, constantly, and eventually they did get evicted... they were having parties all the time, constantly urinating and vomiting on the stairs. It's really unpleasant actually."
> (Ms H, (29), owner, administrative assistant)

Criminality could be a problem for households in remote country locations, as well. Remoteness could present criminals with opportunities, under certain circumstances. Mr O, living in a farm cottage on a country estate, felt insecure enough that he needed to keep a guard dog.

> "The only real problems we've seen up here are with members of the travelling fraternity. Looking to steal diesel… we've a green waste processing site behind our house and they've been in there stealing red diesel before and we've caught them trying door handles on the cars here ...you can spot them, but that to be honest is why we bought the Rottweiler. If she spots them she'll be out."
> (Mr O, (24) council community warden, sharing with girlfriend and another in farm cottage outside East Linton)

Some respondents appeared to tolerate quite a high level of antisocial behaviour however, because they liked the area they lived in or had emotional ties with it. Mrs F. for example, was unhappy about the low-level criminality round about but doubted she would find better neighbours in a new area.

> "We've lived here since I was 9 and I like Musselburgh. It's not perfect. You've got people selling drugs outside your kitchen window. On one occasion there's one gentleman even came in the close and up the stairs and sat on the landing out there and injected heroin, which is lovely, but that is all over the place. Musselburgh is not singled out. So wherever you live, you're always going to have that. It's just seems to be getting worse, to be honest. I suppose because we live on the High Street you do get a lot of noise, anyway…"
> (Mrs F, (29), struggling to pay for private let)

ii) *Isolation and lack of amenities*

Respondents in scattered rural communities felt isolated if transport was not readily available. They were concerned about their dependence on others, if they could not drive, or afford a car. Mrs AB (38), unemployed through long-term illness, lived in a row of cottages, five miles from the nearest town and looked after a small boy, who she felt was disadvantaged by their location.

> "It's isolated. I've got a six year-old grandson who lives with me. He can't go out and play, farm tractors and that, there isn't any kids here his age he can play with. You need transport, which I can't afford."

Council manager Mr L, thought that it was only because he was able to afford to run a car, that he could choose to live in a relatively remote area.

> "If you've got enough disposable income you could rent virtually anywhere in East Lothian, but … I think getting a 3-bedroom cottage for £400 is good ...but obviously the drawback is that it's isolated."
> (Mr L, (50), living in countryside, private let cottage)

Amenity-starved locations posed problems for people with physical disabilities, like Mrs EF, privately renting an ex-council house on the outskirts of Haddington, away from the shops.

"I've got arthritis in my spine and my hip, my right hip and I find walking and carrying stuff … if I didn't have a car I would find it practically impossible to get my groceries because it's quite a distance."

(Mrs EF, (53), council officer, with 2 sons 22 and 24, one at home)

Elderly Mrs R from Wallyford, a village close to the Musselburgh conurbation, said that whilst her house had been near enough to amenities when she was younger, now it was a struggle to get to them, because her health had deteriorated. She was worried about the snow and ice of winter, when walking up and down hill to the shops, which she found difficult enough even in good weather. "For three weeks I wasn't even out of my front step. There was one day I had to phone a taxi to bring me up bread and milk."

Mr CD, a retired manager, had just been allocated a council flat in a new mixed public and private development[9], on a hill overlooking Haddington, remote from the shops. He had transport to get to the town but he had heard from housing officers that the flat had been hard to let, because it was so far from local services.

"I have a car. It would be difficult for people who hadn't because there's no bus service here and in fact I understand that three people were offered this place before I was and they turned it down. One because there wasn't a bus service and for an older person it's perhaps 20 minutes to walk into Tesco's or bank or Post Office. Another person because of the steps and a third turned it down because it overlooked a graveyard."

(Mr CD, (68), former manager in prison service)

There was sometimes tension between satisfaction with the amenities of an area and other factors, such as the difficulty of coping with antisocial behaviour. Mrs Q (32) for example, was ambivalent about the Council housing scheme her family lived on, in Prestonpans. She was happy with the schools that her children attended nearby, but felt that she could not let them out in the streets, even during the daytime.

"There's a lot of bother with the neighbours, the police, things like that... there's just been a big drug raid amongst other things. So it's not the best to bring the kids up in."

(Mrs Q, (32), overcrowded in council house)

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[9] Mr CD is one of three participants offered housing between agreeing to participate and his interview - see Chapter 5 (5.3.1)

6.3.5 The condition of the house

Problems with the physical fabric of houses were commonly mentioned in the private rental sector but fewer Council tenants had concerns. Mrs F's views about the condition of her flat in Musselburgh, are indicative of the frustration some tenants felt with their landlords, for failing to fix obvious faults.

> "If you want anything done, then you will wait for it. I mean we get a boiler inspection done once a year and the fire, we don't use the gas fire, because we've been told although it does pass the standards, it *just* passes the standards, so we just don't use it. The boiler there was the same boiler that was put in the house, flat, when they were turned into flats, so it's been there ... last time it was renovated was about 40 years ago. But there's nothing ... because it's still all legal there's nothing you can do about it."

Mr O faced a similar problem with an absentee landlord, living in South Africa, who he said didn't act quickly to fix central heating problems, even in the depths of a very cold winter, when the boiler had broken down. That incident was one of a number of repair issues.

> "We went for 2 and a half months without a washing machine before he eventually remembered to fix it or get somebody in to get a new one. The dishwasher, that was quite a wait and the bathroom fan … it's little things, but things that tend to go wrong. The bathroom fan that he installed, the bathroom was getting too steamy, was the wrong type and it shorted which knocked out the electricity in the whole back of the house. So I gave him a week of communications to try and fix this. Eventually I had to get my Dad up to take out the fan and restore the power to the back of the house."
> (Mr O, (24), community warden living with partner and friend)

Private tenants tended to wait longest for repairs. Mrs J had compiled a list of things needing attention when she moved in but nothing had been done.

> "I've been here for 6 years and moved in in February 2004. And the repairs and things needing to be done to the house have been needing done since I moved in. It's factored by Chalmers & Co. They come once a year and they do an inspection, but they then just report back to the landlord. I think they've just got to wait for the landlord to carry out the repairs."
> (Mrs J, (46), single parent in private let she found too expensive)

For Mrs J the state of the house, and in particular the sub-standard heating, was a strong factor in wanting a move:

> "I do like the estate, it is a lovely house and I have got lovely neighbours, but I would like it to be looked after, the house. I would like it to be to my satisfaction. And it's not and as I'm reporting every year and it's still not being done, then I don't think that's good."

Council revenues officer, Mrs EF had been waiting since she moved in to her house, for her landlord to put in kitchen cupboards.

> "I've nearly been here two years in August. I was promised this two years ago and I'm still waiting. I didn't want to push it at the time because I had to go through an operation last year and it would have been such an upheaval and I didn't want to push it then."

Although fewer Council tenants were dissatisfied, they had experienced problems as well. Mrs K criticised the local authority for taking too long to carry out repairs and for failing to find a permanent solution for persistent faults.

> "We've had roof leaks, water pouring down the wall in the hall, which was sorted then it travelled into the bedroom. Our bed is wet. Then they fixed that, then it came down in another bit of the bedroom wall. They've been out to see how there was a damp problem, but they've come up and they've fixed it now… so it's just one problem after another, you know."

The quality of Council workmanship, also featured in Ms A's housing experience.

> "We've had a few problems like when I was quite younger we had a leak in my bedroom. They came and fixed it, but they never came and filled the hole in. So my Dad had to do it himself."

Mr I felt that he wasn't listened to, when he complained to the Council about a central heating back boiler malfunctioning.

> "The heating doesn't work properly, comes on when it wants, costs us a fortune in gas. Every time we phone them up, they've been to fix it five times and say we can't see anything wrong with it. You're sitting here with everything switched off and the thing's "prrrrr", burning away."

6.3.7 Summary - households' problems and housing stress

Themes have emerged within the types of problem described here. Certain issues stand out in East Lothian. Present housing circumstances were commonly inadequate for the study households, for a variety of reasons. The most frequently cited problem concerned the size and layout of the house, which affected eighteen of the thirty-two respondents. This created especially acute problems for households that contained a disabled member, but others with long-term sicknesses or medical conditions worsened by the state of the house, were significantly affected as well. Nine households considered disability and/or illness to be their main motivation towards seeking a new home. Overcrowding was cited by a quarter (eight) of the households. A small number (four) of households thought their house was unsuitable for their life stage; it could be too large because they were old, or too small because they were starting a family.

The house condition was a concern for ten households, (with and without health problems) and private tenants seem to have had less success in getting problems put right. Repairs were made more haphazardly to private lets, than to council tenancies. Eight respondents, mostly in the private sector, felt they had a poor relationship with their landlord. That was usually because s/he would not carry out needed work. For two participants however, Mrs J the classroom assistant and Mrs EF, a Council Officer, it was also because their landlords had raised rents without consideration of their ability to pay.

> "I moved here in February 2004, the rent was £400 a month then, but it's gone up £15 a month each year and it's now £490. And that's … because I'm working … it is a struggle." (Mrs J)

The location of the house was problematic for nearly half (fourteen) of the households. This was because either it was too far from a place of work, or too distant from support networks and amenities, or both. Location caused problems as well, when households had to cope with anti-social behaviour or crime, a problem noted by eleven of the respondents. Several of the households suffering serious antisocial nuisance did not want to move far to be free of it however, because they liked the area where they stayed. As with single mother Mrs C, an ideal move might be a matter of only a few streets away rather than to another town, let alone leaving East Lothian altogether. This issue is considered in Chapter 8.

Relationship problems were mentioned by 12 of the households but these were split between issues caused by a breakdown between partners (in five cases) and the need to be near relatives for support. Relationship problems were mainly historical, and had lead to the poor housing situation in which the respondent found him or her self.

Affordability was a problem for ten respondents; these were mostly in the private sector, either renting or buying. It cannot be assumed however, that other respondents did not have financial concerns, as well. As will be shown below, the main barrier they faced, often, was being able to afford to move. This could force households to accept accommodation that, whilst affordable, was inadequate for their needs.

6.3 The search for better accommodation

Most households had sought a house move to solve their problems, either within or between tenures. Some had attempted to resolve their problems without moving, for instance by extending their house or asking landlords to improve their living conditions, by evicting antisocial neighbours or simply meeting repair obligations. Most wanted to move however, and the location of their new home was important. The majority of the participant households rejected the idea of moving far from their neighbourhood, let alone outside East Lothian, to find more suitable housing. Their reasons for avoiding displacement were often complex and because they are central to this study, they are analysed in detail in Chapter 8.

Households' needs depended on their circumstances. Some were seeking to find cheaper housing, others accommodation that was better suited to their circumstances. The latter could require an adaptation or extension rather than a move. Their requirements were often combined, so a household suffering antisocial behaviour problems for example, might want to move to a cheaper property, as well as away from a troublesome neighbour.

Housing tenure was an important consideration for those prioritising the reduction of their housing costs. As has been shown in Chapter 2, council housing could be rented at a little over one third of the cost of a private let, and Housing Association accommodation, half. Social housing was generally hard to come by though, unless the household could prove

that it was in high housing need as defined by a social landlord. For most of the participants a gap yawned between what they felt they needed and what they believed was available to them, and the reasons for this gap are explored in the next chapter.

6.3.1 Improving not moving

Most of the participants wanted to move out of their present accommodation, but a small cohort (six out of the thirty-two) had tried to resolve their housing problems in situ. Their reasons varied from dealing with nearby antisocial behaviour, to overcoming overcrowding or seeking adaptations to their houses for a health or disability issue. They were prepared to find another house if they had to, but were hoping to upgrade their present accommodation, first. At the time of the fieldwork, four out of the six expected that they would have to move, since their efforts to improve their homes had not succeeded.

The most frequent reason for improving rather than moving was to render the house more suitable for people with disabilities. As discussed above, (6.2.4), many of the disabled participants would have preferred to have their present homes adapted but had been forced to consider moving as an alternative. Participants had contacted East Lothian Council initially for assistance with adaptations. For instance, Mr Y, an owner occupier from Musselburgh first wanted to extend his house, to accommodate his large motorised wheelchair. He could not afford to pay for the work himself however, and sought financial assistance. Space restrictions meant that there were physical limits to the adaptability of his property, and as a result the council had deemed that his house was not adaptable. Instead, at the time of interview he was asking that they move him into a specially adapted council house. A similar dilemma faced Mrs E, who needed more space to facilitate movement of her very disabled daughter, at their privately owned Dunbar bungalow.

> "Her mobility got worse and initially someone from the Council came out because I thought, maybe an extension at the side, because there's plenty of space. But the extension at the side of the house wouldn't be suitable, because where the bedrooms are located ... it still wouldn't solve the problem with the doors and the narrow hall and things like that."
> (Mrs E, (41), single parent, employed part-time)

Like Mr Y, Mrs E had been told that her bungalow could not be adapted and she was now pressing the council to offer her specially designed accommodation.

Whilst most of the disabled participants had had to consider leaving, in contrast one disabled man felt that he was being forced to stay in his present house. Mr G from Athelstaneford considered that he would have benefitted from rehousing but he was in dispute with the council about his right to the tenancy. He had settled instead for adaptations but complained that he was still ensnared in unhelpful Council bureaucracy.

> "...at one stage the Council came back and one of their replies when we were getting on was, well obviously if you've applied to the other people for accommodation, we are not going to do an improvements if you are going to move out. (laugh)"
> (Mr G, (66), retired disabled, living with wife (38) and 4 children)

Improving in situ was not an option preferred solely by the disabled. Three participants with no disabilities wanted to stay in the present homes. Mrs Q, for example had asked the council to consider building an extension to her house, to provide an extra bedroom and solve her overcrowding. Unfortunately for her, council policy at that time rejected the construction of extensions to solve overcrowding problems. The authority preferred to relocate tenants to bigger properties. Mrs Q had been told she would have to wait for a transfer to another council house, instead. She had been warned by the council that she might wait a long time.

Mr I had what he considered a simple solution for staying - removing his antisocial neighbours. Although long-term he wanted to become an owner occupier, for the present he would have been content to remain in his house on a Prestonpans council estate, had the council evicted his drug-dealing neighbours. He considered that the council had not met its obligations to deal with their behaviour and staying where he was, was dangerous for his wife and child and himself. As a last resort only, he wanted a transfer.

One participant had solved her household's problems between the time of recruitment to this research and her interview.[10] Mrs KL, a policy researcher with the local authority said she needed to improve the cramped and poorly configured accommodation of the former

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[10] Please see 5.3.1 for a discussion of recruitment and participation

tied cottage that she lived in with her family, just outside Haddington. She had unexpectedly found the money to reorganise the house.

> "...the kitchen was too small and we didn't have any space for guests, guests would come to stay, for example my mother, she didn't want to come to stay because she couldn't get access to the bathroom. You know one of us would have to give up a bedroom which was less of a problem but I think no bathroom was a clincher."
> (Mrs KL, (age not given), private owner)

6.3.2 Looking for better accommodation

If improving the present accommodation was impossible, then households needed to move out. The interviewees had wide ranging views about the economic and political changes that had made obtaining housing more difficult and these are considered in Chapter 7. On a practical level, their search for better housing was constrained by cost and availability. All of the participants in this study faced income constraints and said they sought to meet their aspirations in a cost effective way.

As shown in Chapter 2, a council tenancy was the cheapest tenure, but it was also the most difficult kind of housing to obtain. Twenty-four of the thirty-two participants either wanted a council house or, if they were already council tenants, to move to another one. None of the participants who were not already home owners felt themselves able to buy a house in the foreseeable future. A private let was often the only available option in the short term, but this could be very expensive.

Historically, the process of obtaining council housing had been almost ritual, a local rite of passage. Participants spoke of how they had been brought up to believe not only that they had a right to a council house, but that they would inevitably get one. 31-yr. old divorcee Mr D had been taken to his local housing office by his parents, when he was 16. "My mum sat me down with the (application) forms...as they had with my sister when she was 16 and now every year I send the details back." Mr D and other participants now felt disillusioned - they realised that Council housing was strictly rationed by need.[11] Mr D's own chance of a council house had been increased only because he had been assessed as homeless. His

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[11] This disillusionment with the council allocation policy is discussed further in Chapter 7

situation was paralleled by that of prisoner transfer officer Mr P, who said that he had been told by a council official to say he was homeless, in order to get housed by the local authority. Mr P felt that housing allocation by needs left him further away than ever from getting a home.

> "I get a letter every year, you've now got 13 points. I knew that last year. You've got 13 points. I knew that the year before."
> (Mr P, (42), living in parents home, paying them rent)

Some applicants like Ms C, living with her parents as a single mother, felt it was hopeless even to think of applying to the council, "...the woman behind the counter told me we'd wait 10 years for a house and ... I thought it was a waste of time to wait that long."

It has been shown in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.4), that lower income residents in East Lothian have little or no chance of buying their own homes, without capital or other sources of finance such as loans from relatives. Since owning a house was out of the question for low income participants in this study, their only option if they could not obtain a council house, was to rent in the private sector.

It was a reluctant choice however, because it was so expensive.[12] Taking a private let could place households further down the queue for Council housing, as well. All of the study participants lucky enough to be in relatively inexpensive social housing already, preferred to stay within that tenure if they had to move house. Mrs G, now in Council housing, had experience of being in a private let and did not like it.

> "I was in the private sector, but I'd never do it again. I'd always stay in the Council sector.... there was dampness and I think that's how we got a Council house in the end."
> (Mrs G, (38), wife of retired, disabled, Mr G, (66))

Mrs Q, despite overcrowding, would not consider this option, because of the insecurity.

> "I was in a private let years ago and when your tenancy's up it's not certain whether you're going to get renewed or not, so you're going to move on again."
> (Mrs Q, (32), Prestonpans council tenant)

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[12] See Chapter 2 section 2.4.4 (i)

Two of the younger participants were staying in their parents council houses and were seeking the same tenure for themselves. Their principal complaints about private lets were their expense and their insecurity.

> "I dinnae like to stay in private lets because it's pretty risky. They can just chuck you out. It's not your house. You can never do what you want."
> (Mr N, (21), chef, living in parents home)
> "I'd never be able to afford it because of my circumstances."
> (Ms A, (17), unemployed, living with father)

Despite awareness of the difficulty of obtaining council housing, younger people who expected to be low earners throughout their working lives felt they had restricted or even no choice, other than a council house. Ms A, for instance, was struggling to find work and thought she would never earn enough to rent privately, let alone own a house.

> "I've been lodging that many applications, that many, like 70 in the past couple of months and I've only had three interviews. So that's quite … it puts me down. I'm trying and I'm not getting anything back."
> (Ms A, (17), concealed household, staying with father)

She felt that a council house would be more sustainable than a private let for her, because she would not have to worry about being in low paid, intermittent work. "I've known quite a lot of people who've done private lets and that and they've got into severe problems with Housing Benefit and that."

Despite their reluctance (and perhaps paradoxically,) some households that were already in a Council house *had* considered taking a private let. This apparent anomaly arose because they could not obtain accommodation from the Council that would meet their sometimes urgent needs. The wife of disabled Mr G for instance, explained that her family had thought about this as a solution, but only as a last resort.

> "If you leave the Council and go into private, its quite difficult to get back into the Council. They are saying that you're OK, you've got a house that meets your needs. It's quite hard."
> (Mrs G, (38), council tenant)

If the private rental sector was considered expensive, then buying a house was thought even more so. Usually this option was unaffordable for the participants. Mr D, despite

being in work and earning a salary that, at £25,000 pa,[13] was average for East Lothian, considered that owner occupation would never be possible for him, burdened as he was by additional costs from his divorce.

> "Affordability. That's basically what it comes down to. I've got my daughter that I pay child maintenance for and trying to rent a place and trying to get a mortgage just now for my income. I just couldn't get one."[14]
> (Mr D, (31), divorcee living in homeless accommodation)

Some Council tenants, for example Mrs K, had attempted within-tenure moves such as Mutual Exchanges or Transfers. The former is a self-help route, facilitated by the council, in which tenants can find more suitable homes, by swapping with others. The second is a move initiated by the Council's housing management team, on the tenant's behalf. Mrs K had tried to swap her house, but it didn't work out for her.

> "We've had exchanges in the East Lothian Courier. Nobody ever phoned. One person phoned. Kept putting adverts in … there's exchange lines on the Internet, but you never hear from them."
> (Mrs K, (36), living with partner and 3 children in Dunbar)

Private tenants looking to cut their costs had asked the Council to be put on the housing list, and they also sought to reduce their costs within the tenure. They had searched local newspaper advertisements and estate agents websites for more suitable and/or cheaper properties. Six of the eight owner-occupiers had considered or actively looked for cheaper housing in both of the rental tenures as an alternative to downsizing their privately owned accommodation. Mr W, for instance, who was finding his owned house too expensive, had contemplated a move to a private let and had applied for Council housing, though he was aware that he would be some way down the queue. Elderly Mrs R had also considered downsizing to council housing but had become discouraged.

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[13] See Chapter 2 section 2.4.4.

[14] For more about the participants' views about affordability, please see section 6.2.2

> "I've been told I've no chance of getting a Council house. The only thing would be sheltered housing, which I'm considering. I have been to Mansfield Court[15] and … but I don't want to go into the complex, I want a house. I want a house with a back and front door on the level."
>
> (Mrs R, (77), owner, under-occupying three bedroom house)

As discussed at 6.3.1, owner households in this study containing disabled members often felt obliged to seek Council housing. In their case, the expense of purchase or un-feasibility of adaptations were the main drivers.

One participant had ruled out council housing, despite its relative cheapness, because he wanted to fend for himself. 24-yr. old Mr V, a gym coach, expressed a preference for the private rental market. He was living with his parents because he could not afford to rent privately, let alone buy. He didn't think he would ever be allocated a council house, but this wasn't his only reason for not applying for one. Pride was a factor, as well. "I think it was more of the idea of being self-sufficient and things like that." He was hoping that he would be able to save enough money by living at home to widen his housing choices as his career progressed.

6.3.3 Moving to where?

Although most of the participants wanted to move, they were reluctant to move far. The option of moving away from their neighbourhood or town, let alone East Lothian, was not a popular one in this group of households. In spite of their continuing inability to solve their housing problems, only three out of thirty-two participants said that they would consider it - and, as will be shown, for them it would have been a reluctant choice. Twenty-three households by contrast gave strong reasons why staying near to their current housing would be important for them, of which twenty-one cited the value of support networks and seventeen expressed attachment to the area in which they lived. Their reasons for resisting displacement were complex and because they are central to this study are explored separately and in more detail in Chapter 8.

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[15] A council run sheltered housing complex

6.3.4 Two case studies

To explain in more depth how families coped with housing stress and sought solutions, the responses of two individual households are now considered. These illustrate common scenarios. In the first, the problem of sustaining housing on a tight household budget is shown. In the second the focus is on attempts to persuade the local authority to provide alternative housing, because of overcrowding. In both cases the households' housing histories are considered, in order to understand their circumstances at the time of the field work. The studies begin therefore with a resumé of their path to housing problems and then look at the actions these households attempted, in trying to resolve the impasse.

i) Ms. J

At the time of her interview, Mrs J (46) was a classroom assistant in an East Lothian secondary school. A single parent, divorcee, she lived with her 11-yr. old daughter on a 1960s private estate in Haddington, where she was paying £490 a month to rent a two bedroom, semi-detached house.

Ms J had a complex housing history, which had impacted both on the origins of her current housing predicament, and her ability to escape from it. Originally from Inverkeithing in Fife, she was training to be a teacher when she bought her first property, a flat in that town. Her partner moved in with her and then, following the breakdown of their relationship her second partner, the father of their child, lived with her. They moved from Ms J's small flat to an ex-Council house in the town when the baby was due, using a large amount (unspecified) of equity built up in that property for the purchase. The relationship started to go wrong, however.

> "I didn't work then. I wanted to be a mother so I stayed at home to look after her. A couple of years later we split up. She *(daughter)* was only just 2 when we split up and I assumed … this is funny, you're going to get the whole story here … quite stupidly I assumed that he would …he was mostly paying the mortgage - he had moved in with his girlfriend across the road by this time - which he didn't do. We ended up the house got re-possessed. Stupidly, I'm an intelligent woman, but I didn't ever think he'd do that, so I thought he was paying everything and left it all to him."

Mrs J said there were serious financial consequences for her, since the equity she had built up in the property was lost. She felt as well, that she no longer wished to live near her ex-partner. She moved to East Lothian because her daughter's grandparents lived on a farm near Pencaitland. She applied to the council for housing but, "I was told there was a waiting list of 18 years for a Council house, so we started looking for properties to let." Ms J found the property in Haddington where she was interviewed for this research, in February 2004. She said she now had no capital left from her previous ownerships and believed she would never be able to accumulate enough in her present circumstances to own a house, again.

Some of Ms J's problems have been described above (6.2.2, 6.2.5), but to reiterate, she considered that her main housing stress was its unaffordability, given her income, a salary of £890 a month and other benefits amounting to a further £90. She said she had very little to live on, once Council Tax and utility bills were paid. Aside from the expense of the let, her landlord had been very slow to carry out repairs, taking six years to mend a draughty front door. In this situation, Mrs J felt she had tried what she could, without success. She had approached the Council but been told that hers was not a priority case.

> "It was certainly away back over 6 years ago when I spoke to somebody. Then every year when … you're given a letter, have you had any change of circumstances. I think I've got 8 (points). I've only got 8 because I'm not in any way threatened with homelessness or anything else. I don't have any health issues. So I had a very small amount. The only points I had were because I'm in a private let."

Ms J had registered with the largest local housing association, East Lothian Housing Association (ELHA), which shares its housing allocation list with other some other, smaller associations in the area. Her luck there, she said, had been no better.

> "I'm registered with Home Hunt, Homes for Life and ELHA ...and when there are properties up for rent, you know, ELHA properties for rent, you just have to register your interest. My number is 396. I don't know if I'm 396 of a certain number or if that has nothing to do with it."

She had applied for properties in the past but had given up doing so because she was always unsuccessful. She considered that the housing associations would rate her needs as low, like the council.

Private ownership was clearly out of the question Mrs J thought, so her remaining option was to seek a cheaper private let. She believed that would be difficult, too, partly because she had pets (six cats), but mostly because other lets would not be any cheaper.

> "I have looked in the paper and GSB's[16] window under different things, but they are much dearer even for a 2-bedroom. That's what I'm sitting in now. So if I can't afford, if it's a struggle with this one, then if I move some place else it would be a further struggle."

Mrs J was very attached to her area.

> "I've got lovely neighbours and it's a lovely part for children. It's a nice safe area for children. It is a lovely area. There's no trouble at all and I've lived here for 6 years. It's convenient for the schools and the sports centre. It's not far from the centre of town. I don't drive. The buses are quite … I've got to go up to the West Road to get bus stops, but it's fine, it's not a problem."

Despite her attachment to Haddington, and her fears about disrupting her child's education and social circle,[17] she had investigated moving elsewhere. She felt however, that it would not be an appropriate solution.

> "I have looked, at properties outwith, just out of curiosity ... and I couldn't afford to move to any other area. And I don't drive. I need to be close, somewhere where I can get backwards and forwards to everything I need to get to."

In these circumstances, Mrs J said she had more or less abandoned hope of solving her housing problems.

> "I think I have to sit tight just now. There isn't much other option for me. And as I say, apart from the things he needs to do to the house, it's a lovely area and I am happy here. And the money, that always worries me. I do worry about the financial side of it, but I don't see any other option at the moment if I want to stay in Haddington."

ii) Mrs K and family

36-yr. old Mrs K lived with her partner (26) and three children aged 17, 14 and 20 months in a two bedroom council flat in a 1960s housing scheme in the centre of Dunbar. Her

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[16] Garden Stirling and Burnett - a local solicitor with an estate agency business.

[17] See Chapter 8 for a full discussion of the influence of place attachment

partner worked and was bringing in an income of about £20,000 a year. Mrs K was also in receipt of various benefits. In contrast to the case of Ms J, financial problems were not at the root of this household's housing difficulties, except in the sense that the couple did not have enough money to resolve them by leaving their relatively cheap council house.

Again unlike Ms J, Mrs K thought her current difficulties did not derive solely from her housing history, although she nevertheless considered it complicated and difficult. After leaving home in her late teens to get married she stayed in a private let and then was offered a council house when her first baby was due. She said getting a house at that time (17 years previously) was easy.

> "It was a 2-bedroom Council house. The list didn't seem so big and when I had my daughter they told me to put my name down as boy/girl. When my daughter was born they told me I was entitled to a 3-bedroom. They came and told *me*, you know. Things like that."

Mrs K's marriage broke down a few years later and she sought help from the council's Homelessness service. This time, she found getting a house was not so straightforward, although she was still entitled. She was permitted only a two-bedroom house.

> "They said there was no 3-bedrooms and they never offered me one. They knew I was down for one and I had a bit of a hassle at first, you know, trying to get them to realize that, you know, that my kids were here, so maybe that's why they put me in here."

As with Ms J, Mrs K's problems have been described above (6.2.1). In brief, she faced severe overcrowding and repairs problems in her property. She said a back injury made it hard for her to access both the steps to her flat, and internal stairs as well (it was a double story flat).

Mrs K and her partner had considered many options, including buying a house or renting privately, as well as asking for a bigger house from the council. Buying a house turned out not to be viable, once Mrs K and her partner realised the cost of the 3-bedroom house they needed. They described visiting the bank to ask for a mortgage as "embarrassing" because they had so little idea of the gap between what they could borrow and the price of housing,

locally. They had considered a private let but decided that they could not afford that, either. They had also tried local Housing Associations.

> "We've never got anywhere because there's so many people in for them and it's just the person who's got the lowest number at the end of the day that gets them, you know. And if everybody falls into the same category … I've looked into it all. It's very hard. It looks easier to apply, it's a lot harder to get, I think."

The couple had attempted to exchange their house with another tenant, using both the Council's advertising system and other websites,

> "There's exchange lines on the Internet, but you never hear from them. And I have got an exchange in at the Housing Association, Haddington, but nobody ever phoned there."

Mrs K had applied to the council for extra points on their housing list because of her medical condition but had been refused.

> "I heard from the Housing Officer. There was no letter or anything. Just to say that my situation's just the same, I'm not any better, I'm not any worse, so there's going to be nothing awarded."

The couple had taken advice about their options from their housing officer though, and included other areas than Dunbar on their application. Mrs K was reluctant to move a long way, however.

> "I have put East Linton round about. Not too far, North Berwick, Haddington, but … Dunbar would be ideal because our work and the family's here and also the school. For my daughter anyway, my son's left."

They were concerned that they were suffering antisocial behaviour in their current flat and wouldn't want to move somewhere else where they might find a similar problem.

> "I would maybe be careful, where I applied ...some areas. We're been stuck here for a long time and you want to get it right after being in this, so … There's certainly areas I wouldn't touch."

At the time of the fieldwork Mrs K and her family were pinning their hopes on a transfer request to the council. 80 new houses had just been built on the east side of Dunbar and the couple knew that the Council was going to prioritise transfer applicants when allocating

the new houses. Mrs K and her partner felt that the Council should make more effort to prioritise their case. "I never ever thought I'd be in a house like this at my age. You want a bit better."

6.3.5 The dynamics of housing need

The participant households all appreciated that housing need is not static. It moves with changing household circumstances. The most significant for these households was life stage. For the most part, the comments the household made were about their circumstances *at the time of interview* and for the near future. Perceptions of their likelihood of success in the years ahead however, were offered by some respondents. These were associated with employment prospects and household income. Older respondents with low disposable incomes such as retired home owner Mrs R (77) or 50-yr. old Council manager Mr L, living in a private let, tended to be fatalistic about their prospects, especially if it was unlikely that their household income would ever increase significantly. Mr L for example, had failed to follow up property advertisements from one of the local housing associations, ELHA, which requires applicants to bid for houses.

> "I was on the phone to the Housing Association a couple of years ago and they said you haven't applied for any of our properties recently; do you just want to stay on the list? I think it's just the complete hopelessness of even applying, so you kind of give up even trying because you know there's no chance."
> Mr L, (5), single parent in rural private let)

Households that saw no prospect of an increase in their spending power often felt that they had tried everything and would never escape from their circumstances, whereas younger, better paid participants with prospects, like Ms M (24) and Mr Z (30) were more optimistic. Both were council officials at the start of their careers. Not only could Mrs M afford better housing at present than most other participants in the study, but in the future she expected that she and her partner would earn enough to buy a house, despite what she considered to be an overheated local housing market.

> I think the market the way it is that may not be likely. But certainly he gets pay advances every year so that …and that's why I'm not awfully worried about it, to be honest …. our financial situation will definitely get better.
> (Mrs M, (24), in private let with partner and 3 children)

All the participants recognised that their needs would change in time. Some thought they would have earning capacity to meet their needs in future, but others considered that they would never have the money they required, unless housing became more affordable.[18]

6.3.6 Summary, looking for better housing

The majority of the households in this survey believed that they could improve their housing circumstances only by moving. Even the small cohort (six out thirty-two) that wished to improve their properties instead, had considered moving as a more realistic option for them.

It has been shown above (2.4) that moving could be too expensive for households, whether their present housing was affordable, or not. This wasn't simply a matter of having to meet large transaction costs, such as deposits and advance rental; they faced a lack of housing priced at a level they could afford.[19] Purchase was not viable for most of the households in this study. For these reasons, many participants wanted a house in the socially rented sector. Despite awareness that a social let would not be available to them soon, they were reluctant to seek even the best value private let that they could find, because they considered it expensive.

Most were not simply seeking cheaper housing, however. The participant households needed to solve multiple problems, of which the cost of housing was only one. They wanted to be in a more suitable location and in a property of a more appropriate size or configuration. How far the participants wished to move is one of the key questions for this study and as such is investigated in detail, in chapter 8.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the testimony of the participant households, and they have explained how they felt housing stress, and searched for better accommodation, in their

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[18] See Appendix B for a summary of the follow up interviews, which shows how some participants' circumstances did change

[19] For a discussion of affordability issues, in aggregate, see Ch. 2 section 2.2.4

own words. Usually, the household had more than one issue. Multiple problems were common and they came in varied combinations. For example, some houses were of the wrong size or configuration, in the wrong place and unsustainably expensive. The degree of housing stress therefore varied as much between households as did the type of problem being experienced. Given that the households have been sampled for this research on the basis of their own perception of need however, they cannot be ranked by any external criteria. Their 'felt' need is paramount. Consequently, no attempt has been made to evaluate their degrees of need. All the participants, whatever their circumstances, simply believed themselves to be under stress.

The respondents knew about other people's housing problems, and they were aware that housing in East Lothian was expensive, relative to many households' incomes. In the next chapter the households explain how they understood the mechanics of the housing market in East Lothian and the effect it may have had on their failure, at the time of the fieldwork, to find better housing.

Finally, one potential response of these households to their situations has been purposefully omitted from this chapter. That is the option of leaving East Lothian to solve their problems. It has been suggested above that this was not a popular choice. Since migration is central to the questions being asked in this study about displacement, it is the focus of Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 - The households' perceptions of the local housing market

The previous chapter has demonstrated the kind of housing stresses that the study households faced and the attempts they had made to find a solution. In this chapter they give their reasons for their lack of success.[1]

The households were aware that their own situations were not unique and that others were struggling to achieve suitable housing in the area. They perceived social and political barriers to meeting their aspirations. These were centred on the shortage of affordable housing in the local housing market. Participants frequently blamed this on the housing policies followed by local and/or central government. They also criticised the allocations practices of social housing providers in East Lothian.

No attempt will be made in this chapter to assess whether the households' perceptions of these barriers were objectively, 'correct.' As in the previous chapter the emphasis here is on understanding the thought processes by which they came to their views and which motivated their actions. Their efforts to solve their problems were governed by their perceptions of what was possible for them in the context of the housing system in East Lothian. Analysis of how these households viewed the social, economic and political influences on the local housing market offered an insight into the housing choices they made.

The chapter considers first the households' views about why they were struggling to find suitable housing. Second their perceptions of the wider consequences for their area and for East Lothian if the causes were not tackled, are outlined.

7.1 Barriers to success in the market, as seen by the households

It has been shown in Chapter 6 that the participants wanted housing that was better suited their needs. Many had sought social housing but discovered that it was rationed, whilst

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[1] As discussed above 5.3.1, 3 participants had been rehoused by the time of the interviews - nevertheless their views of their struggle for suitable housing make a worthwhile contribution, here.

private housing was often unsustainable because the sector was too expensive either to rent or buy in.

The households' own explanations for these barriers are given, and their understanding of the housing 'system' in East Lothian is analysed. By 'system' is meant the mechanisms by which the market was regulated, both in terms of supply and demand, and the rules governing the allocation of social housing. These households understood that their housing opportunities were being limited by political, social and economic forces such as house price inflation or social housing allocation policies. This chapter investigates *how* they understood these restraints on their aspirations, and considers whether their understanding may have influenced the housing choices that they made. It is likely that their analysis of the broader issues in local housing supply informed their expectations and actions.

The participant households were asked to explain their relationship with the bureaucracy that was rationing the supply of affordable housing. They had strong views about what 'the authorities' should be doing to improve the housing supply and a key finding of this study is that many considered that the local council and the Scottish and UK governments were failing in their social and moral duties to assist them. The households gave their views about the impact of government housing policy, and of the allocations policies of local social housing providers. Often these policies prioritised households in groups other than the ones they were in, themselves. This suggests a tension between the households' felt needs and normative needs criteria devised by government, central and local.

Their perceptions of the impact of gentrification, and other housing cost pressures, are described as well. Most believed that social change in East Lothian was contributing to housing stress. They thought incomers and gentrifiers had raised the cost of housing. Households were critical both of the incomers themselves and the authorities' failure to mitigate their influence on the local housing market, often considered as malign.

7.1.1 Gentrification and other cost pressures in the market

Households thought that housing in East Lothian was expensive, in all except the social housing tenures. They had various explanations for this, of which one was gentrification

(described by twenty out of thirty-two). Many believed as well that high prices were a consequence of the inward migration of households with earnings higher than locals (twenty-one out of thirty-two), as discussed in Chapter 2. They thought that developers were seeking large profits from their houses in East Lothian because they knew that it was a popular area and their houses could command high prices. Half of the respondents thought that too much private house building had been allowed by the Council and that housing developers had been building the kind of properties, so-called "executive homes," on which they could make the largest profits, rather than types that were needed by local residents. Sixteen out of the thirty-two respondents believed that developers were building homes out of the financial reach of local people. Mrs J for example, finding it hard to make ends meet in a private let, felt the words 'affordable housing' were often used disingenuously by the government as well as by private developers.

> "You know these signs going up all over, 'Affordable Housing'? It's not affordable to me and probably not affordable to a lot of people... they're talking about that Letham field[2], going to build 750 properties. That's been something discussed for a long time. You know it's not definite, but those will be houses for sale and won't be affordable for people like me. It would be nice to see them putting some money into ELHA houses or Council houses."
> (Mrs J, (46), single parent, private tenant)

Mr I had worked in the building trade and thought that exorbitant sums were being asked for poorly built properties.

> "Working with Hanson[3], I know the price of a house. My wee sister's paying well over £250,000 for a house where the materials only cost £16,000. Now I dinna see why I should be buying a house for like £300,000 when it's only worth £16,000 to £20,000. They're all kit build houses ...click here and there... they canna say it's the land and the services. I know the price of a house, I know how they're built."
> (Mr I, (40), long term sick, council tenant with wife and 3 children)

Mr I's view were echoed by Mr Y, who had worked as an architectural technician.

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[2] Situated on the west side of Haddington

[3] A major UK construction supply company

> "...knowing how much it cost to build a house, I can't see why anybody'd want to pay £100,000 for a property that maybe cost £30,000 to build."
>
> (Mr Y, (39), disabled owner occupier on Musselburgh estate)

All of the participants agreed that prices were too high. Ms H from Haddington, for instance, considered that most locals were priced out of the market:

> "If you look at all of the houses that have been built in Haddington over the last few years, in Gateside the cheapest one there is, I think, £300,000 or something like that. Again, up past the Waterside, up by the ...some of them are £500,000. They don't even build houses here which are affordable."
>
> (Ms H, (29), marginal owner occupier)

Incomers, whether gentrifiers or other wealthy migrants were frequently blamed for this situation. Mr D for instance, living in a private let just outside East Linton, had seen many well-off people move into the eastern part of the area.

> "There's ... a huge number coming into East Lothian that ... are kind of quite affluent. So if in places like in Gifford they see an extra zero on the price they'll go ...but people like me, who are working class, we struggle."
>
> (Mr D, (31), homeless, in temporary accommodation)

Although participants may not always have distinguished between gentrifiers and other monied incomers, nevertheless the majority of participants believed that gentrification had taken place. For instance, former Prisons Service civil servant, Mr CD from Haddington believed that social change was going on:

> "I think it's much more gentrified and increasingly people from a lower social group are being isolated and therefore alienated. There are pockets in towns which are the sort of sink pockets and where often people who've had problems with previous tenancies, are put together and that really doesn't help. So that there is an increasing alienation and therefore social problems as a result."
>
> (Mr CD, (68), council tenant)

Mrs AB, living with her grandson in a run down farm cottage outside Dunbar agreed. She thought that, "..there's a lot that I would call 'stuck up' - y'know with the money and things like that. Sitting here waiting 13 years for a Council house, it's ridiculous."

Council officer Mrs EF saw a direct link between the rent she was paying in her private let and gentrification-led price rises. She felt that landlords were cashing in on the popularity

of the area and buying to let using big mortgages. "People that let houses want to cover their mortgage. That's why the rents are so high." According to Mr N, it was obvious that when people came into East Lothian from more expensive areas, that would push prices up.

> "...they think it's a lot cheaper here. A lot cheaper to live. If you come down from London and you're paying their prices and you come down here, you'd be happy to pay the prices of what you get down here."
> (Mr N, (21) chef, living in concealed household)

Mr L, who had dealings with many young people in his work in community development, believed this affected younger, lower income households disproportionately.

> "I think the most disadvantaged are people who don't have disposable income to rent privately. I mean, East Lothian's such a desirable place to live. It's within striking distance of Edinburgh for commuters. So the most disadvantaged I think are probably young people because that transition into the adult world is not available, either through housing or employment, these days."
> (Mr L, (50) council manger and single parent)

A thread ran through the interviews then, that monied 'incomers' were responsible for pushing the housing costs up. Another type of incomer was also criticised, immigrants from outside the UK. In particular, there seemed to be resentment amongst some participants about incomers from Eastern Europe. They were seen as reducing the supply of affordable housing. This perception is discussed at 7.1.2 (ii) below.

7.1.2 Government housing policy

Against this backdrop of high housing costs and supply shortage, households were unanimous that the 'authorities' had not been doing enough. They believed that politically-driven policies had exacerbated dysfunctional market forces. Many of the participants said that they felt let down by trends in housing policy during the last decades of the 20th century. Both central and local government were blamed for these changes, social engineering policy initiatives in housing encompassing the 'right-to-buy' as well as allocation of housing by need. As discussed below, the households felt that their own needs and aspirations were being undermined by these policies.

i) The Right to Buy

One of the most significant housing policy decisions taken by any UK government, seen by some the participant households as restricting their opportunities, was the 'Right to Buy' a council house, introduced by a Conservative government in 1980. This was criticised by seven of the participants both for reducing housing supply and increasing prices. There was however, an ambiguity about some of the responses. Certain participants had exercised the Right to Buy themselves and had not considered the wider consequences at the time. Second thoughts arose later. Mr D, waiting to be housed by the Council's homeless section, was one of a number of respondents who now didn't see why the Council was obliged to sell tenants their houses.

> "I know I did it but I don't understand why the Council sell so many properties. They have their own properties that they sell, then they say they have a low stock level of houses to get people into. I know they do buy some back, but the level that they sell them at it doesn't make sense. If it's a Council house should stay a Council house to help future generations to get housing."
> (Mr D, (31), homeless - had struggled with high housing costs)

Mr IJ expressed similar views. He had bought his council house, though he had later been forced to sell it again, because he couldn't afford the mortgage.

> "I mean I jumped on the band wagon, but if I could really turn the clock back I wouldn't have introduced that because it's a … I think the right to buy thing must have been the biggest drastic step towards losing Council houses. If you look at the houses here there's very few been bought if you go into other areas the biggest majority have been... in the nicest areas they're all bought."
> (Mr IJ (50), council tenant, part-time coach driver)

Some, like disabled Mr Y, criticised the Right to Buy for helping to fuel inflation in the UK housing market. He regretted that he had been caught up in the enthusiasm for home ownership himself and he had now come to think that council house purchase created an illusion of prosperity.

> "It's all crazy. I don't know if it was the government's fault, they made everybody ... they made the poor think they were better than they actually were, because they were able to buy their own Council house and then all sense - "look at me, I'm posh I've bought a house." I'm not downing anybody that did buy their own property but ... people think, oh look, these people here have bought a house that's £20,000 and ours cost £25,000, we'd

better go and buy one at double the price. So two doors up somebody sells theirs for double the price and you go and buy it for the kudos as it were."

(Mr Y, (39), owner-occupier, retired sick)

Knowledge of the origins and development of housing policies could be hazy. Mr I, a council tenant from Prestonpans, was aware that the UK Government had introduced the Right to Buy but he didn't know that the Council had started building houses again. He was highly critical of the local authority for its supposed inaction.

"They've stopped building Council houses because, way back when Thatcher was in, when this 'buy your own home' was in, they realised, we can get some cash here and they stopped building houses and the population's just going to go up.... if a Council house is bought, they need to build another one. If you dinna plant a tree after you've chopped it down, then you have no trees and these people get hundreds of thousands of pounds to come up with these ideas and they canna get the basics right. Let them try and live in here for a wee while and see what they feel like."

ii) Favouring the private market

The problems they faced were linked in the minds of participants with the encouragement by successive governments of property ownership. Thirty participants considered that the authorities were not taking account of the 'right' of poorer people to housing. Eight out of the thirty-two thought that the UK-wide rise in house prices could in part be attributed to a tendency for housing to be considered an investment in the UK. More respondents were inclined to blame unregulated housing development however, and did not see evidence of control through planning regulations.

Mr D was aware that developers were sometimes required to build social housing in order to gain planning permission for larger developments but he thought the requirements weren't stringent enough, since he had seen little evidence that they were providing this kind of housing.

"They build all these private houses to sell and they have to build for every fourth house that they build the fifth one's they've made their money and they get that free basically. They always have to chuck up so many for the Council but for the thousands and thousands of houses that they're building, they're not building very many for the community… I reckon they could build more."

(Mr D, (31), homeless - had struggled with high housing costs)

7.1.3 Allocation policies and priorities - "rules are rules"

Households considered that a major access barrier to social housing was put up by rules (that they often disagreed with) designed to allocate housing according to need, as defined by the authorities. These rules appeared to many respondents (twenty-two out of thirty-two) to favour social groups that they felt did not deserve to be prioritised. They resented the housing of ex-prisoners, drug addicts, immigrants and single parents. Not all the study participants thought in this way; nevertheless it was a viewpoint shared by a great many. The perception that the social policy was responsible for blocking their own access to social housing is described in more detail below.

i) Allocation rules 1 - the deserving and undeserving

Seventeen households felt that the allocation policies of the council (and other social housing providers) were preventing them from being housed. Looking wider than their own circumstances, they perceived these policies as helping the 'undeserving' to jump the queue for social housing. There was considerable resentment amongst many participants that the council was letting houses to 'undesirables' - drug addicts, criminals, and runaway teenagers, ahead of more solid and 'deserving' citizens. In addition, there was a widespread perception that immigrants were taking houses that 'should' have gone to local people.

East Lothian Council's allocation policy was and remains needs based, and applicants are awarded points according to a set of criteria, established in 2004. The council believes that the system is fairer than its predecessor, which awarded 'waiting time' points. Those could accumulate and overtake points awarded urgently for housing need, thus allowing households with no pressing need to be allocated houses ahead of ones with serious issues. (ELC, 2007)

If these respondents' views are representative of opinion in the wider community, it would seem that the local authority has not managed to convince households that it is now allocating houses more equitably. Mrs AB for example considered changes to the allocations policy had drastically reduced her chances of being housed.

> "I used to get points for waiting time. I've been on it *(the council housing list)* for, well, 13 years now and they've done away with the points and what

have you. Points that you do get, like medical ones, are hardly worth anything."

(Mrs AB, (38), Single parent with health needs. On benefits)

Prisoner transfer officer, Mr P, still living with his parents in his forties, also opposed the change. He had been told by the council that he had a low priority for housing. He was very angry about the kind of people who he believed were given higher priority.

"For me the system's all wrong. To me a man gets nothing. The simple solution is you'll cater for women that are pregnant, you cater for young people that are married and stuff, but you dinnae cater for a guy that's working and then I look and why are you not catering for people that's working, that can afford things and that would look after houses like this. It's not happening. I just can't understand why. To me you're wasting mair money because if you give someone a house and they'll be wrecking it, then you're going to be paying it. Then you're going to be firing somebody else *(in)* ....it's costing you money to get this repaired, you're costing the council through moving this guy in and out and all. He is a problem child but you're having to keep housing this guy. You're moving him from one place to another, he's causing you havoc, he's costing you mair money. You've got a guy that's sitting, that would quite happily go into a house, looks after the house. You'll probably never see the guy, probably never anybody at his door. I just find that nobody seems to look at that aspect of it. The aspect always seems to be looking at the no-gooders. The ...good guys don't seem to be getting anything legitimate, kind of thing."

Mr P considered that most of his prisoner clients had a better chance of getting a house than he did, once they had finished their sentences.

"What can you do, there's nothing really. I'm waiting and waiting and waiting. I've been on the waiting list, this is my 6th, 7th year or something. As I say, there's nothing. I'm doing everything I can. No-one's coming up with any answers, no-one's phoning me and helping me saying, what about this, what about that. … I look at my job. There's guys doing 5 years, 6 years in a prison. They're seeing a social worker. They're getting a house. Wouldn't I be better committing a crime and getting a house? Because … that seems to be the easy option for me. I'm watching it and I'm laughing and I'm seeing these things. Is that an option for me then? It looks a no bad option at this rate."

Homeless Mr D had a similar view of the unemployed. He felt that his needs were not given the same weight, as some of the people who he believed had leapfrogged him in the queue.

"I find that the people who dinnae work get a Council house a lot quicker than people who do work. That's what I found last year, because I was working and whatnot, the Council was (saying), try and get a private let and sort of pushing me towards that. And people that were going to the Council the same time as me that were homeless and that were'na working were getting sort of priority needs and getting offered houses last year."

Mr O, who worked as a community warden for the Council, stayed in a relatively expensive private let and wanted to buy a private house. Nevertheless, he felt strongly that people like him were deprived of the chance to get a council house. "I'm not a drug addict and I don't have kids ...I'm Joe Normal and I don't matter."

Despite having been allocated a Council House by the time of the interview[4] Mr U (an ex-miner, who had been living in a caravan park) remained resentful about the 'undeserving,' who had stopped him from being housed sooner. He considered the Council was prioritising the wrong people.

"I went to the Council office, I went to Prestonpans and I asked, told them how ill I was, showed them a letter from my consultant, the woman says to me, well we'll try our best to get something. But she says, if you'd been an alcoholic or a drug-taker we'd have had you a house tomorrow..... well, I said, I am a drug taker because I get drugs from the doctor. But she said, we'll not get into that argument."
(Mr U, (64), council tenant, Port Seton)

As well as these perceptions, of entitlement thwarted by uncaring policy makers and bureaucrats, one respondent claimed religious bias. Mr I, struggling with his drug dealing neighbours in Prestonpans, considered that if he had not been a Protestant, he would have had his problems sorted out by the council.

"*(It is)*.. OK if you're a Catholic with this Council. I'm saying it out loud now. If you're down in the tanner and bob thing on a Sunday you'll get a house on the Monday, no problem. I've seen it happen many a time. If you're a junkie just getting out of prison or battering your wife, the really unsociable people like that, they all get houses before us. And its no just us, there's a woman across the road with the same overcrowding problems and she's always getting passed over and passed over because the house has been given to a junkie."
(Mr I, (40), council tenant)

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[4] See Chapter 5 (5.3.1) for a recruitment and participation discussion)

Mr I's views about sectarian influence were not expressed by any other participants. He thought as well, that drug addicts were likely to be queue jumpers.

> "The junkie that made us move up in Northfield, he's been moved into 3-bedroom houses three times now. It's 'cos they give it, "I'm a poor junkie," and social workers get involved and their points go right up and they get a new hoose. And then within 6 months they're either in prison or they're getting chucked out of the house for anti-social behaviour, they go and live in a hotel and boom they right back at the top of the list again because they're in more need of housing. But it's they that's putting themselves into that situation."

ii) Allocation rules 2 - Incomers and minorities

A common complaint was that the system favoured incomers and minority groups (twenty-two participants). Disabled Mr Y, a private owner wanting to be rehoused by the Council, resented that despite his needs, others were being prioritised thanks to the allocation rules.

> "If you don't fit snugly into one of these boxes then you're not going to get any help. If I heard it once I heard it a hundred times, people were saying if you were black and if you had ten kids you'd get it tomorrow. That's a bit racist but at the end of the day that's the general view of everybody that's out there and what chance have I got if that's the case."

Mr Y had one of the highest possible levels of need points and he knew that the wait for housing in his case was due to lack of suitable accommodation, but he was still worried about queue jumpers. Mr I was convinced that the Council was housing a very high proportion of newly arrived immigrants from Eastern Europe. He said he had been told this by Council officials. He discussed the issue angrily, along with his wife, during the interview.

> **Mr I:** "I know that there's 22% of housing, 22% of the housing that's available in East Lothian, has to be kept for immigrants. Why?"
> **Interviewer:** "So, which immigrants do you think are getting the housing?"
> **Mrs I:** "Polish."
> **Mr I:** "It's anybody. They come in, oh I need a house, they get a house."
> **Mrs I:** "A Polish family came in to Prestonpans and they got a 4-bedroom …"
> **Mr I:** "...a 4-bedroom house, fully furnished bloody house. They've not put any money into the system or anything. They walk in, they probably came from a bloody hovel in Poland and they walk in to a mansion and go on the dole! They're not working."

Mr I's resentment about Polish immigrants was mirrored by Mrs F, struggling to maintain her private let in Musselburgh.

> **Mrs F:** "It infuriates me.... We've got one, two families across the road, two or three families in the block next door and if you go along Musselburgh High Street - do you know where the Burgh School is?"
> **Interviewer:** "Yes"
> **Mrs F:** "My Dad lives along there and you've got three blocks that have each got two families in them. Polish... there has been a massive influx of Polish."
> **Interviewer:** "And are they just taking what are called social houses, council houses? Or are they taking other kinds of houses?"
> **Mrs F:** "I'm only aware of, I only know the ones that I'm talking about are all council houses, which really infuriates me. I really don't think it's fair that you've got people that have been waiting for years and now because they've changed the housing system, they took away the points, the waiting points, that you're even further down the list. And every time you go into the Brunton Hall and you ask, you get told ... oh well ... the last time I was there I had 18 points and I keep asking how many points do you have to have? Oh, at the moment, about 80."

The views of respondents about the influx of Polish and other immigrants are not borne out by such statistical evidence as is available from local social housing providers and the council's allocation policy does not specifically favour them.[5] This demonstrates nevertheless, a perception amongst participants that too much housing is being offered to outsiders. It may be an indication of the degree to which some households felt let down, or even abandoned, by the authorities.

Whilst most of the respondents felt negatively about the Council's allocation policy, the negative view of immigrants was not shared by all. Immigration was not an issue for Ms GH, who had recently moved into East Lothian.

> "I haven't seen that many Poles or Eastern Europeans up here. You know I come from London where every other person, is, literally, not British or maybe are if they've got the right passport, but it doesn't come across as being that dense here, no Polski shops up and down Dunbar High Street. To me it would be unlikely that would be much of a squeeze at this point in time. It may become

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[5] A survey carried out in 2013, of 4849 households on the council's housing list revealed that those of known ethnic origins included 1497 white Scottish, 75 other British and 5 Irish. There were 10 of Asian or African origin and 5 of mixed ethnicity. No Polish applicants were identified. More than 3000 people did not divulge their ethnicity, so the survey is at best an indication. (ELC 2013) It also represents all applicants, not only successful ones. Nevertheless, it does not suggest 22% of council housing goes to Eastern Europeans.

more so down the line, but at this moment I suspect not, but I also suspect you have many more of them living in one house."
(Ms GH, (30), sharing a house with friends)

For Mr L, a council manager, it was a matter of perception only, rather than evidence.

"I think people believe what they read and … there is a moral panic that goes on in the media that stirs up all these myths and rumours... We invite people to come and do jobs they can't get filled, so ... I think people deserve decent housing and everything that goes with that really...."
(Mr L, (50), single parent, private renter)

Private owner, council policy officer Mrs KL, considered that critics should accept that immigrants often want to fend for themselves.

"My family is an immigrant family going back to two and three generations before me and … when we first arrived in Dundee, Italian immigrants, they had crappy kind of housing and my parents lived with my father's parents after they got married until they had saved up to buy their own which they bought outright, no mortgage, which you could do."

7.1.4 Scamming

The participants' hostility to many of the local authority's housing allocation rules was often exacerbated by their perception that cheats were elbowing ahead of them in the queue for housing. They were incensed when they saw other households cheating to get the housing they needed. Some of the respondents admitted however, to cheating (or being tempted to) themselves. "Scamming" was considered to be widespread. It was said to be simultaneously a consequence of housing pressures and a contributory factor in making them worse. It was seen as queue jumping, pushing other applicants further down the list for accessing social housing. The Council was criticised for not doing enough to stop it. The respondents described several types of 'scam,' which they had either heard of, seen taking place, or participated in. The principal variants were:

- Falsely claiming that it was no longer possible to stay with parents, friends and relatives. This was seen as especially prevalent amongst young people in their mid to late teens and early 20's.

- Faked incidents of Domestic Violence. Because such incidents don't have to be evidenced, some participants claimed that they knew of couples where the allegedly violent incident was merely a ruse to get better housing.

- Young women becoming pregnant to get a house. This was widely believed to account for most of the 'queue jumping' in social housing.

Most respondents blamed the Council's allocation priorities for tempting households to scam. Mr I, who was waiting for a transfer from his council house, suggested that even some local authority staff and councillors were sympathetic to scamming, because it was so hard to obtain a house from the council.

> "In fact some of the Council tell you to do it. This is the only way you're going to get a house, you've got to do this, you've got to do that. Now that's a councillor telling yer how to, you ken, get round the system."

Mrs F agreed that council officials turned a blind eye to, or even encouraged, scamming. Prior to her current private let, she had been staying in overcrowded conditions with her mother in Musselburgh but at that time was assessed as not homeless. The official she dealt with, she said, encouraged her to cheat by claiming she had been thrown out. "Actually the Homeless Officer suggested that to my mother that that would be a way for us to get a Council house."

Mr D, homeless at the time of his interview, said he had seen at first hand the kind of scam which involves young people pretending that their relationship has broken down with their parents, in order to be housed as homeless.

> "Last week I was in the Council office in Prestonpans, there was a guy came in at the back… a young guy maybe 16 or 17 and he did say that, he'd fallen out with his Mum and Dad but his Dad was certainly helping him with the paperwork in the office."

He suspected that the relationship breakdown was a pretext. He didn't blame the young person, or his family though.

> "Nobody wants to be homeless, nobody wants to be sleeping on the streets and stuff like that, but if they see that's the only way their son or daughter's

going to get a house, you can probably understand why they are pushing them to do that."

Although twenty-four of the respondents believed that the system encouraged cheating, most did not approve of it. Ms C, living in a concealed household with her young daughter considered that to cheat the system was immoral.

"You get these kind of people who take the mick out of the system, like there's certain people that do need a house that should get houses kind of thing and then you get certain people who take the mick and get a house easily, kind of thing."

Whilst few of the participants condoned cheating, many understood why households would be tempted. According to Mrs EF, who worked assessing Benefit fraud for the Council, desperation was at the heart of the problem.

"I think the attitude is you can only get a Council house in East Lothian if you go on the Homeless list. It's ridiculous, because at one time or other people used to get a Council houses just because they were on the list. Now it doesn't happen, or so it appears… It was much easier for me to get housing at their age *(than now)*."
(Mrs EF, (53), marginal private tenant)

7.1.5 Bureaucratic errors and perceived injustice

Seventeen households were unhappy about the way the Council had dealt with their applications for housing, but only a handful complained that their council housing application had been handled unprofessionally, mistakes being made or bias introduced in the allocation process. Mr G and his wife believed that this:

"...was down to individuals rather than the... you know, within the bureaucracy, you know, somebody like a 'jobsworth' saying, you know, you're no going to get this on my shift, I'll make sure that we dinnae waste money on you. This has happened before, where somebody's had money spent on them ...and they've y'know...."
(Mr G, (66), retired, disabled, seeking adaptations from council)

Mrs F's husband had been on the Council's housing list for 24 years, including during the period before his marriage. Although the council policy, at the time of the fieldwork, was

to allow applicants to pick three "areas of choice", he claimed he had only been offered a house in an unsuitable location.

> "I have had one offer when I was 18-year old. And that was at East Fortune right next to the airfield, but I had no way of getting there. No way of getting to work where I was employed at the time, so of course I had to refuse it. And I've not heard anything back."
>
> (Mr F, (40) railwayman living in marginal private let, Musselburgh)

Although these complaints were serious, it should be said that only four participant households had experienced this sort of problem. For them it was a symptom of a wider malaise, an uncaring bureaucracy which ignored or discounted their needs.

7.1.6 Summary, barriers to success

The interviewees' understanding of the functioning of local housing market, revealed here, suggests that they were aware that it offered little hope of housing to some households on lower incomes. A combination of market forces pushing up prices in the private sector and rules restricting housing allocations to the (normatively defined) needy in the public sector, left many respondents feeling uncertain that they would ever be able to obtain the housing they required. There was an undercurrent of resentment in the participants' responses, not only that the market appeared to work against their interests, but also that this situation had been allowed to develop by the authorities. This resentment is considered further in the chapter's conclusions.

To reiterate, this study does not test the views of participants against some externally validated, normative, standard. It is not the intention here to say, for example, that these households had simply not considered all the possibilities, or that they weren't objectively needy, or that the negativity present in many of their responses was inhibiting their chances of success. What *can* be said about this set of responses however, is that it reveals attitudes to the actions of the public authorities that require further examination. This issue is pursued in the conclusions to this chapter, because it raises questions about the politics of housing provision. The households' behaviour has public policy implications. One of the questions is the extent to which their expectations of government intervention were realistic, in the light of the political zeitgeist surrounding affordable housing provision at

the time of the research. Why did such a gap exist between their felt housing need, and the normative needs devised by policy-makers? Further, what more do policy-makers need to do, to communicate their strategies and intentions to the public?

7.2 The consequences of housing stress in East Lothian

So far, the views of the participants about the causes of housing problems have been discussed. As well though, they were asked about the consequences. They gave their views about the long-term impact of housing stresses within their communities. Participants feared that gentrifying pressure would continue or increase, undermining the prospects for being housed of coming generations. Most respondents with children were concerned about how they would find suitable housing in East Lothian when they became adults. Council officer Mr W, on the verge of mortgage default in Haddington, was especially concerned that his children wouldn't inherit his house. He thought they would be lucky to be able to stay in East Lothian.

> "I'm thinking I've got two young lads who've only known Haddington and I'd be more than happy for them to continue to stay in Haddington. But … look at me now, I don't want the kids to go through that….. They know their lifestyle has been in Haddington. I would think they would want to live in Haddington. It would be nice to have my children round me, but if you have to move elsewhere because they can't afford to live in Haddington, as parents we'd feel we'd let them down. Hence that's maybe why I'm hanging on to the house and with a rented property there's nothing to pass down to the children. There's no inheritance."
> (Mr W, (48), owner occupier with concerns about affordability)

Looking to the future the participants imagined the less well-off suffering worsening housing conditions, with increased overcrowding and more homelessness. In addition, the social cohesion of the area was felt to be under threat. Up-market social change was not to the taste of sixteen of these households. They felt that people whose families had lived in East Lothian for generations would be squeezed out.

7.2.1 Concealed households and overcrowding

Participants considered that one consequence of the pressure would be that young people would stay at home longer, with some becoming concealed households. Five examples of such households were already evident, amongst the households interviewed. Four were young people, Ms C who was staying with her toddler son at her parent's house, and chef Mr N, who had tried to live independently but had been forced back to the family home because he could not afford it. Ms A, who was staying with her father and Ms S, who lived with her grandparents were also effectively concealed. Although more than 20 years older than them, prisons transfer officer Mr P had also to move back to live with his parents, and felt trapped there because he could not afford a private let. As well as these examples, seven other respondents knew of concealed households or ones facing overcrowding. They connected this problem with both housing shortages and poor affordability. Concealed households had been posited as present locally, in the Tribal HCH research (Tribal HCH, 2005) though none were identified in that survey.

Retired miner Mr U was active in his local community council and had become aware of concealed households, "...young married people staying with their Mums and Dads because they can't get a house." He thought this was a wintertime solution to the problem of coping with bad weather, for a young woman he knew who stayed at a local caravan park.

> "There's a girl near here that comes up to the first house here. She had to buy a caravan at Seton Sands and she comes to stay with her Mum all winter for somewhere to stay. So you've got that problem. There's young people who canna get houses. If they wanna house they've got to buy and they're finding it difficult to get on the stepping ladder, now."
> (Mr U, (64) council tenant in Port Seton)

There was widespread awareness of overcrowding, as well. Some of Ms A's friends and relatives for example were simply unable to afford the extra room or rooms they needed.

> "*(It is)* ... not very easy because … there's not very many folk that I ken are like working. But it's like some of the ones that have got children and need mair bedrooms and the mair dear it is to get rented property so its quite difficult. Even if there's two of them working, like in my auntie's situation."
> (Mrs A, (17) unemployed, living with her father)

7.2.2 Homelessness

Eight of the thirty-two participants considered that the continuing pressures in the housing market would lead to more people becoming homeless. This could be because of the restrictive allocations policy as well as people losing their homes because they could not afford the mortgage or the rental payments. Many of the respondents were aware that it wasn't only their own housing situation that was precarious. Mr L considered the experience of his own son as typical.

> "I've got an older son whose relationship broke up fairly recently and he was staying with his partner's parents. And he's kind of renting a room with his mate in the Pans[6] now. So there is a lot of that, I think you've got a lot of young people who are kind of staying with each other and a lot of young people staying with parents or family. They don't have any alternative and it extends that period of not moving into the adult world. Unemployment and lack of housing I think is very real in East Lothian."
> (Mr L (50), council manager and single parent in private let)

Ms A was in her late teens and had relatively recently left school. She had "quite a few" former school-friends who had found themselves on the streets, she said through no fault of their own. "One of my friends, her parents died and she had nowhere else to go, so she had to go homeless." A breakdown in family relationships was more common. "Parents chucking them out," Ms A explained. If they were lucky enough to be offered a house, they might not have been able to sustain the tenancy because it was too expensive or they refused to behave responsibly, "…because they've been throwing wild parties and that."

Mrs EF, the Benefits fraud official, believed that there would be a rise in people pretending to be homeless, in order to be housed.

> "They're going to end up with a situation where people have no other option but to be made homeless, not deliberately made homeless, but that's the way it's going to look, so that they can get a place where they can afford to live"
> (Mrs EF, (53), single parent in private let)

Ms H, struggling to pay her mortgage in her single bedroom flat was sympathetic to the plight of young people in particular, and said she understood why they scammed:

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[6] Prestonpans

"They just don't have any other choice. If they put their name on the housing list, they're going to have a 20-year wait. They're still going to be at home in their 40s. So needs must, they feel they've got to."

Council tenant, Mr IJ favoured a radical way of creating affordable housing and preventing homelessness. "In America you have these large trailer parks. Couldn't that be an idea?"

7.2.3 Societal change and loss of cohesion

Most respondents were concerned about the social changes that housing pressures were bringing about (twenty-three out of thirty-two). The most frequently cited changes were to the social mix and 'character' of East Lothian and its towns and villages, in the wake of a widely perceived influx of incomers.

The social structure of East Lothian has, as shown in Chapter 3, changed over the past fifty years. The views of the research participants about these changes may be connected with an intense local loyalty, which is analysed in Chapter 8. That loyalty, as well as being to 'their' town, was also to 'their' idea of what East Lothian's social values should be. These were being undermined by incomers bringing different values and lacking an understanding of local traditions. Mr I considered that Prestonpans, where he had been born and bred, had lost its community spirit.

> "It feels different. You've probably heard all the old stories, you used leave your door open? Well this is what Pans was like. You'd leave your door open, New Year time everybody came out, first footing and it lasted all night. Now you canna do that, you can't even walk the streets at night in the Pans."
> (Mr I (40), council tenant and long-term resident, Prestonpans.)

Mr L had seen much change as a Community Development Manager for the Council, especially in and around Haddington. He thought that the local identity of towns such as Prestonpans was reinforced by the intense loyalty to the area displayed by those brought up there.

> "A lot of people don't even leave the town that they're born in. In East Lothian they grow up and a lot of people do stay. We recently had an inspection[7] in

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[7] A Scottish government inspection of Community Work in EL

Prestonpans and it was very high levels of people who just never move out of Prestonpans."

Mr L was concerned that this sense of identification with an area was being undermined by incomers who had no ties, moving into new housing estates. Prison transfer officer Mr P, with strong associations with Musselburgh felt it had changed completely, in the last 40 years, from a close-knit community with vibrant traditions, to a dormitory town full of strangers.

> "For years you had the Fisherman's Walk. That doesn't exist any more. You had like the Festival. You'd have like 100 to 200 horses going down the streets. It's all now re-routed in different areas and there's not as many people come out on a Saturday. It used to be like mobbed, 2 or 3 thousand people down there. I used to play the golf. They used to have the golf competition …that week. And you'd get a prize and go up on the big stage and lots of people clap, that sort of thing. All that sort of stuffs all went away now and it's more like outsiders coming in and living in the area now and just getting on with life, basically."

Coach driver, Mr IJ (50) considered that his housing history had given him an insight into social change in his area. Brought up in Musselburgh, he returned after some time away, to rent in one of the newly built private housing schemes. There, he felt the changed atmosphere at once.

> "When we moved to private rented accommodation in Clayknowes[8], it was like you were walking into another country because it wasn't Musselburgh at all. Musselburgh people are friendly, they'll talk to you, they don't try to make themselves better than anybody else. But at Clayknowes it was absolutely unbelievable, like you were an outcast. Someone I knew lived two doors from me. I'd known his brother at school and he used to talk, but for the 6 or 7 months we stayed there he never even looked at me and I thought, you know, who are you, you put your trousers on the same way I do, you're no better than me and I thought - they buy (a) second-hand Mercedes and they think they're the bees knees. This isn't Musselburgh. It's like another planet."
> (Mr IJ, (50), council tenant, living in Tranent at time of interview)

Mrs F, also from Musselburgh, had noticed the change, as well:

> "...you can see it changing already because I remember when I was young, it was very much you knew everybody and you had a very community feel about

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[8] Clayknowes is a private housing estate on the outskirts of Musselburgh

it. But now you haven't; it just isn't there. I think that's what's been lost with all these people, as my Gran used to say, newcomers, coming in."

Another major concern was the economic impact if people on lower incomes left. Who would serve in the shops the participants wondered, or work the land, or carry out unskilled or semi-skilled jobs? Mrs J, the single mother in a private let with a young daughter, believed that people like herself who were struggling with the price of housing, would be forced out of East Lothian. She had no idea where they would go:

"…it's going to have the same effect with other people, I would assume, in my position. And it's going to continue to have that effect. If the house prices go on rising, more and more people are going to be in a situation where they can't afford to live here."

Ten respondents felt that the likely long-term response to this situation would be increased emigration even though, as will be shown in chapter 8, few participants wanted to take that route themselves. According to Mr U, history would repeat itself.

"I think they'll be like the Highlanders, they'll be forced out of where they grew up and you'll have a lot of different people, English, Welsh, Irish and people from different parts of Scotland coming to your village and you won't have a local town."

The council's plans to build more affordable housing wouldn't stem this influx, he felt.

"You've got Blindwells[9] coming up where they're building 1600 houses, some of them are going to be affordable housing and some is going to be big houses…. So you're going to have people looking for houses wanting out of the rat race as they call it in Edinburgh, Glasgow. We've got a couple that's moved from Inverness down here. So they're going to be snapped up by people selling off."

Mr O, had grown up around East Linton. Many of his friends couldn't afford to stay around, once they left home, he said.

"A lot of them have gone down south. A lot of them have moved down to England. I haven't heard of many people moving to the other Lothians, but there's quite a few of them gone down south. I know a couple of them joined the Army, just for the accommodation and they could come home and stay with their

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[9] Between Prestonpans and Longniddry - former open cast coal workings earmarked for large development

folks on leave, but being away for a time wasn't an issue for them. They would be better in Iraq being shot at and having a bit of security around you..."
(Mr O, (24) renting privately outside East Linton)

7.2.4 Summary

All of the participants had an interest in the consequences for them or their children of housing stress in East Lothian. They had an understanding of the problems it might engender in the future that stretched beyond their immediate personal circumstances.

Participants feared that social and economic change was driving out lower-income groups from East Lothian and would make it more difficult for their children to stay in the area. They considered that gentrification and an influx of other more moneyed incomers was undermining local customs and traditions and that, unchecked, it would alter the character of their area, for ever.

Conclusion

Many participants considered themselves caught up in changes in the housing market that were thwarting their aspirations and over which they had no control. They were critical about the role of the authorities in mediating the effects of the market and in particular, East Lothian Council. Whilst the local authority was perceived as potentially their saviour in this situation, it was actually a source of disappointment and even anger, because participants thought wasn't doing enough to help.

Not only was it failing to live up to its responsibilities to build houses, it had 'unfair' policies that did not allocate sufficient social housing to local people. Much emphasis was placed by participants critical of this perceived policy, on the 'undeserving,' who could be, for example, foreigners taking the houses that they felt should have gone to locals. This issue was mentioned by nearly a third (ten) of the households. Other undeserving groups mentioned included drug addicts, single mothers and social security 'scroungers.' Scammers - people queue jumping by lying about the degree of their housing need - were usually considered the worst offenders.

Thirty of the participants felt that the authorities had let them down by failing to build affordable housing. Government policies, such as the Right to Buy, were criticised for restricting the availability of cheap housing. A similar attitude to the authorities was evident, when participants were asked whether the housing problems of East Lothian were likely to improve, or to worsen, in the coming years. The strongly held conviction of most respondents was that the authorities must intervene in the market. Disabled Mr G for instance, despite being a firm supporter of self-help and a reluctant Council tenant, considered that politicians were duty bound to manage the problem.

> "We're getting back to if you don't have sufficient affordable housing you lose the bottom end of your workforce, the people who are less able to afford it. So you lose the people who ... empty your dustbins, keep your streets clean, do all sorts of useful … labour which you'd be lost without. But if you price housing totally out of the market, then these people can't live here. And if they can't live here, they can't work here. … I don't think it's happening anywhere as yet, but I can see it happening."

Retired Prison official, Mr CD, considered the housing problems of East Lothian were symptomatic of an increasingly divided society. He thought politicians should show leadership.

> "(There is) ...growing inequality in income and opportunity. Some people have done exceptionally well and some people have done extremely badly. The gulf between the two, in my view, has got greater."

From the point of view of households weighing up their housing options the key issue however, was not that the council had failed to build enough houses, nor that it had given away to the 'undeserving,' those that it had. Even 'unfair' allocation policies were not the biggest problem. The overarching criticism was that the authorities had failed to pursue policies which met the needs and expectations of low income families.

These households did not consider themselves to be free agents, but felt at the mercy of political and economic forces which had prevented them from achieving their aspirations. They talked about the failures in the local market and the seeming inability, or lack of determination from the 'authorities' - the government and the council - to help. Underpinning these complaints appeared to be an unspoken assumption that the authorities

have a duty to intervene, to provide or facilitate genuinely affordable housing, especially for local people

The roots of this attitude may lie in a political viewpoint in this part of the UK, shared by many of the participants, that market forces had failed to provide genuinely affordable housing. It was certainly fuelled by the households' perceptions of the causes of their own and others' housing problems. None of the households blamed themselves for the position in which they found themselves. Few thought they could unaided, dig themselves out of their predicament. For the majority, the authorities were to blame and it was these unseen powers shaping their lives that they believed could, and should, also help them to resolve their problems.

There was a strong belief in the social role of the local authority, to deal with problems like housing shortages. This was matched by a sense of entitlement to decent housing. In the context of resistance to displacement these are important attitudes, because many of the households expressed the view that the authorities would be obliged to sort out the housing problems in the near future, even if they had not done so, yet.

This attitude seems to be at variance with households' perceptions in parts of the world where there is less expectation that the state will intervene. Lower income families in gentrifying districts do not always expect their problems to be solved by the state stepping in to build affordable housing. (Freeman, (2005); Kleit & Manzo, (2008); Marcuse, 1985) A political dynamic may however, have fuelled some of the resentment felt by East Lothian households. Although it is still public policy to provide social housing, less has been built in the last two decades. This may in part be due to cost cutting pressures on public spending, as well as ideological changes. Political parties with influence on policy development have sought to withdraw the public sector from many aspects of the UK economy, including housing. One consequence of this has been to reserve social housing for the most needy, defined of course by normative standards. Public policy has changed in the last 30 years but on the basis of their responses, it could be questioned whether politicians have persuaded these households of the need for that change. For many participants it remained axiomatic that a household in East Lothian was *entitled* to be housed, sooner rather than later, and that this was a right held by all.

At 7.1.7 above, the twin questions were posed, of whether the gap between households' and policy makers' conceptions of need is widening - and whether the policy makers should make households more aware of the criteria by which normative standards of need are being set. The answer to the first question, on the basis of the evidence in this study, would appear to be, 'yes'. There is a deep sense of thwarted entitlement about many of the responses given here. The second question can only be answered by the politicians and policy makers who wish to change the mind set of people seeking housing.

Although this is not a comparative study, it seems likely that a similar conception of the role of the state can be found in many places throughout the UK and may be derived from the political views of the participants. Because this is a question of ideology and values, the present study takes no view as to whether or not these views are 'correct.' In the context of the research aims of the research, it is proposed as a component of the thought processes that lead the potentially displaced to cling on where they are, in hope - and expectation. They anticipate that the authorities will, eventually, resolve their problems and that they will not have to move elsewhere. Further research into the attitudes of those enduring housing stress towards local and national authorities is suggested by these findings, though it is beyond the scope of the present study.

Chapter 8 moves on to consider a further, important, aspect of the responses of households, to their failure to meet their needs. It has been suggested that migration was not a popular way to resolve their problems. The question of how far they would move to find suitable housing was excluded from Chapter 6, since it is central to the ideas being examined in this study about displacement. These households' views can offer insight into displacement resistance, and so the next chapter considers why most participants were reluctant to move far from their present homes.

Chapter 8 - Can't leave, won't leave?

In the previous chapters, the participant households' problems have been outlined and their explanations for being unable to solve them have been analysed. In this chapter they give their reasons for not moving to another area to resolve their housing stress.

As has been discussed above (3.5), displacement is a contested outcome of gentrification. For some researchers it remains an inevitable consequence, whilst for others it may or may not happen depending on household circumstances.[1] Few studies have considered how households weigh up their options in a gentrifying area however, and decide whether to go or stay.

Although all households in this study needed to find better housing, twenty-nine of the thirty-two were reluctant to move far from their current location. This chapter analyses their reasons for resisting displacement, considering influences such as the value of family and social support networks, commuting costs and loss of amenity. It is suggested that a further factor - place attachment - is a powerful constraint. Place attachment as an academic concept is rarely considered in gentrification research even though place is central to the idea of displacement. Support networks for example, could be argued to engender a kind of place attachment, because they root households in their area. It is proposed here that a range of psychological and sociological theories associated with the study of place attachment can contribute to our understanding of gentrification-led displacement, and may have been under-utilised in previous studies of the phenomenon.

It should be acknowledged that place attachment research has drawn often on different epistemological traditions from those of the current research project. A positivist approach has been taken by many environmental psychologists, with a tendency to believe that the reasons for place attachment should be discoverable as universal laws (Lewicka, 2011). Moreover, whereas gentrification and displacement are often described as phenomena caused by broad social and economic forces, place attachment has focussed on individual motivations (Tuan, 1974; Halpern, 2005; Fullilove, 1996).

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[1] This issue is discussed in detail, in Chapter 3 (3.5) and Chapter 4 (4.1)

Place attachment researchers have nevertheless developed certain concepts that can help to explain the quality and depth of households' attachment to particular areas.

Analysis of the roots of attachment is especially important given the relationship between gentrification and displacement being explored by this research project.[2] Whilst it is argued that displacement pressures in East Lothian have come about in part through gentrification, this is not seen as a direct relationship, such as Ruth Glass proposed in her initial development of the concept. It is not suggested that the study households' housing stress necessarily arose because their own neighbourhoods had been gentrified, as happened say in Islington or under other classic gentrification scenarios. (Glass, 1964, Atkinson, 2000)

What is being studied is a secondary impact of gentrification. The households were facing housing stress because gentrification-led pressures had pushed up housing costs over a wider area than their immediate neighbourhood. As shown in Chapter 2, these pressures combined with an UK-wide surge in house prices at the time of the research, and with factors particular to East Lothian, to create housing affordability problems for some households.[3] Consequently, although the study households were not all in actively gentrifying areas, they had to cope with increased housing stress brought about by rising housing costs, driven in part by gentrification. This might have been expected to lead to displacement. By virtue of not having left their area therefore, this set of participant volunteers had resisted displacement and this chapter investigates their reasons for staying. It will be suggested that place attachment played a significant role.

It is not claimed that the participants are representative of a wider movement to resist displacement in East Lothian. As has been made clear in Chapter 5 (5.3.1), they were not recruited on the basis of resistance to displacement, but because of their perception that they were in housing stress. This makes their resistance significant, because they could have been thinking about relieving that stress by leaving the area at the time of the fieldwork, but in the main they were not.

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[2] See Chapter 3, section 3.10 for a full discussion

[3] See Chapter 2, section 2.4

This chapter is organised as follows. First of all the pragmatic reasons the participants gave for staying are described and analysed. These include reasons familiar in gentrification research, such as the need to retain family support networks, employment opportunities and access to local amenities (Lyons 1996, Atkinson 2002). Second, the reasons that the study households gave for wanting to stay in their areas are examined in the light of the more intimate and psychological approach of place attachment research. Following on, five of the research participants' responses are illustrated in more detail, in cases studies that consider how they weighed up their options for tackling housing stress. Finally the strands are brought together and the contribution of the study to the understanding of displacement is set out. In particular, it is suggested that there is merit in focussing further research on the motivations of individual households, in resisting displacement.

8.1 Pragmatic reasons for resisting displacement

Most of the participant households liked the areas in which they lived and whilst they wanted to move house, they did not want to leave[4]. Twenty-three out of the thirty-two were strongly resistant, offering multiple explanations about why it would be impractical for them. In classic gentrification theory, the prime motivation for displacement is to reduce housing costs. This is not however, the only factor that households may take into consideration when deciding to go or stay. It has to be recognised moreover, that lower rental or purchase prices in another area do not always translate into lower housing costs for households that move there. The costs associated with commuting or loss of family support networks have to be taken into account as well. Below, the study households show how they weighed up the pros and cons of leaving.

8.1.1 Family ties and support networks

Two commonly cited reasons for resisting displacement are family ties and personal support networks. Michel Lyons in her work on gentrification in London boroughs

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[4] No specific distance is implied here. As will be shown however, the participants were attached either to their town or village or a particular neighbourhood. The issue is discussed further, below.

(1996) emphasised that certain segments of the population that might have been expected to be displaced by gentrification were actually amongst the most reluctant to go.

Poorer families in gentrifying areas of the UK may be in tenancies with low and controlled rents (such as Council housing), but Lyons showed that even those in relatively expensive private lets can have much to lose emotionally and financially by leaving the area. Family ties are more than simple emotional bonds; they may provide practical assistance to the poorest families, saving them money on childcare and by pooling resources.

Twenty-one out of the thirty-two respondents in this study made explicit reference to support networks as influencing their decision to stay. For instance, part-time coach driver Mr IJ, who shared a Council house with his wife and daughter, was happy to live in one of the less popular areas of Tranent (Northfield), where levels of crime and antisocial behaviour are relatively high. He wanted to remain despite a council decision to remove him from his tenancy. He was seeking to move to another council house, nearby. The reputation of the area and the risks involved in living there were less important to Mr IJ and his household than its convenience.

> "If I could pick an ideal position, the ideal position would be to stay here, because my daughter stays two blocks away. She has had two quite bad relationships and has two little boys. She looks to us for help and assistance and being close by is good for her. It's good for us as well because we're quite close for the boys if she needs any kind of urgent help. She … her house doesn't have a bath, it only has a shower the boys have already had two or three falls in the shower. Normally they come here for a bath because we have a bath. For that reason we would ideally if we could, pick an ideal position and would like to stay."
> (Mr IJ, (50), part-time coach driver)

The repetition of the word 'ideal' is significant in the context of living on the Northfield estate, because for many people this would not be an 'ideal' place to stay. Mr IJ's judgement was based on the strength of kinship ties, which overrode any disadvantages of living in the area. In his case these included ensuring the safety of his daughter, who

he thought may have been in an abusive relationship. He wanted to keep a close eye on her and her partner. Mr IJ felt responsible for her children as well.

Family support was of great importance to all the disabled participants. In the case of Mr Y who lived on a private estate in Musselburgh, the recent onset of a degenerative illness had made him increasingly dependent on support from his wife and extended family.

> "Living here, my mother-in-law is just in Edinburgh and if S (Mr Y's wife) was on a night out her Mum and Dad would pick her up and obviously that leaves me and H (Mr Y's daughter) in the house here. Or if me and S were going out, obviously S's Mum and Dad would come through here. They are just ten minutes away ...yes it's kind of great living here...we've got good neighbours ...we could ..well I can't say we could rely on them but they've helped us out ...whenever I've been taken to hospital,...S comes with me ...they'll well somebody will hold on to H until S's Mum and Dad get here."
>
> (Mr Y, (39), Retired sick, private owner with wife and daughter)

Mr Y was wheelchair bound and restricted in the range of things he could do for himself. The proximity of his in-laws was vital for his ability to cope. Mrs E, a single parent from Dunbar, had a similar set of help needs for the care of her severely disabled daughter.

> "It's because I'd find it really difficult to look after A *(her daughter)* all the time on my own if my Mum and Dad couldn't come up to help, even if it's only for an hour. It's at mealtimes. Meal times could be really stressful and difficult. A's on such a restricted diet that it's difficult to maintain her weight. So they can come up then it would be difficult if we lived in a different town to get that support, it would be difficult for me, difficult to look after A."
>
> (Mrs E, (41), single parent owner, with severely disabled daughter)

Two of the elderly participants likewise depended on the support of relatives, to varying degrees. This was a strong incentive to stay within an area where their relatives would still be able to provide help. Mrs R, living on her own in a bought council house with three bedrooms, said she was too frail in her seventies, to get to the shops unaided. She relied on having her family near.

> "I have one daughter. About once a month she takes me for a big shop, you know, but the likes for bread and milk, you have to buy that at least once a

week. So therefore I have to go to Musselburgh, because when the shops are open in Musselburgh; they (her family) are all working."

Widowed retired miner, Mr U, in his late sixties, valued support from his family and was aware that as he got older he would come to depend on them. Alongside family, friends were important.

"Well, my son comes here enough every day to make sure I'm OK." ...I've got loads of friends who come in. Like Alan from Haddington, he comes 3 or 4 times a week and phones me 3 or 4 times a week."

Except for those in households with a disabled member, support wasn't so highly prized by younger participants. Having friends and relatives nearby was nevertheless a comfort for Mr V, a gym instructor in his mid 20s. He felt they embedded him in his local community.

"I know a lot of people in the area, so going outwith Haddington or East Lothian, although it might be closer to my work if I go to Edinburgh... it would be distancing myself from everybody. ....My mum's sister stays in Haddington. So does her mum and dad stay in Haddington. My brother stays in Haddington as well. Apart from that, my Dad's two sisters, one's in Tranent, one's in Pencaitland. They're all sort of around East Lothian."
(Mr V, (24), living in parental home)

Households could feel committed to remain for the help they could give to others, as well, depending on their life-stage. Mrs AB for example, relied on the support of her nearby grown up daughters to help with household tasks at her farm cottage near Dunbar. Equally important in her decision to stay there though, was the emotional and educational well-being of her grandson who lived with her.

"The grandson is the number one priority. Being home, the school they know the boy's problems, things like that. To take him away just wouldn't be right. My daughter's having a baby at the end of this month and the other one's five months old, so I could not leave them."
(Mrs AB, (38), single parent, long-term sick)

Mrs J likewise who lived in Haddington, whilst working as a classroom assistant five miles away in Tranent, felt that Haddington was where she needed to be for her daughter's sake.

> "This is my daughter's home. You know she's … for all intents and purposes this is her home, she's from Haddington. She was 4 when we moved here. She's lived the majority of her life here. We have lovely friends and we do have a really nice support network here. So, emotionally that is, I'm tied."
> (Mrs J, (46), Single mother in private let she found too expensive)

Life stage is especially an issue for young people, who can feel conflicting pressures. A study of their migratory habits in rural England by Burrows et al. (1998) suggested many find it hard to square the need for family support, with the desire (sometimes the necessity) to move to find a job or start a career. The authors categorise them into four groups. Those that stay, either willingly or reluctantly, and those that want to leave, likewise. Factors that influence their decisions include the availability of housing locally and the educational and employment opportunities to be gained by moving. When they go to college, training or university, kinship ties can act as a rubber band pulling them back to their roots, unless they break free to find a new life somewhere else. Young people with the poorest opportunities elsewhere tend to return. (Burrows, et al. 1998)

Although East Lothian is not a remote rural location comparable to those studied by Burrows, similar tensions were evident amongst the young people interviewed. Mr O, a 24-yr. old Council Community worker, had gone away to university but come back to live near his ageing parents in East Linton in a cottage he shared with his partner and a friend.

> "I've been here all my life apart from three months... My parents are just at East Linton I have very fortunately a large network of friends. ... I think if I was a single guy I'd want to stay particularly for my friends."
> (Mr O, (24), living in a private let farm cottage near East Linton)

Qualifications had given Mr O more options but he had chosen to come back to his home village for the time-being because it suited him to be near friends and family. As with most of the households interviewed, younger participants felt the need to be in, or close to, the same town as their family.

None of the three youngest participants (Ms A (17), Mr N (21) and Ms S (17)) had started a family, so they were not tied by having to care for children. All three of these

young people were however, still living at their family homes to help them manage their housing costs. Cost, coupled with their place attachment (discussed below at 8.2), was a reason not to seek their own accommodation. The case of Prestonpans single mother, 25-yr. old Ms C demonstrates the tension between a young person's need to set up their own home and their desire to retain ties. She recognised that having a young child in the house made life awkward for her parents, and her brothers, but felt that she and her son would be missed if they were not there.

> "I think Mum and Dad would be really hurt if I did move out because, they love D. being around, but they would like their own space. I don't think they would admit it. My brothers are like that as well."
> (Ms C, (25), living at parents home as concealed household)

Support needs can intersect with more internalised motives for staying, such as place attachment, which is discussed further at 8.2 below. Typical is the comment from Mr I, who lived in a Council house in Prestonpans with his wife and three children.

> "We moved from Tranent back down to Prestonpans because of family and support down here. She *(wife)* canna walk down the road without somebody knowing her. She went to the chemist and came out with a cough bottle. Before she gets in to my Gran's, "Cold all right hen?" She canna go anywhere 'cos I'm well known here." Being known locally is as important to this household as its support network.
> (Mr I (40), long term sick)

Support needs appear to be a strong motivator to remain close to family in the study area. In the main however, it is not attachment to East Lothian that is manifested. Rather it is attachment to an area which is bounded by the practical necessities of providing support. Most households need to be within a short journey's distance of contact with relatives and other sources of support.

8.1.2 Work and commuting

Slightly over a third of the participants said they were concerned about whether they would get work if they moved away (twelve out of thirty-two). If they didn't and still had to work in East Lothian, then they would need to commute. The calculation made by those in work was usually straightforward; savings from moving away to find a

cheaper house had to be balanced against the commuting cost. Council officer, Mr W, who stayed in Haddington put it succinctly.

> "I think if I'd moved to other areas I probably could get a bigger house, but where's it going to be? Going farther and farther down, what Eyemouth, Coldingham, you know the Borders, far away. OK, there's property in East Lothian up in the hills. There's nothing wrong with that. But for me, I'd be fine, but you have to think how far away's the school? My wife doesn't drive. She'd have to get a job. It's hard enough to get a job in the towns, never mind how far you've got to travel down. I mean even Gifford into Haddington geographically it wouldn't suit."
> (Mr W, (48), marginal owner occupier)

For Mrs X, living in a private let in Haddington that was too expensive for her household, the thought of cheaper accommodation elsewhere was especially appealing but the prospect of having to look for work if she moved away, was not.

> " ...it's not easy to get a job anywhere now, so you might say, oh well I'll go and live in West Lothian where houses are much cheaper, but whether you can actually get a job through there or are you going to have to give yourself a commute to the job you have already."
> (Mrs X, (47), living with husband a two children)

Sometimes work had pulled back the few participants who had tried to leave East Lothian. They had experimented with moving away in the hope of finding work elsewhere, unsuccessfully. For example, young chef, Mr N had stayed in Edinburgh for a while seeking a new job but instead he still had to commute to his existing one, in East Lothian.

> "...it wasn'ae workin' oot.. I stayed in my friend's house up in town. I was getting his house for let and it was costing me too much for the bus fare (to work in North Berwick) and trying to get back doon to where I stay...where I work. I was leaving at 5 in the morning and I wasn't getting back until half eight, nine. It's a long day.
> (Mr N (21), concealed household in his parents council house)

Mrs EF had also rejected the commuting option, because she had tried it and failed. At one stage she faced the choice of living with a relative outside East Lothian or seeking help from the council as homeless.

"Never solved any problem with that... I moved in with my uncle in the Borders for a while. That proved not to be a good move."
(Mrs EF, (53), single parent, two children, in private let)

Time and cost were not only issues when commuting from or to East Lothian, but also when contemplating a move within the area. Bank official, Mr T, thought that his Musselburgh home was in exactly the right place, and moving further east wouldn't work out for him.

"Possibly, if we had to move further along the coast, probably no further than Longniddry. Probably the furthest that we'd want to move, though (there are) some gorgeous houses in Dunbar but I don't think the train service is as good as it could be out to Dunbar and that would add a good bit on to my daily commute. That's one of the things I enjoy at the moment is that I can get the train at twenty-five past eight and I'm at my desk for quarter to nine."
(Mt T, (36), Owner occupier, private estate, Musselburgh)

One participant, Mr P the prison transfer officer, could have reduced his commuting costs by moving nearer his work base in West Lothian, but he felt that going to an unknown area was risky because of his job. His reasoning illustrates that the calculations made by participants when deciding whether to leave or stay could be complex. In his case, financial considerations were secondary.

"I don't want to be forced to get myself into some sort of problem and in an area I don't know and I think that's not the ideal situation."
(Mr P, (42), concealed household in parental home)

He didn't want to move within East Lothian either, for similar reasons; he might be allocated a house near to his prisoner clients. Mr P had more commonplace reasons for staying in Musselburgh as well, such as time, distance and cost.

"I'd have to think about where you're moving me to. Like for example, if I was moved to Dunbar, I'd think, that would be too far, because I'm travelling as it is to Broxburn and then to add another 15 miles, that's like a big area for me to get to my work. Again that's more cost in fuel and stuff like that. You're cutting into your wages, basically to get to your work and stuff, you know."

For Mr P then, a move to Dunbar wouldn't suit because it would increase his commuting costs, but a move to Broxburn, which would have reduced his commuting

costs (and possibly offered lower cost housing) wasn't possible either because he wanted to be near his family and in a safe area where his prisoner clients would not recognise him.

None of these participants had considered looking for work elsewhere first, and then moving away to obtain it. In part this was because finding work wasn't easy in the economic climate at the time of the research, but households considered that they faced bureaucratic problems in attempting to move to social housing in another area, as well. It has been pointed out by Hughes and McCormick (1991) that it can be hard for social housing tenants to transfer from a social housing provider in one area, to the equivalent in another. Regulations on residence can inhibit this; as well there is no longer a free national database for tenants wishing to swap, or 'Mutually Exchange,' their homes with others in a different area.[5]

It wasn't only social tenants who faced barriers to moving closer to work, or to finding it elsewhere; these were present in other tenures, too. In a study of labour market mobility Böheim and Taylor (2001) found that households with mortgages have less mobility than those in other tenures. They emphasised that private rental is the tenure that allows households to move most freely to find employment. Whilst private tenants may face fewer bureaucratic and financial restrictions however, they can come up against supply constraints. The private rental sector has been small in East Lothian in recent decades and even though (as outlined in Chapter 3) it had been growing at the time of the fieldwork (to c.10% of the housing stock), it lagged behind the owner-occupation and social rented tenures, which made up the bulk of the housing market.

For the participants in this survey though, it wasn't lack of availability but the cost which was the major disincentive to seek a private let in another area. School support worker Mrs J didn't think it was worth her while trying, "...you know, because I will have looked, I have looked, at properties outwith, just out of curiosity. I've looked at properties outwith and I couldn't afford to move to any other area." As well as the cost of commuting and the time involved however, a major consideration for Mrs J was that she felt it was important for her daughter to stay in school in Haddington.

[5] Multiple pay-for-use websites have sprung up instead, but none guarantees comprehensive coverage

One participant who complained about lack of job opportunities locally had been nevertheless, proactive about finding work in the area. Mr I in Prestonpans, considered that the county was in decline, industrially.

> "There's no industry in the Pans, anywhere ..or in East Lothian. What is there? A whisky place, couple of power stations, a wee bit of fishing industry, farming, that's it. Christ, Prestonpans used to have everything. I mean it used to have a harbour, did everything the town did, bricks, salt, soap, food, the coal, everything."
> (Mr I, (40), council tenant with antisocial neighbours)

Mr I's own solution however, was not to move away from Prestonpans to look for work, but instead to start his own company. He was intending to set up as a satellite dish installer, once he had recovered from a long-term illness. His plans were well advanced at the time of his interview.

These views are of course, reasons given for remaining in East Lothian by people who had stayed. Although it is not known what proportion of potential displacees had left, it is certain that some displacement had taken place. For example, although Mr N, the chef, was determined to stay, he said he had seen his friends get so frustrated looking for work locally, that they did leave. They didn't head for Edinburgh or nearby authorities however; they left the country entirely.

> "There's a few folk but they ended up actually having to move ...a couple them actually moved to Spain and that ...they just got sick of this place and just left...they could'nae get jobs."

8.1.3 Amenities

Defenders of gentrification often point to the amenities that have improved in a gentrifying area. This is said to benefit to residents at all income levels, because they find their neighbourhood visually improved, with better shops and services. Doucet (2009) in his study of the reactions of long standing residents of Leith to gentrification, pointed out that many of them welcomed at least some of the improvements that gentrification had brought. In particular they favoured the regeneration of run down areas and new shopping facilities such as the Ocean Terminal mall. This is consistent

with the views of supporters of gentrification that a rising tide lifts all boats (Duany, 2001).

Participants didn't mention any specific improvements to East Lothian when asked about the effects of gentrification, perhaps because these have been more diffuse in this area. Improvements have been more discreet than those in Leith and confined to particular locations, rendering them all but invisible to those that live elsewhere. Households were more likely to criticise gentrification for raising house prices, than to mention up-market hotels, golf resorts, restaurants and farm steading renovation. Participants were aware that East Lothian had good amenities though, and that these had attracted well-off incomers. For example, Mrs J, emphasised the attractive environment of the restored rural settlements.

> "East Lothian is a lovely place and all the little surrounding villages and everything. Each one of them has got its own charm. Possibly people commute from here. There might be people who work in Edinburgh but they don't buy property there, they don't choose to buy property there, but buy it here and that then increases the price. I don't know, but that's what I would think..."
> (Mrs J, (46), single parent in private let)

Former prison civil servant Mr CD also believed the county had plenty to offer.

> "It's attractive, it's close to the main roads, it's close to the city and there are relatively good employment prospects in the area, and there's the proximity to beautiful countryside."
> (Mr CD, (68), council tenant)

The attractive countryside and the pretty villages were mentioned by six participants. For instance, for gym trainer, Mr V, "...the city's OK because you are close to everything, but then you don't get the same countryside where you can walk ten or fifteen minutes and you're out in the countryside." As well, the his home town was considered relatively safe by prison officer Mr P, "...people see Musselburgh as a quiet town and accessible for roads and stuff, so people have wanted to come here. The crime rate is not as bad *(as in the city)*." The area's attractiveness and safety was a reason to stay for young local government officer, Ms M,

> "Now if you offered me somewhere in Edinburgh I wouldn't take it because I love East Lothian, but it is the whole *(thing)*, it's bigger, it's cleaner, safer for my children."
>
> (Ms M, (24), in private let with partner and three children)

Not all the participants thought that their own area was especially attractive. Mrs K, a lifelong Dunbar resident in her forties, recognised that the town was now popular with incomers but found that puzzling.

> "Yeah, things *(housing)* are a lot more expensive, aren't they? I don't know whether it's because of that. I'm trying to think...I think everything's a bit ... I don't know why, actually, to be quite honest. I sit and rack my brains, I just can't … you see what I mean? Dunbar's not got that much to offer."
>
> (Mrs K, (36), council tenant with partner and three children)

Despite Mrs K's views of her town she remained very keen to stay there, because her family was close-by.

Although amenities, such as sporting facilities, shops and recreation opportunities, did not figure strongly amongst the reasons participants gave for wanting to remain, many of them nevertheless expressed views about the overall attractiveness of East Lothian as a place to live. If the word 'amenity' is used in the sense of meaning a relatively clean, aesthetically pleasing environment with low crime and social stability, then the participants generally agreed that the area had these qualities.

8.1.4 Summary

Support was the reason most frequently cited by participants for staying in the area, but many others were evident in the data. These were practical considerations, such as provision of amenities, nearness to schools and employment, relations with neighbours and so on. There were also however, deeper-seated reasons, and these connect with the concept of place attachment. They are discussed in the next section.

8.2 Place attachment as a motivation to stay

The notion that place attachment might make a contribution to research into displacement came relatively late in the fieldwork. Analysis of the interview data revealed very deep set reasons for resisting displacement. These seemed to require investigation from a different perspective than those used often in gentrification research. The literature concerning place attachment was reviewed[6] and consideration was given as to how the research data might be analysed from this more person-centred psychological standpoint.

8.2.1 The value of place attachment concepts in the East Lothian study

It has been shown in Chapter 3 (3.6.7) that there are 'predictors' of place attachment. (Lewicka, 2011) These include for example, length of residence. social capital, age and income. It seemed likely that such predictors could offer insight into the pressures leading to displacement, which were the main focus of investigation in the East Lothian study. They could assist analysis of the responses of the participant households and their reasons for resisting the idea of moving outside the local authority, or even their town or district, in order to solve their housing problems. The ways in which place attachment may have encouraged resistance to displacement were therefore considered on this territory. The predictors of place attachment should have been evident amongst its reasons for staying, if a household's attachment really was reinforcing its displacement resistance.

Place attachment can throw light on migratory impulses. It examines the bonds between households and the places that attract them. It seeks explanations that are not simply practical, like the need for family networks, or good amenities. Psychologists centre their research on the person, looking for individual responses to a wide range of variables. For example, they are interested in the ways in which people bond with places and the trauma they may suffer when they are forced to leave (Galster 2001, Fried, 1963). Migration has multiple motivations however, and households consider leaving an area for reasons other than housing stress. These include seeking work

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[6] See Chapter 3, (3.6.3) for the literature review

elsewhere or moving for family or personal reasons. Households may have found that the area they live in no longer meets their needs. Their freedom of choice however, may be constrained by their circumstances. Displacement is usually seen as an involuntary migration caused by housing stress.

Analysis of the data gathered for this study suggested that the role of place attachment, in constraining migratory displacement, needed to be analysed. This was not in order to show how the behaviour of these households could add to the development of place attachment theory; rather it was to demonstrate what light place attachment concepts and research findings could throw on gentrification theory.

Questions that have relevance to the present study, were derived from the 'predictors' of place attachment described above:

- What 'level' of place do households attach to? Is it their neighbourhood, their town or the local authority area? Does the size of the place attached to, matter?
- Does attachment increase with length of residence, including perhaps 'ancestral' connections going back many generations?
- Are younger or older people most likely to be attached?
- What part does income play - are people more attached, the wealthier they are?
- Is it the physical environment that people attach to, or is it the social relationships within the place?
- What do households fear will be lost if they leave the place to which they are attached - what are the psychological consequences of migration/displacement?
- Is attachment greater in rural, or semi rural areas?

Examples from the participants' responses, given below, indicate that psychological factors did influence decisions to stay, and suggest that further and more comprehensive place attachment research would be fruitful in gentrification studies in East Lothian and elsewhere. These examples strongly suggest the influence of particular place attachment predictors.

i) The geographical level

First of all, there is the question of the level of 'place' to which participants attached. This issue has been extensively debated. Tuan has suggested that places acquire more meaning if they are clearly defined. (Tuan, 1975) Attachment can be to the neighbourhood, the town, the city, the surrounding region or the country. There is an extensive debate about what is meant by a neighbourhood (Kusenbach, 2008, Galster, 2001) and the term is used inconsistently between studies, even though as Lewicka points out, "approximately 75% of all work that deals with residential place attachment concerns attachment to a neighbourhood." (Lewicka 2011 p.212) Tuan argues though, that all human identification with these various scales of places is similar, because similar psychological processes are at work. (Tuan, 1975)

It was important to understand what being displaced meant, for the study households. It could have been a matter of a move a few streets away, to another town, or outside of East Lothian, entirely. It is likely that the households' perception of displacement would be linked to that of place attachment. They would feel most displaced from the place level that they felt most attached to. The typical attachment level noted amongst this study's participants was to towns, rather than to neighbourhoods, and of course there are no cities in East Lothian. Attachment could be very strong indeed. Mr I was a council tenant living in fear of his neighbours in Prestonpans, on the north coast. Whatever problems he faced by staying there, Prestonpans was his home:

> "Ah've been all over the shop and I never felt at home until I came home, had a bag of chips, from Johnny's went to the Goth and had a pint and stood on the beach and smelled the salt and that's when I knew I was home."

Attachment seems to be connected with an intense localism, a need for some participants to be with their 'own' people. Scannell and Gifford (2010) suggest that group attachment is, "comprised of the symbolic meanings of a place that are shared amongst members." (p.2)

The geographical level of attachment evident in this research data may seem to conflict with the migratory movements and preferences apparent in the large SESplan Housing Market Area, of which East Lothian is a part. This Scottish government-derived HMA

encompasses Edinburgh, East Lothian, parts of Fife, Midlothian, Scottish Borders and West Lothian.[7] It might be asked whether the study households' settlement-based geographical attachment preferences are meaningful, given the migratory flows identified by SESplan, which show that households may move large distances within the HMA. There are significant differences however, between what is being measured in this research, and the SESplan market area analysis. First of all what is shown here are the preferences of households who (in the main) wish to stay, not move. Secondly, the migratory movements that determine HMAs do not measure where households want to be, they measure where they have gone to. Moreover they only measure movements *that have been made*, not the constraints that prevent people from moving. Finally, HMAs are themselves composed of sub-market areas, where migration takes place over a much smaller distance. Consequently, analysis of the migratory patterns within the HMA can tell us relatively little about the attachment of specific households to particular places. It shows what some households in the HMA have done, rather than either revealing the preferences of households that didn't move, or demonstrating the alternative choices the households that did move could have made.

ii) Roots

Length of connection with the area has been considered a strong predictor of attachment. There are differing ways of looking at this factor. One, noted in many quantitative surveys, is that the longer the stay in an area the stronger the attachment. Whilst it was not possible to confirm this from the data evidence in the East Lothian study, an intense association with particular places was not confined to participants who had lived in East Lothian all their lives. Mr W, who had moved in to the authority area to find work and originally hailed from Fife, expressed loyalty to Haddington where he now lived, in these terms.

> "No disrespect to any places around, but personally I don't want to live in Prestonpans. I don't want to live in Tranent. I don't want to live in Musselburgh. I wanted to be in Haddington and that's where I live."
> (Mr W, (48), marginal owner occupier commuting to Musselburgh from Haddington)

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[7] HMAs are discussed in Chapter 2 (2.2.1)

Another way of looking at the time factor in place attachment, is through degrees of 'insidedness' acquired not just by long personal residence but generational association. Hay (1998) in a study of place attachment on the Banks Peninsula near Christchurch in New Zealand noted five types of attachment, superficial, partial, personal, ancestral and cultural. Superficial attachment was held by day trippers whilst cultural attachment was present in the Maori tribes-people whose ancestors had settled the region thousands of years ago. The tribes that settled East Lothian thousands of years ago have moved on or been assimilated. However, amongst the population there are people whose ancestral connections may go back many, even hundreds of years. Mr I's family, for instance had been established, "for generations all the way down. My granddad used to own a lot of land in the Pans." [8]

Retired miner Mr U considered that there was friction between some long-established families and newer arrivals. He described what he saw as the resentment of these deeply indigenous residents, to incomers. "I've been in Community Council meetings where people's sat and said, "I've been in Port Seton for 40 years, I have more right to speak than you." (Mr U, (64), council tenant)

Council officer, Mr L, had family connections in East Lothian stretching back generations and had often heard a desire to stay near to home expressed. "If you look back to school days, I'd say the vast majority of people stay around." Mr L had chosen to return to East Lothian, despite having lived and worked elsewhere.

> "My father's from Haddington and ...I have moved away to work on odd occasions but I do see East Lothian as home, you know. I'm committed to East Lothian as well." (Mr L, (50), single parent in rural private let)

iii) Age and income

The East Lothian study did not produce sufficient data to confirm or reject the contention, common in place attachment research, that young people are less likely to feel place attachment than older people. However the younger people in this survey did show a sense of belonging.

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[8] Prestonpans

Likewise surveys of income and status, which have shown that wealthier people feel more attached, were untestable with this data set because no wealthy people were present in it.

An indication that the young and poor can feel strong attachment however, came from single parent Mrs C, who was staying in a concealed household with her parents. When asked whether she could move away to solve her housing problems, she was clear that she could. "If ...there wasn't a choice I would happily go anywhere." On further questioning however, it turned out that she didn't really mean, *anywhere*.

> "It wouldn't bother me to move anywhere as long as it's not too far from my home... I know everything is here and I know where to go for people and things like that ...it's like going to a new school or something ..I'm too shy for that..."

Another of the younger participants, council Community Warden, Mr O. had strongly bonded with his area, but in his case the physical aspects were as important to him as connections with his family and birth-town. His favoured village was one where there was significant evidence of gentrification, East Linton.

> "I'd love to ... buy a house in East Linton ... I know this is terrible, I looked at Tranent and Prestonpans and you don't really get a place of this quality."
> (Mr O (24) living with partner and friend in a private let)

iv) Physical or social connections?

When assessing why some places engender more place attachment than others, a distinction is often drawn between the 'physical' characteristics of an area and its 'social' characteristics. (Burley, 2007) So, one place may be physically appealing but have no sense of community, whilst another may be ugly or characterless, yet have a vibrant community. (Pretty et. al, 2003)) As well, places vary in their level of amenity, which can influence attachment (ibid).

If the physical quality of the local environment was important to Mr O, it was less so for Mrs F, living in a private let in Musselburgh that she found unaffordable. Her social connections were more important to her than the attributes of the place. She considered Musselburgh wasn't the best of towns; yet it was the best for her. She wanted to stay

despite drug dealing, even heroin addicts on her tenement stair, and fighting in the street outside her window. "...young kids, teenagers all hours, day and night, screaming, shouting, fighting, throwing thing around the car park, but you just get used to it."

v) Social capital

Social capital is a concept used in place attachment research that shares with the idea of social support, the notion that family and friends are important. In contrast to the idea of support needs as practical assistance however, for instance with elderly relatives or young children, social capital is a more emotional concept that concerns itself with the feeling of well-being and belonging that close neighbourhood relations can bring. These are sometimes referred to as 'social-emotional goods.' (Cordes, et al., 2003)

Social capital does not include the sort of family networks described by Lyons (1996). It is more evident in views like those expressed by retired university researcher, Mr B. He was amongst those who considered it an important factor in his decision to stay, "...my roots are here. I've got friends, contacts, activities"

For many households their feeling of well-being was bound up with staying in their area. There was a sense from all of the participants that East Lothian, and where they lived in East Lothian, was somehow special. Mr N, for example, despite his youth (he was 21) had travelled widely for his work as a chef.

> "I've been to Aberdeen, I've been to Kirkcaldy. I always come back. I always feel so much better. I cross that bridge, I see the Edinburgh sign and I come into East Lothian and I feel back at hame."

vi) Rurality

Consideration was given to the influence of the semi-rural nature of East Lothian on place attachment. This study did not set out to analyse how rural gentrification differs from the urban variety (although the type of gentrification taking place in East Lothian had to be established, to show that it had occurred.) On first sight, there did not seem to be much evidence in the data to show that rurality had caused displacement resistance. Participants barely mentioned rurality as a reason to stay in East Lothian. In addition,

East Lothian is a semi-rural, mixed authority, and it is close to urban areas[9]. It contains the large conurbation of Musselburgh (pop. 30,000) and borders on Edinburgh, to which it has close transport links. It is not a remote rural area, like parts of the Scottish Highlands, for example.

Rurality was a factor in the displacement resistance of households nonetheless, since some of the predictors of place attachment evident in the participants' responses were derived from their semi-rural location. One predictor, for instance, was the kind of amenities that are only present in a rural setting (Fried, 1982). No-one in East Lothian is more than a few miles from open countryside, which is relatively pollution-free. Country pursuits are commonplace, from horse-riding to hill-walking. Bordering on the open countryside are beaches for swimming and surfing and in the small coastal towns there are harbours for sailing boats. As the gym coach Mr V put it: "I can walk two minutes into the countryside... not constantly breathing car fumes and things."

Other predictors that may have associations with rurality were present. Social capital can be enhanced it, since in rural and semi-rural areas there is a high level of interaction with neighbours and other residents. The local culture does not encourage the relative anonymity of inner city life. The small-scale of East Lothian's country villages and towns allowed their social profile to be better known. This mattered to prison transfer officer Mr P who needed to be able to avoid his criminal clients. On the one hand he felt that Musselburgh was a safer place to live than the city; on the other he was concerned about living in an unknown area of the town, which might not be safe for him. City dwellers are unlikely to be able to know an area so well, before choosing whether or not to live in it.

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[9] Described here as semi-rural, because the area is neither entirely urban nor completely rural, but has characteristics of both. The Scottish government classifies urban and rural areas into types, reflecting their population density, economic usage and access to amenities. One of the government's classifications is 'Accessible rural', which it defines as, "Areas with a population of less than 3,000 people, and within a 30 minute drive time of a settlement of 10,000 or more." It also has a classification for, 'Accessible towns,' which are: "Settlements of between 3,000 and 10,000 people and within 30 minutes drive of a settlement of 10,000 or more." East Lothian does not fit neatly into these categories as a whole, but the east of the local authority could be seen as 'Accessible Rural,' whereas central parts of the county fit the, 'Accessible small towns' profile better. The western part of the county, the area that includes Musselburgh and its hinterland settlements, would be an, 'Other urban area' according to this classification, defined as, "Settlements of 10,000 to 125,000 people." (Scottish government, 2010) Although only the east of East Lothian is entirely 'rural' by these definitions, villages set amidst farming and are scattered across most of the authority area, even close to the urban centre of Musselburgh.

To these place attachment predictors could be added a sense of social stability, given the strongly defined character and long history of many settlements. It was observed elsewhere in the study however, that whilst this was one of the most valued reasons for attachment, participants also feared it was vulnerable to social change.

The predictors of place attachment offer clues therefore, as to why people living in rural or semi-rural areas may be more resistant to displacement than their urban counterparts. Some caution is necessary in drawing these conclusions, because this was not a comparative study. It cannot be known for certain that some of the predictors of place attachment noted in East Lothian would not apply as well, in a more urban setting. Furthermore, these predictors may be connected with the particular social circumstances of East Lothian, rather than the semi-rurality of the area. It is conceivable nevertheless, that certain predictors of place attachment may apply more strongly in rural or semi-rural areas than they would in an urban one. Further research, comparing place attachment in an urban area with that in East Lothian, or indeed in a less heterogeneous, remote rural part of the UK, would be necessary to show the extent to which rural and urban communities differ, in the ways place attachment differs and how that may influence displacement.

8.2.2 Summary of the place attachment evidence - conclusions and some caveats

From this sample of responses, it appears that place attachment has been a significant factor in the decisions to stay near to their local areas, made by many of the East Lothian study participants. A range of place attachment concepts can assist understanding of why these households were reluctant to be leave. Social capital is one but there are others, such as the degree of 'insidedness' felt by these households (Relph 1976), or the importance of their sense of community and personal identity (Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003) Analysis of the impact of the development of the sense of self through identification with place would be useful in future studies that specifically set out to examine place attachment and displacement. This is a subject on which social and environmental psychologists have more to contribute perhaps, than sociologists or geographers. McCreanor et al. (2006) for instance, show why identity is central to place attachment, in a study of belonging in a New Zealand town, "The meanings attributed to

a place may be sufficiently powerful that they become central to people's individual identity" (p.198) Although the focus in the East Lothian study was on understanding the process as well as the person, it is clear that the development and maintenance of personal identity is a central factor in building up place attachment.

It cannot be assumed however, that strong place attachment always results in resistance to displacement. Some households may be attached to an area, yet not reluctant to leave it. Others may resist displacement for purely financial reasons, which are not to do with their attachment for the area - they may even dislike it. Nevertheless place attachment was a reason given by many of the participants in the East Lothian study for their determination to stay in their area.

It is necessary to offer two further, related, caveats. First, the idea that place attachment might be a means of understanding displacement resistance was not considered at the outset of the research project, nor during its design phase. It emerged as a theme early in the analysis of the responses of the participants. At that stage the literature surrounding place attachment had not been fully explored. Once it appeared that place attachment could help to explain the behaviour of the households in this study, the analysis of the research data was enriched by its concepts. The second caveat is that because place attachment was not a primary investigatory aim at the outset, the participants were not asked tailored questions about it, as they would otherwise have been.

8.3 Case Studies

Closer analysis of the decision-making process of individual households can help to show how they made their choices to go or to stay, and so the decisions of five households are examined below.

These households represent a diverse range of housing circumstances and family compositions but it is not claimed that they are in some way representative of the group, as a whole. They have been chosen for closer analysis because the calculations they made illustrate aspects of the complexity of the decisions each household has to take. In each case the financial circumstances of the household are considered first and the

reasons they expressed for needing to find other accommodation are usually centred around these. Then the various factors tying them to their location are examined, including place attachment. Their views are expressed under the same headings about the principal influences on their decisions that are used above; that is to say, support networks, work and commuting, amenities and place attachment.

8.3.1 Mr P, prison transfer officer

Mr P (42) worked for a company transferring prisoners between prison and the courts. He was single and his tenure was that of a private let lodger. Since he was staying with his parents, he was aware that his position was financially advantageous, paying a rent below market rates for similar accommodation. He thought that he was earning too much to qualify for Local Housing Allowance (Housing Benefit) and wanted to move to a council house in Musselburgh where he knew that he would be able to afford the rent. Mr P had ruled out living in a private let. He said that his main considerations were as follows:

Housing Costs. He was paying about £250 a month to his parents. He was aware that a 2-bedroom council house in East Lothian would have been marginally less expensive than staying with his parents but he would have had Council Tax to pay as well. For reasons given below he didn't want to move to a (marginally more expensive) council house in West Lothian, although it would have been nearer his work. He had considered taking a 2-bedroom private let, but ruled it out because it would have cost him twice as much (or more) than he was currently paying, if it was in Musselburgh (c.£600 a month) where he wanted to stay. "I'm not going to go private rent and paying that kind of money for me to … what sort of a life am I going to have?" He had looked into owner occupation and investigated the 'Lift" shared equity scheme which covers up to 40% of the cost of the house as a loan repaid on eventual sale. He considered that it would have been still too expensive for him to buy a house, given his salary.

Support Networks. Mr P said that he wanted to be close to his brother and parents who were elderly as well as his young daughter, who lived nearby with his ex-wife. "That's the only people to me that I care about."

Work and commuting. Mr P liked his job and it was within commuting distance. He had taken the cost of commuting into account in his decision to move or stay. He knew that he could have saved the cost of travelling approximately 7,500 miles to work every year by living in Broxburn, West Lothian but he did not want to. He evaluated these potential savings against his motivations for staying, which are given below. He certainly did not want to move further away from his work. "Like for example, if I was moved to Dunbar[10] …that's more cost in fuel and stuff like that. You're cutting into your wages…"

Amenities. These didn't feature in Mr P's interview responses to any great extent. He liked where he lived for what it represented to him, rather than because it offered good facilities or felt like a nice place to stay. He made it clear that he had never lived anywhere else, so considered himself unable to make comparisons.

Place attachment. Mr P's main attachment was to the town of Musselburgh. Whilst he liked the neighbourhood he lived in well enough, he wasn't so attached to it that he would stay there in preference to elsewhere in Musselburgh. He had identified some areas locally that he did *not* want to live. He had marked these off limits because his clients stayed there, and because he felt some were rough neighbourhoods with relatively high levels of crime and antisocial behaviour. He did not want, "...to be caught in with junkies or even with some person who's been in prison ... and they know that I'm taking people in and out...it's not something you want to broadcast, you know." Moving somewhere different would, he felt, be taking a step into the unknown, something he was not comfortable with doing. Mr P was proud to have lived in Musselburgh all his life, except for his period in the army. Because of his local roots most of his friends and family were within a five mile radius of him.

Discussion. Mr P was very angry at his situation "I'm a guy of 41, 42 years old and I cannae get my girlfriends in here. I canna do anything. I'm not watching TV programmes that I want to watch ...like I'm going out when I should be sitting in the house, because the house isn't yours, you know." His reasons for living in Musselburgh were multiple, very important to him and he felt that they were interlinked. They

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[10] For instance, if he was offered a council house

included his need to maintain his contacts with friends, the 'safety' factor of living in a known social environment, and his wish to live close to his daughter. Mr P said he had discussed his options with housing officials and knew that he might be better off, if he moved to West Lothian. If he had been allocated a Council house the potential savings, added to those from reduced commuting would have been considerable. A Council house would have been an unlikely prospect however, because of his low priority for housing, under the allocation policies of West Lothian Council (West Lothian Council, 2012). A West Lothian private let however, would have been more feasible and likely to be cheaper than one in East Lothian. Again he would have saved on commuting costs. This option would have been considerably more expensive overall though, than staying at home with his parents. Aside from the cost, Mr P found the idea of private rental morally repugnant, and he had a very strong sense of his entitlement to being given local housing that he could afford. He had decided that his best option was to wait at his parents until an appropriate council house became available in an area of Musselburgh that suited him. He had been advised by an East Lothian Council Housing Officer that this could take a long time. Although angry about the delay in being offered one, this had not dissuaded him from tolerating his current circumstances. He wanted to remain in the area regardless of them. He said that if he became sufficiently better off, he would buy a house. If he became worse off, say by losing his job, he would still have waited at his parents for a suitable council house, or other social let, to become available. "...bloody hell! How hard is it to get a house? ... it's just life. I canna do nothing about that."

8.3.2 Mrs F, family of five in a private let, Musselburgh

The family of Mrs F (29) lived in a private let in central Musselburgh that she found draughty and expensive to heat. Her husband had a relatively poorly paid job in central Edinburgh (c. £18,000 p.a.), and she felt that looking after her three children took up too much of her time for her to consider taking paid employment, even part-time. She said that the extra child care necessary if she had been working would have been too expensive. Her overriding concern was that her financial situation was precarious and she was looking to cut her housing costs, preferably by a move to a Council house. She

was adamant that she did not want to leave Musselburgh, where she had been brought up.

Housing costs. Mrs F described her household's financial circumstances extensively in chapter 6 (6.2.2). To recap, she had to cope with a high rent, high utilities and food bills and an income including all benefits, which barely covered her family's basic living costs. She was spending a very high proportion of her household income on housing costs. Her principal motivation for a move was financial - she and her partner wanted either a Council house or at least a cheaper private let.

Support networks. Mrs F had close relatives in Musselburgh and she considered that these were essential to help her with child care. She had a child with support needs who had built up a good relationship with teachers at her local school, which she was reluctant to break.

Work and Commuting Mrs F's husband worked at Edinburgh's Waverley station and needed to get there for shifts starting very early in the morning. She said that for this reason, her household had to stay within the area served by the Edinburgh night bus, as they could neither afford a car, nor to take taxis. Mrs F's husband's bus fares cost the household approximately £80 a month.

Amenities. Local schools were very important for Mrs F, particularly the bond that had developed between her child with special needs, and his school. Otherwise, amenities were not mentioned.

Place Attachment. Like Mr P, Mrs F emphasised her attachment to Musselburgh as a whole, rather than any particular area in the town, "...since I was 9 we've always lived in Musselburgh." She had family in the town representing several generations. The physical environment of the town was less important to her than her social capital there. She criticised the council for "wasting" money on flower beds, and was prepared to put up with drug injecting, drug dealing, fighting in the streets and noisy neighbours, rather than move away. She feared the 'unknown' in a move elsewhere, like Mr P. Because of concerns for her personal safety she had ruled out one town in particular, Prestonpans,

since a violent ex-partner lived there. She wanted to stay in her 'home' town, despite the problems she saw around her, "...it's not perfect."

Discussion. This household's need to move to solve its financial situation was great, yet the factors constraining it from moving very far were also significant. A private let in Edinburgh could be as or more expensive. Unless his house was within walking distance of Waverley station, Mr F knew that he would not save on bus fares, since there was a flat fares structure on the local buses and the commuting cost would have been similar. A move elsewhere, whether within or outside East Lothian would have made for a more expensive commute for Mr F. Housing in the private sector could have been marginally cheaper for him but he would have had to take a taxi or buy a car. "How would he get to work from Haddington to Waverley at 4 o'clock in the morning? It just doesn't happen." (Mrs F). A significant factor for this household is that by moving away from Musselburgh, they would have lost the 'free' family support network that Mrs F relied on. Child care costs would have risen and, if their learning disabled child needed to stay in the local school she felt that there would be additional transport costs, as well. "At the moment I would need to work 40 hours a week to cover childcare costs... I think the last time we checked, it's about £500 a month childcare." These were very pragmatic reasons to stay in the area, but the practical necessity was reinforced by strong emotional attachment since Mrs F clearly identified herself with Musselburgh. Mrs F's emphasis on prioritising her local connections over housing need then, appears to have been driven in part by place attachment and in part pragmatic considerations. She was aware that there were strong emotional forces underpinning her assessment of her need to stay in Musselburgh.

8.3.3 Mr W, Council official - marginal owner occupier

Mr W (48) worked for East Lothian Council as a Community Development officer and his work was based in Musselburgh. He lived in Haddington with his wife and two children. An owner-occupier, he was struggling to pay his mortgage and his situation had recently deteriorated because his wife had stopped working full-time. Mr W was determined to stay in Haddington. He wanted a Council house but would have settled for a private let, provided that it was less expensive than his mortgage.

Housing costs. This household considered it had very serious affordability problems, "I'm getting to the stage now where the majority of our earnings go on living." (Mr W).[11] Mr W and his wife knew that they could have saved some money (and achieved their aspirations for more living space) by going into a private let, but they were also aware that the savings would have been small and they considered that option was to be sought only in desperation. Mr W was on the Council's housing list but resented that according to the Council's allocation policies he and his family would not be assessed as in high housing need, so their likelihood of getting a Council house would be low. Mr W said that he and his wife had rejected the option of buying a cheaper house in a less popular area, which could have reduced the household's housing costs, partly because he believed that a significant saving could not be made and partly because of the family's attachment to Haddington (see below).

Support Network. Mr W was an incomer who had lived in Haddington for about seven years and did not have a network of family to fall back on, for child care, etc. However he felt it was important that his children had continuity in their education, which had begun in Haddington.

Work and Commuting. Mr W realised that he could have saved money by moving to Musselburgh, rather than commuting from Haddington. His wife's temporary job was in Haddington however, so overall such a move would not have offered a significant saving. The family had also considered moving to cheaper parts of the local authority but Mr W realised that would create problems, as much as solve them.

Amenities. Mr W considered Haddington was a nice place to live, so it appeared that amenity was a significant factor for the household, at least in a general sense. He did not specify any particular benefits, but he liked the look and atmosphere of Haddington, and considered that it was a good place to bring up a family. The quality of the local schools and the fact that his children were well settled in them, was important to Mr W, as well.

Place attachment. Like the participants in the previous case studies, Mr W's loyalties were strongly to his town - Haddington. Even though he worked in Musselburgh he felt

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[11] See Ch. 6, 6.2.2(c) for a discussion of affordability in East Lothian

he "belonged" in Haddington. He would have had no hesitation moving within Haddington, provided that it was to a 'good' area, but he would not contemplate moving out of the town altogether. This was despite the fact that he and his (English) wife were relatively new to the area. Neither had any connections whatsoever with East Lothian or Haddington, beyond their seven year stay. They were strongly attracted by the physical environment of East Lothian, but they had also managed to create social capital by making a network of friends during their stay, "...we enjoy staying in Haddington."

Discussion. Even though there were no family support advantages to be lost by leaving East Lothian, or other such ties, Mr W considered that he faced barriers to moving, and/or changing tenure to solve his household's problems. Rent on a private let in Haddington would have been almost as expensive as his mortgage. He knew that he could have saved commuting costs by moving to Musselburgh, but his wife would have had to find a job there. A move outside East Lothian altogether would have been much more difficult. Either Mr W would have had to find a let cheap enough to cover both sets of commuting costs, or he and his wife would each have had to obtain work in the new location. More housing made available to buy, or rent more cheaply would solve his problems, he felt, and he considered that the authorities had a duty to provide this. He had not looked for cheaper owner occupation, because that would have meant moving away from the good areas and probably from Haddington, as well. The financial problems faced by his household he believed, would be best solved by a change of tenure, to socially rented housing. Whilst that wasn't a realistic prospect at the time of interview he intended to continue his housing application with the Council, in hope. Although he liked being an owner-occupier, because he would be able to pass on his investment in his house to his children, he viewed that as being an unsustainable tenure for his household for the foreseeable future. In order of preference then, he wanted primarily to be a private owner, but felt he might not be able to afford to continue in that tenure. His second choice was to move into a house at a 'social' rent rather than a private let, but he felt that, realistically, the latter might be the only available option for his household, in the state of the East Lothian housing market. He needed to get somewhere bigger for slightly less money, "...something for the boys, a study, somewhere for them to go and study, do their homework or their exams, you know, there's just nowhere within the house." When considering moving away, he offered

some practical reasons to stay in Haddington, such as his wife's work, but these were balanced by his own work being in Musselburgh. He did not want to leave East Lothian because both he and his wife would have faced extra commuting. As well, his children's schooling was important; he considered the local Knox Academy to have a good reputation. Place attachment was certainly a factor, too. He was reluctant to move from Haddington to cheaper owner-occupation. How strong his attachment would have stayed, had there been job opportunities for his wife and himself somewhere else with cheaper housing is of course unknowable.

8.3.4 Mrs E, Owner occupier, in work with disabled daughter

Mrs E (41) worked part-time in the financial services sector and owned a house in Dunbar on which she still had a small mortgage. She said her financial position was precarious because she could not work full-time, having to care for her disabled daughter. In addition her daughter's needs were growing more complex and she was looking for a house more suitable for the kind of disabled adaptations that her child was going to require in the future. Her household's situation illustrates the additional complexities introduced into decisions to go or stay, by having a disabled family member to support.

Housing costs. Like the other owner occupiers in this study, Mrs E was a marginal owner. She said she was able to keep up her mortgage payments only because it had been taken out ten years earlier and was relatively small[12] compared to the value of her house (c. £150,000). The disability grants and payments available because of her daughter's disabilities helped her household finances, as well. She considered that she did not have enough equity in the property however, to buy a suitably sized, adaptable house to move to. "I looked at property in Dunbar... a 3-bedroom bungalow was what we need, it was quite small, it was a new build. It was £249,000." She thought that council housing was her only realistic option, since few private landlords allow specialist adaptations.

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[12] The exact figure was not stated

Support Network. Mrs E needed considerable help to look after her daughter, whose disabilities were severe. Her child, 'A' was unable to carry out most normal daily tasks unaided. In addition she was a large child and needed special equipment to move about the house. Mrs E relied on her family help to carry out daily tasks such helping A with washing and dressing as well as looking after her when Mrs E went to work. She thought it fortunate that the family lived close by - she would not consider moving any distance away from them. "I'd find it really difficult to look after A all the time on my own if my Mum and Dad couldn't come up to help."

Work and Commuting. Mrs E said that these were important consideration, given that she worked in Edinburgh. She had a car to get to work and could afford to run it. It was important to her, however that she remained within reasonable commuting distance of her work in Edinburgh.

Amenities. Mrs E's said her priority was that her daughter should be well provided for. She had built up a good relationship with local health professionals.

Place attachment Mrs E was one of the few respondents who showed little sign of place attachment. She neither liked nor disliked Dunbar, and in other circumstances would have been prepared to move. "If the situation was different with A, I would probably still be staying in Haddington. But because of the way she is, I've really got to stay in Dunbar." Despite this she felt that she had built up considerable social capital in the area, and that a move would have undermined it. She would have had to start to build those relationships again. Overall, practical reasons for staying were more important to her than any emotional or psychological attachment to the area. She prioritised her daughter's needs above her own. She made it clear that she could only move elsewhere, so long as those needs were provided for.

Discussion. Mrs E felt that her daughter's disability made it impossible to consider moving away from the area in or around Dunbar. She felt no particular emotional bond with Dunbar, other than that she had relatives and some friends nearby. A key factor was the relationship she had built up with the local authority. Although she would have been entitled to help with caring for her daughter in any local authority area, she had

developed a good relationship with East Lothian Council. In addition, if she moved elsewhere she was aware that she might have had to stay in the private rented sector first, to establish a local connection, before she could be offered council housing. She felt a privately rented property would have been very difficult to find, because of the difficulty of getting a private landlord to agree to adaptations, especially if they knew that she would be unlikely to stay for long. Other alternatives had been considered. Mrs E had investigated selling her house and moving to another private property nearby, more suitable for adaptation. Although she had some equity in her house, she thought this move within the tenure would not have been possible, because of house price inflation. The cost to purchase would have been nearly three times what she paid for her own house and an even greater proportion of the equity she had in her house. Her salary was barely higher at the time of interview, than when she bought the house she stayed in. Buying a house was not, she felt, a realistic prospect. "I couldn't manage with a bigger mortgage because I can't work full hours." Having ruled out both private sector tenures, and moving away from the area, she believed that her only viable option would be an adapted council house, nearby. Her situation seemed very clear cut to Mrs E. Without any place attachment, or emotional bond with the East Lothian, she nevertheless had to remain there for her daughter's sake and had to find the cheapest adapted housing she could. "I think I've sort of tried everything."

8.3.5 Mr O, Young council officer sharing house with friends

24-yr. old Mr O was sharing a cottage just outside the village of East Linton in eastern East Lothian, with his girlfriend and another friend. Mr O worked as a community warden with the council, which meant that he was sensitive to social and anti-social behavioural issues in the area. He considered that his principal problem was the high rent for the cottage, even sharing, which left very little money for other necessities. He was aware though, that as a young professional, he was more fortunate than some people in his age group, because he fully expected to achieve in a career. He had started his own small company, already.

Housing costs. Mr O had an income of approximately £1350 a month from East Lothian Council but despite making some extra cash from a company he had set up, and sharing

the rent payment of £700 a month (and £180 Council Tax) with his two housemates, he found he had very little income left at the end of the month. "I was told last week what the Council charges for a 2-bedroom house and we pay nearly four times that." This was a problem for him particularly because he said he was saving for the deposit to buy a house with his girlfriend. "There always seems to be something that comes up that requires that money that you've put away at the end of the month." He had looked at "about a dozen" properties to purchase, by the time of the interview. Another problem for him was that he couldn't afford to buy in East Linton, and so would have to purchase in Tranent or Prestonpans where he felt the quality of housing was poorer. "I think I'll be successful in getting somewhere eventually, but I don't think it'll tick all the boxes." He had been on the East Lothian Council housing list since he was 16 but knew he had a very low likelihood of being offered a house.

Support network. Mr O had elderly parents in East Linton village and this was one of his reasons for living nearby. Although they were not at the stage at which support would be necessary, Mr O thought that point might be reached soon. He didn't see that as a reason to stay in or near East Linton however, and had been looking at properties 20 miles away, in Prestonpans.

Work and Commuting. Mr O was already commuting to Tranent - a considerable cost as it is a 30 minute drive from East Linton. He had no immediate plans to change his workplace but had considered moving nearer to it (Prestonpans is about 2 miles from Tranent).

Amenities. The look and feel of East Lothian were very important to Mr O but he did not mention specific amenities which were important to him, except that local transport links were very good.

Place attachment. Mr O was very attached to East Lothian but especially to the eastern part of the county which is the most gentrified. He valued his social capital and he said that he had, "people here who are important to me," including his long-tern live-in girlfriend. Despite this, he was one of the participants who would have been prepared to leave, under the right circumstances. "I would move away if I knew I had a secure job

that had money coming in." Although young, he said he had lived most of his life in the area, aside from attending University in Stirling. He was earning only an amount average for the area, but was at the beginning of his career and so he was expecting that he would soon have enough money to become and remain an owner-occupier. He said that crime was rising in East Linton but he still considered East Lothian a relatively safe place to live.

Discussion. Mr O did not believe that he was well off and thought of himself as working class, "people like me... we struggle." His situation illustrates the importance of life stage when considering displacement. His situation also revealed a tension between wanting a career for himself, yet simultaneously wishing to remain near his roots. He had considered living outside East Lothian but would only leave if a suitable opportunity arose. He was trying to make a life for himself in the area and expected to have the financial resources to be able to do that, eventually. This put him in a more fortunate position than many of the older participants in this study, whose earning potential had peaked and would remain more or less stable. Providing that he achieved what he had set out to, he thought that his housing difficulties would be only temporary. He was aware however, that not all households that begin with good prospects end up in suitable accommodation. Their plans can be derailed by marital or relationship breakdown, by loss of employment or by over extending themselves. It seemed likely as well, that circumstances could change very suddenly for Mr O. His desire to stay in East Lothian might have been undermined by a job offer or some other incentive to move elsewhere. His was a situation in flux, unlike the majority of other study participants.

8.4 Summary and conclusions

It has been shown that the households participating in this study considered many factors when they decided whether to leave or stay in the area. They had to find places to live which, after considerations such as commuting costs and the value of unpaid child care were accounted for, really were less expensive. They had to balance the potential savings from living in a cheaper location, with the need to find work there or else expensively commute. They had to be able to afford alternatives to the valuable support provided by friends and family. To leave they would have had to break the

psychological bond with their 'home' town, or the county of East Lothian, which was part of their sense of their own identity.

This research raises several questions about responses to housing stress. It has been demonstrated that it is far from certain that households will leave a pressured area, simply because their present accommodation has become unaffordable, or the opportunity to find a local home better suited to their needs has been put out of their economic reach. It has been shown that the explanation for this can lie with a broader set of factors than is usually considered. Place attachment theory and practice provide an, as yet under-utilised, set of tools for examining households' motivations for resistance.

The significance of this analysis however, lies not so much in what it says about place attachment in East Lothian (a much more comprehensive and targeted survey would be required for that) but that it shows that research into displacement could be enhanced if some of the concepts used in place attachment research were incorporated into gentrification analysis. That said, the methodological and even ontological perspectives evident in much place attachment research differ from those of the present study. Amongst them is the positivist approach of environmental psychologists who assume that the correct answers to the questions they pose are knowable. This viewpoint does not sit easily alongside the critical realist approach of either the present study, or indeed the relativist perspective of much qualitative research.

There are many reasons why households calculate their options as they do. These reasons are complex and may not be resolvable at the level of 'grand theory.' The sort of calculations that they make have been shown here nonetheless, as well as the reasons why individual households may decide to stay in their area. One finding, which signposts a road to more specific research, is that even when there are clear cut pragmatic reasons to move, place attachment can override them.

A key question, worthy of further research, is how high the pressure has to rise before necessity overrides attachment for households suffering housing stress. In addition, it could be asked both whether the qualities of the location matter and how households

responses vary with cultural and political differences. In the United States it is more usual for people from workless areas to move away to find work; likewise neighbourhoods are abandoned by the poor when they become either gentrified or too dysfunctional to live in (Marcuse, 1985), as has been seen in the recent past in Detroit. The participants in the present study by contrast are clinging on to their areas, their attachment overriding moderate to severe stress. Research that compares place attachment in East Lothian with other areas would be required, to confirm either that it is an unusually strong factor in this area, or that households are inclined to stay simply because their housing problems are not yet desperate enough to make them leave.

Examination of the participants' degree and type of place attachment can provide insights into the extent to which East Lothian's hybrid urban-rurality is a factor in displacement resistance. There were no households here, as there might have been in a more remote locality, who felt that rurality was *in itself* a barrier to getting housing or pursuing a career. There were however strong feelings of attachment to the kind of area it is perceived to be, high in social capital, security and amenity. Most of East Lothian's inhabitants live in urban settlements; yet they are never very far from the countryside, or the sea.

The conclusions to this study, which follow, consider these matters further and add to the mix a factor that was examined in Chapter 7; the influence on their behaviour of the study participants' political and social expectations. Contributing to the reluctance to move, may be the perception that the authorities have a duty to act on their behalf.

This chapter meanwhile has suggested that displacement under gentrification should not be analysed in terms of economic and social forces, alone. In order to understand the complex decision-making process of households, a nuanced, and detailed and individual approach is required, using some of the insights of psychological research into place attachment.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion - new insights into displacement resistance

This research has studied the responses of a group of low income households to housing stress, in an area where gentrification has contributed to increased housing costs. It has demonstrated the problems that they faced and how they sought to tackle them, and it has shown that the majority of these households did not think that moving away - displacement - was an appropriate solution for them.

The study has identified constraints on displacement that may have been under-researched, previously. Two in particular seem to be of importance to this group of households. One of these is their expectation that government local and national should, and will, provide affordable housing. More significantly, most have an attachment to the place they live, which appears to strengthen their resistance to moving even though many are in very unsuitable housing.

This chapter consolidates the research findings and offers explanations for the households' frequent assertion that they, 'can't leave and won't leave.' It shows how the research has contributed to our understanding of households' behaviour under housing stress. In particular, their reasons for resisting displacement have been analysed and can be categorised broadly as:

- Support needs
- Insufficient income and capital
- Attitude to self-help
- Place attachment

Just as the symptoms of housing stress tend to overlap, so do the reasons for resisting displacement. They may also reinforce one another. So, a household that requires to stay in an area because to move would entail losing free child care, or support for an elderly relative, may also feel reluctant to be uprooted from the place in which it has emotional ties. It is clear as well, that whilst households' motivations for staying are on one level quite straightforward, there can be forces at work during their assessment of their options, which are less visible and yet play a role in their decision-making. Place attachment is one of these.

This chapter begins by reiterating key research findings. It then considers what these findings contribute to research into gentrification and housing stress. It suggests topics suitable for further and more detailed research, and it makes the case for more extensive use of place attachment theory when considering the forces that can cause displacement. Finally, the implications of the study's findings for public policy are outlined.

9.1 Reasons for resisting displacement

The study has identified a range of reasons for displacement resistance. These are outlined below, but it is important to recognise that they are not all present to the same degree in each individual household. In fact, every household had a different combination of these resistance factors and they varied in strength, as well. Family network support for instance might be very important for a household that had little place attachment to the area. The relative strengths and weaknesses of these factors for each household have been considered extensively in Chapter 8; here however, they are summarised.

These reasons for resistance have to be set against the backdrop of all the other factors determining housing demand. Households do not simply consider their housing needs in terms of cost pressures. Their circumstances alter because of life stage - leaving for college, having a family, empty nests - and these need to be taken into account. Circumstances can alter for other reasons as well; a birth or death in the family, loss of a job or a promotion and many other developments.

That said, all these factors are connected with the main theme of this study by one strong thread. Whatever the household's needs, it had to have the money - income or capital - to meet them. Where it did not, it faced housing problems and had to consider how to resolve them.

9.1.1 Support needs

Two-thirds of the participants (twenty-one out of thirty-two) had support needs, which were met by relatives or friends. They would have had to pay for this support, had they moved too far from their informal networks. In the main, assistance came from close

family such as parents, for younger participants or their grown-up children, for the older ones. This support, costed in time, could add up to a substantial amount. For instance, at a conservative estimate, these households would have paid more than £200 a month, for ten hours a week of child care, at the minimum wage prevailing in 2009, of £5.80 an hour. Such an amount is considerably more than they could have expected to save, monthly, by moving to the cheapest private let available, either within the study area or its surrounding local authorities. As well, kinship support was worth more to them than its monetary value. It helped households to feel confident that they had someone nearby that they could rely on to meet their needs, whether those involved caring for young or old. This had emotional benefits.

9.1.2 Insufficient income and lack of capital

It is sometimes said (Freeman and Branconi, 2002) that lower income households in an area of rising prices are unaffected, so long as they remain in their existing homes. This may be true for home owners, especially if the house is owned outright, with no mortgage, but for tenants the situation is more complex. Private tenants can face rising rents and indeed gentrification theory predicts that this leads to them being squeezed out. (Smith, 1979) Social tenants, whose rents tend not to reflect prices in the open market directly, may be less affected, but public subsidy creates disparities between the cost of private and social rented housing. In East Lothian the gap had widened to the extent that private lets could be up to three times more expensive than their social equivalents (see Ch. 2, 2.4.3).

It may be that the wider availability of social housing in the UK than in many parts of the world, mitigates the displacement pressures described by Smith in his 'rent gap' theory. As has been shown in Ch 2 however, there is insufficient housing in that tenure to meet demand in East Lothian and some households in this survey were obliged to take private lets, even though they struggled to afford them. These households were often renting at or beyond the limit of their financial capacity.

The majority of households in this study, even those that could afford their present accommodation, faced a further financial barrier to meeting their housing needs, even if they could afford their present housing. If it wasn't suitable for them, it was becoming

increasingly difficult to move to more appropriate accommodation as costs rose in the private rental market.

It has been demonstrated nevertheless (Ch. 2, 2.4.4) that many households could have found cheaper housing in neighbouring authorities, and even on occasion within East Lothian itself. The many reasons why moving away from their locality might be unattractive to these households have been discussed extensively in Chapter 8, but to focus on the financial incentives, it appears that even for the most pressured households the gains from leaving their area were not large enough and might have taken time to accrue.

There is also the issue of transaction costs. In order to make the leap to another tenancy, especially in the private sector, substantial sums needed to be paid. These were difficult to find for households on low incomes. A deposit of one (sometimes more) month's rent plus a month's rent paid in advance could amount to more than £1000, and many of these households neither had sufficient savings, nor would have been able to borrow enough, to pay this sum. A 'rent deposit scheme' is run by East Lothian Council to help overcome this hurdle, but is generally restricted to households where the local authority's duty to prevent homelessness is paramount (East Lothian Council, 2012).

In the private purchase market, transaction costs were even higher. Households with some 'equity' in their previous home however, could theoretically use that to pay some or all of them. None of the owner occupiers in this study were in that fortunate financial position. In addition they faced having to take out a much bigger mortgage, since even houses of equivalent size to their present accommodation were much more expensive at the time of the fieldwork, than when they had bought their current home. This made them likely to seek to rent, rather than purchase another house.

In summary then, whilst it was the case that some households could have either benefited financially from a move, or have afforded accommodation somewhere else better suited to their needs, the financial incentive was not large. The households had to weigh these benefits in the balance with the disincentives to migration.

9.1.3 Attitude to self-help

An attitude emerged from analysis of the research interviews, in which the participants expected that the 'authorities' should or even must 'do something' to help them with their problems. The concept of 'welfare dependency' has been extensively studied and the attitude of these households could be explored further from the perspective of that idea, although it falls outside the scope of the current study.

Some more limited observations can be made. Whether an indication of 'dependency' or not, there can be little doubt that the notion that local and central government should sort out housing problems is a result of the general tenor of political discourse about housing in the UK and in Scotland in particular. Housing issues are on the political agenda, and have a moderately high profile. There are differences between the political parties of course, in terms of what kind of housing they want, for whom, and even where they want it. Politicians on the left usually seek more social housing at affordable levels and consider the main problem to be lack of supply. On the right politicians are more likely to favour home ownership and helping people onto the so-called 'housing ladder.' The participants here sympathised with the first kind of intervention; unsurprisingly since more housing at lower cost would be likely to help resolve some or all of their housing stress.

This study takes no position on the ideological question of the extent to which households have a right to housing. It is possible however, that one consequence of contemporary political discourse is to reduce the level of responsibility felt by the participants towards solving their own problems. This is because they expect the authorities to act. The main complaint participants made about affordable housing in this study was not that house-builders were making excessive profits (although that was mentioned), but rather that the local council had been slow to react to the problem by building social housing. Importantly, all the participants believed and expected that, 'something would be done.' The present market situation in East Lothian was seen as unsustainable in the long term. Although no participant said as much, it would not be unreasonable to interpret this as a disincentive for them to act quickly to solve their housing stress. Why go to the expense and bother, if someone else will shortly be providing a solution?

9.1.4 Place attachment

There was evidence of very strong place attachment amongst many of the participants in this study. Whilst the project did not, initially, set out to look for place attachment, and the questions that were asked of participants were not formally structured to find evidence of it, nevertheless much data was gathered that gives credence to the idea that place attachment is a significant disincentive to displacement.

Concepts used in place attachment research, such as the building up of social capital, help to explain for example, why the principal locus of attachment in East Lothian is at the level of towns. Historically, these have been places with strong identities in East Lothian, reinforced by civic events such as gala days or common ridings. Towns have defined themselves in opposition to each other and this seems to have imbued their inhabitants with a spirit of localism. Consequently, although this is a study of the behaviour of a set of households within the administrative boundary of East Lothian Council, it has not restricted itself to considering whether households would leave the Council area, but has asked as well if they would leave the area of their main attachment, whether a village, a town or a neighbourhood.

Many indicators of place attachment were evident amongst the participants, or implied by the manner in which they discussed their problems and calculated their housing options. Mrs F for example, living in private let in Musselburgh that was too expensive for her, wished to remain in that town even though she knew it had social problems. She had social capital in her friends and relatives around her and her attachment was strong enough to outweigh the negative feelings generated by drug addicts on her tenement 'stair' and her noisy neighbours. Single mother, Mrs C, could not contemplate moving far from her parents, not only for the practical support they provided but also because of her emotional bond with the place she lived. Mr I, from Prestonpans had a physical attachment to the town. He knew he was home once he had smelt the sea air and the fragrance of his local fish and chip shop.

Some aspects of place attachment that have figured strongly in other areas were less evident in East Lothian. This study did not include any of the older, wealthier people who

emerge from place attachment studies as most powerfully attached. Younger participants in this survey however, who all felt strongly attached, came from families that had lived in East Lothian for generations. Long-term family connections have been shown by Hay (1998) to be a significant factor in inducing powerful place attachment. Whilst there are clearly many motivations for households to resist displacement, in the East Lothian context it seems that place attachment concepts can help to explain certain psychological and sociological reasons for the participants' desire to remain.

9.2 The contribution to gentrification research

This research has centred around the concept of displacement. Instead of analysing who moves and who stays by looking at the statistics, it has focussed on the behaviour of households in housing stress, asked whether they have considered leaving and discovered why they have not done so. This has allowed the motivations of the households to shine through. The means by which they make their decisions have been shown to be complex, and more subtle that was assumed in the Ruth Glass's original exposition of gentrification theory. This study provides evidence that supports some of the theories current in the gentrification debate and it challenges others. It sheds new light on areas that have been clouded by ambiguity and uncertainty.

To take the research that it adds weight to, first of all. The study backs Lyons's work concerning those most likely to displaced, by showing that family support networks *do* matter and are a significant motivation for displacement resistance. It supports, further, her proposition that the income groups least able to resist displacement are often not the poorest. A poor household living in relatively cheap social housing is better able to hang on in an area of rising housing costs, because it is insulated from them to a degree. In the UK at least, the same may be true of private tenants, provided that they are on welfare benefits and their rents do not rise too far above Local Housing Allowance rates. The price that households on benefits may pay for this, especially private tenants with their higher rents, is that movement in and out of work creates insecurity, because housing becomes less affordable for some when work is found. The households that face the most housing cost pressure are likely to be those in which income is low, subsidised housing is unavailable and benefits are either unavailable to them, or sporadic.

A further financial finding is that a household's problems are not necessarily centred on the current affordability of its home. It may be managing its bills very well, but face issues concerning location, size, antisocial behaviour and a range of other matters which make its housing unsustainable. These issues would be solved if the household was able to move to more suitable accommodation. In a situation where affordable housing is scare, it may not have enough money to be able to do so.

The study analysis confirms the views of those researchers (Freeman and Branconi, 2002, Butler, 2003) who have asserted that rich and poor households continue to live alongside each other, even though poorer indigenous households may feel uncomfortable about the changes that gentrification can bring. As Butler observes however, they lead different lives sealed from the other classes in the locality. The minor level of discomfort that they tolerate is not sufficient, in itself, to make them want to leave the area but that does not mean that they are content with the consequences of gentrification.

These findings challenge the free market thinkers who believe that, 'a rising tide lifts all boats' (Duany, 2001). In Chapter 4 it was asked whether households stay because they appreciate being able to drop into the smart local cafe for a latte, or because they depend on the family networks mentioned above. There is no evidence amongst this group of households that they stay because of improved amenities. It us true that they appreciate that East Lothian has many advantages, not least for those interested in country pursuits. However amenity is placed low on the list of reasons to stay given by the households participating in this research project. The ideas of Duany, and Freeman and Branconi in particular do not seem to apply. This may be because gentrification is rural, and patchy; however upmarket hotels, restaurants, sports facilities and exclusive golf courses hold little or no appeal for poorer local people.

The same group of free market theorists also questioned whether households *have* to go and superficially their analysis appears to have some merit. After all, very few of these households wanted to go. Closer scrutiny however, shows that whilst they did not want to leave, neither did they solve their problems by remaining. Arguably some of them should have gone, though the financial advantages of doing so were not always clear cut. The problem with the Freeman/Duany thesis is that it implies that staying is a sustainable

option. This research shows that this is not the case and many households were putting themselves at risk of homelessness and/or debt by remaining where they were, whilst others with serious housing problems would never have resolved them without moving.

This raises the key question of why households under such pressure decided to remain. This research found two answers that have not previously been given prominence in the literature. Both of these open doors on new reasons for displacement resistance although as well both require further, comparative, research. The first finding is that it appears that some households in this area expect the authorities to tackle their housing problems for them and there is an underpinning assumption that the authorities are obliged to improve local housing.

More importantly, it appears that all the inconveniences and dangers of staying in the area, in substandard or unsuitable housing, are less important to some households than their emotional attachment to the place in which they live. This is a significant discovery, because it helps to explain why, amongst a group of sometimes highly stressed households, so few saw migration as the answer. It may be argued that their situation was not as extreme as in some gentrification scenarios, such as the changes in some inner London boroughs in the 1960s or 70s. It is true as well, that these households were resisting displacement by definition, since they had not left the area at the point of recruitment to the study. Nevertheless, many could have left and would have benefitted financially, or by finding more suitable housing, yet they preferred not to.

Although these households remained, they were not always happy with how the locale they attached to was changing. They saw very little value to them in the changes and much to dislike, especially the rising housing costs and social transformation that were turning their towns and villages into dormitories full of incomers and undermining established communities. Moreover, their feelings ran deep. They were fundamental to the participants' senses of identity and well-being. This group of East Lothian households was more concerned about the impact of incomers than the indigenous locals surveyed in Doucet's study of Leith (2009). They felt themselves carried on the winds of a social change not of their making, that was causing housing costs to rise to the point at which

their own future in the East Lothian and - equally importantly - that of their children, was being threatened.

In summary, displacement theory has been debated between those who think that lower-income families are forced out of areas in which they have built their lives and those that think either that this does not happen, or if it does it is of marginal significance. This study shows that households may resist displacement for a wider range of reasons than previously suspected, but that they are likely to suffer poor quality, unsustainable housing, as a result.

9.3 Ideas for further study

Three avenues for further research have emerged from this project. First, it has been demonstrated that place attachment concepts have much to offer research into gentrification. Whilst there can be methodological differences between the positivist ontology of many place attachment researchers and the often relativist, sociological approach taken in urban studies, a range of place attachment concepts could be applied in gentrification research, to broaden understanding of why displacement does or does not happen.[1] Social capital is one of these but there are others, such as the degree of 'insidedness' felt by these households (Relph 1976), or the importance of their sense of community and personal identity (Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003). Clearly, this suits a research approach that centres on understanding the preferences of individual households, rather than one that deals with displacement as an aggregate phenomenon. These concepts would be especially useful in studies which focus on the inner motivations of households pressured through housing stress. The concepts of place attachment could be fruitfully used in migration and counter-urbanisation research as well, and indeed some place attachment researchers do concern themselves with migration issues.

A second area would be to study how households' attitudes and choices are influenced by their political and social views about the kind of solutions that should be pursued by the authorities for resolving housing stress. Again, this research would need to focus on the

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[1] Place attachment, as Lewicka (2011) has stated, is in any case carried out by researchers who take a very wide variety of approaches, quantative or qualitative, positivist or relativist.

choices made by individual households and consider the ways in which they weigh up their options. It could show whether, and to what extent, they remain passive observers of their own housing situation, because they expect an external force to act on it, for them. This research would link with, and help to inform, debates about welfare dependency.

Finally, it has to be acknowledged that this research has not made comparisons with other geographical areas, even though it has compared the differing reactions to their housing stresses of its thirty-two participants. It has identified gentrification-led stress phenomena therefore, within the boundaries and context of a single group of households, in a single Scottish local authority.

The specific circumstances of East Lothian, economic political and social, have provided the background to and suggested the motivations of, the behaviours of the participants. One of the displacement resistance motivators is place attachment. It is however, place attachment *to this area*. It is not possible to say whether the responses of East Lothian households are typical of those in all areas which share similar characteristics. The semi-rural nature of the area should be taken into account, for example. It would be useful to contrast the strength of place attachment in East Lothian with that in more remote rural, or urban, areas. Further research that considers place attachment as a constraint on displacement in other areas of Scotland and the UK, would confirm whether or not this factor should be taken account of, in future gentrification studies.

9.4 The contribution to public policy

This research has complemented the large body of quantitative housing need research in East Lothian and the south east of Scotland. It has focussed on understanding the felt need of households, rather than calculating their normative need. Understanding how individual households respond to housing stress will help policy makers to appreciate the motivations underpinning their behaviour. This is important for planning the provision of homelessness services, for example. If households are likely to stay in the area, even at the expense of increasing their housing insecurity, this suggests that more may fail to sustain their housing and end up seeking help from the local authority. In addition, the expectation described above that the council and government have a duty to solve these problems has

implications for local politicians. They must either rise to meet this expectation or find ways to reduce it.

The findings have significance too for public policy makers when they consider whether gentrification has a positive or negative influence. The dichotomy between the notion of gentrification as an unmitigated evil and as a benign regeneration tool is surely a false one. In reality it is neither of these, though it certainly has mixed consequences. The evidence from this research project is that it exacerbates housing stress felt by lower income households under certain circumstances, even if some of them do not leave. In particular, it affects those who are yet to find any housing in an area in which prices are rising rapidly, as well as households that need to find more suitable alternative accommodation, and those hit directly by rising rents or other housing costs. If these households will not or cannot leave, the inevitable consequence for them is living in housing which does not meet their felt need. Whilst a calculation of their need normatively may (or may not) reflect this, nevertheless the number of households feeling themselves to be poorly housed is likely to increase under gentrification.

Gentrification though, is only one factor amongst many that raise housing costs. The housing stresses described in this study may emerge *whatever the reasons* for rising costs. Gentrification is an *additional* factor in raising prices within the UK housing market, as has been demonstrated in the East Lothian context. Although normally considered location-specific, it may impact over a wider area. When it does so, households wanting to reduce their costs have to migrate, not only from the specific locus of gentrification, but also from the area surrounding it that has been touched by its influence, in order to find cheaper housing.

Whilst prices are increasing above general inflation over a wide area, such as during the UK housing 'bubble' of 2005-9, households' scope for savings may be limited. When the transactional and psychological costs of moving are added to the equation, then the advantage of moving to another area may become even more marginal. This is has been demonstrated in the present study (Ch. 2, 2.4.4 (iii)) because whilst there were (and remain) considerable differences in housing cost between upmarket areas of East Lothian like North Berwick and a downmarket ones, like Whitecraig near Musselburgh, even the

poorest area was out of reach for private rental or purchase, for the majority of the participants in this study.

Unless private rental or purchase costs are low enough, the only option these households have to be able to improve their housing, is to move into social or subsidised housing. There is an UK-wide shortage of such housing (Ch.2, 2.3), and this has been identified as a particular problem in East Lothian, which the local authority has spent hundreds of millions of pounds to rectify. (ELC 2012)

In London, at the time of writing (December 2013), certain local authorities are having to displace forcibly, sometimes to hundreds of miles away, those that they owe a duty to house, because they do not have, or cannot afford, suitable local housing for them. The present research suggests that such solutions (which are possible only between areas where there is a large housing cost differential) may have to be applied more often if the gap between cost and demand is not bridged. On the evidence of this study, many households will not move willingly. They will hang on to their connections with an area beyond the point at which it makes economic sense for them. Many may continue to believe that the authorities can, and must, do something to alleviate their problems.

Appendix A - Table of participants

ID letter	Age	Occupation	Income	Tenure	Other Information
Ms A	17	Unemployed	Benefits <£6k	Parental Home (ELC)	Staying with father, lives in Dunbar
Mr B	62	Retired researcher	Pension @£12k	Owner	Lives in former Council house in Haddington. No family.
Ms C	25	Works part time	WTC, CTC, Income from empl. <10k (OO)	Parental Home (OO)	Single mother on private estate in Port Seton
Mr D	31	Works in retail	@£25K	ELC (Temp)	Homeless divorcee in temporary accommodation in Prestonpans
Mrs E	41	PT Financial Services	<£15k from job plus DLA, CTC and FTC @ £8k	Owner	Lives with disabled daughter (12) in 2 bedroom bungalow in Dunbar
Mrs F	29	Unemployed but husband railwayman	@£25k incl. benefits	Private let	3 children 10, 4 and 3. Lives off Musselburgh High Street in Victorian tenement. Husband is 40
Mr G	66	Retired. Wife would like to work	Pension & Benefits @20k total	ELC	Disabled lives with wife (38)and four children (15,13,7,6) in three bedroom house in Athelstaneford (country village)
Ms H	29	Admin assistant + part-time work	@£25k	Owner	One bedroom flat in Haddington, off High Street
Mr I	40	Long term sick	@£10k Benefits	ELC	Lives with wife (29) 3 children (7,4,8 months) on council estate in Prestonpans
Mrs J	46	Part-time classroom assistant	<£12k, WTC total @ £13k	Private let	Single mother with one child on private estate in Haddington
Mrs K	36	Employed	Between MrsK and partner<£20k	ELC	Lives with partner (26) and 3 children (17,14 20 months) on 'scheme' in Dunbar
Mr L	50	Community Development Manager	@£35k	Private let	Lives on farm cottage outside Haddington. Divorcee with 2 Children - one (Son) stays with him (17)
Ms M	24	Community Development Officer	@£22k +benefits Partner's income UK but total @ £30k	Private let	Ex-council house in Tranent. Stays with partner (31) and 2 children (11, 4) +one baby (2 weeks)

ID letter	Age	Occupation	Income - Gross	Tenure	Other Information
Mr N	21	Commis chef	@£15k	Parental home (ELC)	Five of family in 3 bedroom house - lives in Wallyford
Mr O	24	Community Warden	@£24k and small income from private biz. <£5k	Private let	Shares with his partner (22) and one other male (24), in a farm cottage north of East Linton
Mr P	42	Prisoner Transfer Officer	@£20k	Parental home (OO)	Living with elderly parents (72,68)in small (2 bed) house in Musselburgh
Mrs Q	32	Employed	Partner earning (UK)	ELC	3 bedroom house in Prestonpans. Three boys, daughter and husband daughter 15, oldest son's 13, 11 and 8
Mrs R	77	Retired	Pensions <£10k	Owner	Stays alone in former Council house in Wallyford
Ms S	17	Unemployed	<£6k Benefits	Grandparental home (ELC)	Lives with grandparents and brother in 1 bed house
Mr T	36	Banker	@£30k + partner's income (UK)	Owner	Private estate in Musselburgh. lives with partner (34)
Mr U	64	Retired miner	@£11k Pension + DLA	ELC	Lives alone in 2 bed flat. Formerly on residential caravan site at Seton Sands
Mr V	24	Gym coach	@£15k	Parental home (Private)	Private estate, Haddington. Lives with parents and brother/sister
Mr W	48	Council officer	@£24k + wife's small PT income, <5k and benefits	Owner	Lives in Haddington in ex-Council house. 2 children 10 and 8 and wife (35)
Mrs X	47	Librarian	@£25k+ Partners income (UK)	Private let	Private estate in Haddington - 2 children 19 & 15. Husband 45
Mr Y	39	Retired sick	@£20k - Benefits+ wife's PT earnings	Owner	Disabled. Living on private estate Musselburgh, daughter and wife (36)
Mr Z	30	Council officer	@£27k	Private let	Top floor Victorian tenement in North Berwick. Two boys under 10
Mrs AB	38	Unemployed	<£10k Benefits	Private let	Country cottage outside Dunbar - 1 child (grandson, 6)
Mr CD	68	Retired prison service manager	Pension ,UK	ELC	New mixed private/public development outside Haddington. Expensive area. High quality flat.

ID letter	Age	Occupation	Income - Gross	Tenure	Other Information
Mrs EF	53	Council officer	@£25k	Private let	Former Council house on Haddington estate. 2 sons (24, 22) only 1 at home
Ms GH	30	Social work admin assistant	@20k + partners income (UK)	Private let	Shares Victorian house in Dunbar with partner and another couple
Mr IJ	50	Part time coach driver / Wife shop assistant	@30k no benefits	ELC	Shares with wife (49) and daughter (23) In dispute with ELC over tenancy (unauthorised occupancy)
Mrs KL		Policy researcher	Household @45k husband works PT	Owner	Lives with husband and children (11,9) in cottage in country just outside Haddington

UK = Unknown

Appendix B - follow up interviews

Follow up interviews were carried out with twenty-two of the thirty-two participant households and nine of these were interviewed for third time. These interviews did not set out to repeat the questions asked in the first interview; instead they sought to discover whether the household had solved its housing problem.

Initially, it had been hoped that it would be possible to track all thirty-two participants over a three year period following their initial interview. However, despite requesting contact details from the participants, it did not prove possible to keep in touch with enough interviewees to provide a comprehensive assessment of longer-term success or failure in the housing market.

The circumstances of the participants are tabulated in the pages that follow, and whilst few firm conclusions can be drawn from the data, some idea of the durability of their housing problems can be gleaned from their responses. Outcomes fall broadly into three categories, first of all those who found or accepted solutions to their housing problems, second those who had solutions imposed on them by, for example, being rehoused as homeless and third those for whom their circumstances had not changed.

1. Those who found or accepted solutions

Eight of the participants had either found solutions to their problems themselves, or been offered more suitable accommodation by the time of the first round of re-interviews. That rose to nine at the second round, because Ms GH left her administrative assistant job with the council and returned to London to live with her mother.

Of the others, four were offered Council houses. These included households with disability in the family, such as Mrs E with her seriously disabled daughter, or Mr Y who needed special adaptations for his very large wheelchair and hoists. Two participants, Mrs AB, who lived on a farm cottage outside Dunbar and Mrs K on a Dunbar housing scheme had less serious health issues but were also prioritised. These participants would have been assessed as needy under the Council's allocations system and had benefited from its new

council house building programme, which had increased the availability of properties in their areas.

Two private renters had found at least partial solutions. The household of Mrs X the librarian had been able to move because her son was staying away from home at university much of the time. She was able to downsize to a two bedroom house instead of three, which she said had reduced her monthly outgoing sufficiently to make private renting more sustainable. Classroom assistant Mrs J had also managed to find a cheaper private let, in her case without downsizing. The saving was only £30 a month but given her tight budget, this was seen by her as a significant amount. If she had stayed in her previous home, her rent would have risen by £15, so the effective monthly saving was £45.

Another private renter, sports officer Mr Z, whilst not able to solve his problems quite yet, had put his households' prospects of house buying on a firmer footing by proposing to make a joint purchase with a new partner, who was earning. He was only prevented from moving by an unusually restrictive lease on his private let, a problem which he was working to resolve.

Private owner, Mr T had found a creative solution. He had changed his job, bringing him more financial security, and felt he could look to buy a larger house. Unfortunately he could not find a buyer for his house. Instead he rented it out, using the rental to help him pay his new mortgage. In this he was helped by the buoyant private rental market in East Lothian, at the time.

2. Households that had solutions imposed

Three households found themselves in situations where they were obliged to move, or had other solutions imposed on them. Ms A had been asked to leave her father's house. She presented to the council as Homeless and was accepted as such. In temporary accommodation at the time of the re-interview, she nevertheless expected to be fully rehoused into a council or RSL property, soon.

Mr IJ's long-running dispute with the council about his tenancy continued. However, he said the council had accepted that it had a duty to house his household. It seemed likely however that this would require an involuntary move from the property he was in. Finally, disabled Mr G had had his house adapted by the Council. This solved only one part of his problem however, and was a solution imposed by the authority, which still refused to meet his preferences for rehousing. Mr G had not, at the time of the reinterview, finally decided he could pursue this matter further, so it would be reasonable to characterise his housing issue as only half solved.

3. Households that had not had their problems solved

There were eleven of these at first re-interview, but as mentioned above, Ms GH had left for London by the time of the second interview. Ms GH said she had left East Lothian reluctantly, and moved only because she was offered a place to study for a doctorate at Reading University.

All of the remaining households reported either no change in their circumstances at all, or that they had got slightly worse. In the case of Mr I, suffering extreme antisocial behaviour in Prestonpans, the issue had escalated to involve a court case, but his household was not likely to be moved away by his landlord, the council. Haddington private owner, Mr W felt that his financial situation had become more difficult and so he and his wife were actively considering taking a private let, if they could find one cheap enough.

Problems remained for private owner Ms. H, council tenant Mrs Q, and private renters, Mr L, and Mrs EF. Mr N, Mr V and Mr P were still living with their parents, though Mr V had had promotion in his sports coaching job and thought a private let might be possible soon.

4. Observations

As shown above (6.3.2), the route out of housing difficulties favoured by most participants was to be given a council house. This had proved possible for some, because disabilities and/or other health needs have given them priority under the needs-based allocations system. No household had been housed by the council unless it had been assessed as

needy, by the rules of its allocations policy. The two privately renting households that succeeded in getting housing better suited to their circumstances did so by moving to another private let, one of them by downsizing, the other by finding a cheaper let. It is significant however that the saving made by the household that didn't downsize was very small. That Mrs J found even a saving of £30 a month worthwhile, is an indication of how stretched her household's finances were. Two households had an opportunity to solve their problems thanks to improved financial circumstances (Mr T and Mr Z).

Households that saw no change, or a slight worsening of their circumstances, felt an increasing sense of despair, reflected in the comments to be found in the table, below. They believed that only investment in additional social housing in East Lothian, or a collapse in rental prices would resolve their continuing problems.

5. Circumstances tables (blank where no contact made)

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Ms A	Unemployed	(7/11) Ms A said she had been "chucked out" of her fathers house in Dunbar because of the tensions in the household but did not give details of what happened. She was "OK about it" because she wanted to leave Dunbar and was now living in Musselburgh in temporary accommodation supplied by the ELC Homelessness section. She was expecting to move into permanent council accommodation eventually. She had been given help with training about how to manage her tenancy.	
Mr B	Retired researcher		
Ms C	Works part time		

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mr D	Works in retail		
Mrs E	PT Financial Services	(11/10) Given a new build bungalow specially adapted for her daughter on a council estate in Dunbar. Very happy with move, for her daughter, " I do not have to lift her at all and I do not have to lift her around, lift her down steps and things. There's that and it's much easier to walk, she's not very good at walking we're having to use the wheelchair in the house and because the door's wider and the hall's wide and the rooms are quite big, I encourage her to walk around with me holding on to her so it's good from a mobility point of view and it's also given her you know, more choice in her life because she was bored, she was just going between the kitchen and the living room, they were quite small rooms, but now she gets round the house."	(5/12) No change "Life's a lot easier"
Mrs F	Unemployed but husband railwayman		

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mr G	Retired. Wife would like to work	(7/11) Mr G had had adaptations made to his council house - a shower and toilet put in, downstairs. However he still felt overcrowded and didn't see the Council resolving that problem any time, soon. One reason for this Mr G considered was that the council didn't have sufficient larger houses for people with big families	
Ms H	Admin assistant+ part time work	(1/11)No change, but Ms H was concerned by a roof leak that was causing damp patches on her bedroom wall. She was worried about how she would manage to pay for this to be repaired.	(5/12)No change. "I don't see me realistically being able to afford anywhere else."
Mr I	Long term sick	(12/10) No change in Mr I's housing situation, though his dispute with his neighbours had escalated and court action was expected in a couple of months. "We got threatened to be stabbed and slashed and burned and everything like that. The guy's no' pleading guilty to it." Mr I had gone back to work and was hoping to build up his business to a point where he could buy a house. " I'm just hoping that these contracts come up and I get set up and I can afford a house out of here." He still felt that the Council wasn't helping him and that they prioritised the housing allocations unfairly favouring the "undeserving"	

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mrs J	Part time classroom assistant	(2/11) Mrs J had not managed to solve her housing problems but she had managed to improve her situation by finding a cheaper private let. " It's a much better deal. It's obviously not ideal, because again it's another private let but at the moment I'm not going to get a Council house at the moment. I'm still on the list for a Council house, but I'm not in any position to buy a property, so I just have to make the best of the situation and unless its .. it's a better, financially and security-wise it's better for me to be here at the moment." her total saving from the move was only £30 a month but that was welcome in her situation. It was also a bigger house in better repair.	
Mrs K	Employed	(11/10) Had been allocated a new build Council house in Dunbar. House has three bedrooms rather than two in old house, easing overcrowding. No explanation about the Councils' reason given to her though information from authority suggest in part it was because transfers of existing tenants were being prioritised when allocating new housing. Still considered housing problems in EL severe, felt she was lucky. "it's such a waiting game for something a bit decent you know."	(5/12) Eldest son still feels overcrowded and is thinking of moving out. Has been staying at Mrs K's mother's house and may present as Homeless... "He has been in touch with the Council and I think they're expecting him to … I don't know. As I say, he's been staying at my Mum's on and off so I don't know what's going to happen there, but I think they will make it quite hard for him. ...But in end the two boys share and it's not suitable."

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mr L	Community Development Manager	(7/11)No change. Mr I despairing of getting a council/RSL house. "Maybe it's defeatist, but you get to a stage where you think, what's the point of trying. There's obviously so many people chasing these houses. I suppose I should kind of put in to show willing."	
Ms M	Community Development Officer		
Mr N	Commis chef	(7/11) No change. Still staying in parents home. Thinks he will never get a council house "I've just lost hope and everything." Expects to be able to rent privately or buy "eventually" but it won't be until he is at least 25.	
Mr O	Community Warden		
Mr P	Prisoner Transfer Officer	(11/10) No change."They send you a form every year to update issues. I've got 13 points. I've had 13 points from the 7 years that I've been on it. 7 points since I've been on the list. It's never been up, it's never been down. I'm still staying with Mum and Dad. They're getting older, I'm getting older. Nothing in particular, nothing changed no-one gives you a phone call; no-one comes to speak to you,... I send them letters to say I'm in a 2-bedroom house. It seems to go unnoticed. You don't get an acknowledgement that your letter's been accepted."	(7/12) No change "I think it's just the same old story. Anyone who's got a bairn gets a house, a foot in there. So I stay where I am, because I'm staying where I am, I'm housed, no-one bothers. No-one ever has bothered me. No-one's ever, ever given me anything, apart from you with your survey thing. Apart from that no-one is interested, no-one ever will be interested. They're no' interested, anyone there."

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mrs Q	Employed	(12/10) Feels situation has got worse "My boys are getting older. There's three of them in the same room now and it's getting a bit much." Did not feel she was being helped by the council	(5/12) No change "Never, ever hear from the housing officer. The only time you speak to him is if you contact him yourself."
Mrs R	Retired		
Ms S	Unemployed		
Mr T	Banker	(2/12) Mr T had found it difficult to sell his house in order to trade up to a larger one. Instead however he had taken advantage of the rising PL market and let out his own house, whilst buying a new one. The new house was larger but still in Musselburgh and convenient for the railway station. He felt he had solved his problem. He had left his job with RBS and become self-employed. This was a factor because he felt more financially secure.	
Mr U	Retired miner	(12/10) No change (Mr U had 'solved' his housing problem earlier)	

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mr V	Gym coach	(1/11) No change but now looking wider - possibly outside East Lothian for housing, considering Dalkeith but EL still preferred	(3/12) Started new job with bigger income and potential for careers development .Felt that gave him more choice in housing market. Still expects to rent until can save enough for a deposit. "I'm getting to the stage where I want more space and not living in the same house as Mum and Dad or even the girlfriend's Mum and Dad. So definitely within the next 6 months or a year we'll probably be looking to rent somewhere, definitely." Had been for a job interview in Cumbernauld but was not unhappy he didn't get it."I thought of moving to there. It's certainly a lot cheaper to live through there. But when I didn't get the job, I didn't see the benefit of moving out and moving into that area when I would be the opposite end of the town with a 45 minute drive to my work instead of 15 minutes." Reasons for not moving show more emphasis on practical considerations than emotional ones. "I don't really get attached to places very easily. I don't think, I see it as more of a challenge really. You wouldn't know anybody when you moved there but you'd soon build that up in different sport areas and also work areas."

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mr W	Council officer	(3/12) No change but slightly more desperate financially than at first interview "we're actually thinking of selling up and renting, but it's obviously throwing good money after bad. We need a proper place."	
Mrs X	Librarian	(5/12)Downsized to a smaller house because son away at University, to 2 bedrooms instead of 3. Very pleased with house and although it is smaller than they would like is ideal in other ways " it's such a nice house and it's got a lovely atmosphere and it's got a lovely garden and it's really private"	
Mr Y	Retired sick	(3/12) Had been given a specially adapted house by the Council. Felt it did not exactly meet his needs but it was a great deal better suited than his privately owned house.. Hoping for a further move to a more appropriate house.	
Mr Z	Council officer	(7/12) Has new partner and with increased income looking to move out of his flat and find somewhere more suitable, but have problems terminating the lease. Intending to buy."My Mum's given us £5000 savings account. We're going to start putting £400 a month away for a deposit, so hopefully it'll be two or three years down the line."	

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mrs AB	Unemployed	(11/10) Mrs AB had been given a house on a new build council housing scheme in Dunbar. She thought that her health was the reason she was given the house. " I think basically it was because of the arthritis and it was just getting too much for me. I just gave up hope because I'd been on the list for years. I wanted to get out of the private and I could never get out of it, you know. I think if it hadn't been for the arthritis I would still be up there." She was grateful for her new house. "I mean there's places you can walk to and things like that. You don't have to walk miles to see people, kind of thing." Mrs I was concerned about her daughter's allocation of a council house, which she said was very damp. "she's got a 1-year old daughter and expecting another one in February and it's taken them and it's taken them a long, long time and they haven't got a clue what they're doing half the time, a long time to fix this, the damp is just getting worse and my granddaughter's really not well. My daughter's going to have to write a letter to the Council, and that. They still haven't decided what they're going to do."	(05/12) No change "I think I'll be staying here for a while. " Daughter's situation unresolved - still waiting for a more suitable house.
Mr CD	Retired prison service manager		

ID	Employment information	Second contact (date)	Third contact (date)
Mrs EF	Council officer	(12/10) No change. Mrs EF still experiencing severe problems with landlord repairs. "I phoned the Gas Board this week about arrangements for them to come along and check the boiler and they were going to come along tomorrow and they've said in the past that I need a new boiler..... so I said, is there any chance that I could get a new boiler? I haven't heard a thing since. He's not registered as a landlord so I don't know what rights I have."	(5/12) No change. "I still think that a 16-year-old has more chance of getting a house than me." Still problems with her landlord. House draughty and impossible to heat. Hoping that a council or housing association property will come up. Had also seen a very cheap ex-council house for sale in Haddington nearby and was considering making an offer for it.
Ms GH	Social work admin assistant	(12/10)Ms GJ had found a new job (still with East Lothian Council) and increased her salary slightly ..making her housing more affordable - otherwise no significant change in circumstances	(3/12) Moved back to England and staying with mother in London, whilst completing a PhD at Reading University. Wanted a change of job - felt she could do more with her life. Missed East Lothian - might return someday.
Mr IJ	Part time coach driver/ Wife shop assistant	(12/10) Still in dispute with East Lothian Council about his tenancy. Had been offered an alternative but considered it was unsuitable. Fighting with the Council to stay in his present house. Situation looked likely to continue unresolved for a while.	
Mrs KL	Policy researcher		

Appendix C - Interview guide

Housing circumstances - interview topic guide v2

The purpose of this guide

This guide sets out the main topics to be covered in participant interviews for this research and outlines the issues to be covered under each topic heading. <u>It is not intended as a list of questions</u>, since it will be necessary to tailor the actual questions to individual interviewee responses, whilst keeping sight of the overall research objectives. During the interviews, the wording of the question will aim for directness and simplicity. The list below contains some sample questions (in italics.)

Section A - Housing circumstances at the time of the interview

This section will consider the current housing circumstances of the participant, including his/ her age, financial circumstances and the composition of the household s/he lives in. It will explore the reasons that the interviewee considers the house to be inadequate for the needs of his/her <u>household</u>. S/he is speaking primarily from his/her own perspective, but taking into account the views, and the needs of other members of the household.

A.1. The composition of the household

To begin, household composition is explored. Questions will explore the reasons why there is a mismatch between the house that is required and the household's current housing circumstances. As a starting point, a general question will be asked, such as: "*You have told me that you would like to move from this house if you can...can you tell me why that is?*"

- The number of people who make up the household
- Their ages
- Employment circumstances, including whether those that can work, do

A.2.1 The property in which the household is living - size, location, amenity

Is the physical size, shape and location of the current household accommodation a factor in seeking a move? Exploring the views of the participants about their accommodation - and especially their reasons for finding it inadequate for their needs.

- Does the house have enough rooms for the household?
- Are there any other size inadequacies?
- What is the local area like - is it 'safe', 'good', 'bad' - explore what these terms mean for the participants. Is Antisocial behaviour a problem in this area?
- Is the house conveniently sited - for the participant's work, shopping and leisure? Explore whether there are shortcomings and the extent that these are influencing the desire to move.

A.2.2 The property in which the household is living - physical condition

What is the state of the property and how big a factor is this, in seeking a move?

- Is the house wind and watertight?
- Cover dampness separately / specifically
- What is the state of maintenance of the house?

☒   If a landlord owns the property how proactive is s/he in making repairs?
☒   Does the household consider the condition of the house to be a motivating factor in seeking a move?
☒   To what extent - and would it be prepared to tolerate poor conditions if they were the sole and/or main problem? .

A.2.3 The property in which the household is living - general

Catch-all questions to ensure that no relevant factor has been missed ...

☒   Ask about any *other* factors driving a move, connected with the house itself?
☒   Check - have the participants given a full explanation of why the property doesn't suit their needs?

A.3 The health needs of the household

To what extent are health needs important to seeking a move? Is the house unsuitable for medical reasons ...and if so have the participants attempted to use this as leverage to get a house (i.e. from the Council). Alternatively, have these needs undermined housing prospects in some way, and if so why and how? What do the respondents think of the criteria used by the LA to judge the severity of their health needs, and how does the Council's perception of their health/housing needs accord with their own?

☒   Is anyone in the household in bad health?
☒   What impact(s) has that had - i.e. on housing. employment, income, etc.?
☒   Explore the household's attempts to use health issues to obtain housing (i.e. via a Council application appeals panel for Health and Housing)
☒   Would the health of anyone in the household be significantly improved by a move?

A.4 Family and other local support

Looking at the support networks that provide help to the family in their current location and investigating whether these might be lost by a move. Alternatively, might the household be seeking a move to strengthen these ties - and if so how?

☒   Does the household have members of family living in East Lothian?
☒   What role(s) do they play in the lifestyles of the household?
☒   If support is one of those roles, explore how the support works and why it is important
☒   Are these family members near at hand - is the move intended to strengthen ties - if so how
☒   Consider the impact of transport - personal v public - and the households transport constraints and difficulties.
☒   Investigate the role of other support for this household - i.e. housing support, social services, health visitors, etc.

A.5 Housing income and costs

These questions are about *total* household income and expenditure, including benefits. Inevitably this is a 'snapshot' taken at the time of the interview, and detail will not usually be required. It should, however, include an exploration of whether and in what ways the household income/ expenditure is volatile. The relationship between any volatility and housing circumstances must also be explored. Sample questions for this might include:
☒ *Does your income vary much from month to month?*
☒ *Would you say you generally manage to pay your rent/mortgage easily, or is it sometimes a bit of a struggle?*

The table below is a checklist, for calculating total benefits received <u>by the household.</u>

Benefit type	Recipient(s) & Amounts
Housing Benefit or Local Housing Allowance	
Employment Support Allowance	
Pension credit	
Council Tax benefit	
Working Tax Credit	
Child Tax Credit	
Jobseeker's Allowance	
DLA	
Other	

☒ After tax and including all Benefits, roughly, what is the household's monthly income?

☒ Is that income fairly steady or does it fluctuate (explore why and how)

☒ Do all the members of this household that have an income, contribute to housing costs?

☒ If some do not contribute, why is that?

☒ Is anyone in the household receiving any kind of Benefit from the state?

☒ Does the household consider it's housing to be affordable? Ask for an explanation.

☒ If the household is defensive about the (un)affordability of its housing, follow up by asking what sacrifices or undesirable choices need to be made to ensure their housing is affordable

☒ Ask about the impact of any income fluctuations on affordability.

Section B - Housing aspirations

This section looks at the aspirations of the interviewee and his/her household. It focuses on where s/he would like to be living and why. It considers the attempts made to find more suitable accommodation and whether these have been successful. Failure is not seen as the 'end' of the story however, so these questions also ask what the household plans to do <u>now</u> to achieve its aims even if, so far, it has been prevented from reaching its goals. An example question, to begin the section with might be: "What would you ideally like your next house to be like?"

B.1 The ideal accommodation

Questions designed to elucidate the 'ideal' house for the interviewee in all the various aspects of that ideal. Questions should cover:

- The size and location of the house & what 'ideal' means to the interviewee
- The reasons why such a house is necessary, in that location
- The ideal tenure for them - and the reasons for their preference. Are there any real alternatives for them?
- Ask about trade-offs. What compromises would they be willing to make if they could move into their ideal tenure (whether owning, private renting, local authority etc)

B.2 Efforts made to secure a move

Looking at the attempts the participants may have made to improve their housing circumstances and checking for example whether they have:

- Contacted the local authority
- Contacted RSL/Housing Association
- Visited Estate Agent or solicitor
- Property ads in local paper
- Property ads on Internet
- Word of mouth (relatives/friends)

Also, considering the results of the approaches and whether or to what extent they were successful including:

- Reasons for success and/or failure.
- Any partial successes
- Any positive leads that were eventually unsuccessful - and the reasons why

B.3 What participants propose to do next

Do they feel they have exhausted all the possibilities - or do they see some opportunities that they have not tried? It is important in this section to question the interviewees about <u>strategies</u>. These may or may not include an element of 'working the system' - so it is important to emphasise that any such information, if given, will be treated in confidence. The relationship of the participant with the local authority, or other housing provider should also be examined. Questions may need to be asked several times, in different ways, to obtain a comprehensive response. Topics will include:

- Whether respondents consider they have 'tried everything'
- The further options that they may have explored - or may yet need to explore - which include:
  - Move to another area
  - Present to the Council as Homeless
  - Take another job, to increase their income
- Have they tried to reduce the size of their household, e.g. by asking someone to leave?
- Where would/did that person go to?

☒ Do they think that a household member might leave in the future and therefore improve things for those remaining? If so, how and when? To what extent does this knowledge discourage the household from moving now?

☒ How far away are they prepared to move...outside East Lothian? ...where and how?

☒ What are the 'pros' and 'cons' of moving away from EL? Would it solve their problem?

☒ What response have they had from the local authority and/or other housing providers if/ when they have approached them? What advice were they given and did they find it useful?

☒ Have they thought of/tried presenting as homeless and if so what would they tell the Council about their circumstances that would make a persuasive case.

☒ Finally, do they think they will ever achieve their aims - if not, why and what will they do then?

B.4 Concealed household aspirations

Prior research has shown there are concealed households in East Lothian. These questions should attempt to uncover whether there are any members of the household who are, potentially, a second and concealed household, sharing the same space. How does the presence of any such household influence the interviewee's own housing aspirations and needs. A sample question could be, *"You have said that 'x' lives here - do you think that ideally they would like a place of their own?"*

☒ Are there any concealed households (need to explain the concept to the interviewee)

☒ Consider the circumstances of these households and look at their aspirations

☒ Ask whether their own experiences seem to be rare or common in East Lothian. Is it common for people to hold off from forming their own household in East Lothian?

☒ If they are unlikely to meet their aspirations why is that?

☒ To what extent is this an administrative problem – does the Council or HAs not take applicants seriously if they are already living somewhere? Does this make it harder for new households to form?

☒ How do the needs of those households interact with their own?

☒ Can you give some practical examples of the sort of difficulties that arise when effectively two households live in one home?

Section C - The household's housing history

This section is focussed on the housing history of the household, through the individual histories of the household members. Because only one member of the household will be interviewed, the response will, necessarily, be partial since the interviewee may not know everything about other household members. These questions are intended to show, nonetheless, how the household came to be set up in this particular way and why its needs have developed as they have. A sample question could be, "Can you tell me how you came to live here, where were you before?"

C.1 The household's origins

The origins of this household need to be considered first. The questions should centre on household formation. Of particular interest, is whether the household is originally from East Lothian or composed of 'incomers' - and the strength and depth of local connections that this may imply will be tested.

- ☒ Ask interviewees to summarise, in their own words, how they came to be a household and how they moved into their current housing
- ☒ Were all the members of the household living in East Lothian, when it was formed?
- ☒ Where did the members come from, if not locally?
- ☒ Consider other local connection issues - i.e. via any children
- ☒ Explore what it means to be 'from East Lothian'
- ☒ Ask what the interviewees' preferred locations were when they first formed a household.

C.2 The household occupants housing history (all household members)

These housing histories are recorded from the perspective of the interviewee, rather than by speaking to all household members individually. The purpose is to get an overview of the housing histories of the household as a whole, and to consider whether - and how - individual housing histories may differ, amongst the various members of the household. Housing histories will be tracked right from the start of the household formation, to determine whether, and the extent to which, previous housing circumstances have been caused, or otherwise connected, with present ones. Exploring the links.

- ☒ When and why did household's members leave home to start their own households?
- ☒ What kind of new household did they do into - questions both about where it was, how suitable, how settled and how happy they felt themselves in their new household.
- ☒ Were any of these households in East Lothian? - which and why?
- ☒ Is this the first household since leaving home - questions about how many each household member has stayed in and how they came to be in this one?

Section D - Participant's views about the housing market in East Lothian

This section asks the respondents to change their perspective on housing problems and focus on housing primarily as a social need rather than an individual one. Questions may need to be asked several times, in different ways, to get a full response. Sample questions to be used can include:

☒ *We hear of households in EL that struggle to find decent housing they can afford - do you think this is a problem/ What should the government do about it?*

☒ *House prices were going up very fast until recently in EL, why do you think that was?*

D.1 Opinions about the operation of the housing market in EL

The participants views of housing in East Lothian as a whole - who they think are the 'winners' and the 'losers' in the market. A sample question could be: *"Can you give me an example of the kinds of people that might have benefited from the high level of house prices in East Lothian?"*

☒ What do they consider the advantaged and the disadvantaged social groups and why?

☒ Do they know of any other people in their own or similar circumstances, prevented from moving by the market ...looking for supporting evidence here.

☒ The role of outsiders in the market - i.e. 'incomers' - positive, negative, how does it work?

☒ How would you define an "outsider"? Someone moving in from Edinburgh? Or would it have to be further? What about someone moving in from the Borders or mid Lothian?

☒ The amount and quality of accommodation for different income groups - issues of equity and social justice

☒ Do they think it is true that people must exaggerate housing difficulties these days in order to be re-housed?

☒ ...and do they know of others who may have either exaggerated or even lied outright, to get a house?

☒ Can they give any examples of types of housing in **greater** supply, either in the Council / HA sector or in the private rented market? What kinds of housing and in what tenures do they think have insufficient availability?

D.2 What causes housing shortages in East Lothian?

Considering the issue of housing shortages and particularly the lack of affordable housing for certain households earning below £26,000 p.a.. How do the interviewees view this - what do they think are the causes? The respondents will be encouraged to reply in their own words, but, if necessary may need to be prompted with some suggestions, which they can agree or disagree with and say why. These include:

☒ Incomers with higher than local wages
☒ Lack of supply of new housing
☒ UK cultural emphasis on the economic benefits of home ownership
☒ Inflation
☒ Immigration
☒ More families splitting up
☒ Other

Interviewees should also be asked to discuss whether it would help if more, relatively cheap, rented or purchasable property was available in East Lothian, and who stands to benefit most from any new affordable housing.

D.3 What, in their opinion(s), will be the long-term personal and social consequences of housing shortages for certain income groups in East Lothian?

☒ If they have children or dependents in your household, will it be harder for them to be housed locally, when they eventually want to set up homes of their own?

☒ How much harder is it for people now, compared to when their own parents formed households?
☒ Has the price of housing made it harder for certain low-income families to stay here?
☒ Where do you think people go, if they do not stay in East Lothian?
☒ Has the social mix in East Lothian has been altered, and if so, how?
☒ Has the 'character' of the area has changed and what does character mean?
☒ What economic impact might high prices have, if they persist on for example
o Employment
o Economic development
o Immigration and Emigration
(NB questions to be put simply and asked only if appropriate)

Preliminary questions
Interviewee's Name:
Gender:
Age range:
Address at time of interview:
What short description *would they give themselves* of their own family/household
Contact no including mobile if any:
Contact number for NOK or friend

Appendix D - evidence of gentrification in the built environment of East Lothian

East Lothian shows signs of gentrification in the extensive renovation of buildings, formerly used for agriculture, scattered mainly across the coastal plain in the east of the area. Farm steadings have been repurposed by developers and turned into upmarket homes. These steadings have been redeveloped since the 1960s, although one estate agent contacted in the course of this research project considered the steading conversion movement was now "over" for lack of further disused farm buildings to renovate.[1]

Steadings are not the only buildings that have seen investment to improve their value. Farm cottages have been targeted in a similar way by developers and farmers. By adding extensions and attic conversions, formerly small farm labourers homes have been turned into four or five bedroom family properties. Renovation work has also been undertaken on houses within small towns and villages, again principally in the east of the area. Consequently, much of the older property in East Lothian has been brought back into use and derelict or run down properties are rare.

A third category of up-market housing also exists. This is new build, but for an exclusive clientele. Housing on the Archerfield estate near Gullane on the coast of the Firth of Forth for example, is aimed at wealthy purchasers. Here a privately planned estate of houses has been developed, many valued at more than a million pounds. At Inveresk, near Musselburgh, similarly priced properties have been gathered together within a gated community, on the lines of those to be found extensively in the United States.

There are as well, numerous so-called 'executive home' developments, though these tend to be at a lower price level, from c. £400,000 to £600,000. Taken together, these developments appear to indicate a confidence in East Lothian by developers and estate agents as a place for high value housing. Below, some examples of these three types of development are given, renovated housing in towns and villages, farm steadings and new build high value homes.

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[1] Source: Estate Agent interviews conducted 12/07/2010

1. High value homes

Fig. 3 - Vacant plot for sale on Archerfield estate   (please use hyperlinks for figs 3 -14)

The Archerfield estate is centered on Archerfield House, near Gullane on the north coast. This former aristocratic mansion is now an upmarket golf resort, with housing.

Fig. 4 - One of the larger detached houses at Archerfield   (hyperlink)

The housing consists of large, detached properties with extensive gardens, and selling prices ranging upwards of £1m. This settlement was under construction at the time of the field work and is still being built at the time of writing (February 2014). Housing here can be on a very grand scale. Equally expensive and exclusive is housing to be found at Inveresk in Musselburgh. This is an older development, from the 1990s, in a conservation village. It is, un-typically for expensive housing, on the west side of East Lothian with good connections to the transport network and close to Edinburgh for commuting.

Fig. 5 - The entrance to the 'gated village' at Inveresk, near Musselburgh

2. Renovation of houses and cottages

Less spectacular but more common in East Lothian are houses and cottages in towns villages and the countryside which have been 'improved' often to a high standard, with a consequent high price. Some of these properties are illustrated below. The photographs are of houses in the three settlements whose social change has been documented in Chapter 3 (3.8). These are Aberlady on the coast of East Lothian, between Longniddry and Gullane, East Linton, inland on the coastal plane, roughly half way between Haddington and North Berwick, and Gifford, a village on the edge of the Lammermuir hills, south of Haddington. It is not claimed that these houses are typical of the property in these towns however, because there has been much high-value modern development as well. Some housing in

these locations is more moderately priced and all three settlements contain social housing, as well.

Fig. 6 - Renovated housing in Gifford, on the edge of the Lammermuir hills

The house above is in Station Road, on the outskirts of Gifford. New lintels and woodwork signify extension, recent renovation work.

Fig. 7 - House The Wynd, Gifford

The second Gifford view, above, shows a renovated property near the centre of the village in 'The Wynd.' There are other properties showing signs of expensive restoration and conservation work, in the same part of the village.

The row of cottages below is on the Main Street of Aberlady and has also been extensively repaired. It shows indications of possible prior agricultural use in the archway half way along the row, a familiar feature of steadings.

Fig. 8 - Cottages on Main Street, Aberlady

Aberlady also has a number of large houses, some now divided into flats, which show that it has long been a settlement with a contingent of wealthy inhabitants. Rather than showing signs of change through gentrification, the significance of these buildings may be that they have not fallen into disrepair and are an indication that there are still monied families in the village. One of these properties is pictured below. As can be seen this house in The Gardens is in very good condition. It is hard to find a property in this town which is not kept to a very high standard. There are no derelict buildings or empty shops along the main High Street.

Fig. 9 - House in Aberlady

The townscape is similarly well kept in East Linton (below), although this village does not look quite so 'well heeled' as Aberlady and at the time of the fieldwork there were some empty shops on the High Street. Nevertheless the overall standard of upkeep of buildings is high.

Fig. 10 - Detached house, East Linton

The building shown above in the town's Station Road is typical, as is the floral display. Private housing here can be expensive and ranges from modern detached homes to Georgian cottage renovations like those pictured below.

Fig. 11 - Detached cottages, East Linton High Street

Cottage conversions can command high prices. In December 2013 a five bedroom cottage near East Linton at Traprain was on sale for offers over £750,000.[2]

3. Steadings

Steadings have, as described in Chapter 3, been a mainstay for developers renovating property in East Lothian. Besides their intrinsic attractiveness for some buyers, they have the merit of being a kind of development supported by local planners. Although the steading conversion 'movement' is currently less active, for want of sufficient properties, these farm conversions are evident in smaller countryside settlements across particularly the eastern half of East Lothian.

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[2] Advertised by Rettie and Co at: http://www.primelocation.com/for-sale/details/30655283?utm_source=nest&utm_medium=feeds

Usually they are within easy reach of the main road and rail network, allowing purchasers to feel that they are deep in the countryside whilst still permitting easy commuting access to Edinburgh and beyond. Most have been converted to a very high standard and are commensurately priced. Although not all steadings are in the 'luxury' category, they are sold above the price of similarly sized modern properties in the main East Lothian towns.[3] A four bedroom semi-detached property at Dovecote Steadings near Haddington for example was at the time of writing on offer at a fixed price of £375,000[4], whilst in Little Spott, on the edge of the Lammermuir Hills, near Dunbar, two bedroom steading conversions were being offered for £275,000.[5] As with all property the price reflects the quality of the conversion, as well as the 'cachet' of living in a converted country property.

Fig. 12 - Cottages forming part of an steading/farm building development at Markle

Shown above is a mid-market development at Markle, near East Linton, but no recent prices are available for properties here.

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[3] Source: Estate Agent interviews conducted 12/07/2010

[4] Source: http://www.s1homes.com/Houses-for-sale/2012053014530720.shtml

[5] http://search.savills.com/property-detail/gbedrdlad120017

Fig. 13 - Steading conversion at Innerwick, near Dunbar

Location is a factor, with steadings near relatively upmarket areas like Aberlady, selling at a premium above areas that are less well regarded, or simply further away from the road and rail networks, such as those shown above, at Innerwick, near the eastern edge of East Lothian.

Fig. 14 - Lawhead steading

The steading above, at Lawhead, also near East Linton, shows that conversions are usually carried out in a way that respects the history and former usage of the buildings. A four bedroom property within this steading development was on the market at offers over £440,000 in December 2013.[6]

Conclusion

The variety of up-market housing types in East Lothian has been shown. Whilst luxury countryside development can be found in most parts of the UK, as shown in Chapter 3 (3.8) the eastern half of East Lothian in particular has been favoured by developers, who want to provide luxurious homes, for wealthy households.

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[6] Source: http://www.rettie.co.uk/property-for-sale/edinburgh-east/east-lothian/east-linton/PER131192-4-bed-house-lawhead-steading

Appendix E - Information sheet for participants

This information sheet was provided to participants before the interview and they were asked to sign a consent form, if they accepted the contents. It is presented here in original format, which is why the title is different from that of the completed thesis, and it is not formatted in the same style.

DIFFICULT CHOICES, HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

Information sheet for interviewees

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read and consider the following information about the study and do not hesitate to ask for clarification if anything is not clear.

About the study
My name is Michael Lloyd and I am a part-time postgraduate student at the department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow. My full-time employment is with East Lothian Council. However, this research study is being conducted solely in my capacity as a postgraduate student at the University of Glasgow.

I am currently conducting research into housing problems, for households in certain income categories in East Lothian. The purpose of the research is to try to understand how and why these problems occur and to consider whether changes in local and national government policy could help to reduce them.

What does taking part in the study involve?
As part of the research, I am hoping to interview people who would like to move to meet their housing needs but find it very hard to do so.

If you agree to take part in this study you will be asked to participate in one interview lasting about an hour, and short follow-up interviews of 5-10 minutes or less, every six months until 2012. My aim is to conduct the main interview on a face-to-face basis at a mutually convenient time and location, or to interview you by telephone if there are strong practical reasons for doing this. The follow up interviews will usually be conducted over the 'phone. In addition, you may be asked to take part in one Focus group, lasting approximately an hour and a half, towards the end of the research period in late 2012.

I am interested in talking with you about:
- Your housing needs and aspirations
- Your housing 'history' - that is to say, where you have lived in your life and in what households
- The problems you may have faced in meeting your housing needs
- Your views about the housing 'market' in East Lothian, and whether it caters for your needs

In order to answer these questions fully, I will ask you about financial circumstances,

health care needs and contacts with local authorities and/or other housing providers. With your permission I would like to tape record the interview. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to, and you may stop the interview at any time, without having to give any reason for wishing to do so.

What will happen to your answers?
The requirements of the Data Protection Act and Freedom of Information Act will be observed. All your comments will be anonymised and you will not be personally identified in the final research report. As noted earlier, I may follow up your interview with a request for you to participate in a focus group towards the end of my research, probably in late 2012. There would be no obligation for you to participate in the focus group, though it would clearly be of benefit to my research if you did participate.

The comments you make during a focus group will also be anonymised and you will not be personally identified in my final research report. However, as each focus group will involve a number of people interviewed by me, by participating you will also be making yourself and your views known to other focus group participants.

Although I work for East Lothian Council, I am carrying out this research as a student. The Council will not therefore have any access to any of my data or results. Only I will have access to raw data arising from the research and this will be stored securely. All computer-held data will be password-protected. All information collected will also be treated confidentially.

Further questions or concerns
The study has been approved by the Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow. If you have questions about the research you can contact me at the details below:

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If you have concerns about the conduct of the research you can contact Professor Chris Leishman or Professor Moira Munro, who are my PhD supervisors, as follows:

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Appendix F - Postcard/Flyer

The postcard/flyer below was left in Council offices, and other public places in East Lothian. As described in Chapter 5 (5.3.1), it was one of many recruitment approaches.
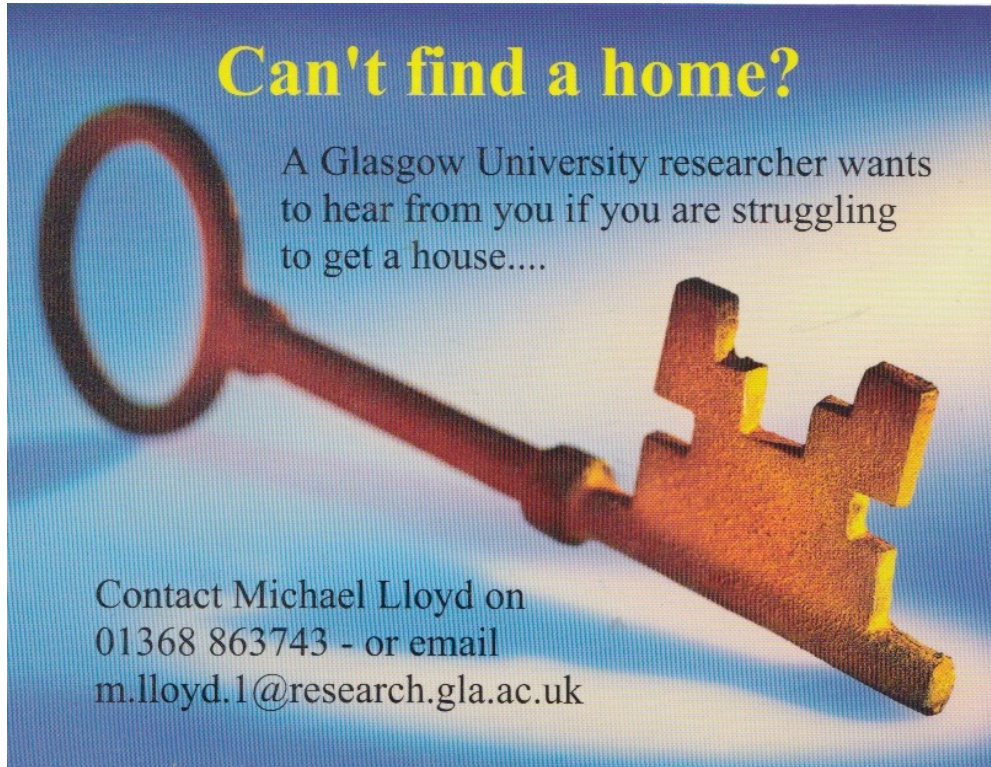
Figs. 15 & 16 Poster/postcard aimed at attracting households to participate

Appendix G - recruitment letter from East Lothian Council

As part of the recruitment process, the letter below was sent on behalf of the researcher to potential participants that had been given an housing options interview by the Council. As detailed in Chapter 5 (5.3.1) this was sent by the Council, to preserve the anonymity of the interviewees. Only if they wanted to take part, were they to contact the researcher.

Dear _____,

I understand that you have attended a housing options advice interview at East Lothian Council. I am writing to you, in the hope that you may agree to be interviewed for a research project, which aims to understand why there is a severely restricted choice of housing for some households in this area.

One of the officers in the Council's housing service, Michael Lloyd, is carrying out personal doctoral research supervised by Glasgow University, which will investigate the causes of this problem. It will consider how some households are coping in very difficult circumstances and what might be done about this issue.

The fortunes of 30 households seeking housing in East Lothian will be followed. Their efforts to find the right house will be tracked over a three-year period to see whether they have (or perhaps have not) succeeded, and what enabled or prevented them from doing so. Further details of the research are enclosed with this letter.

If you can spare time (about an hour) for an interview, please could you let the researcher know by returning the enclosed consent form in the pre-paid envelope? If you like you can also contact the researcher by emailing him at: mlloyd1@research.gla.ac.uk. or by telephoning 01368 863743. To compensate for your time, the researcher is proposing to pay you a small fee, of £30, for taking part.

There is no formal involvement of East Lothian Council in this research, although it has been funded in part by the Council. These interviews are entirely voluntary and I can assure you that that none of your personal details will be accessed without your agreement. Your name will not be used in the published research and you will not be identifiable.

The research results will be of interest to the housing service. I can assure you that you will be making a valuable contribution to our understanding of the needs of people seeking housing in East Lothian.

Yours sincerely,

James Coutts
Service Development Manager, Community Housing.

This consent form was signed by all the interviewed participants.

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Difficult Choices, Housing Affordability and Consumer Behaviour

Principal researchers:
- **Michael Lloyd (**0711766L@student.gla.ac.uk**)**
- Professor Chris Leishman, Academic supervisor: c.leishman@lbss.gla.ac.uk ; 0141 330 5307
- Professor Moira Munro, Academic Supervisor; moira.munro@socsci.gla.ac.uk; 0141 330 4675

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.

I understand that my participation in this interview is entirely voluntary, and that I can withdraw from it at any time, without having to give a reason.

I agree to the interview being audio recorded and to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.
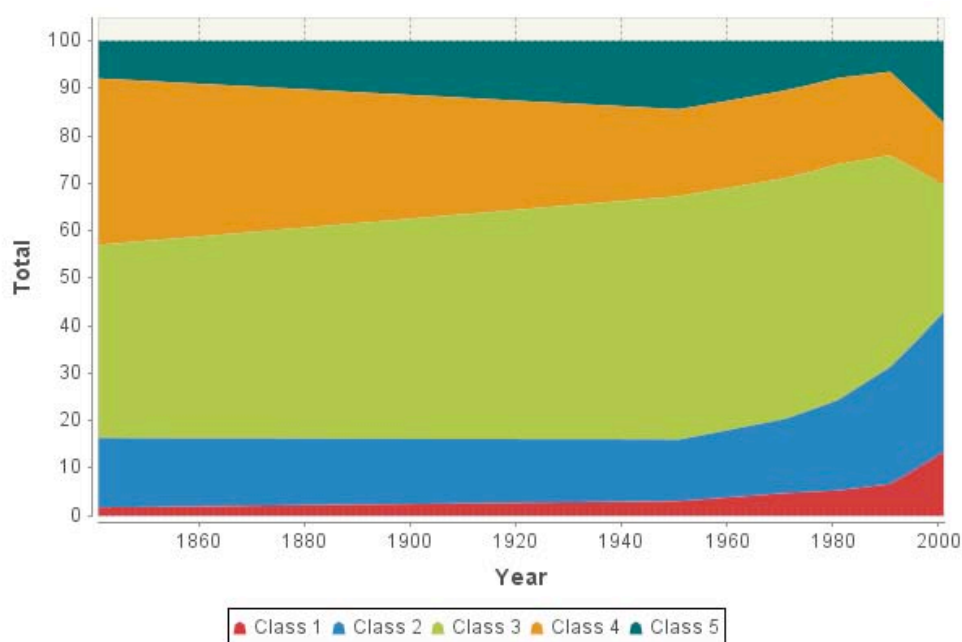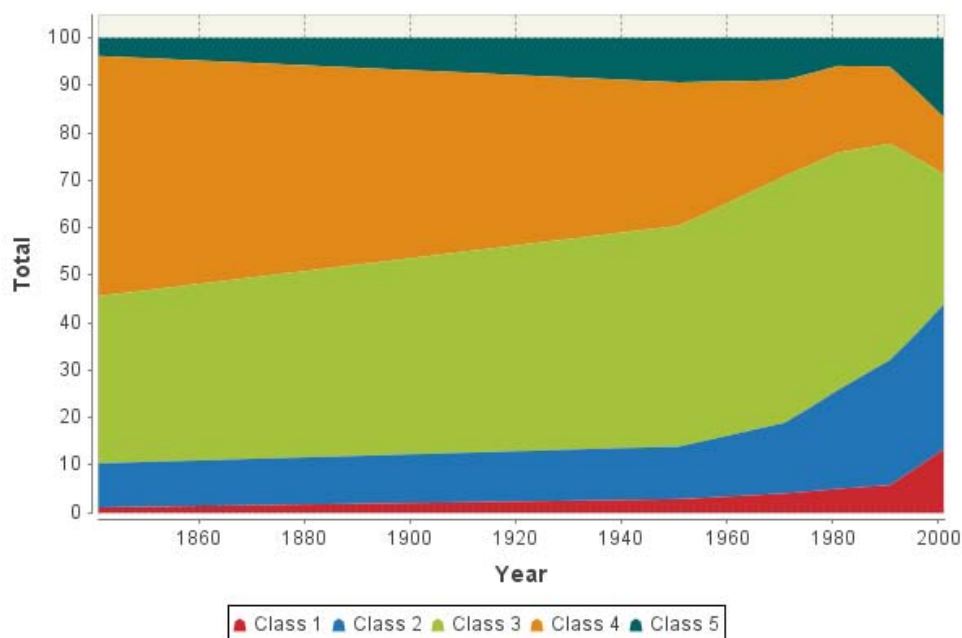
I agree to participate in this interview.

Name   Date

_____   _____

Appendix 'I' Employment graphs

The top graph (below) shows the changes in occupations throughout East Lothian, from the mid 1850s whilst the graph below gives the same information, about Scotland.

Occupational

Tables 10 & 11 - Occupational groups in East Lothian (top) and Scotland (bottom) across time[7]
(Source: Historical GIS information available at: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk)

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[7] These tables show the official classification of occupations, devised by the Registrar General
1	Professional etc. occupations
2	Managerial and Technical occupations
3	Skilled occupations (N)non-manual(M)manual
4	Partly-skilled occupations
5	Unskilled occupations

In the period from c. 1950 to 2000 it is clear that East Lothian has broadly matched the overall pattern of employment change in Scotland. Both the numbers of resident professionals and the managerial classes have increased slightly more than average, however. The percentage of skilled tradesman has shrunk slightly more than average.

The figures show too, that the number of East Lothian's managers and professionals has risen from a lower base, of just under 10% percent, compared to nearly 15% for Scotland as a whole. The local trends however, are clearly aligned to the rest of the country. That alignment is confirmed by Scottish government figures, drawn from the Annual Population Survey, showing the distribution of occupations. In 2008 (just before the fieldwork was carried out) 40.08% of Scots in employment were in the managerial, professional and associate professional categories (as used in the 2001 census). In East Lothian the figure was 40.3%. (APS 2008)

Acknowledgement

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