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New-build housing, mobility and the life course

A study of housing-driven economic growth strategy in Doncaster

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Abstract

By implementing housing strategies which focus improving provision for more affluent groups, policymakers may hope to alter the demographic mix of a locality with the aim of stimulating economic growth to compete more effectively in a globalised world. This thesis examines the potential role of high-end new-build housing as part of a 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) local economic growth strategy in the context of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012).

To explore these issues, the thesis employs a mixed-method, biographical approach to examine inward and internal migration into new-build homes in Doncaster, a post-industrial metropolitan borough in South Yorkshire. In doing so, the research provides a story of Doncaster, its neighbourhoods and its residents, exploring the ways in which individual, shared and collective narratives combine to influence household needs and preferences, and ultimately mobility outcomes.

The empirical findings of this research suggest that targeted high-end new-build housing is insufficient as a policy mechanism to attract the substantial inward migration of middle-to-high income groups in Doncaster. Here, the potential economic benefit associated with a housing-based urban competition strategy appears not to have been met in empirical outcomes. In addition, whilst new-build housing provided a welcome addition to local market for more affluent existing residents and newcomers, findings suggest a policy focus on more affluent groups has the potential to exacerbate local spatial inequalities and threaten social cohesion by creating new opportunities for the segregation of more affluent groups.

Through analysing the factors that contribute to these empirical outcomes, the research highlights the dynamic and embedded nature of decision-making. In turn, the findings of the research suggest a need for a more relational approach to understanding mobility decision-making.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

'The logic of interurban competition...turns cities into accomplices in their own subordination, a process driven—and legitimated—by tales of municipal turnaround and urban renaissance, by little victories and fleeting accomplishments, and ultimately also by the apparent paucity of "realistic" local alternatives... The public subsidy of zero-sum competition at the interurban scale rests on the economic fallacy that every city can win, shored up by the political reality that no city can afford principled noninvolvement in the game (Peck and Tickell, 2002 p.394).

Since the 2010 general election, the Conservative-led coalition government promoted a range of policies emphasising localism, decentralisation and the devolution of power to more localised scales. A powerful rhetoric of empowered communities, towns and cities has been accompanied by widespread changes to local and regional governance. These changes are manifest in increased local responsibility for growth, accompanied by an 'avalanche' (Hodkinson and Robbins, 2013, p.57) of cuts to local authority funding. Through successive changes to local governance, the role of the local state has been substantially transformed from that of a primary service provider, to that of a collaborator (Stoker, 2004). Public-private partnerships have been encouraged through a range of initiatives designed to promote economic growth, such as Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), City Deals, Growth Deals, Devolution Deals and the Regional Growth Fund. Whilst such initiatives promise new opportunities to local leaders for autonomy through devolved powers, in practice localities are required to take on responsibility for local economic growth whilst at the same time working in an environment of restricted resources within which to achieve these aims (Meegan et al., 2014). This context has led some to use Peck's (2012) concept of 'austerity urbanism' to describe the current approach to spatial development strategies in England (Meegan et al., 2014; Crisp et al., 2015).

In the context of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012) local authorities are increasingly required to turn to 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) approaches to pursuing local economic growth. Here, towns and cities are expected to act as entrepreneurs, competing to capture mobile capital and 'to lure wealthy investors' (Lees et al., 2013, p.165). Such approaches may be explicitly designed to elevate perceptions of a locality amongst a group of wider external stakeholders, including politicians, potential investors and residents, and the media, and may involve a focus on supply-side interventions designed to grow new facilities, amenities, infrastructure or housing. Housing is increasingly conceptualised as a financial asset and in this context, high-end housing construction designed to attract the inward migration of wealthy newcomers may form part of an urban competition strategy for local economic growth.

However, there has been relatively little empirical investigation into the potential role of housing in achieving these aims (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007) and there remain a number of assumptions, concerns and criticisms of urban competition approaches to economic development which require further testing. Employing a relational, life course approach to understanding mobility motivation, this research examines inward and internal migration into high-end new-build homes in Doncaster, a post-industrial metropolitan borough in South Yorkshire.

1.1 A changing housing field

There exists a perceived housing crisis in the UK, manifest in a combination of low housing affordability, extensive spatial segregation, geographical price fluctuations and volatility of the market resulting from its 'cyclicality' (Ferrari, 2015, p.515). The 'catastrophic implosion of the housing market' (Ferrari, 2015, p.514) and the global financial crisis (GFC) of 2007/8 have elevated issues of housing supply and affordability in the national agenda in recent years. Tellingly perhaps, a central part of government housing strategy in response has focused around increasing supply, even if there is now a more open conversation about the structure of the housebuilding industry and the role of land in shaping the market.

Whilst the financial GFC led to fresh impetus, concerns with housing supply and affordability are not new. Issues of supply were brought to the forefront of policy concern by two reviews by Kate Barker (2004, 2006) which, with an economic focus at the heart of analysis, linked issues of affordability with an insufficient supply, constrained by inflexible and unresponsive market structures and regulatory regimes. In order to increase supply, the former Prime Minister David Cameron committed to new housing construction of one million new dwellings over five years, while Prime Minister Theresa May has committed to a target of 300,000 completions per annum. The Conservative government's (2017) housing white paper was the most forthright admission of systematic weaknesses in the housing market seen in recent years, setting out plans for 'fixing our broken housing market'. However, while recognising the problem, government has tended to fall back on existing tropes around barriers to private market supply. In this context, the planning system in particular, but state-imposed regulation more generally, (environmental standards, building regulations and so on) have been identified as significant barriers to increasing housing provision.

However, symptoms of a dysfunctional housing market far precede the onset of the GFC and the observable characteristics of a 'crisis' which may be perceived as periodic, temporary or sudden, may in fact be associated with a range of longer-term structural issues within the housing system and associated industries (Gallent et al., 2018; Madden and Marcuse, 2016). Here, a simple, numerical increase in supply focused on private sector provision is unlikely to be sufficient to solve embedded and structural issues in the market (Gallent, 2018; Madden and Marcuse, 2016). Madden and Marcuse (2016) point to three fundamental characteristics of modern capitalist housing systems which contribute to structural inequality and instability: commodification, financialisation and globalisation. These are discussed in brief below.

Madden and Marcuse state:

The commodification of housing means that a structure's function as real estate takes precedence over its usefulness as a place to live. When this happens, housing's role as an investment outweighs all other claims upon it... our economic system is predicated on the idea that there is no conflict between the economic value-form of housing and its lived form. But across the world, we see those who exploit dwelling space for profit coming into conflict with those who seek to use housing as their home (2016, pp.17-18).

The commodification of housing is relatively new (see e.g. Madden and Marcuse (2016) for a brief historical perspective). However, the current global housing system can currently be characterised as being in a state of 'hyper-commodification', where 'the capacity of a building to function as a home becomes secondary'. Instead, 'what matters is how a building functions in circuits of economic

accumulation' (Madden and Marcuse, 2016, p.26). Indeed, housing can be considered central part of the political economy (Aalbers and Christopher, 2014). As Aalbers and Christopher explain:

Value, under capitalism, also has to be stored. And while money – cash – is one vehicle of such storage, it is not the only one. Housing is another. Contrary to most other commodified consumer goods, it can pay to invest not only in the production of housing, but also in the ownership of it, for while the market price of a car or a laptop goes down merely by owning it... the market price of a house often remains stable or appreciates...largely because the price of the underlying land typically will not decrease in the long term. This simple fact – housing-cum-land's role as a store of value – turns out to be of enormous significance for understanding capital circulation in the contemporary world (2014, p.376).

An accompanying financialisation has served to change the nature of trade in the housing sector and the functioning of the market. Here, a range of financial organisations and professionals; brokers, mortgage lenders and agents operate within the system, facilitating high-speed, international exchange of housing as a commodity (Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Aalbers, 2016).

Processes of globalisation further boost the commodification and financialisation of housing. In a globalised, fluid market investors are able to purchase property, particularly in the high-pressure market areas of global cities assured of the potential for capital increase (Madden and Marcuse, 2016). In the extreme, housing becomes, 'global wealth congealed into tower form' (Madden and Marcuse, 2016, p. 15) as wealthy investors store and invest wealth in property in high-pressure areas. Here, housing becomes divorced entirely from its geographical location and 'use value' of – including its role as a home, a shelter, a place from which to carry out normal day-to-day living. Instead, the primary function of housing here relates to 'exchange value' – its potential to store and build capital (Madden and Marcuse, 2016). In this system, those with means are able to exploit the housing system for capital accumulation, simultaneously shaping and restricting housing opportunities for less affluent groups (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017).

These processes are further solidified through the role of the state in securing and encouraging the financialisation of the sector, and providing opportunities to expand homeownership through borrowing. Aalbers states:

The state is often the driver of financialisation processes, for example by pushing families into housing debt, by enabling financial institutions to buy up subsidized housing, or simply by withdrawing from providing or regulating the housing sector and opening up the field to rent-seeking financial institutions (2016, p. 4).

Indeed, whilst a reduction of state intervention may ostensibly be attractive to free market proponents, the involvement of the state is an essential component in reinforcing and maintaining the functioning of these systems (Aalbers, 2016; Madden and Marcuse, 2016). As Madden and Marcuse argue:

The state cannot "get out" of housing markets because the state is one of the institutions that creates them. Government sets to rules of the game. It enforces the sanctity of contracts, establishes and defends regimes of property rights, and places a central role in connecting the financial system to the bricks and mortar in which people dwell. (2016, pp. 46-47)

The commodification and financialisation of housing in England have influenced not only the behaviour of investors and developers, but also contributed to the development of an ideology of homeownership (Ronald, 2008). Here, households increasingly aspire to homeownership as the tenure of choice and a preference for homeownership becomes internalised within individuals, further influencing housing preferences (Ronald, 2008; Flint, 2003). As Ronald states:

Not only has the 'home' become integrated with the understanding and expression of the self, the family and the private sphere, it has also become appropriated by those who own a house or apartment. The meaning of a 'home of one's own' has changed over the twentieth century and in many societies no longer means living in a self-contained dwelling but rather being an owner-occupier (Allen and Crow, 1989). Tenure has thus been integrated strongly with meanings and idealized images of the house and home (2008, p.50).

Homeownership has increasingly become understood to be attractive investment, where access to ownership is often understood to be essential in securing private financial stability (Ronald, 2008). In the English context, policies such as Buy-to-Let mortgages and Buy-to-Rent developments encourage and support this shift from housing as home to housing as investment. In turn, these trends further have the effect of expanding borrowing for housing investment and reinvestment, pushing up house prices further (Ronald, 2008).

Housing can be seen as a positional good and specific aspects of housing such as tenure (along with, type, size, location and so on) can be equated with social status. Accordingly, the social rented sector, and to a lesser extent, the private rented sector have become further stigmatised as homeownership becomes considered the primary tenure of stability, success and ambition (Flint, 2003; Ronald, 2008). Concurrently, there has been a significant withdrawal of state provision of affordable housing, whether directly built or funded through grants, manifesting in a significant contraction in public sector house-building and a reconfiguration of the role of local authorities, as provision of affordable housing construction has increasingly moved away from the state, and towards housing associations and the private sector. The contraction of the social rented sector has occurred through a lack of investment in social housing construction, demolition of existing unsuitable homes, and most notably through the Right to Buy scheme, which has allowed tenants in the social rented sector to purchase their properties, moving the homes into the private market. These changes have been accompanied by significant reforms to associated welfare provision, including benefits sanctions, under occupancy charges and increased conditionality in the social rented sector (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017; see also e.g. Deacon, 2004; Dwyer, 2004; Nevile, 2008).

These combined pressures and influences further shape the types of interventions available to local policymakers in order to address local housing need. As Jacobs and Manzi explain:

Policy-makers now face a transformed political, institutional and socio-economic environment in which the opportunities to present a progressive reform agenda are increasingly constrained. The result is a focus on demand side measures and managerial interventions in service provision rather than supply and fundamental social reform (2017 p.30)

The commodification of housing, along with its role as a financial asset in a globalised, competitive market has necessarily had substantial implications for the provision of suitable, affordable housing, particularly for low-income families (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017; Gallent et al., 2018). A reliance on private sector construction and withdrawal of state provision of housing necessarily restricts the potential for local policymakers to target supply towards existing local needs.

More broadly, changes within the housing sector can be understood within the context of an ideological shift towards 'neoliberalization' (Peck and Tickell, 2002) of space and spatial policy (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017; Olesen, 2014; Peck and Tickell, 2002), which has also shaped approaches towards growth and economic development across all spatial scales.

1.2 Neoliberalism, local government and regional spatial development

Whilst processes of 'neoliberalization' (Peck and Tickell, 2002) have been uneven and varied, a prevailing neoliberal ideology has come to form a 'pervasive "metalogic"', which has influenced policymaking at all spatial scales. Here, free market ideology, centring on individual property rights and entrepreneurialism, has become a central tenet of both public policy and government rhetoric (Hall, 2011; Harvey, 2007). As Meegan et al. (2014, p.137) argue, after a 'brief flirtation with Keynesian macro-economic policy by the Labour Government', the post-recession Conservative-led coalition government brought about an 'extensive and intensive commodification of space, the public sphere and citizens themselves' (Meegan et al, 2014, p.137).

Here, in the aftermath of the financial crash and ostensibly to reduce the budget deficit, the rhetoric of a large, outdated and inefficient local state has been used to justify deep cuts to local authority funding. Filtered through a prevailing neoliberal rationality, a drive for economic growth has become a central policy focus at all scales of governance. An accompanying rhetoric of the 'Big Society', 'localism' and empowered communities has concurrently served to shift the responsibility for this growth from central government to the local state and to communities and individuals. In the context of significant cuts to local funding, local authorities are increasingly required to work as collaborators, as opposed to direct service providers, forming public private partnerships, and employing 'bootstraps strategies' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) to promote local economic growth.

In England, the capital city, London, dwarfs the second order cities in terms of population, size and influence, and uneven spatial development exists across the country at all spatial scales. In particular, there have been long-set concerns relating to a north-south divide across the country in terms of prosperity and growth (Gardiner et al., 2013). Here, the financial crash also brought with it renewed questions relating to the role of London in the national economy and to the relative benefits of such an uneven distribution of industries, capital, and resources in the relatively small area of London and the south east (Martin et al., 2016; Gardiner et al., 2013). This has led to complex practical and ideological questions relating to the appropriate response to uneven spatial development and regional disparities. In particular, whether it is appropriate to concentrate resources on economically successful, capitalising on success (following the rationality of agglomeration and the New Economic Geography (NEG) approach), or to take measures to spatially rebalance the economy through targeted geographical distribution of resources to promote development in lagging regions (see for example Martin, 2015; Martin et al., 2016; Gardiner et al., 2013; Rodríguez-Pose, 2018; for discussion). These issues have been the subject of some debate (see for example Overman, 2013; Haughton et al., 2014; Overman, 2014, 2015).

The response of the Coalition government to rebalancing the economy following the crash lay in the replacement of the former Labour government's Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) with Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) at a more localised (city-regional) scale. These new bodies, which represent coalitions of local government and key local business interests, are designed to establish working partnerships between local authorities and local business interests to promote private-sector growth at a local level (Crisp et al., 2015), and were thus conceived of as more locally rooted and responsive than the regional superstructures they replaced. More latterly, City Deals, Growth Deals, Devolution Deals and the Regional Growth Fund have been introduced, all filtered through the LEP geography, and these changes together have been presented as a partial devolution of control from central government to the regional and local scale (Etherington and Jones, 2016b; Meegan et al., 2014;

Martin et al., 2016). More broadly, the concept favoured by then Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, of the 'Northern Powerhouse' has been posited as a potential way to mirror the successes of agglomeration seen in London in the north of the country (Martin et al., 2016).

However, whilst opportunities for devolution may be welcomed by local policymakers, in reality these new opportunities are presented in the context of significant financial restrictions, where funding streams are increasingly subject to negotiation and competition (Meeghan et al., 2014). In this context, it has been argued that already successful localities may be better equipped to compete for funding, potentially leading to further spatial disparities (see Meeghan et al., 2014).

1.3 Competition for mobile capital and investment

In practice, these changes serve to reinforce local autonomy based on entrepreneurialism and enterprise as a means by which localities may boost their own competitiveness in the context of significant cuts to public funding driven by austerity politics (Meegan et al., 2014). Under this rubric, towns and cities are increasingly required to act as entrepreneurs, competing to capture inward investment and migration, and to promote and foster local economic growth (Peck, 2016, 2005; Cox, 1995; Harvey, 2007; Lees et al., 2013; Peck and Tickell, 2002).

As noted earlier, under 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012) local authorities are increasingly required to turn to 'bootstraps strategies' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) to pursue local economic growth in the context of heightened competition, increased local responsibility for growth and restricted resources. One of the key narratives surrounding such debates – and central to the LEP urban competition approach – is the potential role of human capital as a driver of economic growth. Human capital and the availability of an appropriate workforce is necessarily important for economic growth and development (Storper and Scott, 2008). In this context there has been a long-standing interest in processes of migration and mobility and the relationship between the movement of human capital and spatial development (Fielding, 1992; Faggian and McCann, 2009; Champion, 2012; Champion and Coombes, 2007; Sage et al., 2013). Of particular interest has been the migratory patterns and assumed inherent economic value of young, ambitious graduates and highly skilled workers (Faggian and McCann, 2009).

Further, while the subject of nearly 15 years of academic critique, work by Florida (Florida, 2003, 2005, 2006) relating to the 'creative class' has been particularly influential among urban policymakers in suggesting that skilled, creative individuals can themselves act as a catalyst for local growth. From the perspective of local authorities, here, attracting economically successful groups may represent a double economic benefit as these individuals may firstly contribute to economic growth through improving the local skills base and attracting inward investment, and secondly, potentially bolster the local economy through contributions in taxes and local spending. These *productivity* and *consumption* benefits are likely to be of particular value where newcomers have relatively high levels of economic capital and disposable income compared to the existing population, particularly where these groups choose to work and to spend their money locally. It is outside the scope of this study to produce an academic appraisal relating to newcomers in Doncaster. However, the findings of this research relating to inward migration and motivation have the potential to provide groundwork for more in-depth economic investigation.

1.4 Growth in 'places that don't matter'

Where interurban competition is at the fore, and where some towns, cities, regions, and countries are winners in such competitions, others must necessarily be losers. The 'successes' of large urban centres and agglomeration processes are presented as inevitable and considered by some to be an 'equilibrium outcome' (see Martin, 2015 for discussion). For agglomeration proponents place-based initiatives designed to promote growth in lagging regions and to tackle spatial inequalities have been significantly pared back in favour of people-based strategies (see for example Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015; Crisp et al., 2015 for a discussion). Through encouraging the movement of populations, these approaches serve to reinforce agglomeration processes (Ferrari, 2018). The implicit and sometimes explicit (see for example Leunig and Swaffield, 2007; Overman, 2013) corollary of this approach is that those areas which are failing to reconfigure their economies in the context of a changing industrial landscape: 'places that don't matter' (Rodríguez-Pose, 2018), *should* be left to decline (see e.g. Overman, 2013, Leunig and Swaffield, 2007 for such arguments). As a corollary of these rationales, in such conceptualisations, individuals and households may be expected to follow employment opportunities and move out of towns, cities and regions which are in decline and towards more buoyant areas (Ferrari, 2018 -see for example Leunig and Swaffield, 2007).

Necessarily this political, ideological and economic context may be particularly pertinent for 'lagging regions' (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007), and those areas which have been significantly impacted by deindustrialisation and which have struggled to recover and adapt to a changing industrial landscape. The pressure to adapt to an entrepreneurial culture has been particularly challenging in 'peripheral post-industrial places' (PPIPs) (Gherhes et al., 2017) such as Doncaster. Like many PPIPs, there has been a local reliance on employed labour and on public sector employment in Doncaster (Gherhes et al., 2017). Furthermore, such places are unlikely to have the institutions and frameworks in place to support the entrepreneurialism which is seen to be crucial in adapting to changing economies and there may be issues with adapting local skills towards entrepreneurial ambitions (Gherhes et al., 2017). At the same time, empirical evidence has suggested that smaller towns and cities are suffering from an out-migration of residents, where young, ambitious movers are leaving these places in favour of larger cities (Faggian and McCann, 2009). Following re-urbanisation trends, concerns exist around a net-flow of young, ambitious movers out of towns and villages and into larger cities and 'escalator regions' (Fielding, 1992), where they may hope to advance their careers, simultaneously leading to 'brain drain' (Gherhes et al., 2017) as these groups leave their departure regions.

As described above, in order to capture mobile capital, promotional activities and changes to the built environment designed to appeal to more affluent groups can become part of local economic growth strategies (Lees et al., 2013; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Peck, 2005). For local policymakers in 'places that don't matter' (Rodríguez-Pose, 2018), and in the context of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012) with restricted policy options, such approaches may become increasingly attractive. In this context, suitable and attractive housing options (which may be bolstered through targeted high-end new-build) may feasibly be considered part of a strategy to facilitate and support inward migration, with the aim of promoting local economic growth (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007; Lee and Murie, 2004). Indeed, the housing provision in northern towns and cities has been highlighted as a particular barrier to attracting the 'creative classes', and here changes to housing provision may be considered an opportunity to alleviate these difficulties (Lee and Murie, 2004).

1.5 Footloose firms and human capital

As the sections above have illustrated, urban competition strategies (focused on housing or otherwise) may be designed to improve the perception of a given locality in the eyes of potential residents, visitors and firms, with the hope of promoting economic growth. However, built within such urban competition economic growth approaches is the assumption of the relatively free movement both of business and human capital.

As such, urban competition policies assume relatively unconstrained capacity for mobility on the part of human capital and, underpinning this, the exercise of economic rationality on the part of movers. Here, households are perceived to be relatively footloose, searching for optimum living environments and capable of being drawn into towns and cities according to a dispassionate calculus around their residential and cultural offering. Economic rationality models have dominated housing studies research, and policy based on assumptions relating to economically rational behaviour continue to be prevalent in relation to the housing market at a range of spatial scales (Clapham, 2005).

At the same time, according to this approach, it is understood that firms are also footloose and that business will relocate to areas that can provide attractive business environments. This rationale is key to the LEP 'bootstraps' approach to local economic development. However, a further and more fundamental related criticism lies in the causality of the relationship between human capital and economic growth. This relationship is complex and represents a 'chicken-and-egg problem' (Storper and Scott, 2008, p.157): will labour market growth beget the inward migration of human capital, or vice versa? These questions are complex and have been the subject of much interest and debate (see Storper and Scott, 2008 for a discussion). Indeed, it has been argued that assuming that human capital (in the form of the creative class or otherwise) can serve as the catalyst for growth, there is a fundamental misunderstanding of this relationship (Storper and Scott, 2008). As Storper (2011, p.336), argues, it can equally (and perhaps more convincingly be argued that 'people go to jobs', and here, a people-first approach to growth may be ineffective at subsequently attracting business investment.

Despite these concerns, these narratives remain influential and continue to form part of local economic strategies. Nevertheless, there has been relatively little empirical investigation into the role that high-end new-build housing can have on motivating inward migration into lagging regions (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007) or the broader implications that such policies may have at the neighbourhood level. It is this context that formed the basis of this thesis.

The thesis therefore aims to explore the extent to which realities may correspond to policymaker expectations through an empirical investigation of residential moves into new-build homes in Doncaster, a metropolitan borough and peripheral post-industrial place 'PPIP' (Gherhes et al., 2017) in South Yorkshire, England.

1.6 Research aims and approach

Central to the efficacy of a housing-focused urban competition strategy is that people move into new property and interact with the local economy in a way that brings the potential for new economic capital (productivity through skills, talents, and so on) and consumption (through higher disposable income spent locally). Here, it is argued that there are two types of criteria that serve to influence this potential efficacy.

A potential net economic benefit would be largely realised by households *moving into* the area rather than from *within the area*, and it is an incoming group of (potentially affluent) newcomers which have the potential to bring substantial net economic change. As such, it is important to determine the extent to which those moving into new-build homes are newcomers, as opposed to existing residents. As outlined above, there is an inherent assumption in such urban competition approaches that movers will act in an economically rational way, seeking to maximise their utility through housing and location choice. In order to explore these relationships and assumptions it is important to examine the extent to which housing (alongside other factors) is influential in attracting (potential) newcomers, and the ways in which movers understand and interpret their mobility choices.

A further concern may lie not in the potential efficacy of such strategies, but in the explicit focus of urban competition policies on more affluent groups, particularly in relation to the housing market. Put crudely, there is a rather thin empirical basis for claiming that benefits 'trickle down' to less advantaged people and places. Whilst there may be some hope of trickle down benefits through processes of filtering (see for example Galster, 1996; Baer and Williamson, 1988; White, 1971) such models rarely translate into empirical outcomes. Instead, studies of neighbourhood change over time have highlighted the potential for residential 'sorting' (Hedman and van Ham, 2012; Clark and Morrison, 2012) at the neighbourhood level, as more affluent households may leave neighbourhoods whose quality is perceived to have reduced over time (Clark and Morrison, 2012). In turn, this can lead to a 'spiral of selective downwards mobility' (Clark and van Ham, 2009 p. 1445), as these more affluent households are in turn replaced by those with fewer resources leading to increased concentrations of deprivation. Here, a focus on high-end construction also has the potential to contribute to issues of segregation, through providing new opportunities for affluent groups to move into 'enclaves', separated from others living nearby (Atkinson, 2006).

Moreover, as described above, alongside broader changes to spatial policy, area-based policies designed to intervene to counteract the impacts of concentrations of deprivation have been almost universally discontinued (Meegan et al., 2014; Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015; Crisp et al., 2015). Whilst ABIs have faced criticism, without alternative measures in place there is the potential for spatial inequalities at the neighbourhood scale to continue unchecked. As Cole (2015, p.302) states, 'previous experience makes one sceptical of the claim that the housing market will renew itself, rather than eventually depend on the visible hand (and purse) of the government to prod it into action'.

Here, there is a need to explore neighbourhood selection and internal and incoming moves into neighbourhoods, acknowledging the potential wider social and economic implications of individual and aggregate moves.

Accordingly, the aims and objectives of the study are as follows:

- To examine the extent to which new-build housing in Doncaster is taken up by newcomers to the borough, and the extent to which it is occupied by existing residents
- To explore the processes which lead to inward migration of households into Doncaster and the role of new-build housing developments (alongside other factors) in shaping these mobility outcomes
- To explore neighbourhood selection in incoming and internal moves and the role of new-build housing in internal mobility processes

In exploring these issues, the research focuses on the relationships between decision-making, priorities and preferences at the household scales, and outcomes at the neighbourhood and local authority scale. Throughout this investigation, analysis of interview and survey data relating to these decision-making processes, priorities and preferences also for a more in-depth discussion of the dynamic issues of identity and belonging and the ways in which these issues intersected with changing relationships with people and places across time to produce these outcomes.

Adopting a mixed-methods, multi-scalar analysis, this research employs a ‘life course’ (Elder, 1994; Findlay et al., 2015) approach, designed to situate moves into new-build developments in Doncaster within wider mobility histories and narratives. It calls on primary data collected through a household survey along with biographical semi-structured interviews to unpick the influences and motivations drawing individuals and households to new-build developments in Doncaster.

In doing so, the thesis provides a contribution to contemporary debates, providing empirical insights into housing-led urban competition strategies in a peripheral place, whilst proving conceptual and theoretical insights through examining housing choice through a relational lens.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This chapter forms the first section of the thesis. The remainder of the thesis is divided into 11 chapters, which constitute 4 further sections.

These are shown in Figure 1.1 below and are discussed below the diagram.

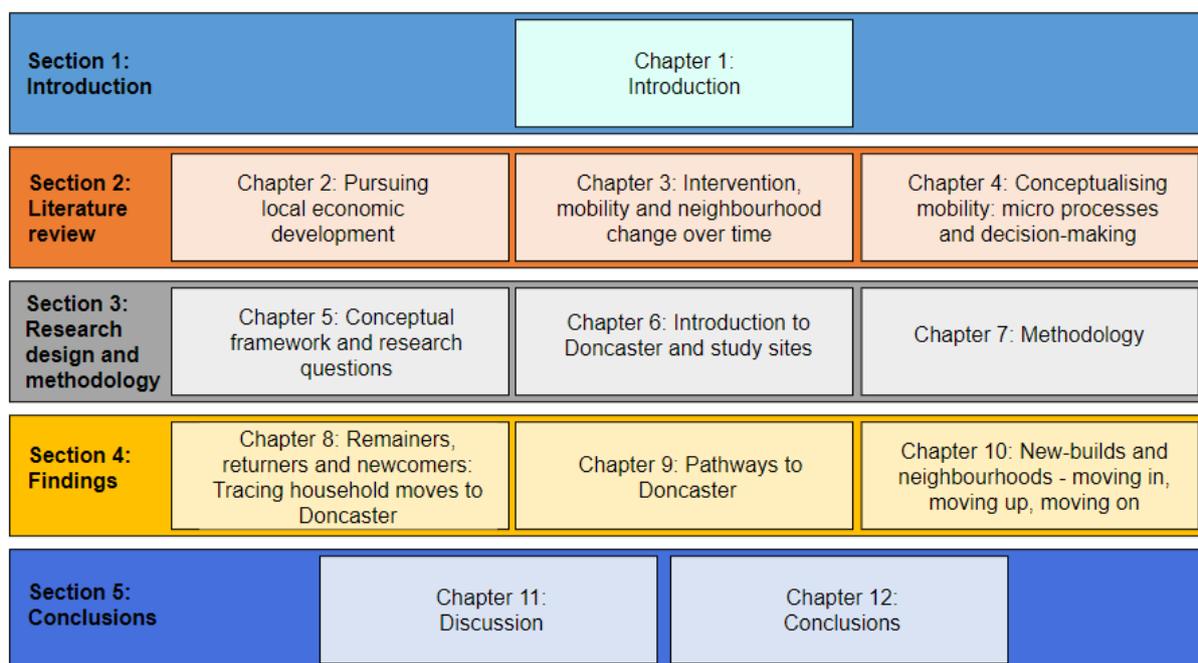


Figure 1.1: Thesis structure diagram

Section 2: Literature Review

Section 2 (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) provides a discussion of issues relevant to this thesis as they are presented in the literature. Each of these chapters focuses on a different spatial scale. **Chapter 2** explores the ideological, economic and political context that may serve to motivate policy that assumes a causal link between housing market growth and local economic growth. As such, this

chapter focuses on the borough scale, situating local concerns and pressures within the wider context of global, national and regional influences. The chapter begins by introducing the idea of neoliberalization of urban policy, moving on to discuss broad changes in approaches to regional development, particularly since the financial crash. The chapter then looks more closely at manifestations of uneven spatial development at the national level, introducing Doncaster as an example of a peripheral post-industrial place (PPIP) (Gherhes et al., 2017). It is argued that where entrepreneurialism and interurban competition are at the fore, some areas will win in this arrangement, and others will lose. Further, that PPIPs such as Doncaster, which have struggled to reconfigure their economy since the deindustrialisation at the end of the 20th Century, may be particularly disadvantaged in developing a local economy based on entrepreneurialism. Here, local policymakers are increasingly required to adopt 'bootstraps' approaches to local development and that in the context of interurban competition, high-end new-build housing may be conceived as an appropriate means through which to try to attract inward migration in the hope of promoting local growth. At its conclusion, it is argued that such policies may be based on fundamentally flawed assumptions.

Chapter 3 moves from the macro to the meso or neighbourhood scale. Here, the concern is not with the potential efficacy of a housing-based economic growth strategy, but with the likely impacts of a policy focus on more affluent groups. The chapter thus focuses on the *meso* or neighbourhood scale, exploring relationships between new-build housing and mobility processes within the context of neighbourhood change over time. Here it is argued that high-end new-build developments have the potential to inspire absolute and relational changes at the sub-borough level, through changing the physical environment and enabling or motivating mobility. The implications of this, it is argued, could result in positive net benefits (as suggested by filtering theory (Baer and Williamson, 1988; Galster, 1996; White, 1971), but may be more likely to result in increased socioeconomic spatial segregation.

The chapter situates targeted high-end new-build construction within a wider context of housing market intervention in the form of area-based initiatives (ABIs). It is argued that whilst such initiatives have faced substantial criticism, a policy focus on more affluent groups, without accompanying strategies to tackle spatial inequalities may exacerbate trends of uneven spatial development and associated negative economic and social consequences.

In order to explore rationality and decision-making at the micro scale, **Chapter 4** outlines a range of conceptual approaches to understanding migration and mobility processes. The chapter discusses economic, geographical and life cycle, and sociological approaches to understanding residential mobility, arguing that whilst each of these traditions offers a lens through which to understand mobility processes and the rationality of decision-makers, each only offers a lens which reflects part of a complex and multifaceted story. It is argued that a life course or pathways approaches allow for a more holistic analysis of decision-making in the housing market, where residential mobility processes can be situated within the wider context of individual narratives as well as relational and structural issues.

Section 3: Research approach and methodology

Section 3 (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) outlines the nature and design of the research. Drawing on the literature examined in Chapters 2-4, **Chapter 5** outlines the conceptual framework that serves to guide the research design for this project. The conceptual framework illustrates the multi-scalar nature of

the research, as micro level residential mobility and migration decisions form a mutually influential relationship with change at both the macro (borough) and meso (neighbourhood) scales, via the nexus of new-build housing supply. An exploration of the literature and an examination of the potential intersections between new-build housing construction and related policymaker expectations, mobility processes at a range of scales and changes to places both in absolute and relational terms.

Chapter 6 introduces the Metropolitan Borough of Doncaster and the study sites within the borough which are used in data collection. The chapter introduces key statistics and historical information relating to the borough covering a wide range of factors including its geographical location and its enviable connectivity, where the borough is strategically located at a range of major transport arteries, being home also to the Sheffield City Region's (SCR) Robin Hood Airport Doncaster-Sheffield (RHADS). The chapter also describes the rich industrial history of Doncaster including its rail and coal industries and the processes of deindustrialisation which had wide spread implications for the borough and its residents, the impacts of which are still felt in the borough today.

In order to explore the ways in which new-build housing intersected with mobility processes across the borough, this research examined developments across Doncaster of a range of different types. The study includes two wholly new-build developments, which were not situated within existing neighbourhoods, and eight which were extensions of existing settlements; two developments in relatively deprived neighbourhoods (with one being situated in an ex-mining village) and six developments in more affluent neighbourhoods; five neighbourhoods in outlying towns and villages, and three neighbourhoods in more urbanised areas. These developments were selected following advice from colleagues at Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council (DMBC), working in economic policy, planning and housing, combined with local authority data relating to completions.

Chapter 7 outlines the methodological approach employed in this thesis, the research methods used in the study and the approach to data analysis. The thesis adopts a mixed-methods approach to data collection, combining predominantly quantitative data collected through postal household surveys with qualitative data collected through semi-structured biographical interviews. This approach allowed for the collection of household and mobility data from a relatively large sample of residents of new-build homes, whilst allowing for the collection of more in-depth biographical data from survey respondents.

Initial contact was made with 622 households using a postal survey. These surveys were followed up with in-depth semi-structured biographical interviews with 26 respondents from 24 households who had moved into new-build developments at their most recent household moves. Biographical, semi-structured interviews were designed to capture information relating to household moves and the reasons behind these moves, situating mobility choices within broader life course frameworks. This information was used to analyse residential histories both individually and collectively. Here, 'pathways' (Clapham 2002; 2005) and 'arrival stories' (Savage et al., 2005, p.90) were used to cross-analyse mobility biographies, highlighting similarities, difference and nuance in the ways in which respondents described their household moves.

Section 4: Findings

Section 4 (Chapters 8, 9 and 10) outlines the findings of this research. Chapters 8 and 9 are concerned primarily with mobility into Doncaster, whilst Chapter 10 focuses on mobility into specific neighbourhoods and developments within the borough.

Drawing primarily on survey data, **Chapter 8** introduces the survey respondents, providing information including household size and composition. The chapter then uses survey data to outline the types of housing moves which respondents made at the most recent move, including the size of the home before and after their move as well as the tenure and type. The chapter discusses these characteristics in relation to Doncaster averages, contextualising key housing characteristics of respondents within the local housing market context. The chapter also outlines key characteristics of households in the study including household incomes and employment status and sector of movers including whether they work in the borough or elsewhere. Again, these characteristics are compared with statistics relating to the borough as a whole.

Having introduced respondents in the study, the chapter then examines respondents' housing histories in more detail. In doing so, the chapter begins to situate moves into and within Doncaster within respondents' wider life course and residential history. The chapter draws together survey information relating to historical household moves and main reasons for moving to identify the types of factors which were important in motivating moves of different distances across all household moves, across the most recent move, across all historical inward migratory moves into Doncaster, and across moves into Doncaster at the most recent household move. This information allows for initial analysis of the types of factors which motivated mobility by distance as well as where residents have lived prior to their move into a new-build home in Doncaster.

The chapter further explores respondents' geographical residential histories, mapping household moves and reasons for moving across the three most recent household moves. This analysis allows for an initial understanding of where new residents have moved from, and their prior residential relationship with Doncaster. In doing so, it is also possible to explore the extent to which residents were new to the borough (and therefore could have been attracted to the borough as a result of new-build housing), and the extent to which new-build housing in the study sites was taken up by those already living within the borough. This allows for the identification and classification of different groups of movers: *Newcomers*, *Returners* and *Remainers*.

Focusing on those who have returned to or relocated to the borough, **Chapter 9** draws on the information provided in Chapter 8 and, through cross-sectional analysis of respondent interviews explores respondents' 'pathways' (Clapham, 2002, 2005) to Doncaster. The chapter uses data collected through biographical interviews to situate the decision to live in Doncaster within respondents' life course, highlighting the issues which respondents referred to as influential in guiding their decision about where to live and in particular, the factors that drew them to Doncaster. Cross-sectional analysis of respondents' interview data allowed for the identification of similarities and differences in the stories told by respondents relating to their decision to live in Doncaster, highlighting key factors which shaped mobility processes. In doing so, the chapter highlights respondents' previous mobility histories and their life course stage to situate the move to Doncaster within broader narratives relating to histories, ambitions and relationships with people and places across time. The chapter concludes with a closer examination of the role of the local housing provision in the borough in attracting inward migration by newcomers and returners into Doncaster.

Chapter 10 shifts in scalar focus from the *macro* borough level to the neighbourhood or *meso* scale. The chapter draws together narratives from newcomers, and existing residents, to explore how respondents described their decision to live in new-build housing developments in the study site areas.

Using information from the household survey and interviews, the chapter examines historical moves within Doncaster which resulted in a move into new-build home in the borough, mapping movers' residential histories within Doncaster. The chapter then uses combined survey and interview data to discuss the ways in which respondents spoke about neighbourhoods and residential choice within Doncaster, framed within 'arrival stories' (Savage et al., 2005, p.90) of respondents, through which movers explained how they came to live in their current place of residence. These 'arrival stories' are organised according to the study sites in the borough, allowing for respondents descriptions of neighbourhoods and communities within Doncaster to be woven into individual and collective narratives. In this way, neighbourhood choice and moves within Doncaster are situated within broader narratives of individual and collective histories, as respondents and places are perceived to change over time. The chapter then looks more closely at the role of new-build housing as a specific housing type in influencing decisions about where to live in Doncaster, revealing a strong preference for this housing type amongst respondents.

Section 5: Conclusions

Section 5 (Chapters 11 and 12) situates the research findings within the broader debates outlined in the first and second sections of the thesis. These chapters discuss and explore the research findings and express the contribution to knowledge provided by this thesis.

Chapter 11 draws together information from the research findings outlined in the preceding three chapters and situates these findings within the broader theoretical and conceptual literature. In doing so, the chapter links the empirical findings associated with the macro and meso scale with the theoretical nuance which arose from studying mobility at the micro scale.

Chapter 12 summarises the findings of the thesis, outlining the ways in which this thesis has addressed the research aims and objectives. The chapter concludes by outlining the contribution to knowledge provided by this work, the limitations of the research design and a reflection on the potential for future research directions which emerge from this thesis.

The thesis now moves on to Section 2: Literature Review

Chapter 2 Pursuing local economic development

2.1 Introduction

As outlined in the introduction, this thesis is concerned with the relationship between new-build housing, mobility and economic growth. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the ideological, economic and political context which serves to shape policymaking in the English context, with a particular focus on approaches to spatial development and economic growth. The chapter explores the factors which might motivate policy which assumes a causal link between the inward migration of human capital and economic growth (through the proxy of high-end new-build housing), situating these strategies within the broader context of urban competition.

2.2 The rise of neoliberalism

It would be difficult to discuss the changing UK political field without reference to what Hall (2011, p.705) terms the 'long march of the Neo-liberal revolution'. That is, the process through which neoliberal ideology has increasingly been incorporated into policy through successive governments. Neoliberalism is a term which has been used to describe a broad range of processes and strategies through which free-market ideology, strong individual property rights and notions of individual responsibility and entrepreneurialism become central political aims (Hall, 2011; Harvey, 2007). Much has been written about the perceived rise of neoliberalism in British politics - however - despite its prevalence, the term 'neoliberalism' itself is not easily defined, representing as it does a 'rascal concept' (Brenner et al., 2010, p.182). To understand the growing acceptance and dominance of neoliberal thought, it is necessary to apply a lens of evolution and change over time (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002). As such, following Peck and Tickell (2002), rather than imagining neoliberalism as a measurable 'end-state', adherence to the neoliberal project can be more accurately seen as a process of 'neoliberalization', which is heterogeneous in nature, occurring variously within the boundaries of existing institutional, geographical and political frameworks. As Brenner and Theodore state:

The somewhat elusive phenomenon that needs definition must be construed as a historically specific, ongoing, and internally contradictory process of market-driven sociospatial transformation, rather than as a fully actualized policy regime, ideological form, or regulatory framework (2002, p.353).

Ideologies are rarely transferred into policy with the purity and precision of abstract theory, and the manner through which neoliberalism has been incorporated into policy has been as varied, multifaceted and irregular as the development of neoliberal processes as described above (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2007; Olesen, 2014; Peck and Tickell, 2002). Brenner and Theodore (2002) used the term 'actually existing' neoliberalism to describe the differentiation between the abstract theory of neoliberalism and the resultant 'actually existing' policy mechanisms and approaches. This understanding stresses the importance of recognising the specific and unique geographical, temporal, historical and political structures within which neoliberalism processes exist, holding that the theoretical purity of neoliberal ideology is often not translated unencumbered into policy, taking instead many different forms.

Nevertheless, as Peck and Tickell (2002, p.383) note, whilst neoliberalism must be understood as a complex and multifarious phenomenon, 'the diffusion of [neoliberalism] may present clues to a pervasive "metalogue"'. As such, whilst processes of neoliberalization have been both complex and

uneven - nevertheless, the adoption of neoliberal logic has been considerable. David Harvey succinctly describes this phenomenon:

Neoliberalism has become a hegemonic discourse with pervasive effects on ways of thought and political-economic practices to the point where it is now part of the commonsense way we interpret, live in, and understand the world (2007, p.22).

In the context of England, whilst each successive government's rhetoric boasts an explicit ideological departure from their predecessor, the reality may perhaps be less pronounced. For example, Featherstone et al. (2012, p.178) described the approach of the Conservative-led coalition government as simply the, 'latest mutation of neoliberalism', situating the approach of the coalition within a more comprehensive narrative of ideological change and development.

2.3 Central-local government relations

The relationship between national and local government is one which necessarily affects the way that local government is run and local policy developed, with fiscal and legislative changes determined at a national level altering the balance of resources and responsibilities at the disposal of local government. As Lowndes (2005, p.247) states, 'The rules of the local governance game are not free-floating. They are 'nested' or embedded within wider institutional frameworks that exist above, below and alongside local government itself'. In addition, the climate of local resources and responsibilities necessarily serve to shape the way that local policy is formed and the way that local economic strategies are developed. This relationship is highly dynamic and is dependent on ideological approaches and political strategies of central government.

Since the 2010 general election, the Conservative-led coalition government promoted a range of policies relating to localism, decentralisation, and the 'Big Society'. The rhetorical focus has been on wresting power away from local authorities, removing the 'bureaucratic handbrake', cutting 'needless red tape' (Foster, 2013) and handing power over to local communities. Then prime minister, David Cameron (2010) hailed this approach as a, 'big advance for people power' representing 'the biggest, most dramatic redistribution of power from elites in Whitehall to the man and woman on the street'. This rhetoric evokes powerful images of engaged citizens and empowered communities, but also suggests a need to reduce state involvement and shift responsibility toward individuals and communities.

The central approach to local government reform has been the adoption of a project which Featherstone et al. (2012) have termed 'austerity localism', through which a portrayal in government rhetoric and the media of an inefficient public sector, culpable for the recession and budget deficit has served as part of a justification of wide-ranging reforms to local government (Wilks-Heeg, 2011). The strategy of the Coalition and Conservative governments since 2010 in achieving these reforms has been two-fold. Firstly, there have been far-reaching changes to funding, with major fiscal cuts throughout the public sector, and secondly, there have been vast alterations to the functioning and responsibilities of local government (see, for example Clarke and Cochrane (2013) for a review). Accordingly, the dominant neoliberal ideology has led to a vastly changed balance of resources and responsibility for local government. Stoker (2004, p.10 italics in original) describes the change in the role of local authorities as having shifted from 'local *government* to local *governance*'. Here, the role of the local authority has changed from that of a direct service provider, to a role more akin to a 'collaborator' (Stoker, 2004, p.10), organising services from a number of providers, within a complex

system of 'multi-level governance' (Stoker, 2004, p.11). Local authorities are often no longer required to provide public services using internal resources, but are increasingly expected to turn to public-private partnerships driven by market forces.

Within the context of widespread cuts throughout the public sector, funding can be levered as a means by which local policy options can be influenced by central government, and as part of this pro-growth strategy, a number of financial incentives have been introduced to reward those areas which respond most effectively to a pro-growth agenda. Such incentives include the establishment of Enterprise Zones, the possibility for local retention of business rates, the Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) and the New Homes Bonus (NHB). At the same time, there has been a focus on the need for institutional barriers, such as planning controls, to be eased or removed. Land use planning in this context has come under particular scrutiny, being cast as a barrier to growth and development. As part of the Localism Act (2011) the coalition government (2010-2015) abolished the regional tier within the spatial planning system and developed the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), a document which re-wrote much of the national planning regulation.

The NPPF calls for a, 'presumption in favour of sustainable development' as a guiding principle (DCLG, 2012, p.4) requiring that, 'investment in business should not be over-burdened by the combined requirements of planning policy expectations' (DCLG, 2012, p.7). In practice, the NPPF minimises planning regulation and, through the emphasis on encouraging development, this new regulatory framework has allowed for a rebalancing of the respective opportunities for negotiation away from the local state and towards developers (Olesen, 2014). Olesen (2014) places these recent changes to spatial planning systems within the UK (as in the rest of Europe) within a wider narrative of the neoliberalization of spatial planning,. Through these processes, the theoretical expectations and the everyday practice of spatial planning have become increasingly divergent, with a decisive shift in the latter - driven by neoliberal ideologies - towards entrepreneurialism, competition and economic growth. Together, these have been presented to local authorities as a part of a package of 'localist' measures and as a means to encourage local development while controlling expenditure. These macro-level pressures and rationales along with the climate of local resources necessarily serve to shape the way that local policy is formed and the way that local economic strategies are developed. The message is simple and explicit: economic growth is to form the cornerstone of local policymaking.

2.4 Uneven spatial development, agglomeration and New Economic Geography (NEG)

Whilst the focus at the local level, particularly since 2010 has been on promoting local economic growth, changes in local governance must also be understood in the context of regional spatial development and governance.

In the English context, uneven spatial development has been increasing since the 1970s, but with increasing rapidity since the 1990s (Gardiner et al., 2013; Martin, 2015). England has a 'primate city-size distribution' (Champion et al., 2014, p.422), with the capital city, London, being substantially larger in terms of population, size and influence than any other city in the country (Champion et al., 2014). Where economic growth was widespread across the country towards the end of the 20th Century, London and parts of the south east saw particularly high levels of economic growth (Gardiner et al., 2013) and since the financial crash of 2007/8, recovery across the country has been fractured and uneven.

Following the financial crash, there has been a renewed interest on the part of policymakers and academics in understanding the processes behind patterns of development across the country and the impacts of these processes on economic development at a range of spatial scales. Much has been written about the existence of a north-south divide in England in relation to development and prosperity (Martin et al., 2016; Gardiner et al., 2013). Whilst it would be incorrect to oversimplify the 'binary' nature of the north and South of England, debates around existence of a north-south divide in the English context are not new and have existed since at least the 19th Century (Gardiner et al., 2013). Whilst the economy of London and other larger cities have been relatively successful in recovering since the financial crash, other areas – particularly in those areas most acutely affected by deindustrialisation towards the close of the 20th century – have been less successful in reconfiguring their economies and have failed to recover at the same rate, further exacerbating spatial inequalities. These areas are disproportionately situated in the north of the country (Gardiner et al., 2013).

As Gardiner et al.(2013) argue, the justifications for seeking spatial redistribution of growth are two-fold. The 'social equity' argument holds that employment opportunities and incomes should not be geographically disparate, and the 'economic efficiency' argument holds that the 'persistent existence of underutilized resources' (Gardiner et al., 2013 p.899) in lagging regions and a lack of opportunities in these areas leads to an inefficient use of resources. Accordingly, promoting growth in these areas, has the potential to improve overall national economic growth, through unlocking potential in areas of the country which are falling behind (Gardiner et al., 2013). Following Gardiner et al. (2013), spatial concentrations of opportunity can also lead to processes of inflation, which can further impact issues of congestion as well as putting pressure on wages, house prices and so on. These arguments would suggest that approaches to regional development aimed at reducing spatial inequality may be advantageous at a national and regional level.

However, there remain several counter-arguments to these rationales and there have been influential suggestions that a more even distribution of resources and opportunities may not be the optimum approach to national economic prosperity (see for example Overman, 2013). Of particular note has been the focus on large urban centres and the potential economic benefits of agglomeration. Agglomeration, broadly speaking, is a term which refers to the spatial concentration of specific industries within a relatively small geographical area. This spatial concentration allows for greater specialism and efficiency derived from close proximity and co-location which 'promotes the spillover of skills, tacit knowledge and connections' (Williams et al., 2016, p.4). These geographically-based specialisms naturally favour larger cities, where these processes can be more pronounced (Williams et al., 2016, p.4). Furthermore, agglomeration can be understood as a 'process of circular and cumulative causation' (Storper and Scott, 2008, p.157) as areas of agglomeration continue to attract business and human capital, further reinforcing these associated benefits (Gardiner et al., 2013; Martin, 2015; Pike et al., 2017; Storper and Scott, 2008).

In the English context, the concentration of the country's financial sectors within the south east, and particularly in London, has been posited as an example of the benefits associated with agglomeration and, during the boom years of the late 20th Century, the dramatic growth of the capital was 'openly celebrated' as an example of the economic potential of agglomeration (Martin, 2015). Moreover, the perceived benefits of agglomeration in London has been considered to be beneficial to economic development at a national level in the context of globalisation and international competition. As Martin states:

In these Neoliberal times, states compete one with another to 'capture' and 'fix' a share of increasingly mobile capital within their territories – for example, by creating a low-tax, weakly regulated 'good business climate' and, where the opportunity exists, as in the UK, by promoting and supporting their 'global city' – even if that means that other cities and regions are neglected or disadvantaged in the process (2015, p.262).

These rationalities are particularly associated with proponents of the New Economic Geography (NEG) approach (see for example Krugman, 1991b, 1991a; Brakman et al., 2009). Here, the inherent spatial inequalities associated with agglomeration are understood as an 'equilibrium outcome' (Martin, 2015) and where these spatial patterns of development are thought to be at once inevitable and beneficial for the national economy, questions may be raised as to the benefit of investing in less successful areas (see for example Overton 2012, 2013). As Gardiner et al. state:

The contentious implication...is that there is a sort of 'trade-off' between greater spatial balance in economic activity and national economic growth: a policy choice between greater geographical equality and increased national efficiency. The pursuit of geographically balanced development via regional policies might therefore be counterproductive (2013, p.890).

Nevertheless, the uncertainty following the financial crash, reopened concerns relating to regional spatial inequalities across the country (Gardiner et al., 2013; Martin, 2015). Indeed, as Berry and Hay (2016, p.3) state, 'the rebalancing of the British economy has become perhaps the central motif in the public political economy of adjustment to the financial crisis'. In order to address issues of regional imbalance, the Coalition government introduced a range of measures and initiatives focused around promoting local economic growth. At the regional level, a key part of this strategy has been the replacement of the 12 Regional Development Agencies, which had been tasked with regional economic development with 39 Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs): collaborative regional bodies including local policymakers and representatives from key business interests. These partnerships, strengthened following the Heseltine Review (2012), have been designed to promote some devolution at the regional scale, providing new opportunities for regions to pursue economic growth and development (Meegan et al., 2014).

More recently, a further response of central government in seeking to address the issue of regional spatial inequalities has been in the attempt to reproduce the perceived success of agglomeration processes as exemplified in London, through the promotion of City Deals and Growth Deals in the north of the country, designed to awaken the potential of what George Osborne – then Chancellor of the Exchequer – referred to as the 'Northern Powerhouse' (Etherington and Jones, 2016b). This devolution is posited as a means through which towns and cities are able to take control of their own growth and development and, whilst this idea might be welcomed, it is also notable that this is to be done in the context of significantly constrained resources (Meegan et al., 2014).

State intervention and investment necessarily have the potential to impact and shape spatial patterns of regional growth. As Gardiner et al. (2013, p. 918) state, 'what is clear is that the introduction of this new 'local growth agenda' is taking place against a harsh economic background'. The inherently competitive nature of the LEP approach has led concomitant concerns that already successful areas may be more effective at securing funding and growth through this system, leading to potential further spatial inequalities (Meegan et al., 2014).

Arguably, a further 'triumph' (Ferrari, 2018) of NEG proponents, has been changes in regional spatial policy, particularly in relation to targeted investment in regional development outside of the major urban centres. Following the rationale of NEG, state intervention can only be justified in so much as it serves to promote processes of agglomeration (Martin, 2015). 'Place-based' investment in lagging areas or places which are in decline may be seen by proponents of the NEG approach to stand in direct contradiction to these aims (see Ferrari, 2018; Martin, 2015; Gardiner et al., 2013 for discussion). As Overman states:

Our relatively successful cities have...been hampered by the fact that 'place-based' interventions tend to involve a lot of 'jam-spreading'. Spending money in a city like Manchester...is seen as 'unfair' if we don't pursue similar policies in less successful urban areas. As a result, what money is spent gets spread around rather than trying to build on the successes (2013, p.5).

These ideas have been particularly influential in shaping policy (Gardiner et al., 2013). In line with neoliberal policy approaches as discussed above, there has been a shift away from place-based approaches to regional development and regeneration (including area-based interventions which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3), focused on 'jam-spreading'. Here, rather than time consuming and costly place-based interventions in spatial development strategies, people-based approaches specifically aimed at encouraging mobility into more successful regions may be favoured (Ferrari, 2018; see for example Leunig and Swaffield, 2007 for these arguments). The NEG approach has recently come under scrutiny (see for example, Haughton et al. (2014)) but has nevertheless been staunchly defended by its proponents (see for example Overman, 2014, 2015) and these ideas continue to be influential. Meeghan et al (2014) situate these changes to regional governance within a broader timeline of neoliberalisation as described above and it is this context of pressure to promote local economic growth whilst working with constrained resources which has led some (see for example, Meeghan et al, 201; Crisp et al., 2015) to use Peck's (2012) term 'austerity urbanism' to describe the approach to spatial policy in England. These processes also stand to have substantial impacts at more localised neighbourhood scales, as structural pressures and regional imbalances play out. These issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.5 Peripheral post-industrial places, entrepreneurship and economic recovery

A continuing focus on NEG rationalities and the perceived benefits of agglomeration necessarily have implications for areas within the country which have faced challenges to adapting to a changing industrial landscape. As outlined above, within the NEG rationality, the efficacy of investment within lagging regions may be questioned. Further, more deprived areas have been the most deeply affected by cuts to government funding (Meegan et al., 2014) and such areas may have particular barriers to growth. As Storper states:

The locally negative version of [processes of agglomeration] may involve a regional economy that is undiversified and which suffers a major 'relocation shock'. Once this occurs, there is the possibility of cumulative downward spirals—through unemployment and out-migration...When jobs go away, the decline of non-tradable sectors leads to degradation of the local built environment (absent significant public investment)...Prices decline, leading to accumulation of negative externalities and reputation effects or 'images' of the place...This is the negative type of circular and cumulative causation that mirrors the positive type that is found in 'hot' growth centres (2011, pp.339-340).

Across the country, and particularly in the north, cities have for the most part been more successful than surrounding, smaller, post-industrial towns in moving towards economic recovery since the financial crash. Using the example of 'peripheral post-industrial place's (PPIPs) Gherhes et al. (2017) discuss the ways in which, where entrepreneurship is seen as key to economic resilience, some areas may fail to keep pace in adapting to changing circumstances. They (2017, p.2) describe these places as those 'outside of major urban centres whose continued underperformance is the result of persisting effects of deindustrialisation, and as such have been unable to make what Hall (2008, p.2) describes as the 'critical transition' beyond the manufacturing economy'. That is, these are areas which suffered from deindustrialisation at the end of the 20th century, and which fall outside major cities and which may be failing to adapt in the context of the changing political and economic landscape. Doncaster – the area used as the focus of this study – has been identified as a key example of such a PPIP (Gherhes et al., 2017). Whilst specific contextual issues which relate to Doncaster are discussed in detail in Chapter 6, it is necessary here to acknowledge in a broader sense the issues which may face PPIPs such as Doncaster in seeking to reconfigure their economies following deindustrialisation in the context of urban competition.

In seeking to adapt, Gherhes et al. (2017) argue that PPIPs are often faced with significant challenges relating to the relative absence of an established entrepreneurial culture and a lack of institutional support for entrepreneurial activity, when compared with other places which have been more successful at adapting to industrial reconfiguration. Where the focus had traditionally been on employed labour, and there is a continued reliance on public sector employment, these communities may struggle to foster entrepreneurial activity. These struggles may in part be attributed to the skills and adaptability of the existing workforce, as well as the prevailing place-specific culture and structures (Gherhes et al., 2017). As Martin asks:

Can workers' skills and productivity be separated from their place of work and residence so easily? The skill base of a region or city will reflect its past economic development path, its economic structures and labour processes. And those inherited skills and practices may well influence future skills and practices. People obviously 'make' places; but places also 'shape' people by virtue of the economic structures, employment opportunities, knowledge networks, and educational and other public and social institutions that exist in given localities (2015, p. 249).

Flows of human capital necessarily play a role in processes of economic growth and development (see e.g. Storper and Scott, 2008 for a discussion of the causality of the relationship between human capital and labour market growth) and here again, PPIPs may be disadvantaged. In the English context, there has been a long-running propensity for net migration from the north of the country to the south (Boyle et al., 2014). Whilst in the 1970s there were concerns relating to 'counterurbanisation', which held that 'cities in the developed world' were 'haemorrhaging people and jobs' (Champion and Townsend, 2011, p.1539), more recent literature which links aggregate migration patterns with agglomeration has suggested an 'urban resurgence' (Champion et al., 2014), a phrase used to describe the process through which individuals and families are increasingly moving to larger urban areas and out of smaller towns and rural areas (Champion et al., 2014). Where young, highly skilled and talented individuals leave their hometowns to pursue careers in larger cities, a related concern is highlighted by Gherhes et al. (2017): where smaller towns and cities and particularly PPIPs may face 'brain drain'. This is the process whereby young residents may leave the locality to attend university, or otherwise move to cities across the country and fail to return, thereby exacerbating concerns of a loss of human capital.

As Findlay et al. (2008, p.2169) stated, 'peripheral regions in most economies have a long experience of losing the most talented elements of their populations to core economic regions'.

As Crisp et al. (2015, p.181) state:

Less prosperous cities and sub-regions with fewer immediate prospects of growth may well be left behind, particularly by programmes underpinned by competitive or incentive-based funding or direct 'deals' with central government.

Within the context of significant pressure to stimulate growth at a local level, policies which attempt to retain or attract mobile human capital may become increasingly attractive and, in the context of 'austerity urbanism', options for promoting growth become limited.

2.6 Responsibility for growth: bootstraps, boosterism and urban competition

Eisenschitz and Gough (1993) used the term 'bootstraps strategy' to describe the growing trend for local economic initiatives, driven by neoliberal rationalities. These strategies promote local autonomy based on increased entrepreneurship, community involvement and enterprise as a means by which localities may boost their own competitiveness. Such strategies also have the effect of shifting responsibility of local economic problems from the state and on to local government and the individual. Indeed, the rhetoric of empowerment as described earlier in the chapter relates to not only to individuals, but also of cities, which are poised as being responsible for their own development. The opportunity is there to prosper, it is held, as long as local leaders and communities are willing to take it.

Where funding is scarce, competition between localities can intensify, and this can influence the ways in which local authority strategies are conceptualised and implemented. As Lees et al. (2013, p.165) stated, 'thanks to intense economic competition... cities now must be sophisticated entrepreneurs - doing whatever it takes to lure wealthy investors'. This perceived challenge has been expressed through the proliferation of civic boosterism and place marketing agendas, whereby local policymakers intentionally engage in urban competition projects designed to set them apart from other areas in the eyes of potential investors, residents and visitors (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Here, owing to the changing nature of economies towards knowledge-based industries (Faggian and McCann, 2009), the mobility processes of highly skilled and educated individuals has the potential to impact economic development at both an inter-regional, and intra-regional level (Faggian and McCann, 2009; Huggins and Clifton, 2011). As Faggian and McCann (2009) argue, regional competitiveness can rely on these graduates and this in turn creates a need not only to develop higher education opportunities, but also a labour market which can retain these groups after graduation.

Furthermore, alongside the potential role that skilled workers can play in attracting outward investment and fulfilling highly skilled roles, there have been suggestions that particular groups of individuals may be themselves influential in creating opportunities for economic development and driving local economies through enterprise (Champion and Coombes, 2007; Florida, 2005, 2003). Drawing on the notions of neoliberal rationales, globalised competition and civic boosterism, (Eisenschitz, 2010; Peck, 2005) Richard Florida's work relating to the 'creative class' is a particularly influential example of the theorization of the individual or particular groups of individuals as catalysts for growth. Within this conceptualisation, individuals themselves can become the drivers of local economic growth. As Florida states:

The creative centers are not thriving due to traditional economic reasons such as access to natural resources or transportation routes. Nor are they thriving because their local governments have gone bankrupt in the process of giving tax breaks and other incentives to lure business. They are succeeding largely because creative people want to live there. The companies follow the people—or, in many cases, are started by them (2003, p. 9).

In this conceptualisation then, the ability of individual towns and cities to attract and retain desirable individuals can be seen as key to unlocking potential local economic development and securing financial stability, providing a 'motor of urban regeneration' (Pratt, 2008, p.107). This context of interurban competition forms a central aspect of the LEP 'austerity urbanism' approach.

2.7 Housing as a driver of inward migration in lagging regions

In the context of a perceived housing crisis, there is considerable pressure on local authorities to promote house building, and, as outlined in the thesis introduction, there has been a notable shift in the conceptualisation of housing from its primary function of providing shelter, to its reconceptualisation as an inherently financial asset (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017; Gallent et al., 2018). Here, the financialisation and commodification of housing, accompanied by the withdrawal of the state from housing provision has led to an increased focus on demand-side economic pressures in housing construction, often at the expense of supply-side factors relating to meeting local need (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017). In addition, financial incentives such as the New Homes Bonus (NHB), may be seen by local authorities a means through which to generate local revenue in an increasingly constricted fiscal environment. An evaluation of the NHB scheme for example, found that over half of surveyed planning officers felt that the Bonus acted as a 'powerful incentive' to promote local housing growth, although the same did not find evidence to suggest that the bonus acted to encourage an increase specifically in affordable homes (DCLG, 2014).

Further, following an urban competition rationale, housing is often seen by policymakers as a contributor to wider 'place-making' and urban competition objectives and as a way to attract and retain economically productive residents. It is within this context that policies which aim to attract newcomers through targeted changes to housing supply through new-build housing (specifically focussing on high-end properties) can be purposefully manifested in local housing and economic development strategies. As Lee and Murie state:

A creative class does not simply materialize - the location of human capital and the critical mass of creative 'types' is dependent on a number of factors, not least what is on offer in the housing market and the quality of housing and neighbourhoods (2004, p.236).

Whilst the relationship between housing and the creative class was not specifically discussed by Florida, as Lee and Murie (2004), argue, housing supply and the availability of attractive neighbourhoods and amenities may have the potential to contribute to attracting skilled 'knowledge' workers. As Lee and Murie (2004) argue, much of the housing in post-industrial northern cities and towns is typified by post-war terraced housing, which may be considered undesirable to the 'creative classes'. As such, they argue, an approach to housing development which focuses on high-end developments may help to promote inward migration into these areas.

There is some evidence to suggest that improved housing may attract inward migration and encourage population retention. In their 2007 study, Tomaney and Bradley explored this relationship through a study involving surveys and interviews with households living in Wynyard Park (or Wynyard), based in

the north east of England which is 'known as the address of several of the region's highest profile entrepreneurs' (p.521). The study was designed to examine the relationship between local housing provision, the creative class and Knowledge Intensive Business Services (KIBS). The study (2007, p.511) found that 'the creative class does appear to have specific housing needs which, if met would help to attract mobile creative professionals into the region'. In particular, the study identified the role of housing types and amenities in drawing inward migration and retaining the existing population.

However, as described in the thesis introduction, the relationships between economic development and the movement of capital and labour are complex, representing somewhat of a 'chicken-and-egg problem' (Storper and Scott, 2008, p.157). Some have argued that the urban competition, people-first approach to economic growth may be fundamentally flawed, particularly in relation to the 'creative class'. As Storper and Scott stated:

Members of the so-called 'creative class'... are individuals who have by definition invested considerable resources and time in acquiring know-how, skills and qualifications, and they are presumably unwilling to dissipate their investments...by moving to places where their personal assets are systematically at risk or undervalued in the local job market (2008, p.162).

In turn, this would suggest that issues relating to employment (as opposed to residential amenity) may be more important in attracting the inward migration of the 'creative classes', suggesting a need for a jobs-first approach to economic development. Moreover, the capacity for mobility on the part of firms to quickly relocate to areas which have fostered a favourable business environment (as favoured in the LEP approach to economic development) have further been questioned (see for example, Storper, 2011).

Nevertheless, in the context of severe cuts to local resources, and increased pressure and responsibility for economic growth at the local level, local policymakers are restricted in the policy options available to them to promote such growth. In this context, the alternative to 'bootstraps' (Eisenshitz and Gough, 1993) are less clear.

2.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has explored the changing ideological, political and economic landscape which might motivate urban competition strategies to pursue economic growth at the local level in the context of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012) and the potential role of housing in such strategies. Here it was argued that in the context of substantial pressure to promote local economic growth, coupled with constricted resources with which to achieve these aims, local policymakers may turn to 'bootstraps strategies' (Eisenshitz and Gough, 1993). Here, housing may be conceived of as an economic asset and as a means through which to attract newcomers who may be able to attract future investment and contribute to the local economy through their skills, taxes and spending. However, there has been little empirical evidence to explore the relationship between high-end new-build housing and inward migration, particularly in post-industrial towns or 'lagging regions' (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007). This research provides an opportunity to explore these issues through examining outcomes as completed moves into or within the borough.

In addition, as stated in the introduction, there is the potential for new-build homes to prompt changes to the local built environment and opportunities for mobility, both for newcomers and the existing population. As such, it is important to understand mobility processes at the local or neighbourhood scale as well as the potential impacts of intervention into the local housing market.

These issues form the basis of Chapter 3, which moves from the macro (local authority) scale, to the meso (neighbourhood) scale, exploring in more detail the relationship between new-builds, mobility and neighbourhood change over time.

Chapter 3 Intervention, mobility and neighbourhood change over time

3.1 Introduction

In seeking to diversify population mix through the introduction of high-end new-build housing, policymakers have the potential to produce and implement plans that may significantly alter neighbourhood balance and create wide-ranging changes to neighbourhoods over time. Household moves into, and out of neighbourhoods as well as intervention at the local scale (for example housing construction) can alter the physical and demographic composition of neighbourhoods. The corollary of these processes is that neighbourhoods change over time both in absolute terms, as their compositions change in terms of their housing and their population, and relative terms, as neighbourhoods around them change too. This chapter explores a range of urban processes relating to intervention into local housing markets, mobility and neighbourhood change over time, focusing on the potential local implications of a policy focus on more affluent groups, driven in part by the pursuit of economic growth.

3.2 Filtering and submarkets

At the local and neighbourhood level, important attempts to model the housing market deriving from institutional and behavioural economics (discussed in more detail in the following chapter) were determined by William Grigsby and the Columbia School in the 1950s and 1960s. The associated concepts of 'filtering' and housing submarkets have been particularly influential (Watkins and McMaster, 2011; Maclennan, 1982). According to filtering theory, 'the effects of one group cannot be separated empirically from the overall process of adjustment. Each family's move changes the context in which others move' (White, 1971, p.88). In this way, it is not possible for an individual or family to move into a property unless a vacancy has been created – either through new construction, or if another household has vacated it (ibid). Drawing on Hoyt's (1938) model of housing succession, the concept of filtering has allowed an opportunity to view the housing market as a dynamic stock of vacancies, rather than as a static, consumable product (White, 1971; Maclennan, 1982). Viewing the housing market in this way allows for a more dynamic analysis of the mobility of households within the market, capable of drawing attention to the lagged temporal effects of policy as chains of moves play out.

The popularity of filtering as a policy concept has been intensified by the related presumption of 'welfare filtering' (Galster, 1996, p.1802), which contends that the construction of high-end relatively expensive housing will have the effect of allowing a wide array of individuals across the housing market to access better quality housing (Watkins, 2008; Baer and Williamson, 1988; White, 1971). Over time, it is argued, the introduction of high-end housing has the potential to reduce the relative cost of the rest of the local housing stock, allowing wider access to higher-quality housing, thereby providing at least a partial solution to housing quality and affordability problems (Galster, 1996). Relatively wealthy individuals, driven by attractive, high-end new housing will have new opportunities to move, leaving their former properties vacant. The ensuing increase in vacancies then alters the balance of supply and demand and reduces the relative cost of the remaining vacant stock with households moving up in terms of housing quality as properties move down in value (Jones et al., 2004; Baer and Williamson,

1988; Maclennan, 1982). Here, high-end new housing developments could open up opportunities for household mobility within the wider housing market, potentially improving overall housing quality.

However, according to Maclennan (1982, p.25) policies which accept this effect of filtering have been criticised for their focus on the higher end of the market to the detriment of direct funding for affordable housing; their lack of ability to encourage 'distributional equity', their failure to work quickly (if at all), and their tendency to encourage movement away from city centres. Nevertheless, assumptions associated with the positive effects of filtering have been, and continue to be, highly influential and relate directly to the issues discussed in this thesis and the potential impacts of high-end housing construction.

Filtering models often assume the existence of housing submarkets (Maclennan, 1982). Submarkets have been posited as a way through which the housing market might be understood as a series of differentiated markets as opposed to a singular, monolithic housing market. Studies relating to the delineation and effects of sub-markets are diverse and no consensus has been drawn as to whether, for example, sub-markets should be studied according to geographical or characteristic-based criteria (Galster, 1996, p.1799). Galster however, identified Grigsby's 'close substitutability' model as a useful starting point, whereby houses are compared according to various characteristics and thereby ranked. Houses that are thought to be 'substitutable' in the eyes of buyers are said to belong to the same submarket. The submarket therefore has a dual role, both as a useful heuristic for prospective buyers engaged in housing market search and a way of conceptualising housing market outcomes. This could potentially allow developers and policymakers to target housing construction towards specific sectors of the population (Jones et al., 2004), and at the same time, new-build housing itself may be considered to be a type of housing submarket which may serve to shape local options for mobility.

Following this interpretation of the housing market, should new-build housing attract newcomers predominately from within the borough or housing market area, the addition of new-build housing may be hoped to provide a cumulative benefit for those living in the local area.

3.3 Uneven spatial development, segregation and concentrated deprivation

Nevertheless, whilst the potential positive implications of filtering may be attractive for local policymakers facing seemingly intractable challenges in the housing market, these processes are inherently derived from an economic conceptualisation of the housing market and its actors, which do not necessarily translate into empirical reality (Maclennan, 1982). Theoretical debates relating to the housing market and its actors formed the basis of the previous chapter and are not repeated in detail here. However, it is important to note that far from the elegance and 'trickle down' benefits of filtering, much empirical work has noted growing spatial inequalities at the neighbourhood level and increasing concentrations of deprivation. As such, the hoped for benefits of filtering may not come to fruition and instead these processes can potentially be exacerbated by a policy focus on relatively high-end housing (Atkinson, 2006).

As described in Chapter 2, uneven spatial development has intensified at all spatial scales (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Family circumstances, income, level of education and tenure of individuals are all factors which contribute to a particular household's likelihood to move (van Ham and Clark, 2009). A range of empirical studies have explored the processes of out-migration of relatively wealthy households from neighbourhoods which are considered to be failing or in decline (Clark and Coulter, 2015; Hedman et al., 2011; Andersson and Bråmås, 2004; Clark and Morrison, 2012). Neighbourhoods

carry with them both material and social implications and as such, households with the necessary resources may move out of a given neighbourhood should the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood be reduced (Kearns, 2012). These individuals will normally be replaced by households with fewer resources which in turn can lead to a 'spiral of selective downward mobility' (van Ham and Clark, 2009, p.1445), in which relatively wealthy residents within a particular neighbourhood are able to move should circumstances alter over time (Boschman et al., 2013). As Clark and Morrison (2012) argued, 'the creation of deprived neighbourhoods is therefore not a random process but is embedded in the preferences people reveal in their choice of area and their economic ability to affect those choices'.

Clark et al. (2014, p.701) argue that 'over time, differences in preferences and purchasing power have created a residential mosaic that is stratified by both class and race'. A great deal of literature in the sociological and geographical traditions has focused on the propensity of individuals to live near 'people like us' (Butler and Robson, 2003), where individuals may use 'homophily' to guide and shape residential preferences (Clark and Coulter, 2015). Schelling's influential work (1969, 1971) has suggested that individuals are more likely to choose a home in a neighbourhood where they perceive other residents to be similar to themselves (here, the emphasis was on race and ethnicity). This has led to a broad body of literature examining the impacts of mobility and segregation (Clark and Coulter, 2015; Burgess et al., 2005; Cheshire, 2007; Bolt et al., 2010). Processes of segregation are also thought to have social implications at a local level. A lack of cultural, religious, ethnic and lifestyle diversity and silos of homogenous groups can lead to diminished understanding between neighbouring communities which in turn can lead to tensions (Cole and Goodchild, 2000; Cheshire, 2007; Camina and Wood, 2009). For example, much discourse has been written about the idea of different communities living 'parallel lives'; living together in one locality but with limited or no contact or interaction and the ways in which this can affect integration and cohesion (Burgess et al., 2005; Camina and Wood, 2009; Phillips, 2006; Cheshire, 2007). The Oldham riots in 2001, for example, were thought to be emblematic of these phenomena. As such, there have been concurrent concerns relating to segregation and the creation of socially, culturally and economically homogenous zones.

Concentrations of deprivation, sometimes examined through the proxy of housing condition or tenure, have been associated with a multitude of negative social phenomena including low educational achievement (e.g. Haurin et al., 2002), stigmatisation of poorer areas (Wood and Vamplew, 1999), difficulties in attracting and maintaining high-quality services and amenities (Stafford and Marmot, 2003), lower skill levels and aspirations (Furlong et al., 1996) and high crime rates (Sampson et al., 2002). These factors themselves can lead to increased stigmatisation and further deprivation, as areas increasingly fail to attract residents, particularly more wealthy residents and families. Accordingly, at the neighbourhood scale, processes of neighbourhood decline and household migration can be mutually influential: neighbourhood decline can lead to the outward migration of more affluent households, which in turn can lead to further decline and concentrated spatial deprivation. This effect in the extreme can also lead to the 'ghettoisation' (Bolt et al., 2010; Wacquant, 2008) of communities and eventually leave neighbourhoods uninhabited and vulnerable to criminal activity.

These issues are also manifest through the housing market in the form of tenure. As outlined in the thesis introduction, structural, political and economic influences changes to the housing market have had the impact of solidifying homeownerships as a tenure of choice (Ronald, 2008). Concurrently, the social rented sector and – to a lesser extent – the private rented sector become stigmatised, with

tenants of these tenures becoming conceptualised as flawed consumers (Flint, 2003). Further, a significant contraction of the social rented sector has led to a residualisation of the tenure (Burrows, 1999; Tunstall and Fenton, 2006).

Here, income deprivation is often associated with tenure (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006; Kearns and Mason, 2007) and the desire to create mixed tenure developments has become a policy aim to dilute the effects of concentrations of deprivation (Kearns and Mason, 2007). However, empirical research range of studies have shown limited potential in the creation of mixed tenure developments to overcome issues associated with segregation.

Whilst the idea of mixing communities through changes to the built environment may be considered an attractive policy aim, empirical research has shown that even where housing development are mixed by tenure, empirical research suggests that there are limitations to the positive effects of mixed tenure neighbourhoods in practice much more varied results being report across different indicators. For example, a meta review of empirical studies of the impacts of mixed-tenure developments (Bond et al., 2010) showed mixed tenure developments to have a positive effect on place-based stigma and residential sustainability (see for example, Wood, 2003, Kleinhans, 2004; Atkinson, 2005; Holmes, 2006; Tunstall and Fenton, 2006; Bailey and Manzi, 2008 – comparisons presented in Bond et al (2010)). However, whilst, such initiatives may be considered to have shown success in improving the reputation and physical appearance of mixed tenure areas, reviews showed more mixed results in relation to crime, and economic impacts. Moreover, there was no reported positive effect across studies for the potential of mixed tenure communities to create job opportunities or improve environment and amenities and further, none of the reviewed studies reported improvement in social cohesion measures or measures of social capital (see Bond, 2010). Here, whilst it might be hoped that mixed tenure developments could serve to increase social cohesion and mixing between groups, empirical research suggests limited potential.

Processes of residential sorting and segregation may be further exacerbated by a hoped-for incoming group of wealthy newcomers, facilitated by housing policy which favours more affluent groups. As Atkinson argues:

These forces appear to reveal deep inclinations towards segregation based on desires for social homogeneity and the predictability and safety that this is perceived to engender. This is in turn responded to, and supported by, the actions of urban policies and private developers seeking to make places suitable to the needs of the affluent...segregation is a problem not simply because low-income groups are lumped together, but also because affluent groups are now aided by policy and by private markets to create their own exclusionary and exclusive spaces which support their social needs and fear of otherness (2006, p. 820).

Here, affluent households may choose to self-segregate into relatively affluent 'enclaves' (Atkinson, 2006). In this context, there may be concerns that through the construction of high-end new homes, there is the potential for these policies to lead to an intensification of socially and economically homogenous zones by allowing a spatial opportunity for self-segregation. The result can be increased levels of deprivation for those with fewer choices and resources, and a deepening of socio-spatial segregation and concentrations of deprivation.

3.4 State-led and new-build gentrification

A key issue relating to population mix and neighbourhood change has been that of gentrification. Gentrification, a term first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, is used to describe changes to neighbourhood mix, in which lower-income, working-class inhabitants can be gradually replaced by more wealthy residents, pricing out the original residents and causing displacement. Moving away from the 'classic' gentrification as observed by Glass, which sparked these debates originally, the term has now come, somewhat controversially (see for example, Boddy, 2007; Lees, 2008; Davidson and Lees, 2010) to describe a wide range of urban processes. As Smith states, '[g]entrification is no longer about a narrow and quixotic oddity in the housing market but has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavour: the class remake of the central urban landscape' (1996, p. 39, quoted in Davidson and Lees, 2010).

In seeking to attract newcomers through changes to the housing supply in a more deprived area, the targeted construction of new-build housing with the aim of changing the local population mix can be seen in terms of a wider set of policies which may be broadly termed 'urban revitalisation' or 'urban renewal'. Such policies seek to bring prosperity back to areas considered to be in decline. However, whilst policymakers hoping to attract human capital and inward investment may favour these approaches, these choices are not value-neutral. In relation to housing, some have considered the palatable and moralistic policy language of 'revitalisation' as a veil designed to disguise gentrification processes, and there have been concomitant concerns that, where economic motivations are prioritised in housing, this can lead to policies which equate to a systematic, state-led cleansing of poorer urban areas (Bridge et al., 2012).

Two types of gentrification are particularly important when considering targeted high-end new-build construction: state-led, and new-build gentrification. In brief, state-led gentrification relates to gentrification processes that are actively encouraged by the state and consciously integrated into policy with the aim of altering population mix, as opposed to more natural processes of gentrification which may occur over time. New-build gentrification refers to the process whereby high-end new-build housing construction is purposefully built either on brownfield land, or land reclaimed through demolition in order to attract the inward migration of wealthy newcomers (see for example Clark, 2005; Davidson and Lees, 2005, 2010; Smith, 2002). There has been some discussion relating to whether these types of processes should be described as gentrification (see for example Boddy, 2007; Davidson and Lees, 2010). However, the nomenclature of the process is relatively unimportant for the purposes of this research. What is more important is the suggestion new-build housing can form part of a proactive strategy to alter population mix through attracting newcomers – and that this may have broader social implications for the towns, villages and neighbourhoods in which new housing developments are situated, particularly for existing low-income groups. These impacts may be more pronounced when an incoming group of movers is distinct from the existing population in terms of culture, affluence, race or otherwise.

Whilst recognising the potential for displacement and broader social and economic changes which can arise from alterations to housing mix and potential processes of gentrification it is important to note, high-end new-build housing in peripheral places such as Doncaster represent a different type of development to the inner-city areas discussed in much of the gentrification literature. The construction of new-build housing in Doncaster, can instead be seen to be more closely align with a remaking of the periphery, rather than gentrification in the traditional sense. Furthermore, high-end

new-build housing may have different implications depending on the neighbourhood context in which the housing is situated. For example, Boschman et al (2013) examined high-end new-build housing in relatively deprived and more affluent neighbourhoods of the same locality. Their study showed that whilst high-end new-build housing in deprived neighbourhoods attracted newcomers who were more affluent than the existing population, these households were less affluent than those who moved into similar housing developments in less deprived neighbourhoods. As such, new-build housing as a means to revitalise neighbourhoods may serve to contribute to growing inequalities in a range of contexts. Accordingly, it is necessary to note that targeted high-end construction with the aim of altering population can potentially have wider economic and social consequences depending on its location and its impact on nearby homes and neighbourhoods. These processes may be exacerbated when there are substantial disparities between new and existing populations.

3.5 Area-based initiatives

Place-based policies designed specifically to intervene in more deprived neighbourhoods have also been adopted through more targeted approaches. The term 'area effects' has been used to describe the ways in which occupancy of a particular neighbourhood, and the relative position of that neighbourhood within a wider area of deprivation or relative wealth, can affect an individual's life chances (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004). There have been suggestions of a link between neighbourhood and life-chances (Rae, 2009; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004; Ellen and Turner, 1997), with Atkinson and Kintrea (2004, p. 438) contending that, 'it is worse to be poor in a poor area than in one that is socially mixed'. Whilst this may be an oversimplification of what is a highly complex issue, this idea has been influential, particularly as it relates to neighbourhood change over time and segregated neighbourhoods (Hedman et al., 2011). In this context, deprived neighbourhoods, which, 'represent a burden and damage competitiveness' (Robson et al., 2008, p.627), as well as those living in deprivation have become cast as appropriate objects for intervention.

Since 1960s in England, there have been several attempts to address spatial concentrations of deprivation through a wide range of Area-Based Initiatives (ABIs). The commonality between all ABIs, as Lawless and Beatty (2013) state, is that they work within pre-defined parameters; within a specific time frame, and within 'pre-defined 'deprived' localities' (p. 944) to tackle area-based issues. ABIs can broadly be divided into two types. 'People-based' ABIs, which aim to directly address issues affecting those living in deprivation (these may focus on crime, education and skills, employment and so on). 'Place-based' ABIs, which are more particularly concerned with material and physical changes to deprived neighbourhoods including, but not limited to housing supply and local housing market composition (Bailey and Livingston, 2008; Crisp et al., 2015). Two ABIs are discussed below: Housing Market Renewal (HMR) and Mixed Communities Initiative (MCI). These are discussed here for two reasons. First, they are relevant to Doncaster and to housing policies in the borough in the recent past. Second, they represent the type of former national policy priority that aimed to counteract perceived failures within the housing market.

3.5.1 Housing Market Renewal (HMR)

With £2bn of funding, the Housing Market Renewal Initiative was introduced in 2002, designed to tackle issues of perceived housing market failure. The initiative was formed of nine pathfinder areas, situated in deprived neighbourhoods across the north of England and the Midlands. Parts of Doncaster, together with parts of Sheffield, Rotherham and Barnsley, formed the 'Transform South Yorkshire' pathfinder. HMR was designed in part to relieve issues of low housing demand in these areas and was

focused primarily on physical refurbishment and regeneration of pathfinder neighbourhoods, involving a combination of housing construction, environmental improvements and in some cases, demolition.

Due to the ambitious and irreversible nature of the HMR programme, the pathfinders have been considered relatively controversial and from the outset, the scheme faced criticism. As Cole (2015) argues, this criticism came from a wide range of perspectives. Firstly, as Cole (2015) argues, the scheme was criticised on aesthetic and historical grounds, owing to the demolition of Victorian terraced properties. Secondly, HMR was criticised for its potential to damage communities and neighbourhoods in which the pathfinders were based. Demolition is clearly an 'emotive and politically sensitive' process (Cole and Flint, 2007, p. 1) and these strategies raised concerns about community stability due to their high emotional cost (Cole and Flint, 2007). Whilst demolition represented a 'relatively modest element of the programme in comparison to the levels of property refurbishment' (Cole and Flint, 2007 p.8), these processes received a great deal of attention and criticism (Cole, 2015). Moreover, there are inherent ethical implications of such schemes, particularly with regards to the potential effects of gentrification (Atkinson, 2006) with concerns about displaced families being able to find local alternatives due to an 'affordability gap' between compensation and housing costs (Cole and Flint, 2007). In this context, HMR was characterised by some as an unjust neoliberal scheme, focused more on attracting potential affluent newcomers than existing residents (Cole, 2015). Moreover, these types of initiatives have been criticised for 'flanking' and supporting neoliberal systems of governance, where they are seen to be tackling the symptoms, but neglecting structural causes (see for example Crisp et al., 2015 for a discussion). Following Cole (2015), thirdly, and somewhat contradictorily, the scheme also faced criticism from a neoliberal perspective, being characterised as a neo-Keynesian intervention in to the housing market. As Cole (2015, p.299) states, 'adherents to this perspective argued that any government programme using public subsidy to secure housing market renewal was fundamentally misconceived from the outset'). From these perspectives, intervention into 'failing' housing markets itself is criticised more fundamentally.

The rationale of HMR stemmed in part from a recognition of the impacts of regional decline on more localised scales (Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015) and one of the unique features of HMR when compared with other ABIs was the broad spatial focus, and acknowledgement of the impact of broader, regional pressures on more localised scales (Ferrari, 2012; Pinnegar, 2012). This scalar focus may have had implications for the success of the scheme, and HMR was further criticised from this perspective. For example, whilst the scheme had a relatively broad spatial focus in conception, the acute impacts of demolition and change were felt much more locally (Ferrari, 2012; Pinnegar, 2012)

The initiative was intended to run for 10-15 years but was discontinued 2011, in part of a broader move away from place-based policy by the Coalition government. Part of the rationale for the abandonment of the scheme was the relatively high associated costs, as well as a perception (justified or not) that the scheme was failing to meet its desired aims (Crisp et al., 2015).

3.5.2 Mixed Communities Initiative (MCI)

In the UK and elsewhere there have been a wide range of policies designed to encourage the creation of 'mixed communities' through various policy mechanisms, where the aim is broadly to diversify neighbourhoods in a bid to reduce the negative area effects which are associated with concentrations of deprivation. The desire to create mixed communities can focus on a wide range of issues including

class, ethnicity, religion, age and lifestyles amongst others, with the aim of creating more socially, economically and culturally heterogeneous areas. This can be aimed for variously; through the building of new housing developments which present a mixture of tenures, types and sizes, through demolition and new-build, or through policies which serve to relocate households from deprived areas into more affluent neighbourhood (for example, Moving to Opportunity in the US) or vice versa. HMR itself can be considered an example of a mixed-communities initiative, designed in part to make lagging regions more desirable to potential incoming affluent groups (Lupton and Fuller, 2009).

In the UK, the concept of mixed communities has a long history (Lupton and Fuller, 2009) and, drawing on these principles the Mixed Communities Initiative (MCI) was introduced in 2005. The MCI took place across 12 Development projects (DPs) in disadvantaged areas across the country. The majority of DPs were areas of social housing, although some were mixed with private rented housing (Lupton et al., 2010). The aims of the MCI were: firstly, to directly focus on areas of concentrated deprivation in order to improve living environments, improve employment rates and health, reduce crime and improve education; secondly, to improve housing stock for existing populations and attract newcomers; thirdly, to use public-private partnerships rather than funding from central government (Lupton and Fuller, 2009; Lupton et al., 2010). MCI involved a mixture of new housing construction and demolition.

Drawing on analysis by Katz (2004), Lupton and Fuller (2009, p. 5) describe the MCI as part of a move from 'neighbourhood improvement' to 'neighbourhood transformation'. To follow Lupton and Fuller (2009), where a neighbourhood improvement approach of earlier labour governments situated issues relating to spatial concentrations of deprivation within broader economic structures, and sought to address such challenges through investment, newer approaches (including MCI) conceptualised concentrated poverty as the cause of deprivation. Here a hoped-for incoming group of new middle-class homeowners can (through (potential) processes of gentrification) provide a the solution. Here, Lupton and Fuller situate MCI as part of a wider move towards neoliberalization in spatial policy by the New Labour government:

The mixed communities approach represents a shift in ideology about poverty and place problems that is more neo-liberal than New Labour's previous interventions, implying new roles for capital and community and being played out in the context of changing central/local relations that support urban entrepreneurialism, but within...tighter central government control...the programme represents a renewed focus on concentrated poverty as the cause of deprivation, and the enactment of market functionality (through the promotion of largely middle-class homeownership) and processes of gentrification as solutions, with the middle-class viewed as being able to produce beneficial effects on those residents that are not displaced (2009, p.29).

As Lupton and Tunstall (2008, p.105) argue, 'mix is supported, but mixing is opposed' In other words, whilst it has been acknowledged that issues of segregation and concentrations of deprivation are potentially harmful, the active intervention as of the type employed through MCI may be seen to represent a 'social justice dilemma' (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008)). Here, low income existing residents may be negatively impacted by change brought about by a policy focus on mix, particularly as it pertains to neighbourhood change.

Such concerns can be linked to a broader criticism of ABIs which, when designed at a relatively abstract level can lack an appreciation of the local context; of the histories which are built into neighbourhoods and the people who live in them. Where these factors are not accounted for and policymaking is

undertaken at a distance, these mechanisms may fail to work effectively for those they were intended to help. As Cole states:

What such approaches often neglect is a full appreciation of the historical context of how the neighbourhood has developed, not necessarily in terms of issues such as its economic history or patterns of residential settlement...but according to the perceptions and memories of those living in the communities. Neighbourhood policy tends to focus on recent events and tend to rely on relatively ahistorical accounts of the process of neighbourhood change. This matters, because it can miss how far these longer term changes have helped to shape the outlooks and actions of residents who are intended to be the focus of such programmes (2013, p.69).

The examples above have illustrated that policies aimed at altering population mix through state intervention can lead to a range of both intended and unintended consequences. MCI and HMR experienced some successes and some failures and the schemes have been faced criticism. Nevertheless, these examples represent targeted place-based interventions designed to alleviate issues related to some of the most concentrated impacts of deprivation, the type of which have largely been abandoned (Meegan et al., 2014; Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015; Crisp et al., 2015; Ferrari, 2018). Following Lupton and Fitzgerald (2015) 'In short, the emphasis given in government to anything describable as regeneration or renewal has substantially diminished' (p.6). Indeed, as argued in the thesis introduction, the vast majority of ABIs and associated funding streams have been discontinued (see for example Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015; Crisp et al., 2015 for a discussion). In their place there currently exist only a small number of small-scale schemes which are specifically associated with coastal and coalfield areas (Lupton and Fitzgerald). These exceptions are, however, particularly relevant to this research as one of the study sights (Bentley) contains homes built as part of the Homes and Community Agency's National Coalfield Programme.

Moreover, the shift away from place-based initiatives can be seen in the broader context of a policy focus on economic growth (as opposed to regeneration) and the 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) urban competition approaches to achieving these aims as described in Chapter 2. Drawing on the work of Crisp et al (2014), Lupton and Fitzgerald argue:

The thrust of these policies [implemented by the coalition government, particularly subsequent to the Heseltine Review in 2012] is to focus on promoting economic growth where conditions are favourable, not to focus on disadvantaged areas –an opportunity-based rather than a need-based approach (2015, p.12).

Here, as described in Chapter 2, the approach of central government relating to local and regional development, particularly since 2010, has been focused on bolstering successful areas, where much less attention has been targeted specifically towards lagging regions (Etherington and Jones, 2016b). These changes have implications not only at the local authority scale, as discussed in Chapter 2, but also at more localised levels, as the responsibility for regeneration is shifted to an increasingly fiscally constrained local government. Further, there is no associated obligation for local authorities to focus specifically on regeneration efforts, meaning that these needs may go unattended (Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015). In this context, whilst ABIs have faced substantial criticism from a range of perspectives, with hindsight and in the context of a lack of current alternatives, there may be concerns that spatial inequalities may deepen unchecked, as a result of a policy focus on more affluent groups, driven by economic motives.

3.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the potential relationship between high-end new-build housing mobility and neighbourhood change over time. It was argued that far from the 'trickle down' effect of filtering, whether housing is taken up by newcomers, or by existing residents, a focus on more affluent groups has the potential to exacerbate inequalities and threaten social cohesion (through segregation) at the neighbourhood scale. Further, it was suggested that these issues may be particularly pertinent in the context of a lack of ABIs designed specifically to tackle poverty at more localised scales. As such, it is important to consider issues of neighbourhood change relating to new-build developments alongside (potential) change at the local authority scale.

Whilst an exploration of outcomes at the macro and meso scales offers the opportunities to understand implications of high end housing construction, in order to understand these outcomes, it is necessary to consider not only *where* households moved from but *why* they moved and the factors which led to choices about where to live. Chapter 4 moves from the meso (neighbourhood) scale, to the micro (individual or household) scale, exploring in more detail mobility processes as they have been interpreted through different lenses.

Chapter 4 Conceptualising mobility: micro processes and decision-making

4.1 Introduction

As argued in the thesis introduction, the belief that housing-led urban competition strategies will be successful in attracting newcomers is fundamentally reliant on assumptions relating to the ways in which households make decisions in the housing market, as well as the ways in which potential newcomers will interact with the local market in terms of productivity and consumption. The sections below explore a range of theoretical conceptions of the housing market and decision-makers in it.

Mobility and housing market studies constitute a broad body of literature and it would not be possible to do justice to the depth and breadth of this literature here. It has been necessary to be selective and what follows is an overview of the most prominent paradigms and conceptualisations as they relate to this research. The discussion below divides the literature relating to residential mobility into four broad categories: economic rationality approaches; geographical and life cycle approaches; sociological approaches; and life course and pathways approaches. Again, these categorisations do not do justice to the breadth and depth of each of these conceptualisations and there are necessarily overlaps between groups. There have been several other overviews of mobilities literature, which use slightly different categorisations to those below. For example, Winstanley et al.(2002) framed their overview using the categorisation of 'Life stage models' (broadly congruous with life cycle models here), economic rationality models (which are used here also) and 'neighbourhood, environment and community models', which broadly relate to geographical models as described below. Clapham (2005) in contrast, discussed the 'policy approach', which focuses on mobility as it relates to policymaking, the neoclassical approach, which is discussed below as part of the economic rationality section, the geographical approach, and the 'sociological tradition' which are both discussed below.

Each of these traditions and ways of viewing the housing market and its actors presents a different interpretation of actions in the market; each has value, representing a lens through which to interpret what is an essentially complex set of processes. The chapter concludes by discussing the ways in which interpretations of the individual decision-maker as described throughout this chapter may be used to understand the economic relationships (in terms of productivity and consumption) that (potential) newcomers may have with the local economy.

4.2 Economic rationality models

A vast number of attempts to conceptualise the housing market have used the starting point of neoclassical economics and its presumptions about rationality and utility maximisation. Starting with neoclassical equilibrium theories, this section outlines some of the main economic-based approaches to understanding the housing market and the understandings of mobility and decision-maker rationality that are assumed in these conceptualisations.

4.2.1 Neoclassical economics and the rational man

The basic principles of neoclassical economics have been explained a multitude of times and a full assessment is not necessary here (see for example, (Cole et al., 1991; Heilbroner, 1991). Instead, for the purposes of clarity, this chapter will provide only an account of the relevant principles, before

exploring the ways in which these concepts have been used to understand mobility and the structure of the housing market.

Neoclassical economic theory is centred on the conceptualisation of individuals as atomistic, self-interested and rational decision-makers (Cole et al., 1991; Heilbroner, 1991), the *homo economicus*. Each individual – bestowed with perfect knowledge of the market – is constantly calculating the relative worth of different items of utility, based on their personal preferences and needs. Utility maximisation is the sole aim of the rational neoclassical individual and through perfect knowledge and calculation, theoretically at least, this will always be achieved (Cole et al., 1991; Heilbroner, 1991). The market (and price within the market) in neoclassical theory is created as a result of the countless successive interactions of such self-interested individuals, each seeking to achieve optimum outcomes through exchange. Here, equilibrium in each market situation will eventually be reached as a natural part of the process. As such, the neoclassical model, theoretically at least, is generalisable amongst markets, aspatial in nature and socially just.

The theoretical simplicity of the neoclassical approach opens up attractive possibilities for modelling and predicting decisions of households within the housing market (Watkins, 2008). Such models may be particularly attractive when tasked with providing solutions to seemingly intractable problems associated with designing housing policy (Clapham, 2005; Maclennan, 1982). Neoclassical economic theory rationale was central to early modelling techniques such as the access-space model, which emerged during the 1950s as an attempt to explain land costs and residential location (Maclennan, 1982). Indeed, it is precisely from this starting point that a multitude of hedonic and econometric housing models have been developed. Drawing on the work of the Chicago School of Sociology, researchers such as Alonso (1964) and Muth (1969) developed highly influential models of the housing market based on consumer choice, which emphasised rational and generalisable explanations for housing market choices based on neoclassical economic theory (Maclennan, 1982; Watkins and McMaster, 1999; Lees et al, 2008).

Despite the neoclassical ‘dominance’ (Marsh and Gibb, 2011; Wallace, 2008) of housing market analysis, it is widely recognised that neoclassical assumptions may not provide a complete and accurate housing choice model, and therefore may be considered as an imperfect basis for understanding the housing market (Clapham, 2005; Jones et al., 2004; Maclennan, 1982; Marsh and Gibb, 2011). The theory does not always align well with empirical outcomes; housing markets rarely, if ever, reach a state of equilibrium and are in fact characterised by their volatility (Maclennan, 1982). In addition, housing is a complex commodity and here, the unique characteristics of housing negate possibilities of employing the generalisabilities associated with other markets (Christie et al., 2008; Maclennan, 1982; Marsh and Gibb, 2011; Munro and Smith, 2008; Wallace, 2008). In order to briefly summarise these unique characteristics, Galster’s (1996, p.1798) succinct description is helpful: ‘[h]ousing is a spatially immobile, highly durable, highly expensive, multidimensionally heterogeneous and physically modifiable commodity’. Additionally, housing is not a consumable commodity and can be bought merely for the purposes of an investment or as a second home. As such, even where neoclassical economic thought is considered sufficient in characterising markets relating to other commodities, the housing market may have an inherent complexity which deems transference of this rationale inappropriate (Maclennan, 1982; Marsh and Gibb, 2011; Wallace, 2008).

Neoclassical conceptualisations have further been criticised the inherent reliance on the rational, atomistic rational decision-maker, for the assumption of perfect market knowledge which is difficult

– if it is indeed possible - to achieve. Further, these models have been criticised for a lack of appreciation of the myriad internal and external factors, institutions and actors which can affect the functioning of the market (Clapham, 2005; Maclennan, 1982; Maclennan and Tu, 1996; Marsh and Gibb, 2011; Wallace, 2008), and importance of the situated and location-specific nature of housing systems (Christie et al., 2008; Wallace, 2008).

Despite these concerns, the status of housing as a unique commodity has not rendered it immune from attempts to create models based on neoclassical assumptions. Instead, increasingly complex frameworks which adapt the standard consumer choice and access-space processes of the neoclassical model have been developed to reconcile these problems (Maclennan, 1982; Maclennan and Tu, 1996). For example, the early concepts of filtering and submarkets, which were discussed in Chapter 3, have been further developed using neoclassical logic, with an assumption of equilibrium in each submarket (Jones et al., 2004). Such models attempt to introduce an element of heterogeneity into the understandings of demand for housing by creating frameworks relating to the relationships between house prices and particular housing and neighbourhood characteristics based on hedonic modelling (Maclennan, 1982; Watkins and McMaster, 2011). Moreover, as Maclennan (1982, p.64) contends, 'The inadequacy of the equilibrium assumption, traditionally defined, may be obvious but the alternative is apparently not'.

4.2.2 Institutional and behavioural economic approaches

More recently, economic interpretations of mobility and the housing market have been adapted and a wide body of literature has developed which has attempted to re-conceptualise the housing market, whilst maintaining an economic perspective on decision-making processes. Within this literature, game theory and complexity theory, individual agency (Simon, 1957; Hodgson, 1997; Kauko, 2004), institutionalism (Wallace, 2008; Smith et al, 2006), psychological and behavioural economics (Simon, 1955, 1957; Wallace, 2008; Watkins and McMaster, 1999) and neuroscience can variously be incorporated into economic analyses to produce a more nuanced picture. As Wallace (2008) argues, whilst there are often some difficulties in transferring methodological and theoretical approaches across disciplines – and caution should be used in attempts to do so – there are potentially highly significant benefits to be gained from widening out the field.

4.2.2.1 *Institutional economics*

As Lie (1997, p.342) stated, 'the neoclassical market is shorn of social relations, institutions, or technology and is devoid of elementary sociological concerns such as power, norms, and networks'. Institutional economics in contrast, places institutions at the centre of understandings of housing economics. Whilst institutional economics-based approaches to understanding the housing market are not monolithic, each begins from the starting point of the belief that institutions 'permeate and structure political, social and economic life' (Pierre et al., 2008, p. 232). The institutional approach moves away from the idea of the market as an abstract set of relationships existing outside of society. Instead, society, institutions and expectations of the functioning of the economy all contribute to market outcomes. For example, there has been a broad body of literature designed to examine the ways in which institutions impact and shape the housing market and the actors within it (see for example Smith et al., 2006; Wallace, 2008; Christie et al., 2008; Munro and Smith, 2008). As Smith et al. (2006, p.81) state, within this conceptualisation, '[housing] markets are variously performed in the power-filled negotiations of buyers, sellers and market professionals'. Such conceptualisations are

important in illuminating the ways in which interactions between actors and institutions within the market can serve to influence how the market functions and how house prices are constructed.

4.2.2.2 *Behavioural economics*

The central premise of behavioural economics and the basis of its departure from neoclassical modelling rests on its re-imagination of the individual decision-maker. Here, the decision-maker is not the *homo economicus* of the neoclassical model, but instead is an imperfect being, with imperfect knowledge of the market. A key component of this approach is the understanding that individuals will 'take short cuts' (Ferrari et al., 2011) and may subsequently make sub-optimal market decisions when tested against conventional market logic. Behavioural approaches to the housing market can broadly be divided into two strands; New Behavioural Economics (NBE) and Old Behavioural Economics (OBE).

As Dunning states:

The distinction between the two views is that old behavioural economics is concerned with describing actual behaviour and providing empirical evidence of the shape of the utility function, whilst new behavioural economics is concerned with finding deviations from the neoclassical model of behaviour that may be used to enhance the predictive power of those models (2017, p.24).

NBE approaches commonly stem from the work of psychologists Kahneman and Tversky (1979). The central premise of NBE is that individuals do not have the necessary skills to process perfect market decisions (Thaler, 2000; Conlisk, 1996), are short-sighted in their decision-making (Thaler, 2000), are loss-averse and can be both altruistic and self-sacrificing - not always acting as the self-interested individual of the neoclassical model (Rabin, 1998; Kahneman, 2003). NBE certainly provides opportunities for interesting and useful insights for understanding mobility processes. However, the approach still raises methodological concerns (Ferrari et al., 2011). NBE rests upon a continuation of the examination of individual behaviour within an abstract and theoretical context. As such, NBE models may fail to look outside the individual and their own cognition to provide a means by which we can examine these behaviours in a dynamic world of opportunities and restrictions, institutions and regulations. It is possible to view NBE, not as the antithesis to neoclassical economic theory, but rather as a means to supplement flaws within the neoclassical understanding of economics (Conlisk, 1996). As such, NBE does not necessarily provide a significant departure from the neoclassical model in terms of its understanding of individual rationality (Thaler, 2000; Conlisk, 1996; Dunning, 2017).

In contrast, the OBE approach has attempted to build a new understanding of rational behaviour which Simon (1976) termed 'bounded rationality'. Within this conceptualisation, individuals will use prior knowledge and rough guides or 'rules of thumb' (Ferrari et al., 2011; Conlisk, 1996; Dunning, 2017) to aid the decision-making process, due to a lack of human capacity for perfect knowledge and computation of choices. Rather than constantly seeking to maximise utility (as in the neoclassical model), individuals may be willing to settle for the first alternative which is considered satisfactory. After this point, an individual may continue to search should they deem it worthwhile, but it is certainly not necessarily the case that all eventualities will be considered, evaluated and ranked (Simon 1955, p. 112). Simon (1956) coined the term 'satisfice' to describe this acceptance of sub-premium choices.

In OBE decisions are, 'socially embedded; durable rules, habits and norms are significant and shape beliefs and attitudes; and emotions are a key part of 'rationality'' (Ferrari et al., 2011, p.4). In this way, the OBE decision-maker, like the decision-maker in institutional economic theory, departs significantly from *homo economicus*. Whilst this model deviates substantially from the rationally pure

conceptualisation of neoclassical theory, there is an inherent rationality within the model, relating to how individuals make decisions. However, far from the abstraction of neoclassical models, this interpretation allows for a range of personal, emotional and societal influences on housing market decisions, acknowledging that individuals acting within the market may have different resources at their disposal when making mobility decisions. Further, the OBE approach acknowledges that the resources available to households are not evenly distributed and this shapes their capacities and talents to process information and do the 'constant calculations' required in neoclassical economic theory. Informational asymmetries reflective of wider social and institutional power relationships are also thought to shape the market - for example, those with more resources may have better information than those with fewer, agents may have more complete information than buyers and so on.

Institutional economic models have also given rise to helpful interpretations of the housing market. For example, the processes of filtering and the concept of submarkets (which are discussed in the following chapter). However, there remains a reliance on the economically rational (albeit tempered) decision-maker which may not reflect the reality of the decision-making process. Furthermore, these models maintain the conceptualisation of mobility processes as discrete acts, divorced from biographical or historical, as well as place-specific factors.

4.3 Geographical and life cycle approaches

Geographical approaches to understanding the housing market typically focus on characteristics of households and of places at various scales – houses, neighbourhoods, towns and cities, regions, countries and so on. They may also focus on different household types or places with specific characteristics but are broadly focused on the ways in which different *types* of movers – categorised by example age, education, race, and so on – may move between different *types* of places; cities, rural areas, neighbourhoods, homes, for example.

Such analyses have also been helpful in understanding the types of motivations that prompt different mobility processes. For example, long-distance international and inter-regional moves (often referred to as migration) are most commonly associated with the labour market, whereby individuals may move to areas with more employment or education opportunities, or to pursue a particular career or job role (Champion et al., 2014; Pettit, 1999; Clark and Huang, 2004). Factors relating to relationships and return migration area also associated with longer-distance migratory moves (Clark and Huang, 2004). Short-distance moves (often referred to as residential mobility) are more commonly associated with dissatisfaction with the home or the neighbourhood (Clark and Huang, 2004; Niedomysl, 2011). Further, shorter-distance moves are more common than longer (see for example Clark and Huang, 2004; Champion, 2005).

Geographical approaches have further been enhanced through the inclusion of the concept of the life cycle (Clapham, 2005). Rossi's (1955) seminal work, 'Why Families Move' posited the life cycle as a means through which to understand residential mobility decisions across time. Rossi's work has been extremely influential in the field of residential mobility, giving rise to a body of literature relating to household moves and motivations across the life cycle (Dieleman, 2001; Pettit, 1999). The core thrust of the approach is that changing household circumstances prompted by: leaving home, relationship formation, starting a family, changing employment, children leaving home and retirement for example, are treated as significant events which can create a change in household needs and

preferences. These changes then trigger the desire to move, and at the same time forming an indication of the types of property that will be sought (Winstanley et al., 2002). Longitudinal housing moves can be conceptualised as a 'career' and there is often the assumption that households will 'move to improve' (Clark et al., 2014, p.701) throughout the life cycle (although there is some variance to this, for example older households may downsize as their household size decreases). In this way, geographical approaches to the housing market often assume a similar linearity to mobility processes as assumed in economic models.

Studies that may fall into the category of life cycle or geographical approaches have important findings for the purposes of this study. For example Fielding's (1992) concept of the 'escalator region' was developed to describe a particular type of migratory pattern whereby young, upwardly mobile individuals will relocate from their hometowns, moving to large cities, with the aim of advancing their careers. In moving to a city, these individuals 'step onto' the escalator whereby they are able to fast-track advancement in their careers, 'stepping off' often towards the end of their working life, where they will move to a more affordable area to retire. In England, London has been presented as the clearest example of such an 'escalator region', although there is some evidence to suggest that other larger cities may also have the propensity to act in a similar fashion to a lesser extent (see Champion, et al., 2014). Theories such as urbanisation and counter-urbanisation (Champion et al., 2014) also have their roots in these conceptualisations. Such studies resonate with concepts of spatial development and agglomeration outlined in the previous chapter, demonstrating how the aggregate mobility of certain groups can contribute to processes of local and regional development and decline over time. Here, as argued in Chapter 2, peripheral post-industrial places PPIPs (Gherhes et al., 2017) may lose some sections of their population through these processes, potentially leading to 'brain drain'. At the neighbourhood level, there has been a particular focus on the extent to which individuals 'move up' in mobility terms – that is – moving to an area which is considered to be more desirable (such studies can use a variety of measures), and the extent to which they make downwards moves. These issues as they relate to new-build housing and neighbourhood change are discussed in the following chapter.

Rossi's (1955) life cycle approach was novel in its shift in focus from aggregate movement patterns of multiple households to the individual (Dieleman, 2001; Morgan, 1973). This work has also been credited for linking the study of residential mobility with housing research: 'a link now taken for granted but quite unusual at the time' (Dieleman, 2001, p.250). In addition, rather than viewing housing decisions as discrete incidents in time and space, life cycle approaches require an appreciation of the impacts of temporal elements on housing mobility and needs, as these needs are assumed to change over time. Whilst the life cycle approach allowed for new ways of viewing changing household needs and aspirations, a number of criticisms have been levelled at the approach.

Firstly, one of the primary criticisms of the model is the apparent oversimplification of the life cycle which is inherent in such modelling (Coulter and Scott, 2015; Elder, 1994). According to Winstanley et al. (2002, p.814), these models largely consisted of 'conceptions of, and data relating to, culturally prescribed, normative characteristics of the 'traditional' nuclear family, a male breadwinner, wife and children'. Early life cycle models in particular relied on generalisations relating to the types of life cycle events that a household was likely to experience, and the approximate ages at which these events were likely to occur. These generalisations may be considered even more limited and inappropriate today, in a world of significant and increasing heterogeneity in terms of household make up, life courses, and lifestyle options (Coulter and van Ham, 2013; Winstanley et al., 2002). Secondly, life cycle

approaches often focus heavily on the physical and functional characteristics of homes and places and, may fail to incorporate broader social and institutional factors that may also influence decision-making. Thirdly, similarly to economic rationality approaches, (as outlined above) there is often an assumption that households will (usually) move up in housing terms and as such, there is an inherent rationality built into the associated decision-making processes.

As Clapham (2005, pp. 9-10) states, the geographical and lifecycle models represent 'a very valuable approach that begins to recognise the complexity of human behaviour, but [these approaches] still attempt to generate universal propositions, for example, concerning housing careers, without a detailed and appropriate understanding of attitudes and behaviours'. Despite these challenges, this way of viewing the housing market has opened up opportunities to add a useful temporal element to questions of mobility and housing preferences, illuminating the changes that can occur to household needs and desires over time.

4.4 Structure and agency: sociological interpretations of the housing market and its actors

Whilst the approaches to understanding the housing market as discussed above have predominantly focused on functional and physical aspects of places at a range of scales and how they are valued, others have argued that there is a concurrent need to understand the 'meaning of housing' (Clapham, 2005). Here, the focus is on how individuals and households 'experience' and relate places (Winstanley et al., 2002, p. 818) in understanding mobility. As Winstanley et al. (2002, p. 829) state, 'experiences of house and home, neighbourhood, city and regional locations form essential components of ontological narratives...individuals and households construct their sense of identity through social and place-specific interrelationships'. Further, housing location choice can be linked with aspects of identity. As Karsten states:

Where do you live? Our answer to this question provides information not only about the location of our home, but also about who we are... The location of living is part of the narrative of the self (2007, p.86).

As such, whilst physical and functional aspects of the home are necessarily important for housing choice, as (Sirgy et al., 2005, p.332) argue, 'the house is considered one of the fundamental symbols of the self'. Given this relationship, there may be a need to consider housing not only from the physical and economic aspects of the home, which Sirgy et al., (2005) refer to as 'functional-congruity', but also the 'self-congruity' of the home and neighbourhood– that is, the extent to which the symbolic aspects of a given home or neighbourhood match with individual self-identity.

Sociological readings of the housing market have typically focused on the dynamic between structure and agency; on the individual decision-maker and their relationship with societal structures. The following sections explore the ways in which mobility has been seen as a primarily social process, incorporating issues of self-identity and relational identity in the housing search.

4.4.1 Postmodernity, identity and housing

Using the narratives of globalisation and postmodernity, several interpretations of the modern world have focused on the increased 'individualization' (Beck, 2002) of society. Here, the perceived dissolution of dominant structural societal influences – family structures, institutions such as churches and trade unions, spatially constrained boundaries in which we live our lives have led to a reimagining of the social system. When coupled with the increased influences of technology and new types of

media for example, these processes have led to the construction of identity as an individual project in a way which is unique to the modern context (Bauman, 2013; Beck, 1992, 2002; Clapham, 2005; Easthope, 2009). In highlighting the perceived reduction in import of societal structures which have framed and shaped identities, such conceptualisations of modernity holds that individuals are subsequently bestowed with the joint opportunity and burden of constructing their own identities (Bauman, 2013; Beck, 1992, 2002; Clapham, 2005; Easthope, 2009; Giddens, 1991) in an increasingly fractured and precarious world (Bauman, 2013; Beck, 1992, 2002). As Bauman states:

The quandary tormenting men and women at the turn of the century is not so much how to obtain the identities of their choice and...have them recognized by people around – but *which* identity to choose (2013, p.113).

The lens of postmodernity presents a vast multiplicity of choices and identities, within which the individual is free to make decisions about their identities, whilst increasingly being required to be flexible and adaptive (Bauman, 2013; Beck, 2002). As such, the construction of identity here is considered atomistic and individualistic, where classed categorisations of groups of individuals, and the structure which shapes everyday lives and choices, are reduced in relative import compared to individual choices. Within this context, the creation of identity represents an ongoing project, where 'identities are understood to be fluid' (Easthope, 2009, p.65).

Postmodern perspectives have also been used to understand mobility and decision-making in the housing market (Clapham, 2005; Easthope, 2009). Such interpretations have focused on the role of housing choice as part of a project relating to the construction of identity through lifestyle choices (Clapham, 2005; Easthope, 2009). Residential mobility and household choice when seen in this way can be understood as part of a project to meet individual lifestyle goals, and within this context (within financial constraints), the individual featured in this conceptualisation is considered to be relatively footloose as they pursue their goals.

4.4.2 Housing and 'relational selves'

Postmodern interpretations of the relationship between housing and identity focus on the ongoing and continued construction of the individual lifestyle project, which necessitates the position of the individual as the primary focus. Here, individuals are free to choose, to create their own identity and to pursue their own individual lifestyle preferences. However, in a world of complex social relationships, there may be concerns around such individualised accounts of the self. Individuals do not live in isolation, and the relationship between individuals and others has been shown to be central to the ways in which individuals understand identity as well as residential choices.

Moving away from the individual atomistic decision-maker, analyses focusing on social structures have been critical of mobilities studies which may mute the multiplicity of influences in decision-making, failing to adequately account for other perspectives and the power relationships between individuals (see for example Winstanley et al., 2002; Levy et al., 2008; Mulder, 2007). Rather than being the decision of a sole (usually male) head of household, decision-making in this understanding should be seen as a process of negotiation. Partners, family members and others from both within and outside the household (including market agents -see for example Christie et al., 2008; Munro and Smith, 2008; Wallace, 2008; Smith et al., 2006) will each have needs and preferences relating to mobility and may contribute to mobility discussions (although that is not to say that all will have equal influence). As Levy et al. (2008, p.272) state, 'individuals are not always the primary decision-makers and decisions

are often made within wider social collectivities'. In this context, owing to the varying and changing needs of individuals both within and outside of the household there may be need for sacrifice and compromise between different actors involved in, or affected by, household decision-making (Green, 1997). Here, for example individuals may make 'individual sacrifices' for 'household benefits' (Green, 1997, p.641).

More broadly, a central criticism of individualised theories of residential mobility is the perceived failure of such conceptualisations to incorporate broader social and historical structural powers and influences in mobility decisions (Levy et al., 2008; Mulder, 2007). Mason (2004) for example, criticises the way in which a 'new, fluid, imbued liquid modernity has superseded a more traditional and structured social order', which has 'extended enthusiastically' into analyses of relationships in late modern societies. Instead, Mason (2004) argues that individuals construct their narrative from the perspective of 'relational selves' and that issues of identity cannot be separated from broader notions of relationships with others, which stretch to other household members and beyond the home. As Mason (2004, p. 162) argues, 'a misreading of personal narrative as an individualistic discursive has fuelled the hold of the concept of individualism...in the face of increasingly compelling empirical evidence about the extent and nature of people's connectivity with others'. As such, relational identity does not only concern relationships with others, but also relates to the ways in which individuals see themselves *in relation* to others and how they wish to be perceived by others (Benson, 2014; Clapham, 2005; Savage et al., 2005; Sirgy et al., 2005).

In this context, housing, neighbourhood attributes and mobility and migration choices can all be seen to carry with them social meanings, which are less easy to quantify, but which may influence mobility decisions, intersecting with issues of identity and social position (Karsten, 2007; Winstanley, et al., 2002). In this reading, social norms and issues of relationality may become important in migration and residential mobility decisions, as movers seek to assert their own individual and relational identity through their housing and mobility choices.

4.4.3 Bourdieu, capital and housing choice

In examining structure and agency in the housing market, the concepts of class and capital have been particularly influential and a substantial body of literature has examined mobility in relation to class. Here, the work of Bourdieu (1986, 1991) has been particularly influential.

The word 'capital' is most commonly associated with economic capital, which can be understood as the economic resources available to an individual. However, Bourdieu (1986, 1991) conceptualised capital as an important source of power in society, and understood the concept of capital to extend beyond the economic field to include other types of capital; cultural capital, which broadly refers to the culturally-relevant education, knowledge and skills that an individual has, and social capital, which relates to the various advantages that can be gained through membership of, or connection to social groups. These forms of capital are thought to be central to social relations and the structure of society and as Bourdieu states, 'it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its form and not solely the one form recognised by economic theory' (1986, p. 81). Capital in each of these forms essentially equates to a type of power and both social and cultural capital can be transferred into economic capital through various means (Bourdieu, 1986).

The clearest relationship between capital and housing choice is that which is expressed through economic capital; those with more financial resources are afforded more choice within the housing market (Boterman, 2012; Pettit, 1999). However, other forms of capital may also be important for understanding interactions in the housing market. For example, individuals with high levels of social and cultural capital may use tactics and negotiations which allow them to 'bypass the official rules' of the field' (Boterman, 2012, p.334) or social networks to 'facilitate mobility' (Pettit, 1999) constructing social networks more easily when moving home (Pettit, 1999). Moreover, Bourdieu's theories of economic, social and cultural capital gain meaning in the field when they are converted to symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991, Watt, 2009). In this sense, symbolic capital can broadly be equated with prestige or reputation. As Bourdieu explained: 'commonly called prestige, reputation, fame etc., which is the form assumed by these different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate' (Bourdieu 1991, p.231, quoted in Watt, 2009 p. 2880)

A further way in which Bourdieu's work has been used in mobility research is through the concept of 'distinction' (Bourdieu, 2013 [1983]). Distinction, which can be equated with taste, is particularly linked to cultural capital, and refers to the ways in which individuals are able to distinguish themselves from others and to express their place within the class system in relation to others. Distinction can be expressed throughout all types of consumption, from the food one chooses to eat, to the music one listens to, the clothes one wears, the places one chooses to frequent and the purchases one makes. As such, housing choice can be viewed as a particularly prominent and visible consumption choice.

In choosing a home or neighbourhood, individuals can be perceived to choose a bundle of attributes, which may equate to housing size, quality and tenure of the home for example, as well as various attributes of the neighbourhoods; access to desirable schools, and amenities, neighbourhood location and so on. These aspects of housing choice can be relatively easily accounted for within economic models and have formed the basis of much research, as outlined above. However, social meanings attached to housing, neighbourhood selection and mobility that may be harder to quantify can be influential in decision-making - identity, reputation and so on. For example, individuals may be aware of an internal 'pecking order' (Savage et al., p. 91), or hierarchical structure of neighbourhoods which may serve to shape the search as movers seek to choose suitable dwellings and neighbourhood, through which they can acquire status through symbolic capital.

Sociological interpretations of the housing market lend important insights for this research, where it is important for the structure and agency of the individual to be taken into account when analysing mobility processes. Such approaches have allowed for more nuanced analyses of mobility in a complex and heterogeneous world.

4.5 Life course models and the pathways approach: linking lives through time and space

Life course frameworks have been used in a range of disciplines to understand aspects of people's lives as they intersect with a range of social, structural and relational issues over time (Elder, 1994). Similarly to life cycle models, the life course approach when used in mobilities research allows for a longitudinal perspective of residential mobility and migration within the wider context of the decision-maker's lives and experiences. The inherent longitudinal lens allows for an appreciation of the ways in which different types of household moves over time may be interconnected (Clark and Huang, 2004).

Similarly to life cycle models, specific events and transitions across the lifetime are thought to act as 'triggers' (Coulter and van Ham, 2013; Findlay et al., 2015), creating disequilibrium between current and desired housing circumstances and prompting the desire for a household move (Clark and Huang, 2003; Findlay et al., 2015; Rabe and Taylor, 2010). These triggers may constitute major events in the life course (change of employment, relationship formation, household growth, retirement and so on), but can equally be developed gradually over time (Coulter and van Ham, 2013). The main divergence of life course approaches from the life cycle models is in a conscious shift away from generalisability in terms of the life stages that individuals and households move through. As such, in the life course approach, age is considered to be relatively less important than in the life cycle approach and there are no assumptions relating to when, or whether, a household or individual will move through prescribed life events.

There are three facets of the life course approach that are central to their understanding. Firstly, through a life course perspective it is understood that *longitudinal* factors may influence mobility. Here, mobility decisions are inherently embedded within the narratives of peoples' lives, influenced by past events and experiences, as well as future plans and ambitions. Secondly, the life course approach allows the opportunity to view mobility decisions as *relational* practices, embedded in relationships with people and places which are equally subject to change over time. Thirdly, life course approaches allow for the analysis of wider *structural* forces, of individual agency and the factors that may serve to limit or enhance the ability of individuals to make decisions affecting their own lives. For example Coulter et al.'s (2016) exploration of housing models calls for viewing mobility processes by linking lives through time and space: an approach which allows the possibility to incorporate complex longitudinal, relational and structural influences onto the temporal life course model (see also Findlay et al., 2015).

Four key issues to which a life course approach can offer a helpful perspective, and which relate to the issues explored in this thesis are described below. Firstly, linearity and return migration; secondly, cohort and period effects; thirdly, abandoned moves and immobility and finally, place attachment and changing relationships with place over time.

4.5.1 Linearity and return migration

Where economic, geographical and life cycle approaches often assume an upwards trajectory in terms of household moves and motivations, the life course approach allows for a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which individuals may make different types of moves at different times in their lives without an assumed linearity (Findlay et al., 2015). A key example is in the conceptualisation of return migration. For example, return migrants in mobilities literature have often been classified into two groups; those who are economically successful in the regions they move to after leaving their home region, and those who are economically unsuccessful (see for example, Clark and Huang 2004). Haartsen and Thissen (2014) call this the 'success-failure dichotomy'. Within this explanation, 'success' relates to individuals who have successfully migrated out of their home region and developed their careers and skills and return to use them in the local economy or to retire (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014). In contrast, 'failed' migrants are those who return as a result of a 'failure' to achieve success outside hometowns (see for example Clark and Huang, 2004). As Haartsen and Thissen (2014, p. 84) state, 'their return can be considered a refuge into a relatively safe and familiar residential setting. Because they failed in the destination, failure returnees are thought to have inferior human and social capital and will therefore not be able to have a significant (positive)

impact on the development of the region of origin'. These 'failed' migrants are assumed to be relatively less attractive, believed to have lower levels of social and economic skills than those who achieved success in their original migration destination (Clark and Huang, 2004; Haartsen and Thissen, 2014; Newbold, 2009).

The majority of studies relating to return migration have focused on secondary quantitative survey data. In using these data types, researchers must assign reasons for moving based on departure and destination characteristics rely on singular reasons for moving based on secondary survey data, as opposed to data collected specifically for the purposes of analysing motivations for return migration (Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2011; Rérat, 2014; Haartsen and Thissen, 2014; Newbold, 2009). Furthermore (and relatedly), analysis of return migration (where it has been the focus of study) has largely been based on economic interpretations of mobility processes based on labour market characteristics, which may fail to capture the nuance involved in return migration.

When viewed from the perspective of the decision-maker, without an assumed economic rationality, return migration may be reconceptualised as a more nuanced and cyclical process. Here, return migration need not be seen as an end state, but rather as part of a process (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014). For example, Sage et al. (2013, p.273) explore the 'complex and precarious' experiences of young people after leaving university in England and their early career pathways. During this time, the parental home can provide a 'crucial safety net' to these young people, often simultaneously positioning mid-life parents as a 'sandwich generation', caring for the needs of both ageing parents and grown children. Previous research has suggested that social, as well as economic reasons may be particularly influential in return moves (Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2011) and a move away from economic rationality allows for the reconceptualisation of these moves outside the economics-driven 'success-failure dichotomy'.

4.5.2 Cohort and period effects

These issues also highlight the potential importance of cohort and period effects, which may affect different groups (as cohorts) in different temporal (and therefore structural) circumstances (Findlay et al., 2015). For example, there has been a continued policy focus on widening access to higher education (HE) (Sage et al., 2013; Grant, 2017) and the associations between HE and social mobility (see for example Grant, 2017). More young people are now moving towards higher education, which is perceived as an important step in many career trajectories (Grant, 2017). In turn, these broader social and structural period changes impact cohorts in different ways and can shape individual and aggregate moves. Moreover, there have been changes to the labour market in which more households are now working in dual-income households as more females participate in the labour market (see e.g. Findlay et al., 2015 for a discussion of cohort and period effects). Here, households may need to consider the employment potential of more than one household member (see e.g. Green, 1997 for a discussion of these changes and their relationship with mobility). Further, some have pointed to a related 'childcare deficit' (Wheelock and Jones, 2002, p.442), where informal arrangements (often involving grandparents) are increasingly required to provide support in child-rearing, resulting from an increase in dual-income households and changing labour market structures (Wheelock and Jones, 2002; Gray, 2005).

In turn, these factors may be influential for mobility processes as movers seek to live close to relatives who can provide or need support, particularly during a 'family-building phase' (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014, p.90).

4.5.3 Abandoned mobility and wishful thinkers

The adoption of a life course framework further allows for an understanding of 'abandoned' or delayed mobility. The majority of studies relating to residential mobility and migration focus on completed moves and as such, concerns have been raised as to the extent to which issues of abandoned mobility or immobility have been excluded from analyses see for example, Coulter, 2013). 'Wishful thinkers' may be unable to move, as a result of micro level pressures (relating to, for example, household finances and incomes) or macro level pressures (for example relating to housing supply or affordability). despite having (sometimes long-set) mobility desires (Sell and DeJong, 1983; Coulter, 2013). As Coulter states:

'While many studies treat residential immobility as a homogenous process defined by an absence of moves (Hanson, 2005), not moving can be either a choice or the outcome of a lack of choice. Making this distinction requires separating 'rooted' nonmovers who do not desire to move from those 'wishful thinkers' who harbour a desire to relocate' (2013, p.1944).

Continued or long-term restrictions in mobility where there is a desire to move are likely to have negative impacts at the individual and household level (Coulter, 2013). Where individuals and households have many ties to a given area (family, children in school and so on) mobility can be more difficult and lead to longer period of 'wishful thinking' (Coulter, 2013). The adoption of a life course approach to understanding mobility allows the potential for these processes to be revealed.

4.5.4 Changing relationship with places over time: class, place attachment and mobility

A life course approach that is designed to capture longitudinal, relational and structural factors may also consider the relationships of different groups with places across time.

In an increasingly globalised world, there has been a presupposition that situated attachments and bonds with specific places are weakened as individuals become more mobile and geographically footloose (Giddens, 1991; Gustafson, 2001; Savage et al., 2005). Particularly through the 1980s, and early 1990s, as Savage et al. (2005) argue, there were fears relating to the impacts of modernisation and globalisation on situated relationships and individual connection to place. However, following Savage et al. (2005), the mid-1990s saw a reconfiguration of the ways in which the relationship between globalisation and the local was conceptualised, leading to a view that, 'the local is not transcended by globalisation, but rather that the local is to be understood through the lens of global relationships' (p. 3). As such, recent accounts of the importance of place in a globalised context have sought to reconceptualise the relationship between the local and the global in the context of a continued importance of place.

A common narrative relating to residential mobility has been in a bifurcation between working-class 'locals' who are born and bred in an area, and a mobile middle-class group of elites, who are both more affluent and mobile. It is this group of footloose individuals that local authorities may hope to capture through urban competition projects.

Gustafson (2001) described two divergent traditions, which have arisen relating to the relationship between place attachment and mobility. The first, 'roots theme' which values the importance of place

attachment, posits the situated and 'rooted' state as the norm, with mobile individuals conceptualised as a departure from this – as having become in some way 'uprooted' (Gustafson, 2001 p. 669). The second, 'routes theme' imagines highly mobile individuals as wealthy and powerful footloose agents, contrasted against the increasingly marginalised poor, whose housing choices are substantially restricted (Gustafson, 2001). Within this tradition, place attachment is invoked as a kind of justifying defence mechanism employed by disadvantaged and forgotten groups who are left behind and unable to compete in a mobile and globalised world. As Lewicka states:

According to this view, strong community ties and place attachment are sentiments reserved for lower classes... While members of higher classes take advantage of the mobility inherent in the globalization processes, the impoverished and marginalized social groups become 'localized'... Due to the scarcity of resources and their growing powerlessness, they become even less capable of changing their present place of residence. Emotional attachment to place may then be a result of the absence of life alternatives, as opposed to some form of conscious choice (2005, p.382).

However, such analyses may represent an over simplified view of the relationship between class, place attachment and belonging (Lewicka, 2011; Gustafson, 2001; Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009).

It will not always be the case that newcomers or middle-class individuals do not experience a kind of place attachment. In their influential work, 'Globalisation and Belonging', Savage et al. (2005) use the term 'elective belonging' to describe the ways in which middle-class households are able to create a sense of belonging in a neighbourhood, by-passing the need for long-term residence in a particular locality. Within the popular narrative Savage et al. (2005) argue working-class populations are often thought to have a 'moral ownership' over place built on a shared identity and 'kinship', owing to their continued residence.

However, as Watt (2009, p.2876) comments, 'Savage et al. deconstruct the traditional binary between 'locals' and 'incomers' with reference to the discourse of elective belonging'. Instead, individuals are able to create a sense of belonging where they are able to understand and rationalise their place of residence with their conceptualisation of themselves and their narratives. Their study of middle-class mobility in four suburbs across Manchester demonstrated an ability by middle-class residents to form attachments to localities quickly despite being newcomers and subsequently lacking the 'taken-for-granted rootedness' (Gustafson, 2009, p.5) of long-term residence. As Savage et al. state:

Belonging is not to a fixed community, with the implication of closed boundaries, but is more fluid, seeing places as sites for performing identities. Individuals attach their own biography to their 'chosen' residential location, so that they can tell stories that indicate how their arrival and subsequent settlement is appropriate to their sense of themselves (2005, p.29)

Similarly, Gustafson (2001) argues against the binary distinction between the bifurcation of *roots* (favouring place attachment) and *routes* (favouring mobility) themes, arguing that individuals could move between the two themes over time.

Whilst it may be inadequate to understand these processes in terms of a binary distinction between a wealthy footloose elite and a situated working-class, it is important to acknowledge the ways in which relationships with place can impact mobility processes.

As the sections above have illustrated, the life course approach allows for a more nuanced and holistic understanding of social and cultural factors which may influence household decision-making and the

temporal and biographical elements of the housing search, which are often minimised or excluded from other types of accounts as described above.

4.5.5 Pathways approach

Closely aligned with life course models, Clapham's (2002, 2005) 'housing pathways' approach allows for a similarly nuanced interpretation of the functioning of the housing market and the individuals in it, which takes the concept of the creation of lifestyle as a central pillar. Clapham (2005) argues that the majority of attempts to understand the housing market begin from positivist perspectives, which are insufficient for understanding the complexity of mobility processes. Clapham (2002, 2005) employs instead a social constructivist position to capture the diversity that exists in the modern world and the ways in which individuals interact with the world and, subsequently, the housing market. Mobility decisions and residential choice within the pathways approach can act as a tool through which the individual can pursue goals relating to their own individual and categorical identities. In order to illustrate the ways in which the housing pathways approach relates to housing choice across time, (Clapham, 2005) uses an analogy of motorways and roads, within which common movement patterns and life stage events are represented by motorways and some less common choices are represented by smaller roads. An individual over their life course may at some junctures travel along motorways, and at others, choose a different, less common path of interaction with the housing market. Here, cross-sectional analysis of the longitudinal mobility of multiple individuals and households can be developed into pathways to produce nuanced analyses of both common and less common pathways in different contexts

4.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined a range of approaches to understanding the housing market, its structure, and the nature of actors within it. As argued in the introduction of this chapter, mobility is complex, and whilst each of the approaches discussed in this chapter offer a lens through which to interpret and understand the housing market, in reality, each only reveals part of what is in fact a complex and multifarious set of processes. The discussion concluded by introducing the life course and pathways approaches that allow a more holistic framework through which to view mobility, accounting for longitudinal, relational and structural influences on mobility. These frameworks may be particularly useful for examining the types of motivations that may influence inward migration into a given locality, from the perspectives of movers themselves.

The chapter has also explored issues of structure and agency, exploring the ways in which class structures and issues of place attachment and identity have been used to understand mobility. Whilst economic approaches to understanding mobility often focus on the abstract rationality of decision-makers, sociological analyses have provided a range of discussions relating to structure and agency, class and place attachment that have allowed for a more nuanced, embedded interpretation of mobility as a social process.

In order to explore these issues, the life course and pathways approaches were identified as appropriate frameworks to derive nuance in understanding mobility and relationships with places from the perspective of movers, drawing out the ways in which these factors might influence mobility decisions and consumption patterns.

This chapter has formed the final of three in Section 2. The following section (Section 3) presents the approach to research adopted in exploring these issues. The first chapter of Section 3 (Chapter 5) outlines the conceptual framework of the thesis.

Chapter 5 Conceptual framework

5.1 Introduction

As Chapters 2-4 have demonstrated, this research lies at the intersection between several bodies of literature, both empirical and theoretical. This chapter is the first of three which explain the design of this research including the conceptual framework, the choice of study sites and the methodology. This chapter recaps key themes and concepts arising from the literature and outlines the way these variables are understood to be linked.

5.2 Chapters, themes and spatial scales

Figure 5.1 below shows a summary of the three literature review chapters (2,3 and 4), the main themes covered in the chapters, and the spatial scales associated with the chapters.

Chapter	2	3	4
Scale	Macro - Local Authority	Meso - Neighbourhood	Micro - Individual/household
Literature themes	Economic growth and decline, regional spatial strategy	Neighbourhood change over time, local spatial inequalities, tenure and mix,	Decision-making, rationality, place attachment, elective belonging, selective belonging, structure and agency

Figure 5.1: Literature review chapters, themes and spatial scales

As Figure 5.1 shows, there are three key geographical scales of interest to this study; the *macro* (local authority – in blue), the *meso* (neighbourhood – in yellow) and the *micro* (household – in green). Each of these spatial scales served as the primary scales of interest for one of the literature review chapters, and each was discussed primarily in relation to a different theme. For the purposes of this thesis, the **macro** scale is concerned primarily with the borough or local authority level, the **meso** scale is concerned primarily with the neighbourhoods and the **micro** scale is concerned primarily with the individual or household scale.

5.3 Conceptual framework: Relationships between spatial scales, mobility and new-build housing

Figure 5.2 below shows in more detail the relationships between these themes, scales and new-build housing, elaborating on the relationships between themes discussed in the literature review and each of the three spatial scales.

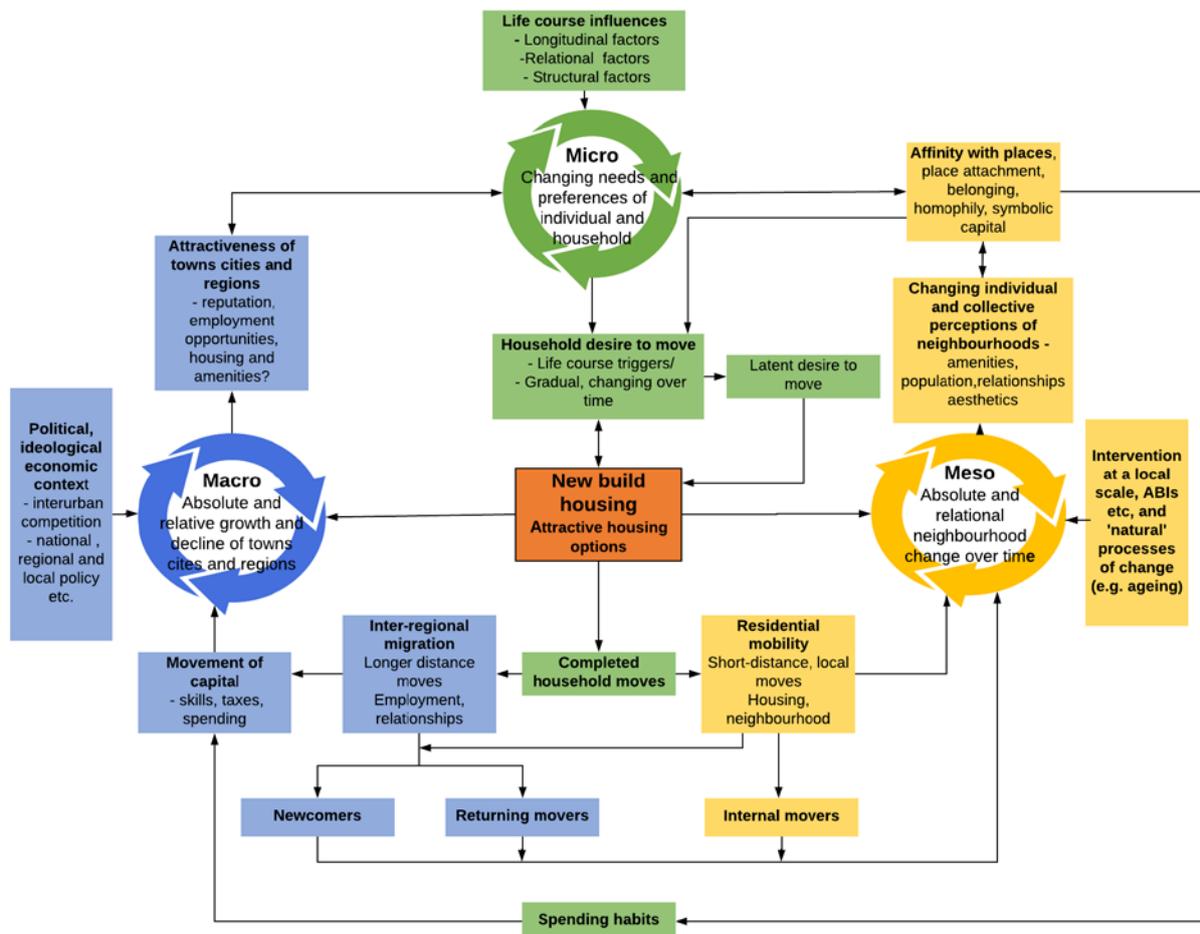


Figure 5.2: Conceptual framework diagram

As Figure 5.2 shows, each of these spatial scales is inherently interconnected with the others, and simultaneously connected with local housing provision (in this case new-build housing – in red). In addition, each of these scales are perceived to be fluid, rather than fixed in nature, with the potential to change across time - both in relative and absolute terms. As Figure 5.2 shows, there also exist specific external influences that serve to influence change at each of these scales – these influences are derived from the literature review as described through Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there exist a range of pressures and forces at the regional, national and international scales that serve to shape the balance of resources and responsibility at the local authority scale and which may influence the potential for relative and absolute economic growth and development. As Figure 5.1 shows, absolute and relative change at the macro scale in turn has the potential to alter the relative attractiveness of localities for households. For example, as the reputation of the locality changes over time or as there are (or are not) appropriate employment opportunities (see e.g. Storper, 2011, Storper and Scott, 2008). As the figure shows, new-build housing itself has the potential to influence change at the macro scale (through changing the physical environment) but also through its potential to attract newcomers.

In Chapter 2 it was argued that where economic priorities are at the fore and in the context of constricted local resources, these combined pressures can lead to the development of urban competition strategies, through which local authorities may hope to capture mobile investment. Here, policies designed to elevate perceptions of a locality amongst a group of wider external stakeholders,

(politicians, potential investors and residents and so on), may be favoured as part of a 'bootstraps strategy' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) to promote economic growth in the context of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012). Accordingly, new-build housing can be used as a potential lever by local policymakers with the aim of improving the (relative and absolute) attractiveness of the locality in the eyes of potential incoming residents, who may in turn, through their completed moves, contribute to (positive) change at the macro level, through their skills, taxes and spending.

In Chapters 2 and 3, it was argued that the efficacy of such strategies is fundamentally reliant on the extent to which new-build housing is taken up by newcomers (as opposed to an existing population) and the ways in which these (hoped for) newcomers interact with the local economy. A review of the literature (as presented in Chapter 4) suggested that three main types of movers might be identified through the study; newcomers, returners and existing residents moving from within the borough. However, as shown in Figure 5.2, returning movers and newcomers are the two groups who have the potential to impact significant change at the borough scale.

As discussed in Chapter 4, literature relating to household moves has often been divided into two bodies relating to scale of moves; firstly, migration – which is predominantly concerned with long-distance international or interregional moves, and secondly, residential mobility, which is more concerned with short-distance moves (Clark and Huang, 2004). Long-distance moves are more commonly (although not exclusively) associated with issues relating to the labour market and relationships, whilst short distance moves are more commonly associated with factors relating to the housing market and neighbourhoods (Clark and Huang, 2004). By their nature, long-distance migratory moves into the borough can only be made by newcomers or returners. As such, it may be expected that issues relating to the labour market and relationships may be common drivers of mobility for longer-distance (incoming and returning) movers.

It is important to acknowledge Doncaster's status as a peripheral post-industrial place (PPIP) (Gherhes et al., 2017), where, as described in Chapters 2 and 3, such places may struggle to maintain and attract residents owing to the employment offer in the borough. It was argued that such places may suffer from 'brain drain' losing talent in the form of human capital to larger towns and cities through outward migration (Gherhes et al., 2017; Faggian and McCann, 2009). That is not to say that long-distance movers will not be attracted to the borough owing to employment or economic factors and it is anticipated that this may be a driver of inward mobility for some movers. However, it may also be expected that long-distance newcomers will be attracted to the borough as a result of relationships with Doncaster and its residents. Here also, as described in Chapter 4, where situated relationships and place attachments are important, these types of factors can also influence long-distance mobility, particularly in the case of return migration (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014; Clark and Huang, 2004; Niedomsyl, 2011).

Further, it is not necessarily the case that the majority of newcomers (and returners) *will* travel long distances to relocate to new-build homes in Doncaster. Where local authority administrative boundaries are used to measure the extent of inward and internal moves (and these are important for taxation purposes), newcomers may have travelled over long distances, or may have moved across relatively short distances from neighbouring authorities. As described in Chapter 4, short-distance moves are more frequent than long (Clark and Huang, 2004), and there is the potential that a substantial proportion of newcomers may have moved over relatively short distances to new-build housing in the borough. In these cases, housing, neighbourhoods and amenities in Doncaster may be

expected to be more common reasons for moving and as such, it might be expected that new-build housing could potentially be a more important determinant in short-distance inward moves when compared with longer-distance moves.

An analysis of the extent to which new-build housing is taken up by newcomers (including returners) as opposed to internal movers is essential for understanding the potential for change at the macro scale associated with new-build homes. However, these types of simple analyses are not sufficient to understand the specific role that housing (as opposed to, and alongside other factors) may play in *motivating* (hoped-for) inward migration. ***In order to explore the specific role of new-build housing (alongside other factors) in driving inward migration it is also important to understand the way that mobility is processed and understood at the micro or household scale, and the types of issues which were important to movers when choosing to live in Doncaster.***

As argued in Chapter 2, the assumed relationship between housing market growth and local economic growth (through attracting inward migration) is fundamentally reliant on the relatively free movement of human capital (and subsequently, business). In order to explore these issues, Chapter 4 outlined a range of conceptualisations of the housing market and the actors within it. It was argued that whilst neoclassical economic theory continues to form the basis of much housing and urban policy and analysis, these approaches may fail to capture the complexity of migration and mobility decisions in a complex and varied world. As such, it was argued that a life course or pathways approach may be an appropriate framework for understanding mobility processes as they perceived by households. ***In turn, such analyses may reveal the specific factors which reveal the reasons why the expectations of policymakers implementing such 'bootstraps' urban competition strategies may or may not meet intended outcomes.***

As Figure 5.2 shows, change at the **meso** scale can be brought about by the introduction of new-build housing, by moves from newcomers, returning movers and internal movers, and by a range of interventions at the local level (including housing supply, ABIs and so on) as well as 'natural' processes such as decline over time. These changes at the meso scale in turn have the potential to impact individual and collective perceptions of neighbourhoods. Here, issues such as the (absolute and relational) neighbourhood amenities, population (including situated relationships), aesthetics and so on, (as well as associated symbolic capital) can have the impact of influencing affinity with places at the micro scale. These changing affinities can in turn influence changing needs and preferences at the micro scale, or directly influence the desire to move. For example, as described in Chapters 3 and 4, households are often presumed to make upwards moves across the life course and may wish to leave neighbourhoods which are considered to be declining over time. Through the inherent potential which new-build housing has to facilitate mobility into a particular new-build development within a particular neighbourhood, there is necessarily the potential for these moves to change the character and demographic composition at a very local scale.

Whether newcomers and returners are moving over long- or short distances to their new-build homes, they necessarily must select a home and neighbourhood. As Figure 5.2 shows, internal moves (both into and out of neighbourhoods), as well as incoming moves from newcomers and returners, have the potential to influence change at the neighbourhood level. Chapter 3, for example, discussed the concept of filtering, and the related concepts of welfare filtering and submarkets (White, 1971). Within these models, the construction of new-build housing may serve to provide attractive housing options for those living within the borough, and, as existing residents leave their homes, they in turn

will leave a vacancy for another to occupy and so on (Galster, 1996; White, 1971; Baer and Williamson, 1988; Watkins, 2008). Accordingly, the construction of new-build housing may allow for a net improvement in the stock, and for those living in the area, as each household is afforded an opportunity to move within a given submarket (Galster, 1996).

Within this context, at the *meso* level, high-end new-build homes might provide opportunities for individuals to move to more desirable neighbourhoods, where they had previously been unable, but, as described in Chapter 3, a focus on more affluent groups also has the potential to lead to self-segregation and a worsening of geographical inequalities (Atkinson, 2006). As argued in Chapter 3, there is little empirical evidence to support the ‘trickle down’ benefits of filtering models. Instead, there exists a broad body of research to suggest that in aggregate at least, those with more resources may leave neighbourhoods which are considered undesirable or, as they become relatively less attractive over time (Clark and Morrison, 2012; van Ham and Clark, 2009). As such, drawing on a desire for ‘homophily’ (see e.g. Clark and Coulter 2015) those with more resources may choose to self-segregate and live near others perceived to be like themselves (Atkinson, 2006; Benson, 2014). In turn, rather than the widespread benefits implied in filtering models, these processes could instead be fractured, leading to increased concentrations of deprivation and a ‘spiral of selective downward mobility’ (van Ham and Clark, 2009, p.1445), whilst other neighbourhoods simultaneously attract wealthier residents able to support and benefit from better quality services and amenities. In this case, high-end new-build homes may serve to benefit some groups and communities within the borough, but this may also occur to the detriment of others.

On the other hand, as it was argued in Chapter 3, it is not certain that movers will seek to ‘move up’ in housing or neighbourhood terms, and the ways in which this is expressed may be more complicated than a simple linear upwards (economic) trajectory. For example, location-specific capital (DaVanzo, 1981; Mulder, 2007), place attachment, and situated relationships may also serve to shape the ways in which individuals and households view the market and search for housing and neighbourhoods – where some movers may prioritise social or emotional factors over economic. In order to explore these issues, and the specific role of new-build housing in these processes, ***it is important to consider the types of moves respondents were making, the factors that influence neighbourhood selection, and the role of new-build housing in shaping mobility processes at the neighbourhood scale.***

Drawing on literature discussed in Chapter 4, it is anticipated that there may be a wide range of issues which may shape mobility at the **micro** scale, when deciding when to move and where to live. Migration literature often links long-distance moves with broad, lifestyle goals and changes – whether these be in relation to the labour market, partnership formation, retirement and so on, and residential mobilities literature is often more concerned with the nuance of balancing everyday household needs and preferences. Both of these processes, when viewed through the lens of the life course may be shaped by structural influences, as well as being inherently longitudinal and relational (Findlay et al., 2013). Bound up within this interpretation is the idea that residential choice carries social meaning as well as physical and functional attributes, which have often dominated in mobilities research (Savage et al., 2005; Clapham, 2005). Mobility desires can be brought about by triggers, or gradual, longer-term changes relating to changing needs or dissatisfaction (see for example, Findlay et al., 2013).

Accordingly, as Figure 5.2 shows, change at the micro scale is here understood to be influenced by a range of longitudinal, relational and structural factors as individuals move through the life course. This can lead to changing needs and preferences of individuals within the household (and here there may

be need for compromise and sacrifice where needs and preferences differ – see for example, Green, 1997), which, in turn can lead to the desire to move. As Figure 5.2 shows, new-build housing, as well as changing perceptions of attractiveness of and affinity with places (both at the macro and meso scales) might serve to influence the desire to move and decisions about where to live.

In this context, mobility decisions (both reasons for moving and decisions about where to live) at the individual or household scale, are considered to be dependent on both history and experiences which have gone before in housing as in other types of pathways (Clapham, 2002; 2005). Moreover, through a life course or pathways framework, it may be possible to identify the importance of specific period and cohort effects that may influence mobility into Doncaster. Here, changing structural, macro level influences may shape long-term goals and ambitions and in turn may influence mobility processes (see for example, Coulter et al., 2016, Findlay et al., 2013).

Moreover, as identified in Chapter 4, moves over time may be expressed through linear or non-linear pathways (and accordingly return migration may be important). Chapter 4 for example, explained the concepts of place attachment and mobility as being inherently longitudinal as relationships with people and places can develop over time. Further, history may be an important element. For example, the sections above posed places (countries, regions, cities, neighbourhoods) as changing over time and these changes are inherently related to local histories. At the same time, these place-based histories may relate to an individual's own histories and experiences (Cole, 2013). In the context of Doncaster, the rich mining heritage in the borough, as well as the deindustrialisation at the end of the 20th Century may be important for long-term residents of the borough, but may also influence how individuals and households view the borough and its settlements, thereby potentially the perceived relative attractiveness of places, influencing mobility processes.

As described in Chapter 4, a further area of mobilities research which has received relatively little attention is immobility or 'abandoned' migration, where a household, or the individuals within a household, may have the desire to move, but may be unable (for a range of reasons), to fulfil these desires (Coulter, 2013). As shown in Figure 5.2, there is the potential that through the construction of new-build homes, movers from within (or potentially outside) Doncaster will be afforded the opportunity to move home where they had otherwise been restricted, either because of the lack of suitable or affordable properties within a particular area, or through micro-level factors. As such, as the diagram shows, it may be anticipated that some moves into new-build homes would be associated facilitated by these new housing options.

5.3.1 Research aims and objectives, research questions and balance of theoretical and empirical approach

Drawing on the literature as discussed through the previous three chapters, the aims and objectives of the study are as follows:

- To examine the extent to which new-build housing in Doncaster is taken up by newcomers to the borough, and the extent to which it is occupied by existing residents
- To explore the processes which lead to inward migration of households into Doncaster and the role of new-build housing developments (alongside other factors) in shaping these mobility outcomes
- To explore neighbourhood selection in incoming and internal moves and the role of new-build housing in internal mobility processes

These aims and objectives led to the development of the following research questions:

RQ1: Where did respondents move from, why did they move and to what extent did newcomers take up new-build housing?

RQ2: How did respondents discuss their move to Doncaster in the context of life course factors, and what role did new-build housing play in motivating inward migration?

RQ3: What factors influenced neighbourhood selection, what role did new-build housing play in mobility processes at the neighbourhood level, and what types of moves were respondents making?

5.4 Empirical and theoretical research foci, aims and objectives

These research questions are primarily targeted towards exploring empirical outcomes at the meso and neighbourhood scale. However, through multi-scalar analysis, the research developed into a story of Doncaster, its neighbourhoods and its residents. Here it was possible to explore the ways in which individual, shared and collective narratives combine to influence household needs and preferences, and ultimately mobility outcomes. This in turn allowed for conceptual and theoretical findings relating to mobility and choice, which shifted the focus of the research from mobility outcomes, to the interactions between these spatial scales (particularly in relation to the micro scale). Figure 5.3 shows a reproduction of Figure 5.1 which also includes a breakdown of the balance between theoretical and empirical focus across the three spatial scales.

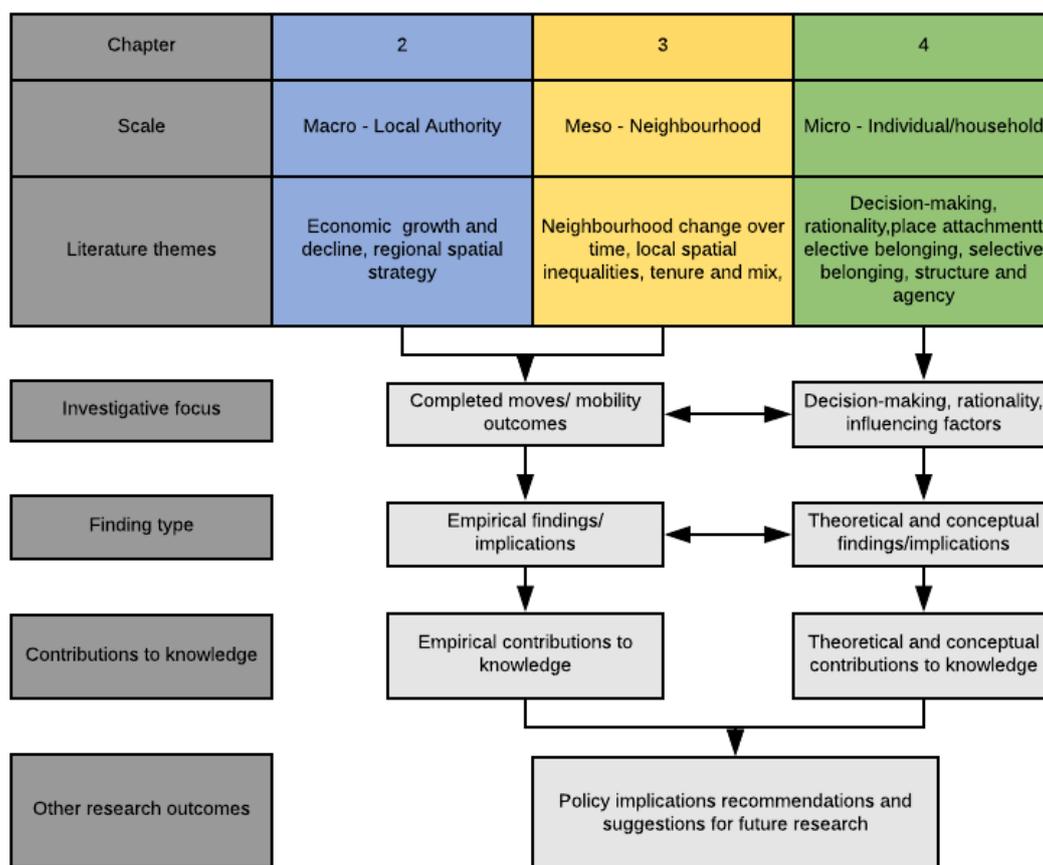


Figure 5.3: Relationship between spatial scales and empirical and theoretical analysis

The longitudinal, biographical approach to data collection (which is discussed in Chapter 7) allowed for a nuanced understanding of the ways in which respondents understood their mobility decisions at both the local authority and neighbourhood scale. Here, in discussing decisions about where to live, and particularly in housing and neighbourhood selection, respondents revealed details of the ways in which these choices intersected with issues of identity and belonging, place attachment and situated relationships.

Whilst analysis of mobility outcomes at both the macro and meso scales (focusing on completed moves) is important for providing empirical findings and policy implications, it is through examining in more detail the decision-making processes at the micro scale that it was possible to offer new insights into: firstly, why policy based on economic rationality might be inefficient and secondly; how we might better understand mobility and neighbourhood change in the context of a peripheral place with a self-contained market. Here, it was possible to explore the ways in which existing economic and sociological understandings of mobility including rationality, structure and agency were reflected in research findings. In turn, through analysis of respondent narratives, it was possible to examine some of the more nuanced theories relating to issues of identity, belonging and place attachment (introduced in Chapter 4) in the context of a self-contained housing market in a peripheral region. These findings are outlined in Chapter 8-10 and discussed in more detail in Chapter 11.

5.5 Chapter summary

Drawing on literature as discussed in Section 2 of the thesis, this chapter has outlined the main factors that serve to shape the design of this thesis, and the relationships between these factors, which shaped the research aims and objectives. The following chapter introduces Doncaster, the local authority area where this research is conducted, as well as the eight study sites within the borough that are used in this study. Chapter 7, which forms the final chapter of Section 3, discusses the specific methodology and approach to answering these questions.

Chapter 6 Introduction to Doncaster and study sites

6.1 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter 2, Doncaster can be regarded as a PPIP, that is a peripheral post-industrial place - a town which has suffered from deindustrialisation towards the end of the 20th Century, and which falls outside of the major towns and cities (Gherhes et al., 2017). As explained in Chapter 2, these places have typically struggled to adapt to a changing economic and industrial landscape and, when compared with more central, urbanised areas, may face particular challenges in attempts to foster entrepreneurialism and attract and retain economically attractive residents.

In the context of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012) and interurban competition, 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) approaches to economic development in such places may be particularly attractive, as pressures to foster entrepreneurialism and promote economic development increase and investment from central government becomes increasingly restricted.

This chapter provides an introduction to Doncaster and explains the reasons for the selection of Doncaster as the site of this research, describing some of the geographical, historical and economic aspects of the borough as well as an exploration of the recent policy context, with a particular emphasis on recent approaches to local economic and housing market growth. The chapter then introduces the eight study sites within Doncaster used in this research, providing the reasons for choosing these sites and some of their key characteristics.

6.2 The Metropolitan Borough of Doncaster

*You stand on the highway of Danum descent, once forged from a fortress of Roman repent
Where the Old Flying Scotsman locomotive train, signaled two million miles of superior reign
And a curly-haired Keegan passed football at school, after Robin Hood's arrow broke all of the rules
Where sons, dads and uncles worked hard down the pit, putting food on the table when coal fires were lit
Much more than a train-stop for London Kings Cross, where delegates gather to speak to their boss
Placed north of Steel city and south of the Shields, just east of the Riding and west of the fields
This town forms the link, which is part of a chain, that powers the cycle of progress and gain
The Racecourse accumulates great expectation from four hundred years thoroughbred reputation
Saturday's selected don red and white hoops and entertain legions of roving troops
The Conisbrough Castle salutes Cusworth Hall while the River Don waters caress Sprotbrough Falls
Smiles flow from the faces of those old and new, reflecting the thoughts of a story so true
As proud market traders sing 'two for a pound' in rhythm to St. George's bellowing sound*

Doncaster's Dignity, Paul Luke, 2013

'Doncaster's Dignity' (2013) is a poem by Doncaster poet, Paul Luke which is inscribed on the wall of Doncaster railway station, greeting visitors arriving to the borough by train. The poem acts as a celebration of some of the rich heritage, proud history and strong community which form part of Doncaster's reputation.

Doncaster Metropolitan Borough is a diverse area with a rich industrial past, which brought significant economic and population growth to the area throughout the 19th and 20th Centuries and continues to be a source of local pride. More recently, former local reliance on traditional industries has meant that the borough has suffered greatly from the effects of deindustrialisation - the closure of the borough's collieries and the significant reduction of local manufacturing capacity from the 1970s (Gherhes et al., 2017). As Gherhes et al. (2017, p. 5) state, 'PPIPs such as Doncaster continue to be constrained by legacies of the past which have weakened their economic resilience', and many of the current challenges faced by the borough derive from the need to adapt to emerging industries. Despite these challenges, Doncaster has many assets which continue to shape the borough and provide opportunities for current and future growth. Here, Doncaster's heritage (including the rail industry) continues to shape its future opportunities.

6.3 Location of Doncaster

Doncaster is one of four local authority areas which make up the county of South Yorkshire, within the Yorkshire and Humber Region. The borough (shown in Figure 6.1 below) is situated towards the west of the county, bordering Barnsley and Rotherham within South Yorkshire to the east; Wakefield, Selby and East Riding of Yorkshire to the north; North Lincolnshire to the east and Bassetlaw to the south. Sitting on the River Don, Doncaster is about 20 miles (30km) from Sheffield, the nearest city.

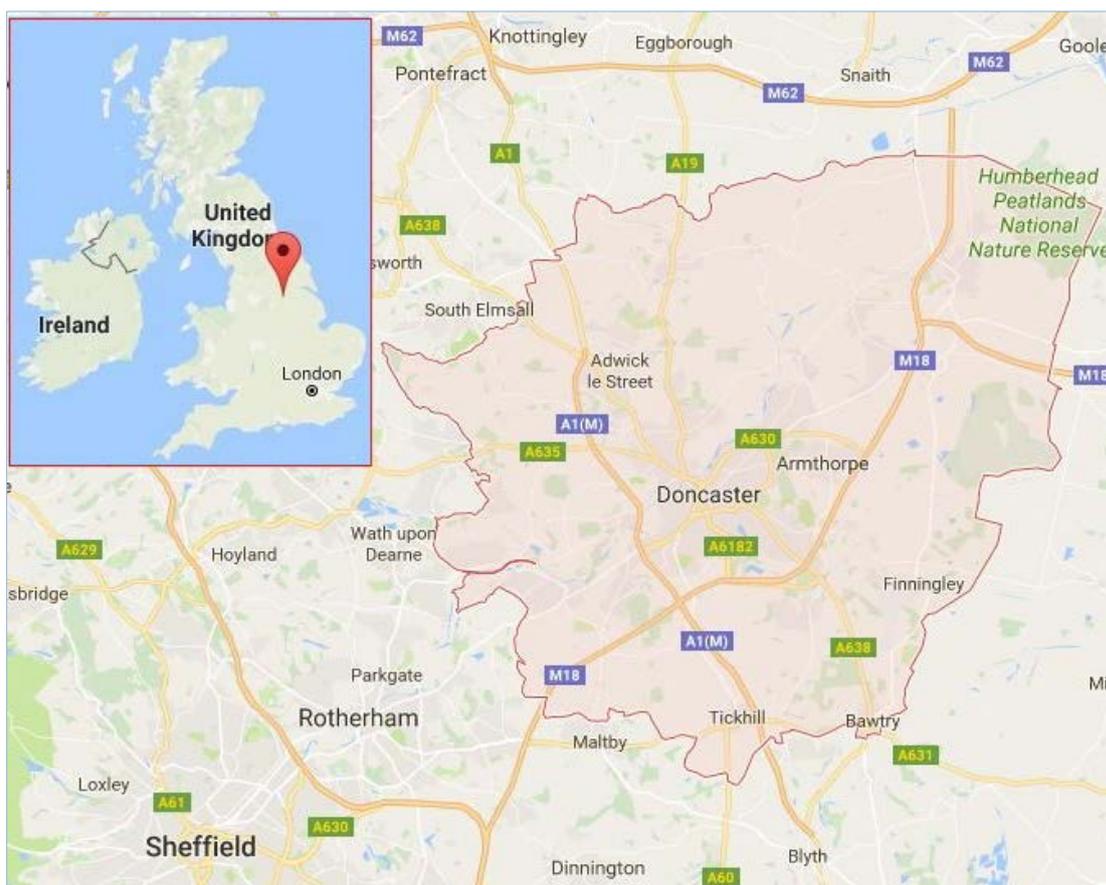


Figure 6.1: Map showing the location of Doncaster. Source: Google Maps.

Doncaster is exceptionally well-connected, being strategically located at the intersection of several major transport arteries, including the A1(M), M18 and East Coast Main Line. The borough is home to

the Sheffield City Region's (SCR)¹ only civil airport in Robin Hood Airport Doncaster-Sheffield (RHADS), which is located in Finningley, towards the southeast of the borough.

6.3.1 Doncaster: Rural setting, neighbourhoods and communities

The metropolitan borough of Doncaster encompasses the town of Doncaster itself, along with its surrounding suburban and rural areas, and several smaller nearby towns. Doncaster is one of the largest local authority districts in England, covering approximately 220 square miles, with substantial countryside and rural landscape. A significant amount of land, particularly to the south and west of the borough is designated green belt land and much of the land to the north and east of the borough lies within areas designated by the Environment Agency as Flood Zones.

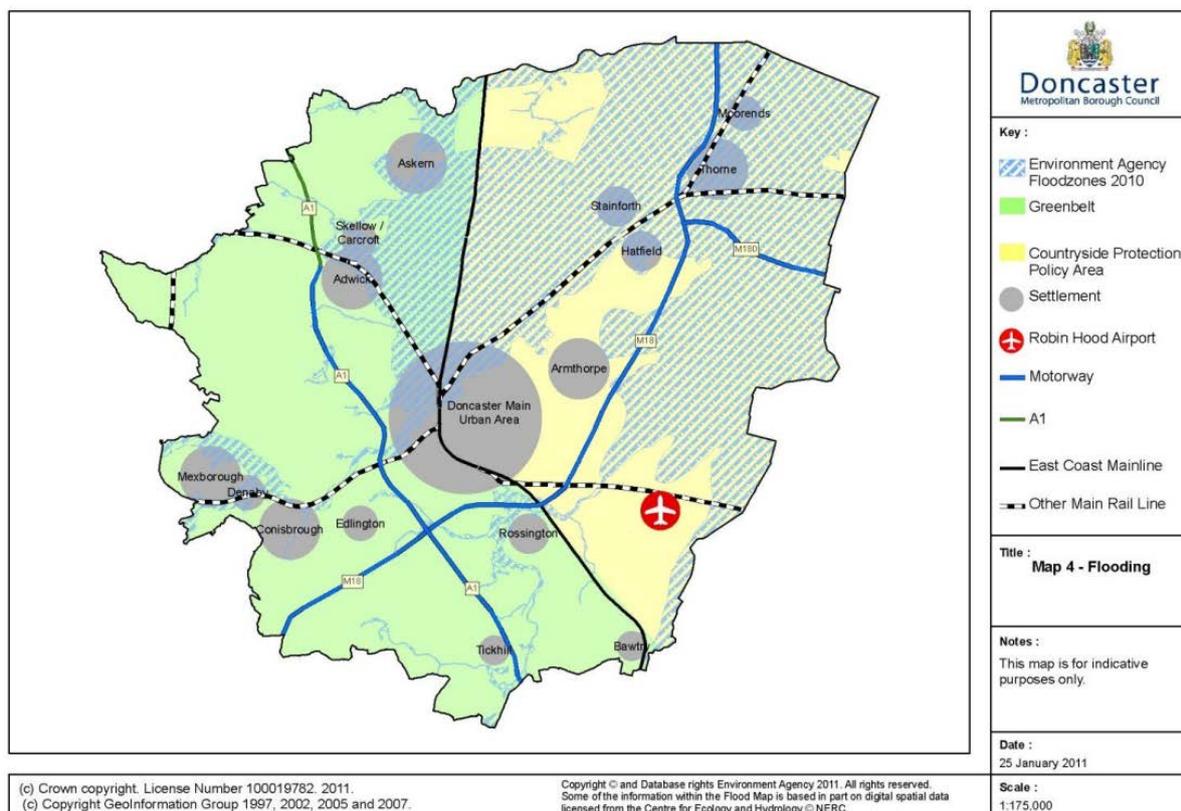


Figure 6.2: Map of flood zones, green belt and larger urban areas in Doncaster Metropolitan Borough. Source: DMBC, 2015.

Team Doncaster (2018) identify 39 communities across the borough, which are spread across the 21 electoral wards in Doncaster. Doncaster's wards are divided into three management areas; East, West and Central.

Several distinct towns and villages are dispersed across the wards of the borough. The largest town in the borough is Doncaster, a large market town with a population of 109,805 (2011 Census). The main urban area of Doncaster town is comprised of several neighbourhood areas which together house approximately 43% of the population of the borough (DMBC, 2016). In addition, the borough contains

¹ The Metropolitan Borough of Doncaster forms part of the Sheffield City Region (SCR), a functionally determined subnational layer of local governance. SCR is made up of nine local authority districts across South Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire; Barnsley, Bassetlaw, Bolsover, Chesterfield, Derbyshire Dales, Doncaster, North East Derbyshire, Rotherham and Sheffield. SCR is discussed in more detail later in the chapter

7 relatively large market and coalfield towns, each with a population of around 10,000: Dunscroft, Dunsville, Hatfield and Stainforth; Thorne and Moorends; Conisbrough and Denaby; Mexborough; Armthorpe; Rossington; Adwick and Woodlands, 10 medium-sized service towns and villages with populations ranging between 3,400 and 8,300, and over 40 small villages and hamlets (DMBC, 2016).

6.4 Character, culture, and public space

The borough has a rich history which is reflected in many of the extant buildings and developments in the area. Doncaster is home to around 800 listed buildings and 46 conservation areas (DMBC, 2012) and features several historical buildings and developments which contribute to the character and culture of the area. Situated in the centre of the town is Doncaster's Minster of Saint George, a Grade I listed building, which was built on the site of Doncaster's 12th Century castle. There are also several large country houses in the borough, including Brodsworth Hall, Cantley Hall, Cusworth Hall and Hickleton Hall. Conisbrough Castle lies between Doncaster town and Rotherham and is managed by English Heritage.

In addition, the borough has a varied sporting history and offers many sporting, cultural and retail facilities. Doncaster is home to a famous racecourse, which is one of the oldest and largest in the country, as well as several other sporting and leisure venues. Most notably, the Keepmoat Stadium, situated in Lakeside, which is a 15,000-capacity stadium and is home to Doncaster Rugby League FC, Doncaster Rovers Belles and Doncaster Rovers Football Club. The Dome, also in Lakeside, is a large leisure and entertainment centre. Doncaster is also home to the Yorkshire Wildlife Park, which is situated near the village of Branton towards the southeast of the borough.

Doncaster has several retail areas including the newly renovated Frenchgate Centre – a large shopping centre, and an outlet shopping village at Lakeside towards the centre of the borough. There are also several smaller shopping areas across the borough and many smaller shops, restaurants and bars in Doncaster's outlying towns and villages.

Through recent regeneration initiatives, Doncaster's town centre has undergone significant development, with the creation of a new civic area, including civic offices, a public square and the Cast theatre. In 2012, Doncaster unsuccessfully applied for city status as part of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

6.4.1 The industrial revolution: Rail and coal industries develop in Doncaster

The 19th Century brought significant changes across the country to local industry and through the 19th and 20th Centuries, Doncaster experienced significant growth, bolstered by its key role in the coal and locomotive industries. The 19th Century saw the unprecedented expansion of the British coal industry, providing scope for significant economic and employment growth.

In total, there were nine pits in Doncaster; Askern, Barnburgh, Bentley, Brodsworth, Cadeby and Denby Main, Hatfield, Markham Main, Rossington and Yorkshire Main, which prompted the formation and expansion of several of the larger towns and villages in Doncaster, including Askern, Armthorpe Edlington, New Rossington and Woodlands (Winterton and Winterton, 1989). The development of the rail industry and the rail network in England heightened the demand for coal and boosted the industry. Doncaster's waterways and rail links allowed for the transportation of coal from Doncaster to support growing industries in other areas of the country.

Rail industry in Doncaster

Doncaster's strategic location within the country and connectivity marked the area out as an ideal location for the expansion of the rail industry and, in the middle of the 19th century, Great Northern Railway (GNR) developed Doncaster Railway Works (Casson, 2009). The inclusion of Doncaster on the GNR route was negotiated by Edmund Dennison. This agreement succeeded in 'transforming a declining gentrified horse-racing town into a prosperous railway hub' (Casson, 2009, p.56). These developments gave rise to the development of the Doncaster Locomotive and Carriage Building Works, where Sir Nigel Gresley oversaw the production of the Flying Scotsman and Mallard steam engines. Doncaster continues to act as a rail hub, as a result of its strategic rail links and as a centre for innovation with the planned HS2 College (discussed in greater detail below).

6.4.2 Deindustrialisation

The industries which had brought prosperity to Doncaster in the 19th and 20th Centuries proved a vulnerability for the borough towards the end of the 20th Century. The factors and political climate which influenced the decimation of the coal industry are well documented and do not warrant substantial repetition here. However, due to Doncaster's heavy reliance on the coal industry, an appreciation of the modes of deindustrialisation which took place towards the end of the 20th century and the impact that these changes had on the coal industry and on local communities is essential to understanding the current challenges faced in Doncaster.

Under the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher, the collieries came to be seen as unprofitable and, perhaps more importantly, they represented 'amongst the last remaining bastions of support for labourism and the collectivist values of social democracy' (Hudson and Sadler, 1990, p.462). Despite the efforts of the miners and the National Union of Miners (NUM), the Thatcherite project was successful in prompting the closure of the majority of UK mines. Between September 1981 and March 1994, the number of collieries in the UK reduced from 211 to just 19, with subsequent reductions in employment bringing figures from 218,800 to 10,800 and a reduction in total British Coal employees from 279,200 to just 18,900 over the period (British Coal Corporation, Annual Reports, cited in Beatty and Fothergill, 1996). Due to the situated nature of the industry, the 'hammer blow of coal job losses' (Beatty et al., 2007, p.1671) was concentrated within relatively small geographical areas, causing mass unemployment, particularly of the male population and putting great strain on local industries. As Beatty et al. (2007) note, almost 90% of the coal-related workforce was 'shed' in the first ten years following the miners' strike.

As a result, the dominance of the coal industry in Doncaster, which brought prosperity and an increase in population to the borough over the 19th and 20th Centuries was replaced following closure of the collieries towards the end of the 20th and beginning of 21st Centuries with large scale unemployment, economic instability, and the need for a reconfiguration of the local economy.

In addition, the decline in manufacturing industries from the early 1970s affected many areas in the north of the country in particular, and here Doncaster's industry was further impacted (Ghehes et al., 2017). Local manufacturing and future opportunities are discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

6.5 Modern economy and industry: Employment and skills

The recovery of those areas most acutely affected by the decimation of the coal industry in Britain has been uneven. As Beatty et. al (2007) noted, the areas surrounding the Yorkshire coalfields have recovered relatively well in comparison to those of south Wales and the north east of England. This recovery is due, in part, to on-going investment in the area and the strategic location of the region

(Beatty et al., 2007). Despite these relative advantages, 30 years on from the closure of many of the collieries in Doncaster the local economy continues to suffer from the effects of deindustrialisation.

6.5.1 Labour market context

Doncaster’s economy suffers from several weaknesses, related to a weak labour market, low skills and innovation levels, and an over-dependency on public sector jobs (DMBC, 2013). Levels of unemployment in Doncaster remain relatively high (Figure 6.3) whilst wages and levels of educational attainment remain low. As a result, there is a perceived additional need, in the context of a changing economic landscape, for to Doncaster reconfigure and grow its local economy to adapt to meet emerging industrials and capitalise on the borough’s strengths.

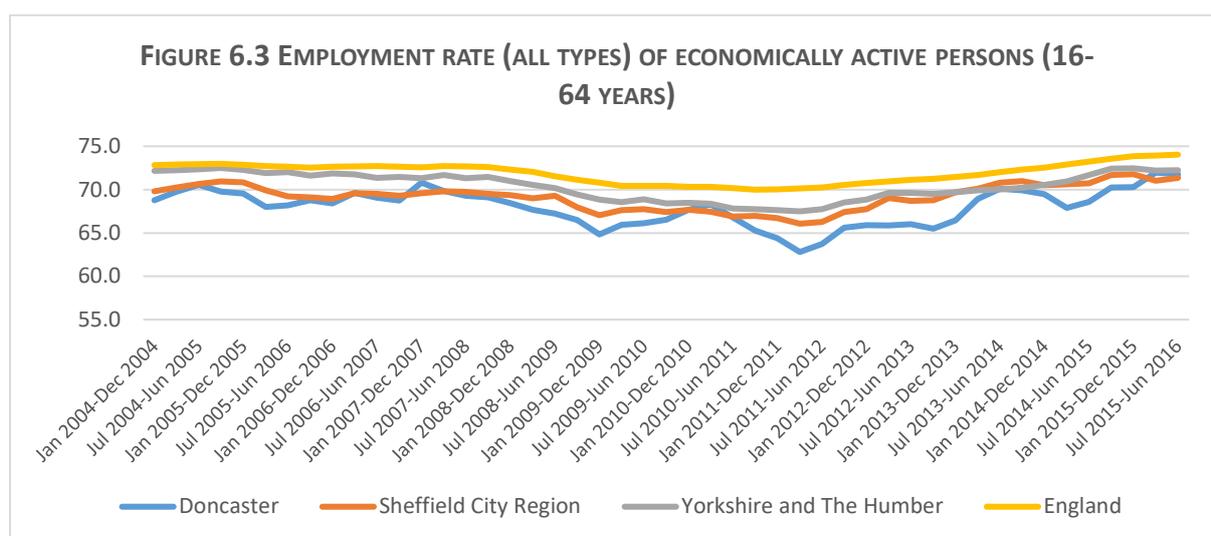


Figure 6.3: Employment rate (all types) of economically active persons (16-64 years) Source: ONS Population statistics, NOMIS

Doncaster also has relatively few individuals in highly skilled occupations when compared with Sheffield City Region (SCR) and England. In turn, the borough also has a relatively low percentage of persons in employment within SOC 2010 Major groups 1-3 (Managers, directors and senior officials, Professional occupations, Associate professional and technical) with 34% of the employed population working in these roles, compared with 37.6% in SCR and 45.4% in England. The borough also has relatively high levels employment in all other SOC 2010 Major employment groups with 22.7% in SOC 2010 Major groups 9 and 10 (Process plant and machine operatives and Elementary occupations) compared with 20.7% in SCR and 17.1% in England (ONS Population statistics, gathered from NOMIS).

6.5.2 Extant and emerging industries

More recently, there has been a relative increase in employment rates in Doncaster, bringing the 2016 employment rate in Doncaster broadly in line with that of Yorkshire and the Humber and slightly higher than that of Sheffield City Region as a whole (see Figure 6.3). The local economy has developed through the establishment and growth of a range of different industries in the borough. The main industries in the area are discussed in brief below.

Logistics and distribution

Doncaster’s strategic location and amenable topography have led to significant development around the logistics and distribution industries. It is estimated that the logistics industry currently provides around 6,500 jobs to the area (DMBC, 2013). Logistics is also a significant contributor to the economy

of Sheffield City Region (SCR), providing an economic output of £930m and employment for 31,000 individuals across the region (DMBC, 2013).

Manufacturing, advanced engineering and rail

The manufacturing, advanced engineering and rail industries in Doncaster currently employ over 10,000 individuals (DMBC, 2013). Drawing on the borough's historical industrial strengths, these industries also provide significant opportunities for development. In particular, the development of these industries within Doncaster offers new opportunities to create highly skilled employment in the borough. These industries are closely related to several current projects in Doncaster including a new rail college, which is co-located in Doncaster.

Construction

The construction industry in Doncaster decreased in size as a result of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). However, the industry still employs around 7,000 individuals in the borough and planned future housing market growth has been in part associated with potential growth in the construction industries (DMBC, 2013).

Retail

As outlined above, several of the public spaces and retail areas have undergone considerable development over recent years. In particular, the Frenchgate centre, a new shopping centre situated close to Doncaster's transport hub and a new outlet village in Lakeside towards the centre of the borough have provided new retail areas and associated employment. Doncaster was ranked 48th of 2000 retail sectors within the UK, and retail in the borough currently provides around 9,000 jobs in the area, making it one of the few local industries that have maintained employment levels through the recession (DMBC, 2013).

Low carbon industries

Low carbon industries are expected to bring substantial growth to the area in future years. In the Economic Growth Plan (DMBC, 2013) DMBC has described an aspiration for the area to monopolise this base and the areas natural assets in the hope that Doncaster will become 'one of the UK's biggest energy hubs' (p.5). Low carbon industries provide considerable opportunities for development in the borough, providing new possibilities for highly skilled employment.

Financial and business services

Financial and business services in Doncaster employ around 8% of the local population (over 9,000). In addition to providing current employment, targeted development in these sectors may provide the potential for significant future employment, training and economic growth. In particular, growth within this sector also has the potential to bring more highly skilled employment opportunities to the borough (DMBC, 2013). More details relating to these industries in Doncaster and SCR including plans for future development of the industries are discussed later in the chapter.

6.5.3 Population and demographics

In 2015, the local authority area had an estimated population of 304,800 making it the second largest of the four Metropolitan areas that comprise South Yorkshire; the largest being Sheffield with 569,700 and the others, Rotherham and Barnsley, with 260,800 and 239,300 respectively (ONS Population estimates provided by NOMIS).

The borough has a lower proportion of young people (aged 0-19) than other areas of the Sheffield City Region (SCR), Yorkshire and Humber Region and England, and the proportion of young people in the borough is decreasing faster than in comparable areas. Of the working age population (aged 20-64) Doncaster has relatively low numbers of younger workers (aged 20-44 years) and relatively high numbers of older workers (aged 44-64 years). The proportion of older people (aged 65+ years) is broadly similar to the national average (DMBC, 2015)

Estimated earnings by residents are lower in Doncaster (£465.5 p/w) than both the Yorkshire and Humber (£486.5 p/w) and the England average (£532.6 p/w) (ONS annual survey of hours and earnings – resident analysis). Analysis relating to Doncaster's 2015 HNA found that almost two thirds of Doncaster's households (61%) have an income of less than £30k, with 37% of households earning below £20k and 13% of households in Doncaster earning over £50k per annum (DMBC, 2015). When compared with South Yorkshire and England as a whole, Doncaster also has relatively low levels of educational attainment, with just 22.7% of the population qualified to NVQ level 4 and above, compared with 28.7% of the population in SCR and 36.8% of the population of England. In addition, 10% of the population in Doncaster possess no qualifications compared with 9.5% in the SCR and 8.4% in England.

Doncaster also has relatively high levels of deprivation. Of the 326 local authority areas in England, Doncaster was ranked the 48th most deprived local authority area, marking an improvement on the 2010 ranking of 39th and, of the four local authority areas in South Yorkshire, Doncaster scored as the second most deprived after Barnsley which was ranked as 37th most deprived² in England. Doncaster also has relatively low levels of ethnic diversity, with 91.8% of the population identifying as white British, compared to 79.8% in England (2011 census).

6.5.4 Migration and commuting patterns

The population of the borough is increasing, and it is anticipated that the population will continue to rise, with a projected population of 313,900 by 2032 (DMBC, 2015). The housing market in Doncaster is relatively self-contained, with around 70% of moves taking place within the borough. The majority of population flows into, and out of the borough are with other areas within the Sheffield City Region, particularly Rotherham, Barnsley and Sheffield and the borough typically experiences an annual net out-migration of residents, with an average net migration of -711 per annum across the period 2011-2015 (ONS Tables Internal Migration Tables). The overall net out-migration of residents to other areas in SCR is partially (although not entirely) mitigated by an inflow of residents from other areas of the country (DMBC, 2016).

Doncaster's Housing Needs Assessment (HNA) (DMBC, 2015) found that around 75-80% of Doncaster's residents travel within the borough to work. In addition, travel to work data carried out by DMBC (2015) suggests that over 75% of commuters in Doncaster travel less than 10 miles to work, with over 50% traveling less than 5 miles.

6.6 Local Politics and governance

The borough of Doncaster is primarily led by Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council (DMBC), one of 36 metropolitan borough counties in England. The area comprises three parliamentary constituencies;

² Ranking of average rank of LSOAs within the LA area (sources: IMD 2015 Table 11 and English indices of deprivation 2010: local authority summaries.)

Don Valley, represented by Caroline Flint (Labour), Doncaster north, represented by Ed Miliband (Labour) and Doncaster Central, represented by Rosie Winterton (Labour). The borough is relatively unusual in terms of governance, representing one of only 12 local authority areas to have a directly elected mayor and cabinet system. Mayor Cllr Ros Jones, also representing the Labour Party was re-elected into the position of Mayor in May 2017.

Governance in Doncaster over recent decades has been tumultuous, with several controversies resulting in important changes to local government structure and local governance. The so-called 'Donnygate' scandal involved the arrest of 21 councillors in Doncaster for a range of offences mostly related to fraudulent expenses claims. Amongst other investigative findings was a case of bribery in the planning system involving two senior councillors. Five were arrested as a result of this bribery case, leading to a combined prison sentence of 11 years. Doncaster's case of structural misconduct was not unique and several other local authorities were found to have similar issues (Skelcher and Snape, 2001). However, the corruption case in Doncaster was thought to be particularly pervasive and led to the council gaining notoriety, becoming a symbol of poor governance, particularly in Labour-led local authority areas (Skelcher and Snape, 2001).

In 2001, partly as a means by which to move away from the scandals within local governance, a referendum in Doncaster was held which led to remodelling of the local government structure to a mayoral system. The ability of local authorities to appoint directly elected mayors had been introduced by the Local Government Act 2000 and, despite a voter turnout of only 25%, Doncaster became the second local authority area outside of London to vote 'yes' to the mayoral system. However, following the change to a mayoralty, controversy relating to governance persisted in the borough and in 2010, the council was described in an Audit Commission report as 'dysfunctional' and was subsequently taken into direct government control, based on the recommendation from Minister for Communities and Local Government Eric Pickles. This intervention ceased in 2014, a year ahead of schedule.

Whilst Doncaster has moved a long way from some of the troubles of the past, these events and the history of the council and the borough necessarily affect trust and confidence that residents have in local officials and elected members and subsequently, the work of the council is affected. Former controversies, particularly those relating to corruption within the planning system continue to exist in the memories of councillors, local authority officers and the public.

6.7 Regional governance and Sheffield City Region

The Metropolitan Borough of Doncaster forms part of the Sheffield City Region (SCR), an area made up of nine local authority districts across South Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire; Barnsley, Bassetlaw, Bolsover, Chesterfield, Derbyshire Dales, Doncaster, North East Derbyshire, Rotherham and Sheffield.

Unlike many city regions in England, SCR may not be considered simply monocentric. The city region has been described as 'weakly monocentric' (Centre for Cities, 2009, p.5) and may be considered 'polycentric' (see Dabinett, 2010 for discussion). Here, alongside the city of Sheffield, SCR comprises several large and medium-sized towns including Barnsley, Chesterfield, Doncaster and Rotherham, each lending distinct opportunities and challenges relating to future development. As such, Doncaster's place as the second largest economy provides significant scope for the borough to contribute to strategic growth plans across the city region. There are potential opportunities to

improve linkages between main urban areas in SCR. For example, whilst Doncaster offers local employment opportunities, there are relatively low levels of commuting between Doncaster and Sheffield, where the borough is considered 'isolated' (Centre for Cities, 2009, p. 4) from Sheffield. However, economic links between Doncaster and Rotherham are stronger (Centre for Cities, 2009).

As outlined in Chapter 2, the financial crash (2007/8) brought with it new concerns relating to rebalancing the economy across the country (see for example, Gardiner et al., 2013). As part of this strategy, as discussed in Chapter 2, changes to regional governance have seen the abolition of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) (replaced with business-focussed LEPs) as well as the introduction of City Deals, Local Growth Deals and Devolution Deals with government. These initiatives widen opportunities for control over a number of key issues, such as transport, economic growth, health, employment and skills and the election of mayors (Etherington and Jones, 2016a). The SCR's Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) was one of 39 local partnerships set up following the abolition of the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs).

Ongoing negotiations between SCR and central government has led to the development of a devolution deal, through which the city region is allowed greater levels of autonomy with regards to some areas of local funding and provision including skills and training, transport and infrastructure, business support and planning. As part of this deal, SCR is set to be led by newly elected Labour Party mayor, Dan Jarvis.

However, as outlined in Chapter 2, there may be concerns, that some city regions may be more adequately placed to prosper in the competitive LEP environment (Meegan et al., 2014). These specific concerns have been raised in relation to SCR. As Etherington and Jones (2016a, p. 4) argue:

Whilst devolution opens up significant opportunities for the SCR, there remain some pressing questions as to whether such governance models are sufficiently addressing the needs of disadvantaged groups or simply reinforcing inequalities. Set against a background of austerity and public expenditure cuts, the potential for the devolution agenda to be undermined remains a real challenge. The SCR has a legacy of deindustrialisation, shattered communities, and broken promises from central government, so the barriers to creating genuine economic and social prosperity are significant.

Etherington and Jones (2016a) have identified a number of particular challenges facing SCR. For example, SCR is ranked 15th of the 39 LEPs in terms of economic performance and productivity (Etherington and Jones, 2016a). The area also has a high proportion of workers earning under the living wage, a large unskilled workforce, a high proportion of workers out of work or on benefits.

SCR's Strategic Economic Plan (SEP) outlines the aspiration for the creation of 70,000 new jobs including 30,000 highly skilled occupations and 6,000 new businesses within the region by 2025. Doncaster's position as one of the largest conurbations in the SCR allows for significant scope for Doncaster to contribute towards local economic growth targets, as well as opportunities for more localised growth: it is anticipated that around 12,000 new jobs of these will fall within Doncaster Metropolitan Borough (DMBCb, 2016). However, as Etherington and Jones (2016a) note, the figure of 70,000 jobs growth is required to 'narrow the gap' between SCR and other LEPs.

Further, as Etherington and Jones (2016a) note, across the nine authorities in SCR, funding has been reduced by £1.19bn, over the period 2010-2014, plus £131m further cuts in 2016/17, which significantly overshadows the £900m (over 30 years) promised to SCR through the devolution deal.

Moreover, it is anticipated that this shortfall in funding will most acutely effect disadvantaged groups (Etherington and Jones, 2016a).

The deindustrialisation at the end of the 20th Century has affected all areas of SCR and in addition to the focus on coal mining industries in Doncaster and Bolsover, the dissolution of the steel industry has impacted Sheffield's economy in particular. Advanced manufacturing industries offer particular potential for development in the city region (Centre for Cities, 2009) with a new advanced manufacturing park being situated in Rotherham and supported by a new-build housing development. However, questions may be raised as to the extent to which these industries are likely to be supported by central government funding. Whilst the government's industrial strategy, which introduces new funding for industrial development may be welcomed, there may be concerns that the sectoral focus is too narrow, where only a small section of the country's manufacturing industries are likely to benefit from this funding. In addition, this narrow sectoral focus, on 'cutting edge high-technology industries' (Fothergill et al., 2017, p. 3) is likely to have fractured impacts at the regional scale and here, places such as SCR may be particularly disadvantaged, where these industries are based disproportionately in the south and south east of the country (see Fothergill et al., 2017). Here, as Fothergill et al (2017, p.5) argue, 'there is more than a whiff of trying to pick winners', and it seems that these winners are unlikely to be based in SCR.

6.8 Approaches towards local growth

Doncaster is an area which is still recovering from the deindustrialisation of the end of the last century, and this need to grow the local economy forms an important driver for much of the borough's local policy. Accordingly, the local authority has adopted an economic strategy based in part on Doncaster's existing industries, strategic position, accessibility to major national and international markets and its fast travel links to London. At a local level, the economy and economic growth are seen to constitute the optimum approach towards securing resilience in Doncaster. This is outlined in Doncaster's Economic Growth Plan where it is stated that: 'Doncaster places the economy at the centre of its Borough Strategy. We firmly believe that a strong economy leads to healthier, stronger, safer communities and improved quality of life' (DMBC, 2013 p. 3).

Major development and future growth plans

Doncaster's Economic Growth Plan, 2013-2018 (DMBC, 2013) lays out the local strategy for achieving local economic growth in the short term. Much of this is reliant on expanding the industries already extant in the areas. Some of the main developments and industries which contribute to the current local economy are outlined below.

Finningley and Rossington Regeneration Route Scheme (FARRRS)

FARRRS is a highway which has been designed to capitalise on existing and future development in the Finningley and Rossington area through providing a link between developments. Also known as The Great Yorkshire Way, FARRRS is central to many of the planned developments within the borough. FARRRS currently provides a link between Doncaster, RHADS and the M18 and is expected to act as a catalyst for further growth supporting some of the other projects mentioned in this section. FARRRS was officially opened in February 2016 and was further developed through a second phase in 2016-17. The second phase of the development will provide a link between the existing FARRRS scheme,

the White Rose Way and Lakeside, which will be the location of the new High Speed Rail College (see below).

Inland Port (iPort)

The iPort is a planned £400m multi-modal logistics park. The park will provide more than six million sq. ft. of logistics warehousing provision, linked to all UK Ports and the channel tunnel via rail freight. The complete iPort is to be located close to the former colliery in Rossington and is served by FARRRS. Construction of the iPort began in 2015 and it is hoped that it will create almost 6,000 jobs locally, contributing to local and regional growth. This development is closely linked with others near RHADS and it is hoped that there will be cumulative growth and development.

High Speed Rail College

In 2014 DMBC, along with Birmingham City Council were successful in their bid to develop a new HS2 college. The headquarters of the development is based in Birmingham, with a further site in Doncaster. The purpose of the development is to provide specialist skills and training which will be needed ahead of the new high-speed rail development (HS2). Construction began on the college in 2015, and the college opened in 2017. The Doncaster site is located in Lakeside, towards the centre of the borough and provides facilities for over 1000 students a year in Doncaster to undertake specialised study.

Retail

As outlined earlier in the chapter, Doncaster has a substantial retail sector which employs over 9,000 individuals. DMBC have anticipated that developments in the retail industry can be further enhanced through capitalising on some of the leisure, tourism, sport and historical aspects of the area. In particular Doncaster's heritage relating to its Roman archaeological significance, historical rail industries and world-famous horse-racing history provide potential future opportunities for growth of the leisure, tourism and sport industries within Doncaster (DMBC, 2013).

6.9 Housing, Local housing policy and housing market growth

Doncaster has a varied housing market, with the 131,000 homes across the borough ranging in value from around £50k to over £1m (DMBC, 2015). The most common dwelling type in the borough is semi-detached housing, which represents around 45% of stock, with detached and terraced housing each representing just under a quarter of housing in the borough (23% and 24% respectively) and other housing types (flats, maisonettes, shared houses, bedsits, commercial buildings, mobile homes) making up around 9% of local stock. The majority of homes in Doncaster (55%) are three-bedroomed, with two-bedroomed homes the next most prevalent at 24%. Almost all (99.9%) of dwellings within the borough are single household dwellings. The average household size has remained relatively consistent since the 2011 census, decreasing slightly from 3.28 in 2001 to 3.25 in 2011 (DMBC, 2015).

The majority of homes in Doncaster (around 82%) are privately owned, with the majority of these in owner occupation (DMBC, 2015). The highest priced wards in Doncaster include Finningley, Bessacarr and Cantley, Thorne Valley and Sprotborough, with an average price/value across these wards of over £168k (DMBC, 2015). At the other end of the market, the least expensive housing can be found in Mexborough, Conisbrough and Denaby, Central, Bentley and Adwick, with an average price of under £97k. (DMBC, 2015).

The private rented sector makes up around 15% of stock, with 18% of properties in social rent (DMBC 2016). The vast majority (over 90%) of the PRS properties in Doncaster are managed by a private

landlord or lettings agency, with around 7% let by friends or relatives. Many of the properties purchased by landlords to be let in the PRS sit toward the lower end of the market, restricting access to ownership for first time buyers (DMBC, 2015). Doncaster’s Housing Needs Assessment (HNA) suggests that the majority of PRS housing is in relatively good condition, with 79% of PRS housing meeting decency standards. However, this data is relatively old and may be out-dated (DMBC, 2015).

There are over 20,000 council dwellings in the borough, representing around 16% of the total local stock (DMBC, 2015). This figure is higher than elsewhere in the region, but in line with neighbouring authority areas (DMBC, 2016). The majority (81%) of council dwellings are houses or bungalows and of all council properties, almost half (44%) are three bedroomed properties (DMBC, 2015). The majority of properties within the SRS meet decency standards, however, there is room for improvement in some cases (DMBC, 2015)

6.9.1 House prices and affordability

When compared with areas within the Sheffield City Region, house prices in Doncaster are lower than those in each of the constituent areas and the SCR average, with the exception of Barnsley (DMBC, 2015). House prices in Doncaster have increased across the period covered in this study (2011-2015), although average house prices in Doncaster have been consistently low throughout this period when compared with South Yorkshire, Yorkshire and the Humber and England and remain so as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Average house prices in England, South Yorkshire, Yorkshire and the Humber and Doncaster (2011 and 2018).
Source: Land registry House Price Index

	Doncaster	South Yorkshire	Yorkshire and Humber	England
Av. Price 01/2011	£110,429	£112,590	£128,975	£174,442
Av. Price 02/2018	£120,291	£131,134	£134,625	£242,176

In line with trends at the national scale, prices vary by housing type, with detached houses in Doncaster constituting the most expensive properties, followed by semi-detached, terraced and flats and maisonettes (DMBC, 2015). House and rental prices across the borough largely reflect the occupations and earnings of residents, with the wards with more occupants with professional occupations and higher earnings having higher prices and rental values and the converse where fewer higher earners reside (DMBC, 2015). The average income to property price ratio in Doncaster is 5.8, which is relatively low when compared with SCR and England. However, despite recent rises in local incomes, this growth has not matched inflation and, coupled with restrictions on opportunities to borrow, owner occupation remains relatively unaffordable for local residents.

Doncaster’s 220 square miles of land provide much opportunity for potential housing development. However, as shown in Figure 6.2, much of the borough is subject to restrictions on the types of developments due to the designation of much of the land as green belt and flood risk zones. In total, 76.5% of the borough falls within designated green belt, or flood risk land.

The population of Doncaster is increasing and is predicted to continue to grow. Concurrently, average household sizes in the borough have remained relatively consistent (3.28 in 2001 to 3.25 in 2011). This means that there is a need for more housing within the borough. In addition, it is anticipated that additional housing will be required to meet need produced as a result of projected economic growth (DMBC, 2016).

The ambitious economic growth targets set out by DMBC and SCR present a need for additional housing and there is an ongoing need to determine the number of dwellings required to support this level of growth, as well as a need to better understand the types of property required and the optimum distribution of these new dwellings across the SCR. Using the figure of 70,000 new jobs given by the SEP, a report by Edge Analytics (2014) has suggested that an estimated 7,049-10,147 new houses would be needed within the SCR to support this level of employment growth. The precise number of new houses needed to meet this target is uncertain due to uncertainty relating to movement within the city region, and net migration figures. In other words, it is difficult to predict the number of employment opportunities which will be absorbed by individuals already living within the region, and the number which will be taken by newcomers.

Doncaster's Housing Needs Assessment (HNA) (DMBC, 2015) has suggested that an average minimum of 582 homes would need to be built in Doncaster each year across the period 2015-2032 to meet the baseline expectations of housing market growth as set out by central government (DMBC, 2016). It is anticipated that much of this growth will occur within the Doncaster Main Urban area, and the larger towns in the borough, with smaller towns and villages absorbing smaller levels of housing growth (DMBC, 2015).

As a result of this anticipated growth, however, the Objectively Assessed Need (OAN) for Doncaster is 920 homes per annum; 53% higher than the government projection (582) and 41% higher than the average historic demand of 652 (DMBC, 2016), with 338 (37%) of new homes needed as a result of projected economic growth (DMBC, 2016). However, MHCLG has recently consulted on a new, centralised approach to setting Objectively Assessed Need which serves to formalise the 'government projection' figure and aims to build it into planning.

6.9.2 House-building completions and starts to date

As Table 6.2 below shows, house-building starts and completions have both generally increased over the period included in this study across Doncaster, the SCR and England, although national figures still fall short of the estimated need.

Table 6.2: House building starts and completions in Doncaster, SCR and England (2010-2016) Source: ONS Live tables 253 and 255

		Number of properties (all types)					
		2010- 11	2011- 12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
Doncaster	Started	420	320	390	660	970	720
	Completed	250	420	420	530	580	910
Sheffield City Region	Started			2580	3680	3430	3560
	Completed			2720	3170	3430	3730
England	Started	141,150	11,820	103,520	135,410	142,690	141,490
	Completed	107,870	118,510	107,980	112,330	124,640	139,650

As outlined above, average earnings in Doncaster are relatively low when compared to the SCR however, when compared with England, Doncaster has a relatively low ratio of house price to earnings ratio in both the lower quartile and median ranges, making housing relatively affordable. However, this relative affordability is tempered by relatively low wages locally, rising living costs and restricted access to financial help in reality means that many are unable to access the owner-occupied sector, meaning that affordability remains a challenge in the region (DMBC, 2016).

Table 6.3: Ration of lower quartile house price to lower quartile earnings and median house prices to median earnings in Doncaster an England (2011-2015)

	Year	2011*	2012*	2013	2014	2015
Ratio of lower quartile house price to lower quartile earnings	Doncaster	4.71	4.63	4.70	4.73	4.96
	England	6.57	6.58	6.66	6.95	7.02
Ratio of median house price to median earnings	Doncaster	4.44	4.61	4.68	4.85	5.00
	England	6.69	6.86	6.92	7.25	7.63

Source ONS Live tables 576 and 577, * Source: ONS discontinued tables 576 and 577

It is anticipated that there will be an increased need for one-bedroomed properties as household size decreases, in part due to an ageing population. Larger homes may also be required in Doncaster in part to increase ethnic diversity in the borough (DMBC, 2016).

6.9.3 House building and local economic growth

The introduction of this thesis introduced the growing pressure on local authorities to promote housing growth, and the continued and increasing focus on demand-side economic factors in housing construction, often at the expense of supply-side need of low income households (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017). As outlined in Chapter 2 housing can be perceived of as an economic asset at a local level and is often seen by policymakers as a contributor to wider ‘place-making’ and image-enhancement objectives and as a way to attract and retain economically productive residents into the locality. Further, the housing supply in the north of the country, and particularly in post-industrial towns and cities may be considered insufficient in the context of increased mobility and choice on the part of the ‘creative class’ and skilled service workers, and as such, new-build housing may be considered a means through which to revitalise the stock to motivate inward migration (Lee and Murie, 2004; Tomaney and Bradley, 2007).

The assumed causal relationship between targeted high-end housing market growth and local economic growth (via the proxy of inward migration of affluent groups) is referred to throughout several of Doncaster’s strategy documents. For example, this link is stated in Doncaster’s 2011-2014 housing strategy, Better Homes, Better Places, which states that:

Housing can play a major role in leading the economy back towards growth as well as supporting an efficient labour market which is key to economic success’ (DMBC, 2011 p.6).

And further:

The creation of good quality housing areas where people want to live is crucial to our success and will aid the economic recovery in Doncaster by attracting new businesses and workers (DMBC, 2011, p. 8).

This link is also alluded to in Doncaster’s Economic Growth Plan where it is stated:

Around Rossington, there is scope to provide a world class golf course using the terrain with some low density parkland housing to attract business people into the borough (DMBC, 2013, p.15) .

When these factors are combined with the potential revenues which could be gained through central incentives for development, the motivations behind policies which can trace a causal link between housing growth and economic growth at a local level are clear and form part of the strategy in Doncaster.

6.10 Selection of Doncaster as a site for research

The sections above illustrated the economic and political history of Doncaster and argued that the borough is struggling to reconfigure its economy in the face of long-run economic pressures. However, DMBC are keen to adapt and grow their economy, with the borough currently welcoming a range of large infrastructure projects, as well as adaptations designed to reconfigure the local economy and bring investment into the area. Six key reasons for choosing Doncaster as the site of this research are outlined below.

First, as outlined above, policy which assumes a causal link between housing market growth and economic growth is explicitly mentioned in local housing and economic policy documents. Accordingly, Doncaster represents an example of a local authority area which explicitly employs housing-focused urban competition economic growth strategies.

Second, Doncaster represents an example of a peripheral post-industrial place (PPIP) (Gherhes et al., 2017). As outlined in Chapter 2, the housing supply in much of the north of the country may be considered inappropriate for footloose middle-to-high income earners (Lee and Murie, 2004) and here, there is the potential to explore the impact that new-build housing can have on attracting inward migration into a lagging region (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007). Given Doncaster's status as a PPIP, there is the potential for the findings of this research to shed light on issues which may resonate in other places facing similar issues relating to the local economy and population mix.

Third, as outlined above Doncaster has a relatively self-contained housing market, with around 70% of moves being made within the borough. As such, there is the potential for this research to shed light on the impact that new-build housing can have in attracting newcomers to the area in this housing market context.

Fourth, this research also provides an opportunity to examine who residents are and the types of factors (alongside housing) which may attract newcomers or returning households to live in a PPIP such as Doncaster. This in turn, may represent important findings for DMBC in future endeavours to grow the economy through policies aimed at attracting newcomers.

Fifth, this research was partially funded by DMBC. This connection meant that key information and data could be sourced from the council.

Finally, as a student at the University of Sheffield, the researcher was living close to Doncaster, which meant that travel to and from the borough was practical in terms of resources.

6.11 Selection of new-build developments within Doncaster

This study focuses only on new-builds but includes a range of developments within different types of areas within the borough to build up a more nuanced picture of the ways in which new-build housing might attract different groups in different contexts. Within Doncaster, this research is centred around new-build developments across 8 neighbourhoods: Auckley, Bentley, Branton, Carr Lodge, Edenthorpe, Finningley, Lakeside and Tickhill. The location of the areas where the new housing developments are based are illustrated in Figure 6.4.

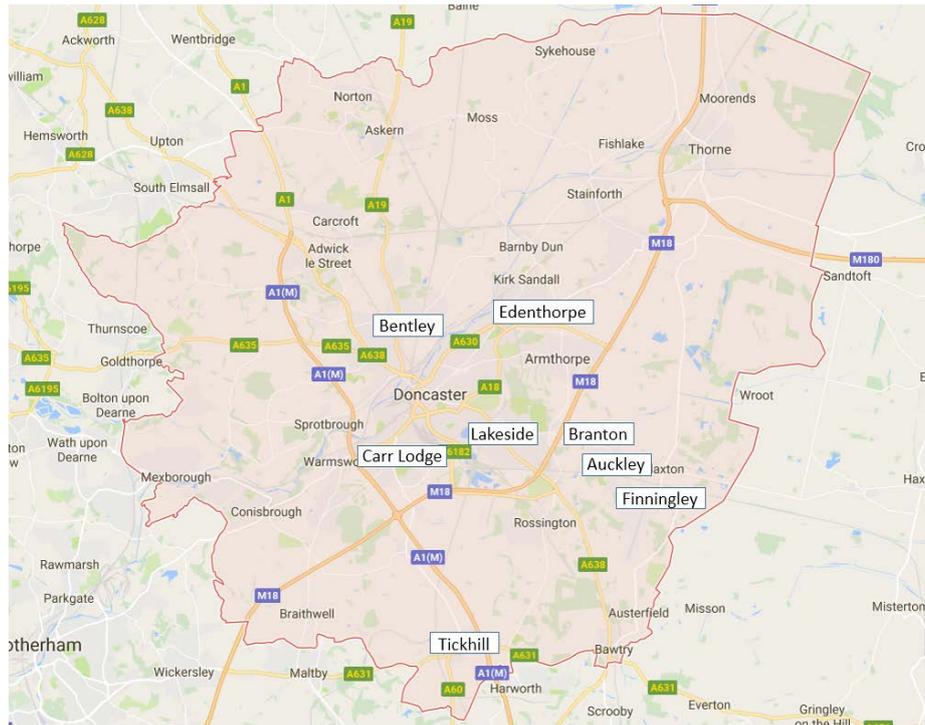


Figure 6.4: Map showing the location of study sites within Doncaster. Created by researcher using Google Maps and Microsoft PowerPoint

The study sites included developments in six areas with relatively low levels of deprivation (Auckley, Branton, Finningley, Lakeside, Tickhill), and two more deprived areas (Carr Lodge and Bentley). Whilst the developments at Bentley and Carr Lodge may not constitute high-end housing when compared with the borough as a whole, these homes represent higher end housing when compared with nearby homes.

The sample included six developments in established communities (Auckley, Bentley, Branton, Finningley, Edenthorpe, Tickhill) and two new developments (Lakeside, Carr Lodge). These were also based in different neighbourhood types, with Tickhill, Branton, Auckley and Finningley being outlying village locations, Edenthorpe being a more central, but less deprived village and Bentley, an ex-mining village. The decision to look at a range of different types of neighbourhoods has allowed the potential for greater understanding of the types of development within Doncaster and how new-build housing relates to existing housing and neighbourhoods in a range of contexts. The inclusion of a range of neighbourhoods in the study also allows for diversity and a wider appreciation of the local market.

As a connection with DMBC was established prior to the start of the research, ongoing support from colleagues at DMBC has meant access to information relating to Doncaster and its neighbourhoods and in particular, new-build developments. Advice from colleagues at DMBC formed the main criteria for the selection of study sites. Initially, two neighbourhood areas were chosen following advice from DMBC employees with knowledge of Doncaster and its market. These areas were Lakeside and the Carr Lodge development within the Balby Ward. New-build homes within these areas were contacted using the household survey (discussed in more detail below). However, as responses began to come in from surveys, it was clear that there was a need to expand the number of neighbourhood areas, and six more neighbourhood areas were added to the study; Auckley, Bentley, Branton, Edenthorpe, Finningley and Tickhill. These neighbourhood areas were also selected following advice from

colleagues at DMBC as to areas that were considered to be suitable. In selecting neighbourhood at this second stage, surveys from the first two sites had begun to come in, and this allowed for collation between information gathered from the council and sites which may be in the same submarket as those previously selected (areas that respondents had also considered). Reference was also made to local completions lists provided by DMBC, and care was taken to select areas where there had been significant development (c.50 homes) since 2011 (date of last census).

6.12 Introduction to new-build developments

The sections below introduce the study sites, providing maps showing the location of developments in relation to nearby towns and villages and key areas of local interest. The maps used in this chapter were created using Google My Maps, and use Google Maps images. In the majority of cases, the maps do not yet show the new-build developments, but the location of the developments have been included. Team Doncaster (2018) have produced community profiles for each community area in Doncaster (which number 39 in total). The analysis undertaken by DMBC reflects analysis of areas within Doncaster at the Medium Super Output Area level. The community profiles were produced using data from Public Health England and were accessed through the Team Doncaster website (Team Doncaster, 2018). Findings from this work are included in these sections along with key local information to introduce the settlements.

6.12.1 Auckley

Auckley is a village which lies around five miles east of Doncaster town centre. The civil parish of Auckley had a population of 3,266 at the 2011 census. The village has a range of facilities and amenities including a GP surgery and pharmacy, a shop, take away restaurants, a church and a new parish centre (shown in Figure 6.5). The village also has three schools. Auckley is situated close to the RHADS airport, which is just to the southeast of Auckley village.

Of the 39 MSOAs in Doncaster and associated community areas, Auckley sits with the community area of 'Branton, Auckley and Finningley'. The area overall has an estimated population of 7,790. According to Team Doncaster's community profile (based on MSOA level data provided by Public Health England), the MSOA area has relatively low levels of deprivation (IMD score of 7.8) when compared to Doncaster's average (29.1), or the English average (21.8). The area also scores significantly better on measures of income deprivation (6.1), child poverty (7.2) and older people in deprivation (7.4) than the English average (14.6, 19.9 and 16.2 respectively). The area also has relatively low levels of unemployment and long-term unemployment than the English average and the life expectancy in the area is significantly higher than the average in England for both males and females (Team Doncaster, 2018)



Figure 6.5: View of Auckley parish centre. Source: Google maps (Accessed 25/02/2018).



Figure 6.6: Map showing the location of new-build developments in Auckley. Source: Created by researcher using Google My Maps on 28/02/2018.

Two developments in Auckley were included in the study, marked in purple and yellow (Figure 6.6).

Building is being undertaken by several developers in the site marked in purple, and development is currently still underway. The undeveloped (but marked) road in the purple area in Figure 6.6 show the location for the new-builds included in this study. The homes contacted in the study were built by

Taylor Wimpey, and the development is known as 'Westlands'. Westlands includes a mix of 3, 4 and 5 bedroomed detached and semi-detached homes. Further development in the site marked in purple is being provided by David Wilson Homes, but these homes were not completed prior to the fieldwork stage of this research and are not included in the study.

Further homes were contacted in the centre of Auckley (marked on Figure 6.6 in yellow). This development consists of 14 detached, 3 bedroom homes built by Cambrian homes. The development is called 'Hayfield Chase'.

6.12.2 Bentley

Bentley is a former mining village which lies around two miles north of Doncaster. At the 2011 census, the town had a population of 14,191. The village has a wide range of shops, takeaway restaurants and services situated along High Street and there are two schools in the village; Bentley High Street Primary School, and Bentley New Village Primary School. There is also a park (Bentley Park), which sits just east of the A19, and the village is situated close to a conservation area known as Bentley Community Woodland, which sits atop the former colliery. Bentley is well-connected by public transport with frequent bus services to and from Doncaster centre, and a railway station is situated in the village.



Figure 6.7: View of local amenities on Bentley High Street. Source: Google Maps. (Accessed 23/02/18).

The area is relatively deprived (IMD score of 47.8) when compared to Doncaster's average (29.1), or the English average, and the area scores significantly worse on measures of income deprivation (32), child poverty (40.5) and older people in deprivation (32.5) than the English average (14.6, 19.9 and 16.2 respectively). The area also suffers from significantly higher levels of unemployment and long-term unemployment than the English average (Team Doncaster, 2018)



Figure 6.8: Map showing Branton Village and location of new-build development. Created by researcher using Google My Maps on 24/02/ 2018.

The new housing development at Bentley sits atop the old Bentley colliery and was developed as part of the Homes and Communities Agency’s (HCA) National Coalfield Programme (NCP). The homes were built by Keepmoat in conjunction with this NCP scheme. As noted in Chapter 3, this scheme represents one of the few area-based interventions currently supported by central government (Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015). The development comprises a mixture of 2,3 and 4 bedroomed properties. Bentley is the most deprived of the towns and villages included in this study, and is the only ex-mining village.

6.12.3 Branton

Branton is a small village around 9 miles east of Doncaster town centre. According to the 2011 census, Branton had a population of 1,992. The village has a local shop, a post office, a pub and a burger bar. Like Auckley, Branton sits within the Auckley, Branton and Finningley community area, as identified by Team Doncaster (2018), and has relatively low levels of deprivation and unemployment. There is one school in Branton - St Wilfrid’s Church of England Primary.

Branton is also home to Yorkshire Wildlife Park, a large centre for wildlife conservation and welfare. Branton is well-connected to Doncaster town centre with buses travelling between the village and Doncaster centre around every ten minutes.

The new-build development, known as ‘Woodlands Walk’ was built by David Wilson Homes and its location is shown in red on Figure 6.9. As the map shows, the development at Branton sits at the edge of Branton village, close to the M18. Woodlands Walk development is comprised of a mixture of housing types, predominately four bedroomed, detached homes, although there are also some three bed properties and some 2 bed town houses, as well as a small number of flats.



Figure 6.9: Map showing Branton Village and location of new-build development. Created by researcher using Google My Maps (24/02/ 2018)



Figure 6.10: View of new-build homes on Hillcrest Drive from Doncaster Road, Branton. Source: Google Maps. (Accessed 27/02/2018)

6.12.4 Carr Lodge Estate

The Carr Lodge Estate is a new development in Doncaster in the Balby East MSOA Community area (Team Doncaster, 2018). Balby East is relatively deprived (IMD score of 34.5) when compared to Doncaster's average (29.1), or the English average, and the area scores significantly worse on measures of income deprivation (22), child poverty (26.9) and older people in deprivation (26.6) than the English average (14.6, 19.9 and 16.2 respectively). The area also suffers from significantly higher levels of unemployment and long-term unemployment than the English average and the life expectancy in the area is significantly lower than the average in England for both men and women (Team Doncaster, 2018).

The new development, which is shown in orange on Figure 6.11 is the Carr Lodge estate. Whilst the development is within the wider area of Balby, the development sits adjacent to Woodfield Plantation, an area separated from the rest of Balby by Woodfield Park. When compared with the rest of Balby, Woodfield Plantation is relatively affluent and the new development at Carr Lodge is situated close to this area and away from the centre of Balby. Whilst the Carr Lodge development is close to Woodfield Plantation, geographically, the development is not part of Woodfield Plantation and stands alone as a separate community within Balby. As such, this development provides an example of a new community developed through the construction of new-build housing, rather than an extension of an existing community or village.



Figure 6.11: Map showing location of Carr Lodge development. Created by researcher using Google My Maps on 28/02/2018.

The development is bisected by Woodfield Way. As Figure 6.11 shows, the development is also close to the intersection of the A1(M) and M18 motorway, making the location convenient for travel by

motorway. The Carr Lodge Estate is also close to a large Tesco Extra store and residents of the new development can easily access shops and services in Woodfield Plantation.

The new homes of the Carr Lodge Estate were built by Strata, Keepmoat and Fairgrove Homes and the development is known as 'Dominion Homes'. The development has a mixture of housing sizes, types and tenures and custom build homes, with a small number of homes available for affordable rent and shared ownership. The homes built at the Carr Lodge development are the first stage of what is planned to be a much larger development to include further homes, community facilities and amenities, including shops, services and green areas.



Figure 6.12: View of new-build development at Carr Lodge from Woodfield Way. Source: Google Maps (Accessed 25/02/2018)



Figure 6.13: View of new-build homes on Dorado Drive, Carr Lodge development. Source: Google Maps (Accessed 27/02/2018)

6.12.5 Edenthorpe

Edenthorpe is a village around three miles north of Doncaster centre. The town is well connected through transport links, with the A18 running through the town and the A680 running past the south of the village, connecting the M18 and A18. The Kirk Sandall railway station is also within a mile of the town, making the town accessible via rail. Edenthorpe has a range of shops, services, cafés, a pub, a hotel and a Toby Carvery restaurant, as well as a Tesco Superstore.

According to Census data, the civil parish of Edenthorpe had a population of 4,776 in 2011. The area has relatively low levels of deprivation (IMD score of 14.6) when compared to Doncaster's average (29.1), or the English average, and the area scores significantly better on measures of income deprivation (9.2), child poverty (9.1) and older people in deprivation (13.9) than the English average (14.6, 19.9 and 16.2 respectively). The area has significantly lower levels of unemployment than the English average and is in keeping with the long-term unemployment rates when compared with the country as a whole. The life expectancy of those living in Edenthorpe's MSOA area is significantly better than the average in England for males, but significantly worse for females (Team Doncaster, 2018).



Figure 6.14: Map showing new-build developments at Edenthorpe. Created by researcher using Google My Maps on 28/02/2018

Residents in two developments in Edenthorpe were contacted. Firstly, the area marked in yellow, which comprised 49 four bedroomed detached homes by Harron homes. Secondly, a smaller development of 14 detached homes marked in blue on Figure 6.14.

6.12.6 Lakeside

Lakeside is a new-build development which sits towards the centre of the borough. Lakeside is situated in the Bessacarr and Cantley Ward and in Team Doncaster's 'Lakeside and South Bessacarr' community

profile area. Within this community area as a whole, the population is estimated to be 6922. The area has relatively low levels of deprivation (IMD score of 9.6) when compared to Doncaster's average (29.1), or the English average, and the area scores significantly better on measures of income deprivation (5.7), child poverty (7) and older people in deprivation (7.8) than the English average (14.6, 19.9 and 16.2 respectively). The area has significantly higher levels of unemployment and long-term unemployment rates when compared with the country as a whole. The life expectancy of those living in Lakeside's MSOA area is significantly better than the average in England for both males and females (Team Doncaster, 2018).

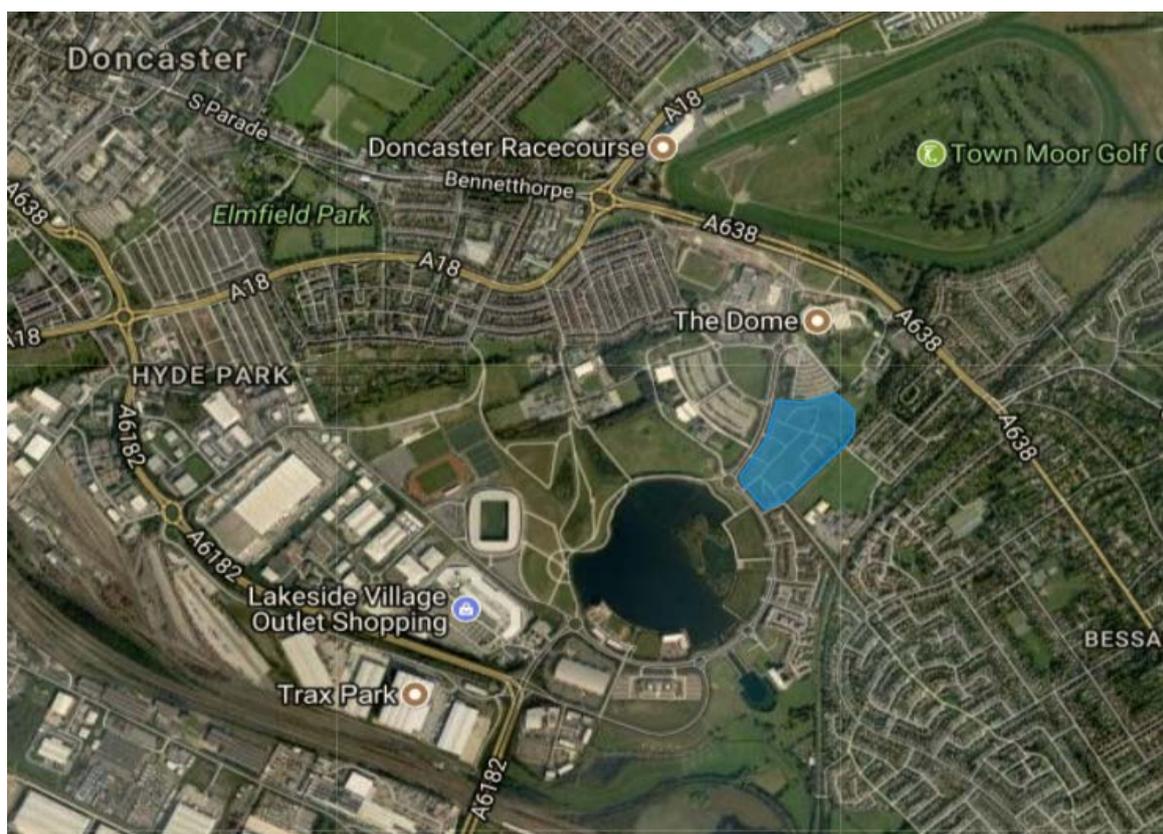


Figure 6.15: Map showing location of Lakeside development area contacted (in blue). Created by researcher using Google My Maps on 24/02/2018

The 'Serenity' development at Lakeside consists of a mixture of housing types including 3, 4 and 5 bedroomed detached houses, town houses, apartments and flats. Barratt Developments and David Wilson Homes developed the homes.

As Figure 6.15 shows, the Lakeside area is separated from other neighbourhoods by the A6182, the A18 and the A638 to the north and the east. Adjacent to the development there is a lake with benches and green space. Around the lake there is a footpath which is used by walkers, cyclists and others.



Figure 6.16: View of Derwent Drive from Windermere Drive, Lakeside Source: Google Maps (Accessed 25/02/2018)



Figure 6.17: View of 'Lakeside Village' shopping complex within the wider Lakeside Development. Source: Google Maps. (Accessed 28/02/2018).

The wider Lakeside development also has several sports and leisure facilities such as the Dome, a wide range of restaurants and a shopping outlet. Lakeside is within walking distance of the town centre and is easy to access from other parts of the borough, with good transport links.

6.12.7 Finningley

Finningley is a village on the A614 Wroot Road, around six miles east of Doncaster town centre. According to the 2011 Census, the civil parish of Finningley had a population of 1,497.

The village is situated in the Branton, Auckley and Finningley community area as identified by Team Doncaster (2018) (described above). The village has a post office and local shop as well as a pub and community centre. Finningley village has a park, and a green with a duck pond (Figure 6.18) and there are peacocks roaming freely in the village. Finningley is also home to the RHADS airport (shown to the left of Figure 6.18), and is adjacent to the new FARRRS (as described earlier in the chapter).



Figure 6.18: Map showing location of developments at Finningley. Created by researcher using Google My Maps on 25/02/2018

The area marked in blue on Figure 6.18 shows the location of the 'Trinity Gate' development by David Wilson homes, which comprises 3- and 4-bedroomed detached and semi-detached homes. The area marked in purple was developed by Cyden Homes Ltd, and is comprised of 3- and 4-bedroomed detached homes. The area marked in yellow is the 'Manor Farm' development which comprises 3- and 4-bedroomed detached and semi-detached homes built by David Wilson Homes.



Figure 6.19: View of new-build homes at Wellington Drive from Old Bawtry Road, Finningley. Source: Google Maps (Accessed 26/02/2018)



Figure 6.20: View of Finningley Duck Pond from The Green, Finningley. Source: Google Maps (Accessed 26/02/2018)

6.12.8 Tickhill

Tickhill is a small town which sits towards the south of the borough. According to the 2011 Census, the town had a population of 5,228 in 2011. Tickhill has relatively low deprivation scores (IMD score of 12.4) when compared to Doncaster's average (29.1), or the English average, and the area scores significantly better on measures of income deprivation (8.4), child poverty (9.3) and older people in deprivation (10.3) than the English average (14.6, 19.9 and 16.2 respectively). The area also has significantly lower levels both of unemployment and long term unemployment than the English

average and the life expectancy in the area is significantly higher than the average in England for females and not significantly different for males (Team Doncaster, 2018).



Figure 6.21: View of local amenities in Tickhill. Source: Google Maps (Accessed 23/02/2018).

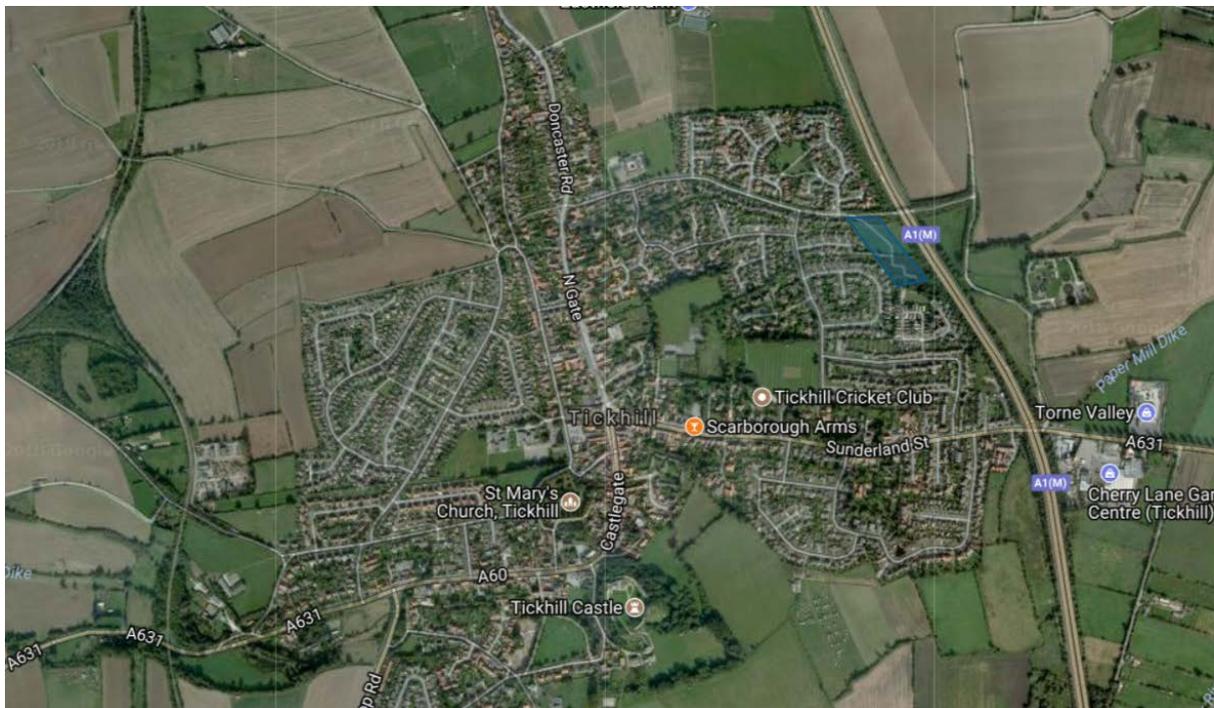


Figure 6.22: Map showing location of development at Tickhill (shown in blue). Created by researcher using Google My Maps on 25/05/2018.

The town lies around eight miles south of Doncaster centre, and to the east of Tickhill runs the A1(M). As shown in Map 6, the new development included in this study is adjacent to this Road. The main

development, consisting of detached homes was built by Bellway homes, although several other addresses were contacted in Tickhill, including self-builds.

6.13 Chapter summary

This chapter has introduced the Metropolitan Borough of Doncaster, providing key information relating to its history, economy, governance and housing. As the chapter has demonstrated, local policymakers are keen to reconfigure the local economy and promote economic growth, and there are a number of emerging industries in the area, and opportunities to build on the borough's strengths. However, as the chapter also showed, Doncaster (alongside the rest of Sheffield City Region (SCR)) face a range of specific challenges which may present a disadvantage to achieving these aims in the context of urban competition as favoured through the LEP approach and 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012).

As part of the SCR's plan to promote economic growth in the area, as the chapter described, there is a need to build new homes in part to support projected growth (Edge Analytics, 2014). Moreover, as described above, the housing supply in Doncaster has been presented through policy documents as a means by which to attract and retain economically successful residents as part of a 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) approach to local economic development. Here it is acknowledged that the local housing supply may be a contributing factor to promoting economic growth in the borough, and across SCR.

The chapter also introduced the eight study sites used in this research, providing the reasons for selecting these neighbourhoods, along with contextual information relating to these areas. As the chapter illustrated, the study involves high-end developments in a diverse range of neighbourhood settings and this allows an opportunity to explore the potential impact that these new homes can have at both the neighbourhood and local authority scale.

The following chapter, which forms the final chapter of Section 3 of the thesis, outlines the methodological approach and research design, discussing the research methods used to collect data, and the approach to conducting the analysis of this data.

Chapter 7 Methodology

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 outlined the conceptual framework which shape the remainder of the thesis, and Chapter 6 has introduced the borough of Doncaster as the site of this research, introducing also the study sites within Doncaster used in the thesis. In this final chapter of Section 3 of the thesis, the methodological approach which was employed to answer the research aims and objectives, the research methods used for data collection and the approach to analysis of the data are discussed. The chapter also outlines adaptations to the research design and the ethical considerations which shaped the research.

7.2 Quantitative and qualitative approaches to understanding mobility and the life course

To explore the research aims and objectives as set out in Chapter 5, it was necessary to collect data relating to households and the types of moves that respondents made, but also the ways in which individuals and households understood and interpreted their moves within the context of their life course (situating moves within structural, longitudinal and relational factors).

As discussed in Chapter 3, a majority of studies relating to the housing market and mobility processes have been positivist in their approach, and this has particularly been the case with economic and geographical approaches, which continue to dominate the field (Clapham, 2005; Winstanley, 2002). Where macro-mobility processes and aggregate moves are examined in particular, such studies lend themselves particularly well to large-scale quantitative methodological approaches, which can capture data from a broad range of households, drawing on either primary or secondary data sets. However, more recently, there has been an increase in qualitative approaches to exploring mobility, which use sociological perspectives of the housing market to understand the more subtle and nuanced factors driving mobility and the 'meaning of housing' (Clapham, 2005). In addition, there have been calls for further research which adds a qualitative element to existing literature on migration and mobility processes (Watkins, 2008; Clapham, 2005; Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). In order to explore the mobility processes of movers and their households, this research adopts a life course or pathways approach. The merits of a life course or pathways approach have been outlined in Chapter 4 and will not be repeated here. Instead, this chapter outlines the methodological approach that was taken to capture, interpret and understand the complexity inherent in mobility decisions.

The life course or pathways, approach does not come with a prescribed set of research methods, and it is not the case that such frameworks need to be associated with the collection either of qualitative or quantitative data. As described in Chapter 4, one central element of such approaches is the need to capture longitudinal data (Clapham, 2005) and, as noted above, this is considered to be important in understanding longitudinal influences in decision-making. However, there are several ways in which this information can be gathered. Previous studies using such life course or pathways approaches have adopted a range of research designs. Some have limited their investigation to the collection of data either through in-depth biographical interviews (Natalier and Johnson, 2012; Skobba, 2015) or surveys (Coulter, 2013; Clapham et al., 2014). In particular panel surveys have been used as they allow for the collection and use of longitudinal data (Coulter, 2013). Others have adopted a mixed-methods approach, often using both surveys and in-depth interviews to collect data. For example, Clapham et al. (2014) adopted a mixed-methods approach, using semi-structured interviews and panel survey

data to explore young peoples' housing pathways in the UK. Similarly, a mixed-methods approach was used by Ford et al. (2002) in their examination of transitions into adult life.

In striving to explore the research aims and objectives, this research requires the collection and analysis of two main types of data. Firstly, as described above, it is important to capture information relating to completed moves and some key characteristics of respondents including where they have moved from, (from inside the borough, or outside – and when moving from inside of the borough what types of housing moves they made), reasons for moving, household characteristics and financial information. Secondly, there is a need to understand *how* and *why* respondents came to move, and the factors which were influential in choosing when to move and where to live. As such, a mixed-methods approach was considered to be the most appropriate, combining quantitative and qualitative elements.

7.3 Selection of research methods

As described above, a history of completed moves and reasons for moving could be collected through both qualitative and quantitative techniques. In this project, postal household surveys were initially used to collect this data. When used alone, and with a focus on quantitative data, this method can fail to produce nuanced information relating to the reasons behind mobility and the ways in which households, and individuals within those household process and compute decisions about where to live. However, there were several reasons for choosing this data collection method.

Firstly, the survey provided an opportunity to gather information from a relatively large group of respondents, whilst simultaneously providing a means to recruit participants to take part in the interview. The household survey allowed respondents an insight into, and introduction to, the research, which may have encouraged interest in further participation in the project. Secondly, surveys were thought to be an appropriate way of collecting more sensitive information, for example relating to employment, household income and finances, as opposed to requesting this information in person at interview. Thirdly, whilst electronic surveys have been shown to have faster response rates, and lower associated costs than postal surveys (Shannon and Bradshaw, 2002), this study was concerned only with residents at particular addresses within Doncaster. Contacting respondents directly using their postal address was an effective way to target only individuals living in new-build housing in the study areas. Finally, a physical, paper survey itself can provide a reminder for the respondent to provide information and may be preferable in this sense to an online survey.

The second type of data, which comprises questions about *how* and *why* respondents moved and chose where to live and they ways in which they were interpreted and understood at the *micro* scale, lends itself more naturally towards qualitative data collection.

Halfacree and Boyle (1993) advocate the use of a biographical approach to understanding migration and mobility. As they argue, the positivist and behavioural focus of much research into mobility processes has framed movers as “passive dupes” of the forces of environmental differences’ framing “residential mobility” as an unproblematic, “objective” phenomenon’ (p.334). These approaches, they argue, reveal a ‘latent determinism’ (p.335), whereby the agency of decision-makers themselves is minimised, and movers are considered to be acting primarily in reaction to external forces. As Halfacree and Boyle (1993) argue, this conceptualisation neglects the agency of the individual. Instead, they argue, ‘the decision whether to migrate is not made whilst placing in suspension the rest of one’s life’ (p. 336). In this context, decisions about when to move and where to live are made within the

'hurly-burly' (Shotter 1984, quoted in Halfacree and Boyle, 1993 p.336) of our day-to-day lives. Further, Halfacree and Boyle use the work of Giddens (1984) to situate mobility processes within the 'flow of everyday life' (1993, p.336) using the concepts of discursive consciousness – which relates to 'that which is actively thought out' and practical consciousness – that is the 'invisible hand of action coordination' (Bertilsson, 1984, quoted in Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). The latter here shapes the way 'we know how to 'go on' in everyday life without actively having to 'think about' our actions' (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993, p. 336). This practical consciousness represents 'taken-for-granted' norms which 'both originates in, and is crucial for, the maintenance of the routines of everyday life and hence, for the very structuration of society'. Halfacree and Boyle also argue that the majority of research relating to mobility processes have relied too heavily on the discursive consciousness and pay relatively little attention to practical consciousness. To access the 'black box' (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993, p. 337) of decision-making and to reveal aspects of discursive consciousness they assert, it is necessary to move beyond singular reasons for moving to draw out factors which may be more complex and less easy to access. Whilst one method of analysing the complexity of factors contributing to mobility decisions is to enquire about 'other' or 'secondary' reasons for moving, a more nuanced picture may be gathered through the collection of biographical data. As Halfacree and Boyle (1993) state:

If the migration decision is partly located within practical consciousness then **a further challenge for the researcher is to raise this consciousness to the discursive realm through a deliberate 'act of reflection'**. This is unlikely to be achieved comprehensively through direct interrogation of the migration decision alone. Instead we need to enquire 'around' the subject, building up a picture of the migration decision from a variety of angles (p. 338).

As such, biographical accounts of personal resident narratives have the potential to expose ontological beliefs, revealing information relating to the individual and their understandings of themselves and the society and culture within which they live. For example, reporting on interviews about residential histories with residents living in two cities in northern England, Mason (2004) found that residential biographical narratives brought ontological and relational issues to the fore of mobility decisions:. As she states, '[i]n telling us about where they had lived and why, people not only provided their residential histories, but in the process they also constructed personal biographical narratives which brought into play key features of their life stories, their identities, their sense of self and their values' (p. 164). Here, the interpretation of the mover in understanding and explaining their decision is paramount to situating mobility motivations and completed moves into wider life course factors. Where it is accepted that movers may have multiple and complex reasons for moving home, that these elements link with other longitudinal relational and structural issues in the life course, a biographical approach can be considered an appropriate, if not *the most* appropriate way of understanding how these factors are understood and managed by movers.

Several potential methods can be used to collect biographical data. For example, diaries or other written information such as letters, memoirs or autobiographies (Roberts, 2002). The most common data collection methods for biographical data are either semi-structured, or unstructured interviews (Roberts, 2002; Bryman, 2016). This research made use of semi-structured interviews for several reasons. Firstly, there were several specific areas of interest (which are outlined in more detail below) to be discussed at interview. The semi-structured interview (when compared with unstructured) allows the interviewer to guide the interviewee to ensure that these issues were addressed at each interview (Bryman, 2016). At the same time, when compared with the structured interview, the semi-

structured interview allows space and flexibility for respondents to discuss issues which are considered to be important to them (Bryman, 2016), thereby offering the opportunity for respondents to reveal their mobility decisions as they intersect with other aspects of their life course.

7.4 A mixed methods approach

The research therefore adopts a mixed-methods approach. The mixed-methods approach has been described by 'methodological purists' (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004) as presenting an epistemological problem, being caught somewhere between the two paradigms of qualitative and quantitative research but somehow not quite achieving the rigour of either (see also Greene et al., 1989 for a discussion of perspectives of mixed-methods designs). However, whilst there are certainly strengths to be found within each of these paradigms, the adoption of a mixed methods approach offers the opportunity to take positive aspects from each and perhaps avoid some of the pitfalls of a singular approach (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

When combining different types of data, collected through different methods, the question remains as to the relationship between these types of data and the means through which they might be combined. In their review of mixed-method designs, Greene et al. (1989) identified five key purposes for employing a mixed research design. Firstly, *triangulation* –which 'seeks convergence' (p. 258) between different data sources, whilst minimising the potential biases of each; secondly, *complementarity* - in which both data collected through quantitative and qualitative methods 'measure overlapping but also different facets of a phenomenon'; thirdly, *development* which uses qualitative and quantitative data separately and sequentially, where the first shapes the use and implementation of the second; fourthly, *initiation*, through which consistencies and discrepancies in data collected through qualitative and quantitative methods can be explored; and finally, *expansion*, through which different methods are used to collect different, but related types of data. For example, qualitative data might be used to collect processes, and quantitative to collect outcomes (Greene et al., 1989, p.258).

The research design employed here aligns most closely with Greene et al.'s (1989) *complementarity* approach. That is, that the two data collection methods, one focusing on quantitative data and the other on qualitative are designed to explore broadly the same phenomena through different techniques. Whilst the majority of aspects relating to moves will be 'overlapping', each method also allows for the collection of data relating to different and separate factors not fully explored in the other.

The rationale for combining the methods adopted through the data collection and analysis in this thesis similarly aligns to *complementarity* as defined by Greene et al. (1989), which they state is:

To increase the interpretability, meaningfulness and validity of constructs and inquiry results by both capitalizing on inherent method strengths and counteracting inherent biases in methods and other sources. (p. 259).

Having outlined the approach to the research and the justification for choosing the data collection methods in this project, the two primary research methods used for data collection and how they were designed, implemented and analysed are discussed in more detail below.

7.5 Survey of new residents

Having identified new-build developments to be studied (as discussed in Chapter 6), a household survey was posted to all 622 households across eight study sites. The postal survey was designed with reference to Rotherham's 2014 Strategic Housing Market Assessment (SHMA) questionnaire, which helped to shape and guide some aspects of the survey. Pre-paid return envelopes were provided to boost responses by taking the responsibility of payment for postage away from potential respondents (Bryman, 2016). Financial support for this was received from the University's Faculty Research Support Fund. A copy of the survey is provided in Appendix A of this document, but it is useful to outline the information collected through the household survey.

The first page of the survey document introduced respondents to the study and explained the reason they were contacted. The second page, 'About your current home and your most recent home', asked respondents a series of questions about the types of housing move they had made, including the size of their household and various housing characteristics. Pages 3 and 4: 'About your decision to move', asked respondents to provide information about their most recent and previous household moves. Page 3 asked respondents to list their current address and three previous addresses along with the date on which they moved and the reasons for moving, including a main reason and other reasons for moving. To help respondents complete this section, the survey provided 31 suggestions relating to reasons for moving and a 31st option of 'other', where respondents could specify another reason for moving which was not listed. Page 4 asked respondents about areas within Doncaster and outside of Doncaster that they considered – or did not consider – on their most recent housing search, and the reasons for this. Pages 5 and 6 of the survey 'About you and your household' requested information relating to characteristics of the household, including employment and financial information. Page 6 also provided a space where respondents were able to provide contact information should they wish to participate in related interviews. These interviews are discussed later in the chapter.

7.5.1 Analysis of survey information

Household surveys were each assigned a code, relating to the specific neighbourhood and address to which it was posted. This allowed for easy identification of which neighbourhood respondents belonged to. Survey information was initially collated using Microsoft Excel. This software was used to collect and store survey information as interviews were returned through the post, and also to keep track of replies and non-responses, and information relating to planned and completed interviews. A follow-up copy of the survey with a slightly altered covering letter (acknowledging the first survey) was sent out to homes from which there had been no response by September 2015.

Microsoft Excel was also used in the initial analysis of survey data, with pivot tables used to capture the types of household moves (in relation to household size, housing tenure, housing type and so on) across the most recent move. Later (where appropriate), information from these pivot tables was used to create 'Sankey diagrams' or river plots, using the free software available at <http://sankeymatic.com/> to create a visual representation of moves. These diagrams are used in Chapter 8 to illustrate housing changes across the most recent household move, and were also a useful tool for the researcher in analysing and interpreting data collected.

Respondents' previous addresses were mapped using QGIS and a number of different types of maps were produced including all historical moves, moves into Doncaster from outside of the borough and moves made to the different study sites from within the borough. These maps are used in Chapters 8

and 10 to illustrate the geographical extent of moves and geographical patterns of household moves, but they were also helpful in analysing the data provided by respondents, acting as a tool through which to visualise moves. Information collected relating to previous moves and distance moved was also collated using Microsoft Excel, to collate information relating to distance moved and reasons for moving.

Survey data relating to reasons for choosing or not choosing particular neighbourhoods in the borough was also provided by respondents and this information was mapped using QGIS to highlight the areas respondents discussed, combining this information with attributes assigned by respondents in the household survey through the use of Microsoft PowerPoint to link locations on the map with respondent comments. Through this process, it was possible to determine patterns in how respondents spoke about different towns, villages and neighbourhoods in Doncaster - where there were areas of agreement amongst respondents and where there were disagreements. These 'location-preference' maps were used for analysis only and are provided in Appendix C. This information was later combined with interview data to build up a picture of how respondents (individually and as a group) described different places in Doncaster.

7.5.2 Postal survey: limitations and reflections

As outlined above, 622 surveys were posted to homes across Doncaster. The survey response rate was 12.5% resulting in 80 (78 useable) returned surveys. This response rate was lower than hoped, but there may be some factors which influenced this.

Firstly, these were new-build homes. Whilst information had been collected from discussions with Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council (DMBC), there was no available information relating to occupancy. Upon visiting the sites it became clear that several of the homes were not completed and many of the homes were not occupied, which had a negative impact on the number of responses received. It is also possible that some of the homes had been bought as rental properties, and that there were no tenants in residence at the time.

Secondly, as outlined above, the postal survey was six pages long. This size of document might have been daunting to some respondents who may not have wished to engage with a document taking more than a few minutes to complete. Whilst the length of the document allowed for the collection of substantial data from each survey respondent, in practice, this may well have reduced response rates (Bryman, 2016). In addition, as the survey document was the sole means of recruitment for interviews, a reduction in responses from the household survey necessarily would have implications for the number of potential interview responses. In hindsight, the length of the survey could have been reduced, without dramatically harming the robustness of the information collected.

Furthermore, if a paper survey is not completed quickly, it can easily be put down and lost. An online version of the printed form in addition to the paper version may have boosted responses (Nulty, 2008). Otherwise, responses may also have been boosted through door-knocking. However, this method was rejected as a result of resource and safety concerns.

7.6 Semi-structured interviews

Survey respondents who responded positively to the invitation to interviews were contacted by telephone or e-mail to organise a suitable meeting date. Whilst all appropriate measures were taken to ensure that those who indicated a willingness to interview were contacted it was not possible in

every case. There were several reasons for this, including failure to contact the interviewee using the contact details, failure to arrange a suitable meeting time or place, or the interviewee withdrawing. When compared with completing a survey, interviewing requires a higher level of participation on the part of the interviewee, in terms of time, sharing biographical and personal information, arranging a suitable place and time to meet or talk on the phone, as well as potentially allowing the interviewer into their home.

Prior to interview, respondents were given an information sheet and consent form and at the start of the interview, they were reminded of the information that they had been given about the study - why it was being conducted, the type of information which would be collected and how it would be used. Interviews were recorded using a recording device and notes were taken during interview. All interviews were transcribed as early as possible following the interview. All interviews were conducted by the same researcher.

Of the 78 households who provided usable survey responses, 26 (33%) were also interviewed. Table 7.1 presents the percentage of survey respondents from each of the neighbourhoods who continued to interview and the respondents' pseudonyms.

Table 7.1: Survey responses and interview respondents for each neighbourhood

Neighbourhood	Responses neighbourhood	Interviewees neighbourhood	% respondents at interview	Pseudonyms of interviewees
Auckley	10	1	10%	Holly
Bentley	3	3	100%	Naomi, Dean, Hayley
Branton	6	4	67%	Carol and Stephen, William, Jade, Ben and Madeleine
Carr Lodge	8	3	38%	Natalie, Victoria, Danielle
Edenthorpe	6	0	0%	N/A
Finningley	12	4	33%	Jessica, Jamie, Harriet, Hannah
Lakeside	26	7	27%	Jill, Jacquie, Judith, Kristina, Sylvia, Richard, Vanessa
Tickhill	7	4	57%	Terry, Rachel, Alison, Karen
Total	78	26	33	-

Table 7.1 shows there was a high degree of variation in the proportion of survey respondents from each neighbourhood who continued to interview. In Bentley, for example, while only 5% of households returned a completed survey, 100% of these respondents continued to interview. In contrast, whilst a higher than average percentage (11%) of respondents lived in Edenthorpe, none of those respondents were interviewed. The majority of interviews were conducted with one decision-maker from each household, although, where possible, interviews were conducted with all decision-makers in the household. The majority of interviewees (21) were female compared to male (5). Two of the male interviewees were interviewed as part of a heterosexual couple. In one of these partnerships, the male partner completed the survey (Carol and Stephen) and in the other, the female partner completed the household survey (Ben and Madeleine).

Interviews took place between August and November 2015, and lasted between 10 minutes and 2 hours. There was a high degree of variability in the length of interviews and accordingly, the richness of data collected. These issues are discussed later in the chapter.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face wherever possible, or over the phone where meeting was not possible, or was the preference of the respondent. Of the 26 interviews (with Ben and Madeleine who are a couple and were interviewed one after the other counted together), 17 were conducted over the telephone, and 9 were face-to-face. The majority of interviews lasted between 30 minutes-1 hour, and the average interview duration across all types was just over 40 minutes. The average face-to-face interview lasted just over an hour (65 minutes), and telephone interviews were much shorter at just under half an hour (28 minutes).

Irvine et al. (2013) note that the primary difference between face-to-face interviews and those conducted over the telephone is the 'absence of a visual encounter', which can impact interaction at interview through: failure to collect non-verbal data including 'visual cues' (body language, facial expressions and so on), physical characteristics of the interview respondent and their environment at the time of speaking and sound distortion through the use of a telephone (p. 4). Furthermore, when compared with face-to-face interviews, those conducted over the telephone can negatively impact 'rapport and naturalness', 'meaning and comprehension', 'monitoring responses and emotions', 'interest and attention', and 'interview duration' (Irvine et al., 2013). Reflections on the type of interviews are discussed in more detail later in the chapter, but face-to-face interviews were considered preferable for these reasons. On the other hand, there were a number of advantages to telephone interviews when compared with face-to-face, including convenience, travel and time costs, safety and interviewee reluctance to meet in person (Irvine et al., 2013). In practice, these factors meant that the majority of interviews were conducted over the telephone.

With the exception of one (which was completed in a café), face-to-face interviews were conducted in the respondents' home. As Elwood and Martin (2000) state, 'the interview site itself produces "micro-geographies" of spatial relations and meanings', and the selection of interview site has necessary implications for the balance of power between interviewee and interviewer (p. 649). As such, the respondents' homes were considered to be a suitable site in which the respondent was likely to feel more comfortable. Furthermore, the choice of interview site can have implications for respondents' sense of identity, and this in turn can influence the types of information provided by the interviewee and the power relationship between interviewee and interviewer. As Elwood and Martin (2000) state:

Microgeographies of interview locations situate a participant with respect to other actors and to his or her own multiple identities and roles, affecting information that is communicated in the interview as well as power dynamics of the interview itself. For instance, in one location a participant may assert one identity, such as that of political official, and in another location answer interview questions from a different perspective, such as that of concerned parent (p.652).

Moreover, the experience of being in the home for the interview allowed the potential for this environment to spark memories about the move, allowing respondents to reflect on the process of choosing their home. Additionally, access to respondents' homes allows the interviewer to see personal effects of the interviewee which can 'reveal certain priorities and commitments' of the interviewee (Elwood and Martin, 2000, p.652). In practice the home as the interview site did allow

some respondents to show the interviewer around their home, or use some items or pieces of furniture in their homes to illustrate talking points in their interview.

7.6.1 Interview structure and themes

As outlined above, all interviews were semi-structured. The interviewer took a list of questions to each interview, but a relatively loose interview structure was used, allowing the interviewee to talk about the issues which were most important to them. This allowed respondents to focus on physical, social, financial or cultural aspects of the move and home as they saw appropriate, and to discuss other life course factors and the ways in which these were interrelated with mobility choices. The interview schedule covered several key themes discussed below. A list of interview questions and themes is included in Appendix B.

Theme 1: Housing history and pathways to new-build housing in Doncaster

Respondents were asked to discuss the places that they had lived since adulthood, describing their reasons for moving home, the reasons for choosing their homes, the way that they felt about the places that they had lived in, and their reasons for moving on. Discussion around these interrelated themes were instigated with a single question – e.g. Could you please tell me about the places you have lived since adulthood, why you moved and how you chose your homes? Discussion of this theme had several purposes:

- To create a sense of rapport with respondents, allowing them to speak openly about their lives and experiences. In many cases, this was an effective way of building rapport between interviewer and interviewee (although this was variable and is discussed below). This theme also centred the conversation on the interviewee, where their memories and experiences and the importance of their perspective was prioritised from the beginning of the interview.
- To allow respondents to discuss various aspects of their lives and relationships. Whilst the question explicitly asked about housing histories, the biographical nature of the theme allowed respondents to discuss other life course factors.
- To draw out detail relating to respondent's residential histories, their prior history of living in Doncaster and how they came to live in Doncaster at the most recent move

Theme 2: Housing priorities and preferences and the housing search

Respondents were then asked to think about the home that they were currently living in, and to give details about the most recent move (if this had not previously been covered). They were asked to remember the areas that they had considered living in, and the homes that they had looked around. If prompting were necessary, respondents were asked to discuss the characteristics of the homes which they thought were important to them, and the factors which influenced the decision to choose the home that they were currently living in, as opposed to any of the other homes that they had considered as part of the housing search (where appropriate). This theme had several purposes:

- To draw out the factors which were important to respondents in decisions about where to live
- To capture the depth and breadth of the housing search; the areas which respondents chose to search (inside Doncaster, outside of Doncaster, neighbourhoods within Doncaster); the types of houses they were considering, aspects of the home and the neighbourhood which were important and the ways in which these were understood and prioritised

- To draw out the ways in which decision-making played out within the household; highlighting issues of negotiation and compromise within households and with others outside of the household
- To capture issues of changing housing needs across time and the ways in which these were reflected in the housing search and housing choice
- To provide an opportunity for respondents to link housing needs and preferences with other life course factors (employment, education, relationships, needs for amenities and so on)

Theme 3: Community, belonging and interaction with Doncaster and its residents

Respondents were asked to talk about their relationship with Doncaster and its residents. Respondents were also asked to compare community aspects relating to their new home and their former homes. This allowed respondents to provide information about their relationship with their neighbourhoods and the extent to which they felt part of a community as well as the connection they had with Doncaster itself. This question was designed to draw out information relating to how individuals interact with Doncaster and its residents.

As outlined in Chapter 3, policies which aim to alter population mix necessarily have the potential to affect community cohesion and relationships between individuals at the neighbourhood level. Through asking respondents to talk about these issues, it was possible to gather information relating to several other related themes. This theme had several aims:

- To draw out aspects of changing relationships with people and places across time
- To gather information about the extent to which newcomers have settled into Doncaster
- To understand the ways in which new-build housing estates can be compared with more established neighbourhoods and communities with regards to fostering relationships and community cohesion

Theme 4: Consumption habits, shopping and leisure

The purpose of this theme to gather information about where respondents choose to shop and spend their leisure time. The interviewer asked respondents to discuss their relationship with Doncaster in regards to interaction with the borough during leisure time; whether they choose to spend their time in Doncaster or elsewhere, whether they shop in Doncaster and whether Doncaster provides them with everything that they are looking for. Those who had lived in Doncaster for a long time, or who had been brought up in Doncaster, left and returned were also asked about how they felt the borough had changed over time and how their relationships with Doncaster had changed. The purpose of this part of the interview was to address questions around whether new residents were spending their money locally and the social connection that individuals had with Doncaster and its residents.

The purpose of this theme was:

- To gain respondents' perception of Doncaster and its residents
- To capture the extent to which respondents chose to spend their time and money in Doncaster or elsewhere
- To capture (where relevant) their perception of change in Doncaster over time

This theme provided information relating to broader relationships that respondents had with the borough and its residents.

7.6.2 Reflections on interviewee-interviewer relationships

As noted above, there was a high degree of variability in the length of interviews, and also in the depth of information collected from interview respondents. On average, interviews conducted face-to-face often tended to be richer, involving more in-depth biographical and personal information than those conducted over the telephone. This is reflected in the average length of the interview, but also in the types of data collected. The sections below discuss these issues.

As outlined above, respondents were asked first to talk about the homes they had lived in since adulthood, how they chose the homes, why they moved and about the places that they had lived. This served as an opening question and was found to be very effective in allowing respondents to talk about their housing histories, choosing the specifics that they deemed important, without much guidance from the interviewer. This question did however have varied results with different respondents. Some found this process very easy and were happy to talk through all of their homes and the events that surrounded their moves. For these respondents, it was often not necessary to ask further questions or prompt for some time. Others gave relatively short answers. The perception held by the interviewee of the researcher necessarily influenced the relationship between the two, and the ensuing relationship which formed between them influenced the types of information gathered at interview. It was therefore important to adjust interview techniques according to the relationship between interviewee and interviewer.

Reflecting on interview types in her study of 'Liveable Places', Cole (2016, unpublished) created an interview typology based on her interviewing experience. This included three interview types; 'formal professional interview', 'open, confiding interview' and 'closed reserved interview'. The 'open confiding interviews' and 'closed reserved interviews' types identified by Cole (2016, unpublished) were identified in this study, but no interviews with people in a professional capacity were undertaken as part of this research and so the 'formal professional interview' was not observed. Additionally, the interviews in this study could be categorised into two further types; polite and measured, and dominant interviewee. These are discussed in more detail below and Table 7.2 shows which respondents (using pseudonyms) fell most closely into each category.

Open, confiding interviews

Cole (2016, unpublished) described her 'open confiding interviewees' to be 'extremely reflexive and sufficiently interested in the subject matter themselves to have considered some of the issues covered during the interview in advance', as well as being, 'characterised by a *warm* and *chatty* atmosphere' (p. 98, emphasis in original). This interview type was certainly observed over the course of the fieldwork.

Open and conversational interviews were characterised by a warm and friendly conversational style. Where interviews took this style, interviewees typically covered much of the relevant subject matter directly from the initial interview question, with little prompting for a good part of the interview. Respondents reacted to the interviewer as an equal and were happy to divulge personal information from a perspective of trust. These interviews were typically very rich, where interviewees talked about intimate details of their lives, relationships and emotions. This was the most common interview type,

and was particularly common in face-to-face interviews within respondents' home where respondents felt comfortable and relaxed. These interviews also typically lasted for longer than other interviews.

Polite and measured interviews

Polite and measured interviews were similar to open and conversational interviews, but were characterised by a more formal and less 'chatty' style, or fluctuations between style. When compared with open and conversational interviews as described above, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee was more defined and professional. Interviewees appeared more consciously aware of the context of the interview and that the information that they provided was for research. As such, these interviewees were often careful to make sure that they answered questions fully, periodically asking questions throughout the interview such as 'did that answer your question?', 'is that the type of information you were looking for?' or similar. This type of questioning and seeking of reassurance on the part of the interviewee has been associated with telephone interviews and linked with the lack of visual cues between interviewee and interviewer (Irvine et al., 2013). Here, interviewees would more often wait to be asked questions by the interviewer, and interviews were characterised by a more structured form than that of the *open and conversational* interviews. Nevertheless, these interviews typically provided rich, in-depth and reflective interviews. Polite and measured interchanges were more likely to take place in telephone interviews, where it was more difficult to build up a personal rapport between interviewer and interviewee.

Closed, reserved interviews

A third interview type could be characterised as 'closed and reserved' using Cole's (2016, unpublished) description. Drawing from Cole's descriptions, two of interviews followed this type – with Naomi (face-to-face interview), and with Danielle, (telephone).

These interviews were shorter than the others: neither lasted longer than 15 minutes. When compared with the *open and conversational* and *polite and measured* interviews, *closed and reserved* interviewees typically required more prompting from the interviewer as to the types of information required, and interviewees were more commonly prompted by the interviewer to illicit further information and reflection. In both, more closed and direct questions were the most appropriate for drawing out information. For example, the interviewer might ask, 'why do you think that?', 'could you tell me more about that home?' and so on. It is important to note here that both of these interviews were conducted when the interviewees had some distractions. With Naomi, the interview was conducted in her home, although at the time of interview, the television was on. She also had a young child and toddler in the room and her partner was walking in and out of the room. The interview with Danielle was conducted when she was on her way home from work and as she was walking, there was a lot of background noise, which made communication more difficult. Overall, when compared with other groups, these interviewees provided relatively short and succinct answers, with less reflection.

Dominant interviewee

This category includes only one respondent, however, it is necessary to discuss this type of relationship. Enclosed with the returned household survey, this respondent included a short letter outlining his concerns relating to the housing market and providing suggestions as to potential issues to tackle through the research. During the interview, this interviewee did not wait for information about the interview to be provided by the researcher, or for the first question to be asked. Instead, he posed his own question at the beginning. The relationship between interviewee and interviewer was different to previous interview types as the interviewee assumed a style akin to teaching or lecturing,

presenting information in a matter-of-fact manner. This type of dynamic has been observed in instances where the interviewer is female and interviewee is male (see for example Pini, 2005). There has been some speculation relating to the power dynamic in such an interview setting in which the power afforded to the female as researcher is ‘usurped’ by the ‘interviewee’s “maleness”’ leading to the interviewee ‘taking control of the process’ (Broom et al., 2009, p.54). There is also evidence to suggest that this dynamic between researcher and interviewee can ‘reinforce social expectations of women as passive listeners, whose role in conversation is to draw out male narratives’ (Broom et al., 2009, p.54). It is notable that this was the only interview conducted face-to-face with a male where a female partner was not present (the other example of a face-to-face interview with a male was Carol and Stephen), although several factors could have contributed to this dynamic. For example, the interviewer was a student and the interviewee a significantly older (now retired) professional.

This interviewee may also have exaggerated information and in some cases presented untruths during the interview. As such, whilst this interview was in some senses ‘open and conversational’ it was necessary for the researcher to take a slightly more proactive approach in guiding the interview and the types of information that were provided by the interviewee. Nevertheless, this interview was full of rich data.

Table 7.2: Interview types and respondent pseudonyms (Face-to-face interviewees in bold)

Open, confiding interviewees	Polite, measured interviewees	Closed reserved interviewees	Dominant interviewee
Hayley , Victoria, Natalie , Harriet , Hannah, Jill* , Jacquie, Madeleine, Jade, Holly, Rachel, Terry, Jessica, Carol and Stephen , Jade, Holly	Ben, Jamie, Richard, Karen, Alison, Dean Vanessa	Naomi , Danielle	William

*interview conducted in café.

7.6.3 Reflections on the limitations of interviews and the approach to analysis of interview data

At the heart of the choice of using semi-structured biographical interviews to data collection is the attempt to capture meaning from respondents as they related to their move. As de Vaus (2001) states, ‘actions have meaning to people performing those actions and this must form part of our understanding of the causes and meaning of any behaviour. To simply look at behaviour and *give* it a meaning rather than *take* the meaning of actors is to miss out on an important source of understanding human behaviour’ (p. 235, author’s emphasis, quoted in Clapham, 2005 p. 241). Within this conceptualisation, the selection of semi-structured biographical interviewing as one of the primary methods of data collection in this thesis, there is the implicit understanding that respondents’ own experiences, interpretation, and recollection of these experiences represent an important and meaningful part of social reality. Simultaneously it is understood here that discussions with respondents in the form of an interview allows the researcher a legitimate means of gaining access to this knowledge and perspectives (Mason, 1996). However, it is important to note that there are several limitations and complications inherent in the collection and interpretation of such data.

The biographical approach is reliant on the interviewee’s ability to remember past events and articulate them in a meaningful way which can be captured by the interviewer (Roberts, 2002; Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). To some extent, some distortion of ‘facts’ may be an inherent characteristic of life histories and biographies. Biographical interviews have been criticised for this reason. As Clapham acknowledges, for example:

Interviewees may tell the stories of their lives by reconstructing their past through a mixture of selective memory and hindsight. Therefore, it is argued that it provides little insight into how they felt at the time as past events, attitudes and perceptions are filtered through the lens of current understanding (2005. p. 243)

Further, there is the potential for the interviewee to forget or to misrepresent past events, unintentionally or intentionally skewing the results (Roberts, 2002). These issues have been common criticisms of such approaches. As Roberts (2002, p.38) states, 'the charge is made that individuals can not only 'make up' stories or respond according to passing recall, but also propound untruths and deceive themselves as well as the researcher'. Where information is drawn together into a linear story form, explanations of events and relationships are constructed into the narrative, which must 'make sense' (Roberts, 2002, p.39).

There may be several ways to combat these issues; for example, corroborating data with other sources through triangulation (Roberts, 2002; Mason, 1996; Greene et al., 1989). Assuming that the interviewee is truthful about their recollection of events, the process allows the interviewee an opportunity to present their perceptions to the interviewer, regardless of whether there are inaccuracies in the data in the truest form, or as an objective recollection of reality. This may be particularly effective where respondents are reporting on specific historical events which can be verified by other interviewees or different types of sources (Roberts, 2002). However, as Roberts (2002, p.106) states, 'oral history is not merely interested in "facts" but in the respondents' perception of what is "true"'. In gathering biographical data from respondents, with a focus on decision-making and interpretation of mobility histories of respondents, the focus was more specifically on collecting accounts of respondents' perspectives, as opposed to an objective reality. Further, this was important for the purposes of this project, because it was deemed likely that if past events and experiences shape the way that individuals view the housing market then these recollections, perceptions and narratives may shape decision-making, regardless of the objective accuracy of the recollection.

In analysing and interpreting data collected through biographical interview accounts, there are also necessarily further complexities in ensuring the validity of interpretations and analysis as they are understood, and further as they are presented and recorded by the researcher. The effective and accurate use of qualitative data is inherently reliant on the interviewer being able to capture the meanings expressed by the interviewee. Where a large dataset of complex information is compiled as is the case in qualitative interviews, there can be many different ways in which the information could be interpreted and understood. As such, the interviewer must be careful to represent the information given by the interviewee as accurately as possible (Mason, 1996). It is not possible to remove all interviewer or researcher bias from analysis, or to separate the analysis and interpretation from the researchers' specific positionality, knowledge and experiences. However, to ensure that the work represented the information provided by respondents as closely as possible, care was taken to analyse data methodically, using inductive and deductive methods as part of an iterative process over time. The ways in which the data collected by respondents at interview was analysed is described below.

7.6.4 Thematic analysis of interview data, coding and use of NVivo

Initial analysis began immediately after each interview, when notes were jotted down by the interviewer reflecting on what was said and the themes and ideas which appeared to be important to the interviewee. Recordings of interviews were then transcribed in full by the interviewer. Through the transcription process, initial potential themes were identified and noted. The initial process of

identifying themes was both inductive and deductive. The approach taken was to conduct this initial thematic analysis using inductive techniques drawing information from the interview data. However, some themes were also drawn from prior knowledge of the subject areas discussed at interview and the ways in which interview data connected with themes and ideas which had been identified through a literature review and research relating to the topics discussed. This research did not adopt a grounded theory approach, although care was taken to draw information from interviews with respondents and to draw meaning from their responses.

Once all interviews had been transcribed, copies of the transcriptions were uploaded into NVivo for the third phase of analysis. NVivo, was used to produce fine-level, in-depth codes from the data collected at interview. At this stage, the data was coded paragraph by paragraph, line by line, phrase by phrase and sometimes word by word, using descriptive, thematic and analytical codes. This process was designed to ensure, as far as possible, that the further thematic analysis would relate directly to the data collected from interviews with participants, as opposed to prescribed themes gathered through the literature review and other research conducted prior to the collection of data. In this way, each unit of data was ascribed a code or numerous codes according to the types of information it included. At this stage, no attempt was made to restrict or limit the number or type of codes drawn from a single unit of data. Grouping of themes was also conducted using NVivo, whereby initial fine-level themes were grouped into broader thematic and analytical categories. From this, a number of overarching themes emerged. Many of these themes matched up with the initial ideas noted immediately following the interview when key themes were noted.

Following the initial analysis of interview data, analysis continued as an iterative process, whereby themes continued to be identified and grouped as the research process continued, through to the writing-up stages. Convergences and similarities were also analysed to generate cross-sectional analyses between accounts relating to types of pathways, arrival stories and discussions of relationships with places.

7.6.5 Cross-sectional analysis: Pathways and arrival stories

As discussed in Chapter 5, there is an inherent issue of scale at the heart of this research, with new-build housing and household moves having the potential to facilitate change at both the borough and neighbourhood scales. Initial data analysis showed that the vast majority of movers had made the decision to move to Doncaster prior to a decision relating to the selection of a particular home or neighbourhood. Whilst the decision to move to Doncaster (from outside), and the decision to move to a particular home or neighbourhood (within the borough) are necessarily related, the decision was made to analyse and discuss these two processes separately. Findings relating to the former are predominantly discussed in Chapters 8 and 9 and the latter Chapter 10. This distinction (whilst not absolute) was useful in terms of framing information collected at interview and drawing in discussion of those who had not made an inward move into the borough.

Whilst all interview data was analysed to frame moves within respondents' life course, discussion of moves into Doncaster from outside are framed using the terminology of a 'pathway' (Clapham, 2002). Discussion relating to the choice of specific neighbourhood within Doncaster was framed using Savage et al.'s (2005) concept of 'arrival stories' through which individuals were encouraged to tell 'their accounts of how they came to live in their current residence' (p. 90). In essence, these represented two very similar ways of framing the same types of information, with the main difference being that

arrival stories represented completed moves into particular homes and neighbourhoods, thereby representing more nuanced discussion of places at a smaller scale. In contrast, the 'pathways' represented more general mobility histories relating to the decision to move to Doncaster. This reflected the ways in which migratory moves at the macro level may be considered to represent the broad goals and life course changes (employment, relationships and so on), whereas shorter distance moves (and decisions about where to live at a smaller, finer scale) often involve more nuance relating to specifics of place (housing, neighbourhoods and so on). Both of these processes were used for cross-sectional analysis, to draw together similarities and themes across multiple interviews.

A common approach to analysis of housing pathways has been through the elucidation of different types of pathways prior to data collection, analysing data in accordance with these structures (see for example Ford et al., 2002; Natalier and Johnson, 2012). For example, a researcher may look for examples of predefined pathways (linear, chaotic and so on), to determine the extent to which data aligned with these models. However, following Clapham et al. (2014), this project instead drew upon interview data, using an inductive approach to understand and interpret data collected at interview and no attempt was made to define pathways prior to interview. Interview respondents were first categorised in relation to their previous residence in Doncaster; either as *Remainers* who had always lived in Doncaster, *Returns* who had left Doncaster and returned, and *Newcomers* who moved to Doncaster in adulthood. Interview data showed that both *Returns* and *Newcomers* could be subdivided into those who had moved to Doncaster at the most recent move, and those who had relocated to, or returned to Doncaster at a previous household move – '*Returner-Repeaters*', and '*Newcomer-Repeaters*'.³ Pathways of *Newcomers* and *Returns* were categorised firstly into two as 'younger and 'older' pathways owing to respondents' approximate life course stage. This allowed for analysis of similarities and differences between narratives of respondents of similar ages to highlight congruence, whilst also allowing space to highlight differences between the experiences and preferences of movers. The purpose here was not to create a typology of pathways, but merely to organise and present the biographical information collected to highlight convergence and differences.

Interview data was also cross-referenced with survey data in the context of a complementarity approach (Greene et al., 1989) as described above. For example, information relating to places that respondents did or did not consider in their housing search and the reasons for this were mapped and annotated using GIS and PowerPoint as described above.

7.7 Adaptations to the original research design

Over the course of the fieldwork period, some adaptations were made to the original research design.

Most significantly, part the original research design was to capture information about household moves through a vacancy chain. Closely related to filtering models, vacancy chain models have been proposed as a means by which to build a more dynamic picture of household movement, where 'static' or 'snapshot' images fail to provide an adequate basis for determining suitable investment related decisions to mobility and opportunity. New-build housing has the capacity to create a new vacancy

³ The term 'Repeater' is used to signify a potential 'repeat mover', based on the concept that those who have moved previously are more likely to move again (DaVanzo, 1981; Clark and Huang, 2004). This label is used to describe instances where households have made an inward mover, followed by one or more moves within the borough. It is not intended to suggest that these mobility patterns represent 'repeat movers' and it may be that some of these movers are 'adjusting' following a long-distance move, and other relationships may also be covered by this term as it is used here (see Clark and Huang, 2004 for a more in-depth discussion of the relationship between migration and mobility in a UK context).

chain which promotes movement in terms of the stock of vacancies. New or newly available housing may trigger housing movement of several households as each household in turn takes up residence in an existing vacancy and in turn releases their former household to become a new vacancy. In other words, in this model '[housing] moves fit together in chains of cause and effect identified by the careers of vacancies' (White 1971, p.88). By studying the movement of households through such chains it may have been possible to build up a clearer picture of the wider implications of the additions to the local housing stock studied throughout this thesis.

In practice, it was not possible to complete this part of the research, although it was attempted. As outlined in the sections above, former residential addresses of respondents were collected, and these households were contacted and sent a slightly modified version of the household survey sent out to the original respondents. Through this approach, only information from residents who replied to the initial survey and included a former address could be taken to the second stage. Owing to the low numbers of addresses contacted, the success of this second wave of surveys was significantly hindered, with only 3 responses received in total. It was therefore not possible to draw an adequately clear picture of the impacts of new-build housing in the form of a vacancy chain from such a small sample, and the attempt was abandoned.

Furthermore, the original research design included a plan to survey and interview existing residents living in nearby new homes and developments. The purpose of this approach was to collect data about how existing respondents perceived new-build housing, changes to their neighbourhood and their relationships with their neighbours. Information collected through surveys could also potentially have been a means through which to compare residents of new-build housing (in terms of finances, income, employment status, housing characteristics and so on) with newcomers. Whilst this would have added another (important) perspective to the research, this part of the design was abandoned due to limited time and resources.

7.8 Ethical considerations

As noted above, interview respondents were provided with information relating to the study when the initial survey was mailed out. Where interviews were conducted face-to-face respondents were provided with an information sheet and consent form to sign prior to commencing the interview. Where interviews were conducted over the telephone, these were provided via e-mail or post (as requested by respondents). Transcripts of interviews were stored on a password-protected computer.

Whilst questions asked of respondents were not overtly sensitive in nature, biographical interviews inherently have the potential to uncover sensitive, personal or painful information in relation to respondents' lives (Roberts, 2002). To mitigate any negative effects to the interviewee which may arise as a result of the interview process, several steps were taken. At the start of the interview, respondents were reminded that they were able to withdraw at any time, including after the interview had taken place. Further, in the case of face-to-face interviews, the recording device was placed between the researcher and interviewee, and the interviewee was informed about how to pause and stop the recording, should they wish, or to say something off the record. Further, as outlined above, the semi-structured interviews were conducted in such a way that respondents were able to significantly guide the interview (within the context of themes) and as such, were not prompted to talk about any issues which could be painful to recall: they could decide to provide more or less personal information and sensitive information as they saw fit. In practice, interviews did not cover

any sensitive or emotional information which the respondents appeared uncomfortable in discussing. Respondents were not prompted to discuss in any detail information relating to sensitive topics, and this allowed respondents control over the types of information they shared.

Nevertheless, interviews with respondents were personal by their nature. As Mason (1996) states:

Face-to-face data generating methods such as qualitative interviewing...can – and some would say should – involve the development of interpersonal relationships between researcher and researched which are characterised by a high degree of trust and confidence...As a consequence, a researcher may be treated more as a friend or confidant than a ‘detached’ professional, and may gain access to data which the researched would share with the former category of people, but not with the latter (p.166)

As outlined above, many of the interviews were highly conversational, friendly and open and it is likely that respondents may have revealed some personal details and pieces of information which they may not have readily shared in a other settings. As such, care was taken to avoid reporting sensitive information which was not directly related to the research aims and objectives. Further, in the reporting of information for this thesis, respondents’ personal information has been changed. All names of respondents and their family members have been altered. The sex of participants as reported here is accurate, but in some cases the sex of other family members or relations have been changed. Some other personal details have been altered, or where it was deemed there was no suitable substitute and that respondents could potentially be identified, the names of places have been redacted to protect the anonymity of respondents. Other details including specific occupations of respondents or their partners have variously been altered where it was deemed that this would not adversely affect the validity of information provided.

Where interviews were conducted in respondents’ homes, care was taken to inform a contact about where the researcher was going and the time the researcher was expected to leave the interview. Contact was made following each interview to confirm the researcher’s safety. Travel to respondents’ homes by the researcher was made using public transport, and care was taken to plan routes ahead of the interview date. Further, no face-to-face interviews were conducted at night or in the evenings. This study was approved by the Department of Urban Studies and Planning Research Ethics Committee at the University of Sheffield.

7.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided the methodological approach employed in this thesis. Here it was argued that whilst for the purposes of this study it is important to collect data from a broad range of respondents relating to households and types of household moves, it is equally important to promote depth and nuance in data collection, to access the ‘black box’ (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993, p.336) of mobility decision-making. Accordingly, the research adopts a mixed-methods design where household surveys have been combined with in-depth semi-structured biographical interviews based on a complementarity approach (Greene et al., 1989). Further, the use of longitudinal and cross-sectional analysis of mobility processes across the life course has been identified as a means through which to situate and contextualise moves, both individually to capture nuance, and collectively to identify themes. The chapter has also provided information relating to adaptations to the research design, as well as ethical considerations which shaped the research.

This Chapter concludes Section 3 of the thesis. The following three chapters (Section 4) outline the findings from this research.

Chapter 8 Remainers, returners and newcomers: Tracing household moves to Doncaster

8.1 Introduction

As outlined in the introduction to the thesis, the efficacy of an urban competition strategy designed to promote economic growth through changes to housing supply is fundamentally reliant on the extent to which residents of these new-build homes are newcomers, as opposed to existing residents.

Accordingly, as outlined in Chapter 5, the first research aim was to explore these issues. This chapter begins answering this question by introducing households in the study, outlining household type and size, as well as housing characteristics across the most recent household move and information relating to respondents' employment and incomes. The chapter then begins to situate moves within respondents' mobility histories, outlining the geographical mobility patterns of respondents across three household moves and the reasons given for these moves. At its conclusion, the chapter presents five broad mobility patterns leading respondents to live in Doncaster based on their experience of living in the borough and elsewhere, which can further be categorised into three groups: *Remainers, Returners and Newcomers*.

8.2 Household size and type

Figure 8.1 below shows the number of people in the households of respondents at two stages; before the most recent move, and since moving into their current home.

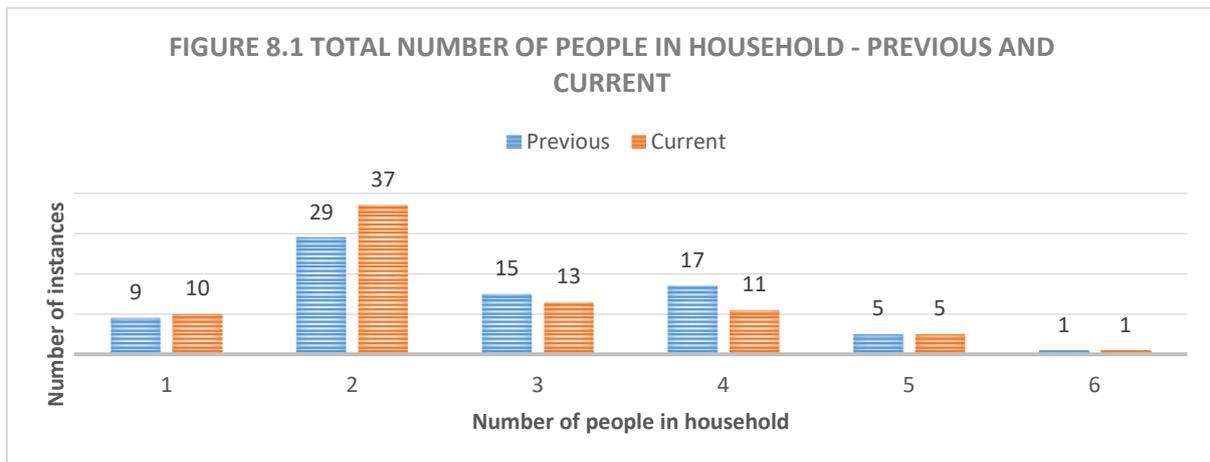


Figure 8.1: Total number of people in household - Previous and current

As Figure 8.1 shows, in each case, the modal number of household residents was 2. The mean number of residents in residents' current homes is 2.4 and the mean number of residents in their previous homes was 2.8. As such, the average household size has decreased across the most recent move, indicating that respondents are now living in slightly smaller households on average than before the move. As outlined in Chapter 6, the average household size in Doncaster has remained relatively consistent since the 2011 Census, decreasing slightly from 3.28 in 2001 to 3.25 in 2011 (DMBC, 2015). Households surveyed in this study were on average smaller than the Doncaster average at both stages.

Figure 8.2 shows the household type of survey respondents.

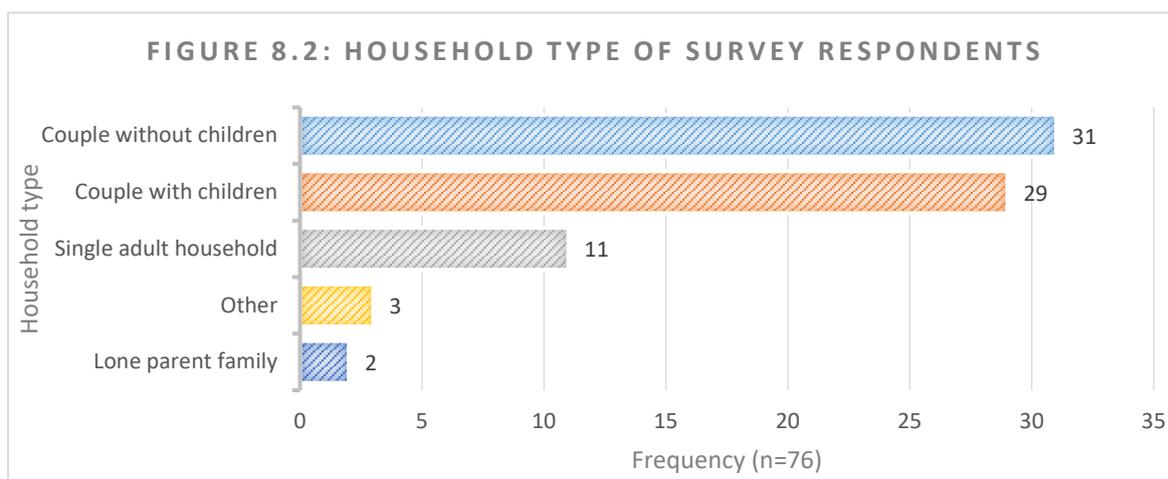


Figure 8.2: Household type of survey respondents

As Figure 8.2 shows, the vast majority (60, 79%) of households in the study were living as couples, with around half of the couples in the study (38% of all respondents) living as families with children, and the other half without. 3% of respondents described themselves as lone parent families, 14% of respondents were single adult households and the rest were living in other household types.

8.3 Housing characteristics across the most recent move.

The household survey asked respondents a range of questions relating to their most recent household move, including the size of the home which respondents were living in before and after the move and questions relating to housing tenure and type. The results relating to house size are presented in Figure 8.3.

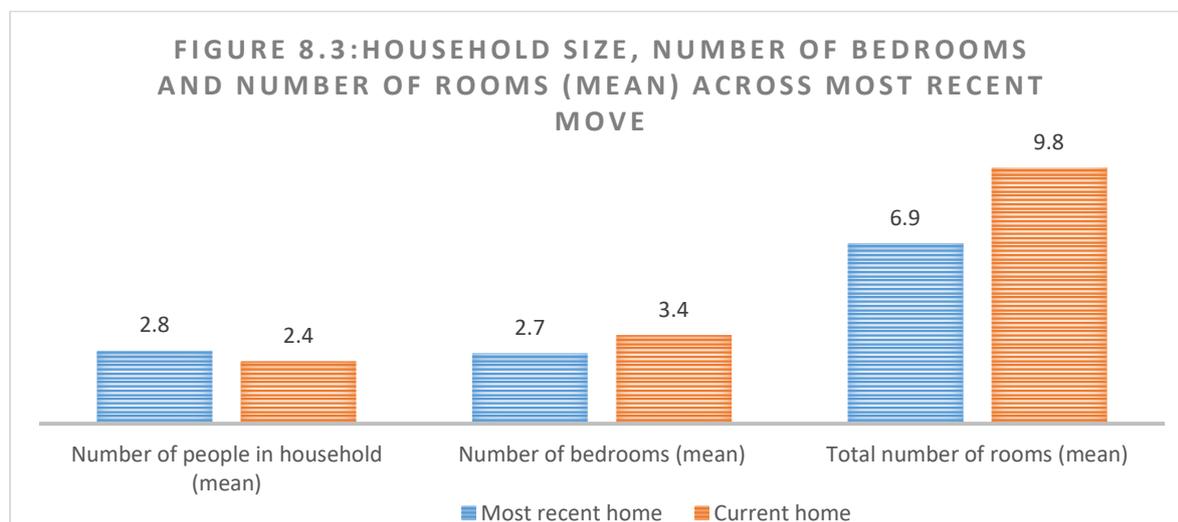


Figure 8.3: household size, number of bedrooms and number of rooms (mean) across most recent move

The survey revealed that, whilst the average size of households decreased across the most recent move (from a mean of 2.8 persons before to move to a mean of 2.4 persons after the move), the average number of rooms and bedrooms in the house increased on average. Whilst the modal number of bedrooms in each case (most recent home and current home) was 3 (equal to the Doncaster average) the mean increased from 2.7 before the move, to 3.4 bedrooms on average since the move.

The modal total number of rooms in the home increased from 5 in respondents' previous homes to 8 in their current homes, shifting from a mean of 6.9 total rooms to 9.8. Whilst household size has decreased slightly across the move, the number of rooms and bedrooms in respondents' homes has increased on average. This would suggest that households were likely to be looking for a larger home as a result of lifestyle preferences, rather than as a result of room stress. Further, this trend of moving to larger homes could potentially be related to planned increases in household size for some movers. For example, young households have been shown to move home *in anticipation* of starting a family (Feijten and Mulder, 2002).

8.3.1 Housing type across the most recent move

Respondents were also asked to provide information relating to the housing type of their current and most recent home. This information is displayed in Figure 8.4 below. As Figure 8.4 shows, the most common property type for respondents in both their previous and current homes was 'detached house,' with over half (53%) currently living in this property type and a third (33%) living in this property type before the most recent move. Fewer respondents are now living in flats than in their previous homes, with slightly more living in terraced housing. The number of respondents living in semi-detached homes has also decreased across the most recent move.

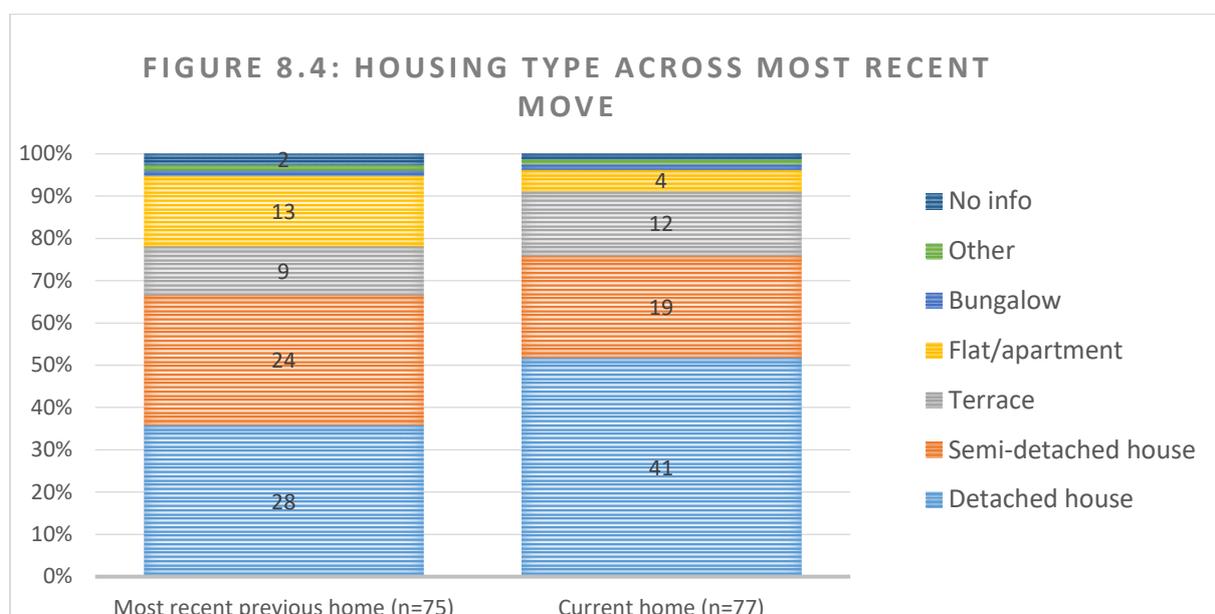


Figure 8.4: Housing type across most recent move

Using evidence collected through household surveys, it was also possible to chart the types of moves that individual respondents made and Figure 8.5 below shows a visual representation of the types of tenure moves that respondents made across the most recent move, showing where respondents moved between categories, and where they remained in the same category.

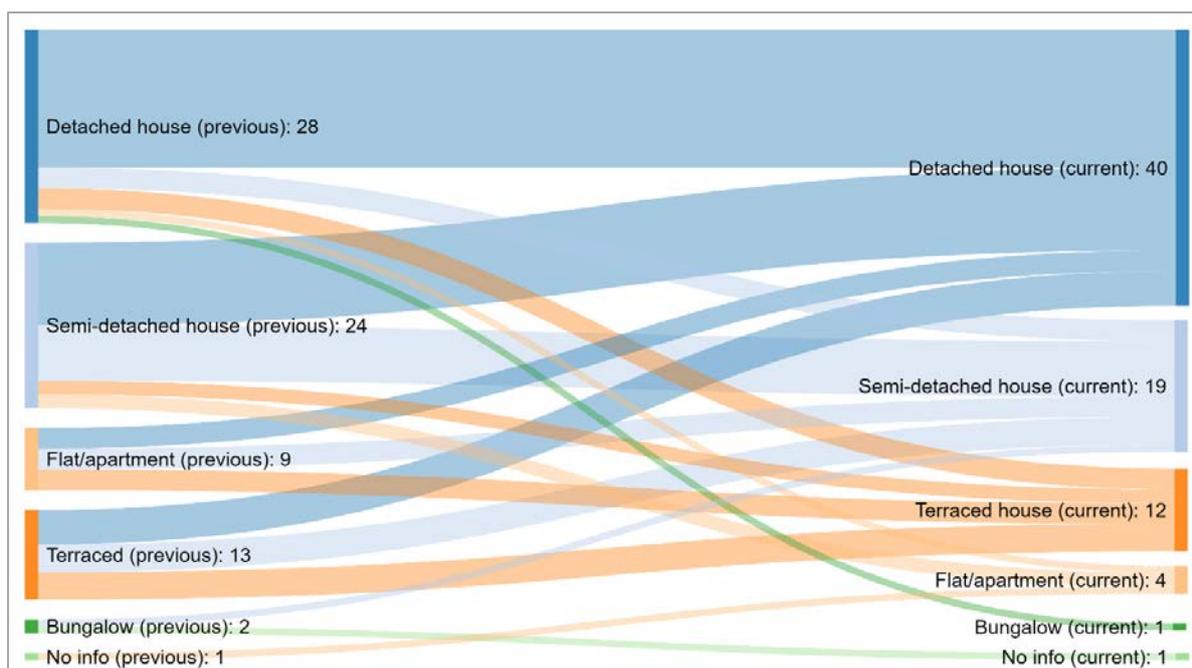


Figure 8.5: Tenure across the most recent move

As Figure 8.5 shows, the most common previous-to-current property type move was from detached-to-detached housing, with 20 respondents reporting this move type. The increase of movers living in detached properties appears to have resulted from movers coming to this type from across a range of different housing types, most commonly semi-detached housing, although 12 of the respondents who were previously living in a semi-detached house, 3 who were living in a flat/apartment and 5 who were living in terraced housing previously have moved into a detached house on their most recent move, contributing to the overall and proportional growth of the property type amongst movers.

As outlined in Chapter 6, the most common dwelling type in the borough is semi-detached housing, which represents around 45% of stock, with detached and terraced housing each representing just under a quarter of housing in the borough (23% and 24% respectively) and other housing types (flats, maisonettes, shared houses, bedsits, commercial buildings, mobile homes) making up around 9% of local stock (DMBC, 2015). As Figure 8.4 shows, at both stages, respondents were more likely than the Doncaster average to be living in detached housing, and respondents are around twice as likely as the Doncaster average to be living in this housing type currently.

8.3.2 Housing tenure across the most recent move

Figure 8.6 shows the tenure of respondents' homes before and after the most recent move. The majority of respondents at both stages were homeowners, with the majority of these homeowners living with a mortgage. After the most recent move, the vast majority of respondents (93%) were living as owner occupiers. As outlined in Chapter 6, the majority of the homes in Doncaster (around 82%) are privately owned, with the majority of these in owner occupation (DMBC, 2015). As such, the sample included in this study represent a higher percentage of owner occupiers than the Doncaster average since the most recent move (93% compared to 82%), whereas the percentage of respondents in owner occupation at their previous address was slightly below the Doncaster average of owner-occupiers at 74%. Figure 8.6 also shows a large decrease in the percentage of respondents living in the private rented sector, from 19% at the most recent home, to just 3% at the current address.

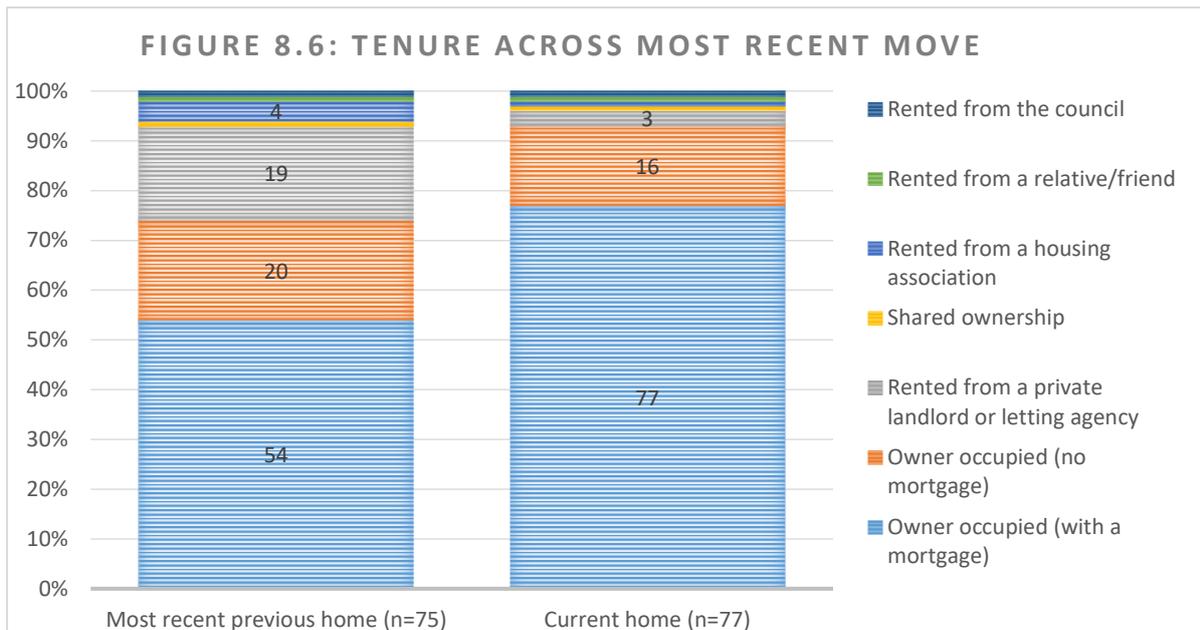


Figure 8.6: Tenure across most recent move

The private rented sector in Doncaster makes up around 15% of stock, with 18% of properties in social rent (DMBC 2016a). The vast majority (over 90%) of the PRS properties in Doncaster are managed by a private landlord or lettings agency, with around 7% let by friends or relatives. Where respondents were more likely than the Doncaster average to be living in the PRS prior to the most recent move, they are now less likely. Respondents in the survey were also less likely than the Doncaster average to be living in the social rented sector. Figure 8.7 shows a visual representation of the movement of respondents between tenures at the most recent move.

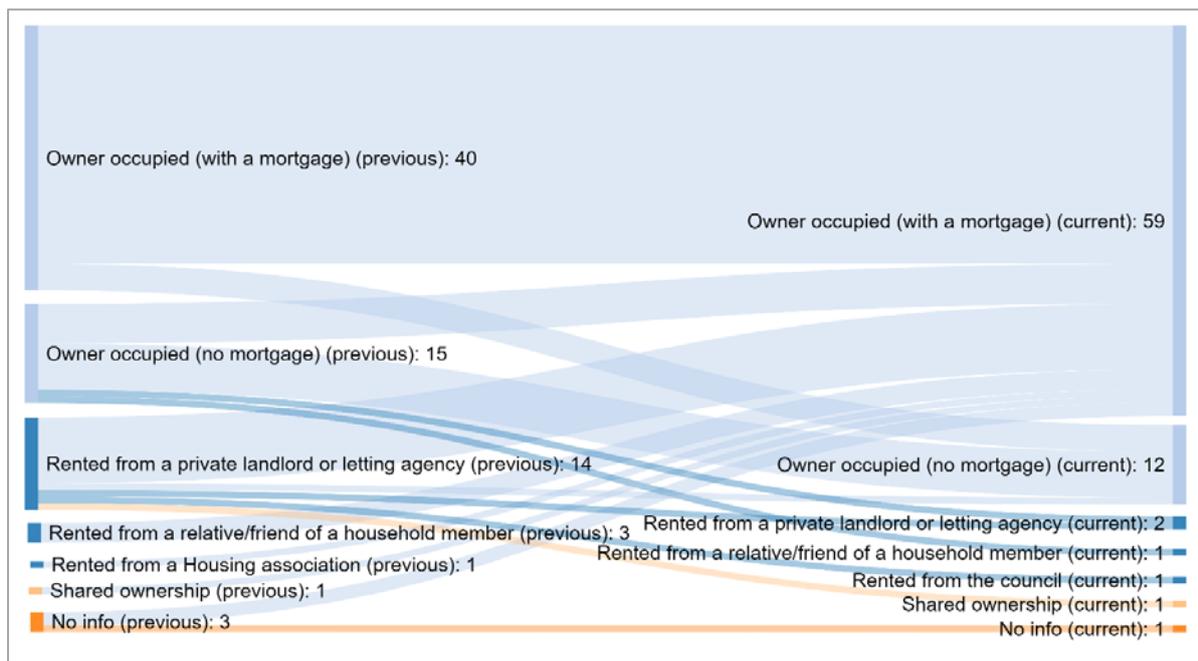


Figure 8.7: Housing tenure across the most recent move

As Figure 8.7 shows, many of the movers in the study moved from the private rented sector (PRS) into homeownership (with a mortgage) at their most recent move, and this was the most common tenure move type for those living in the PRS.

Respondents living in owner-occupation were also asked to provide information about who they own their home with, (i.e. alone, with a partner, with family or through shared ownership). For some respondents this question was not applicable (N/A) as they were not currently living in homeownership, or had not been living in homeownership at their most recent previous address. This information is presented in Figure 8.8.

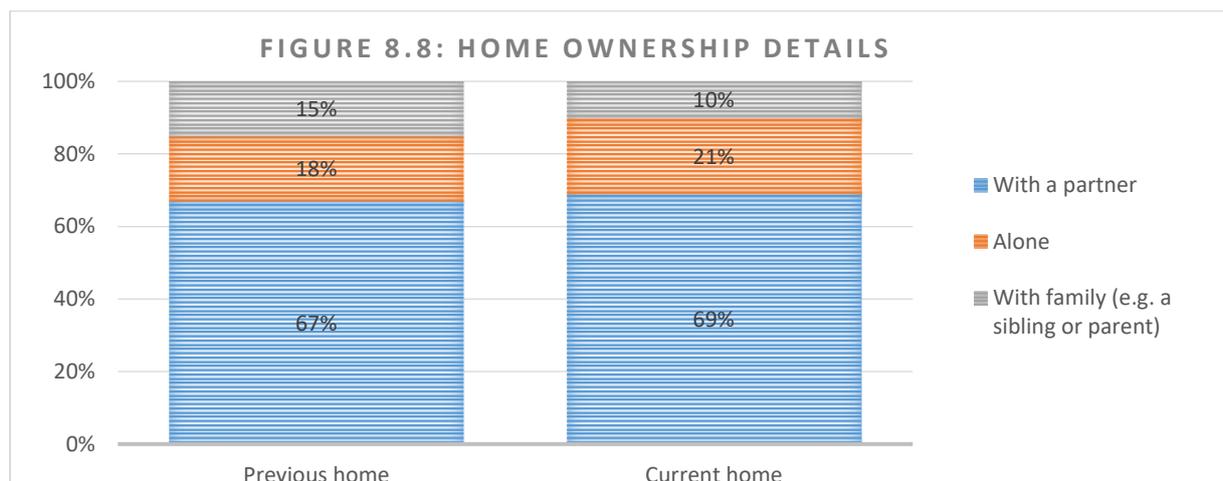


Figure 8.8: Home ownership details – Who did/do owners own their home with?

As Figure 8.8 shows, the composition of types of owners was relatively consistent across the move, with slightly fewer owners owning with family, and slightly more respondents owning alone or with a partner in their new homes. Just over two-thirds in each case owned their homes with a partner which is congruous with information relating to household types as outlined earlier Figure 8.9 below serves as a visual representation of moves between ownership types as represented in the household survey.

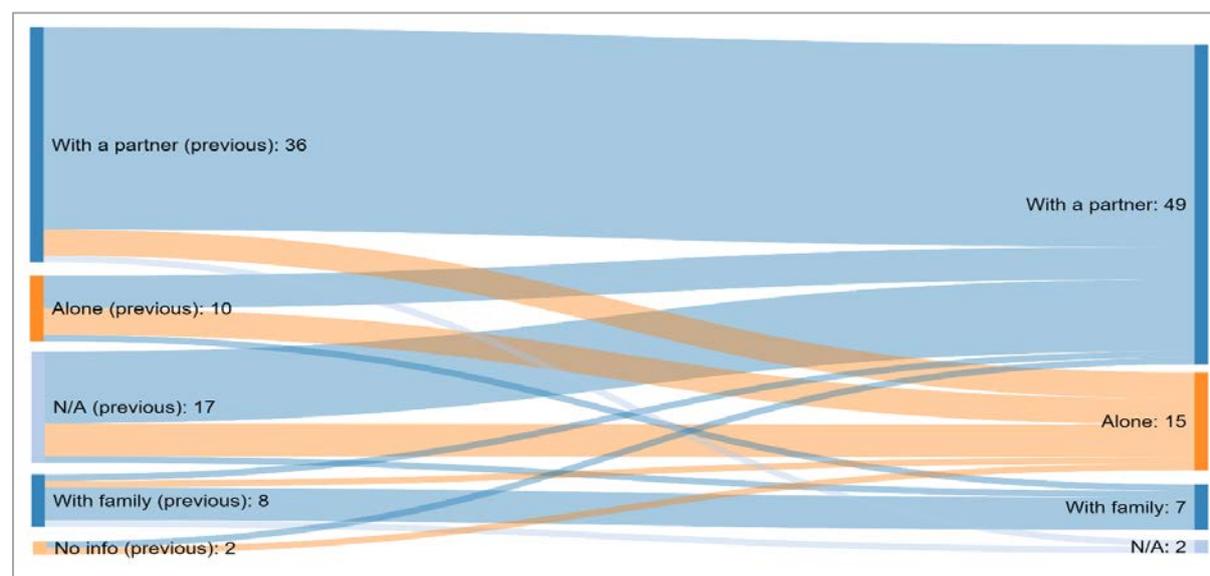


Figure 8.9: Sankey diagram showing ownership details across most recent move

8.4 Employment and household finances

The household survey also requested information relating to household finances and employment. Figure 8.10 displays the employment status of respondents and their partners (if applicable). 75 of the 78 respondents (96%) provided information relating to their employment status and 63 of the 78 respondents (81%) provided information relating to their partner's employment. Some respondents may have chosen not to provide information relating to their partner, or they may not have a partner. As such, the information in Figure 8.10 represents data relating to 138 individuals across 75 households.

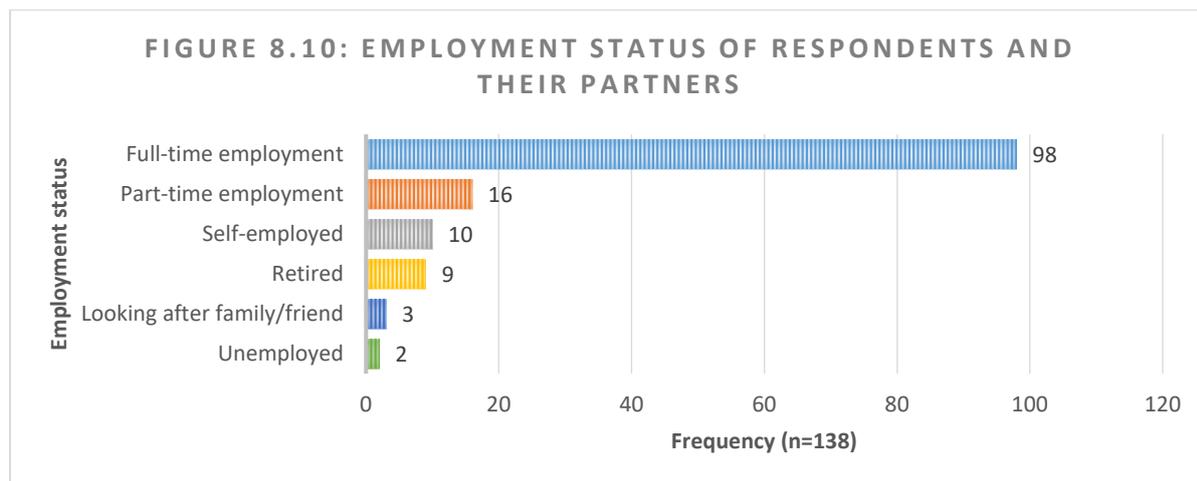


Figure 8.10: Employment status of respondents and their partners

Figure 8.10 illustrates that the vast majority of individuals (124, 90%) were in employment, with the majority of these being in full time employment. When retired respondents are excluded, around 96% of the respondents in the study were in some type of paid employment – either full-time, part-time or self-employment, with just over 4% of respondents describing themselves as unemployed or looking after family or friends. As outlined in Chapter 6, the employment rate in Doncaster is just over 72%, suggesting that the respondents in the study were more likely to be in employment than the Doncaster average. This figure is also higher than England's average, which, as outlined in Chapter 6 stands at around 74%. Further, this information suggests that the majority of respondents in the study were in dual-income households.

8.4.1 Where do respondents and their partners work?

Respondents were asked to list the location of their place of employment as well as that of their partner (if applicable). Respondents were then asked to think back to their most recent address (P1) and to list where they and their partners worked at that time. Of the 78 surveys returned, 74 provided at least a partial answer to this question. Information relating to previous homes is representative of 124 individuals across 63 households and information relating to employment at respondents' current address is representative of information relating to 132 individuals across the 74 households.

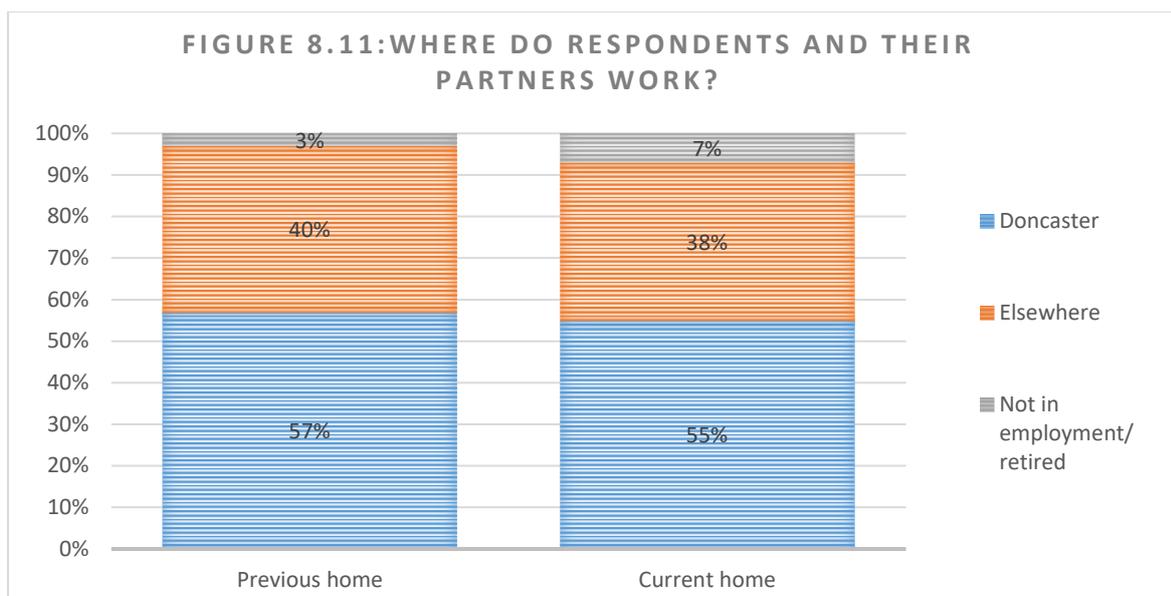


Figure 8.11 Employment location of respondents and their partners

Figure 8.11 shows that the work locations of respondents and their partners (whether in Doncaster or elsewhere) at their current address is proportionally broadly in keeping with the results listed at the previous address. In both cases, just over half (55% and 57% respectively) of respondents were working in Doncaster when living at each residence, and in both cases, around 40% (38%, 40%) of respondents were working outside of Doncaster. This would suggest that a change of employment (to employment within the borough) is unlikely to have been a significant driver of inward migration, where there was little change in the percentage of respondents (and their partners) employed within the borough subsequent to the move.

Slightly more respondents were unemployed or in retirement at the time of completing the survey, than at their previous addresses. When unemployed and retiree results are excluded, just under 60% of respondents at both stages were working in Doncaster, and just over 40% were working elsewhere. These figures are represented in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1: Percentage of employed respondents and their partners working in Doncaster or elsewhere

	Current	Previous
Doncaster	59%	58%
Elsewhere	41%	42%

As reported in Chapter 6, Doncaster’s Housing Needs Assessment (2015) found that around 75-80% of Doncaster’s residents work within the borough, with around 20% working within the ward where they reside. In addition, travel to work data relating to Doncaster has suggested over 75% of commuters in Doncaster travel less than 10 miles to work, with over 50% traveling less than 5 miles (DMBC, 2015). Analysis of information provided by the household survey therefore suggests that movers included in the sample were less likely on average to work within the borough when compared with residents of Doncaster as a whole, and were more likely to work outside of Doncaster.

Respondents and their partners are employed in a wide range of sectors. Figure 8.12 shows the employment sector of respondents and their partners as reported in the household survey.

Of the 78 completed surveys, 11 did not provide an answer to this question, either because they were not in employment, or they simply chose not to provide an answer. 24 of the 78 respondents (30%) provided no information relating to the employment sector of their partner. This could again be because a) their partner was not in employment, b) they chose not to answer the question, or c) they do not have a partner. None of the respondents provided information relating to their partner without providing information relating to themselves. Figure 8.12 represents information related to 121 residents across 67 households.



Figure 8.12: Employment sector of respondents and their partners

As Figure 8.12 shows, a wide range of sectors were represented in survey responses. Given the strength of logistics industries in the borough (as discussed in Chapter 6) it is perhaps surprising that relatively few surveyed respondents were employed in related industries. Instead, the most common occupational sectors for respondents were ‘health and social work’ and ‘IT, banking, finance and insurance’, each representing 17 (14%) responses. Several respondents chose the category of ‘other’, without specifying further information relating to their industries and an equal number of respondents and their partners specified that they worked in ‘other services’.

Figure 8.13 shows the gross household incomes of survey respondents.

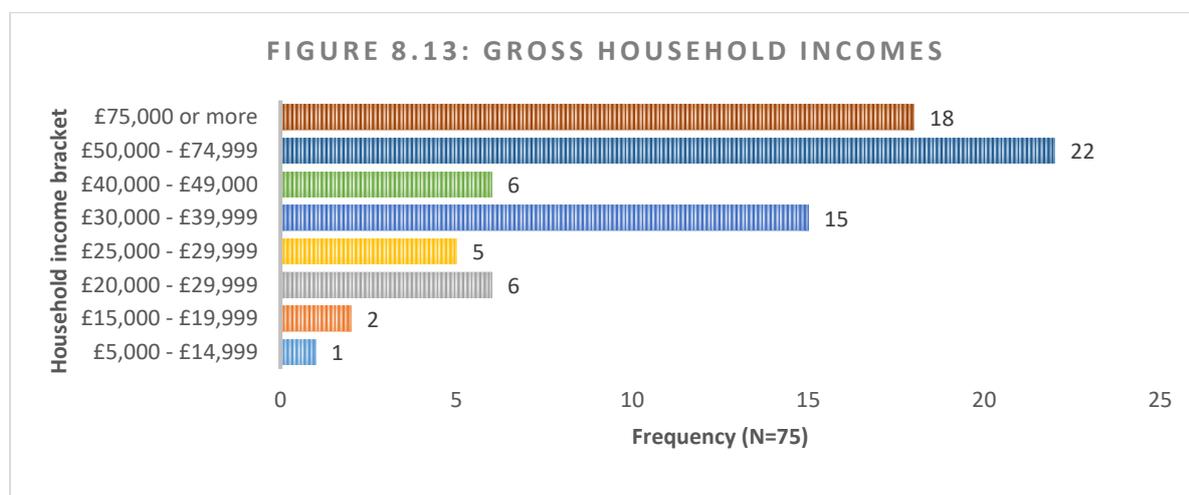


Figure 8.13: Gross household incomes

The most common gross household income bracket for respondents was £50,000-£74,999, representing 29% (22) of respondents. The second most common income bracket, representing almost quarter of all respondents (24%) was '£75,000 or more'. As outlined in Chapter 6, Doncaster's Housing Needs Assessment (HNA) (DMBC, 2015) reported that 61% of Doncaster's households have an income of under £30k. Of the respondents in this study, only 9 respondents (12%) had an income of under £30k, showing that respondents in the study were far less likely than the Doncaster average to fall into the lower income brackets. Similarly, where 37% of households in Doncaster have an income of under 20k according to the HNA, only 3 (4%) of respondents in the study fell into this bracket and, where only 13% of household in Doncaster have an income of over £50k, over half of the households (53%) had incomes above this amount. This shows that not only are respondents more likely to be in employment than the Doncaster average, they also have higher incomes when compared with others living in the borough, and are more likely to be high earners.

Figure 8.14 shows the percentage of income spent by households on rent or mortgage

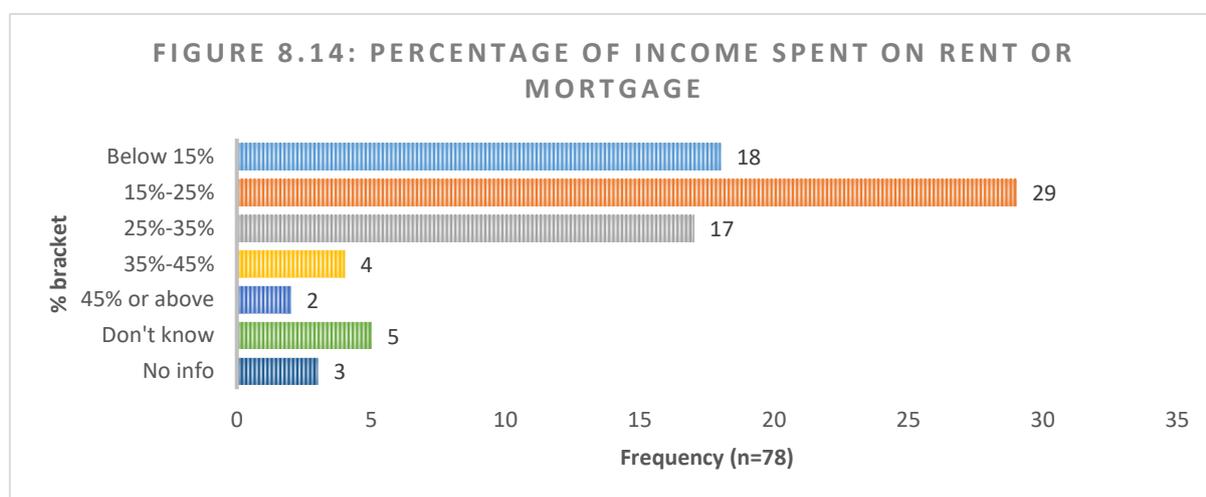


Figure 8.14: Percentage of income spent on rent or mortgage (n=78)

Figure 8.14 shows that the majority of respondents reported spending below 25% of their income on their rent or mortgage. Almost a quarter of respondents (18, 23%) reported spending less than 15% of their incomes on rent, and, as outlined above, several of these were owner-occupiers with no mortgage. When combined with the relatively high incomes of respondents, and relatively secure employment sectors in which respondents were employed, this information suggests that when compared with the Doncaster average, respondents are likely to have higher levels of disposable income which, as outlined earlier in the thesis may be a key way in households may be able to contribute to the local economy.

8.5 Geographical scale and distribution of previous moves

The sections above have introduced survey respondents, outlining key characteristics relating to households, their housing, employment and income. As the sections showed, the majority of respondents living in new-build houses were couples, with around half of these respondents living as families with children, and the other half living alone as couples. Respondents in the study were less likely than others living in the borough to be employed in Doncaster and were on average higher earners than the Doncaster population as a whole, suggesting that new-build housing has been taken up by a relatively affluent group of movers. Moreover, these households are spending small percentages of their income on rent and therefore are likely to have relatively high levels of disposable

income. The relatively high earning of respondents are perhaps unsurprising given the selection of high-end new-build homes included in the study, but this information does show a correlation between these new-build homes and affluent groups.

As outlined in Chapter 5, in order to begin to unpick the role that new-build housing played in attracting newcomers to the borough it is also necessary to consider where respondents have come from and the role that new-build housing played in attracting these movers (where they are newcomers) to the borough. The sections below use information collected through the household survey to explore respondents' most recent move into new-build housing within the context of their previous mobility histories, drawing together information relating to previous household moves and reasons for moving.

The household survey requested the three most recent addresses of respondents prior to their current address. This information allowed for analysis of where residents have moved from, not only on their most recent move, but also on prior household moves. Whilst this information in some cases may not cover a lifetime of moves, it provides information about mid-to-long-term movement patterns of residents and is therefore helpful in understanding the broader movement patterns of respondents, beginning to situate the move to a new-build home within a wider mobility history. Not all respondents provided three previous addresses in the relevant section of the survey. Table 8.2 shows the number and percentage of survey respondents who completed each part of this section of the survey.

Table 8.2: Percentage of survey responses who provided P1, P2 and P3 addresses

Move	Number completed (out of 78)	Percentage
Previous 1 (P1)	75	96%
Previous 2 (P2)	54	69%
Previous 3 (P3)	25	32%

Almost all (96%) of the respondents who completed the survey provided their most recent postal address (P1). 69% provided a second previous address (P2) and 32% provided a third former address (P3). There are several reasons why respondents may not have provided more than one previous address. For example: a) they may have only moved once (or twice), b) they may have forgotten the details of their previous address(es), or c) they may have simply preferred not to provide the information.

Figure 8.15 shows the geographical distribution of reported household moves of all survey respondents in the study. The map was created using postcode data provided by respondents and mapped using QGIS, to create a visual representation of respondents' household movements over time.

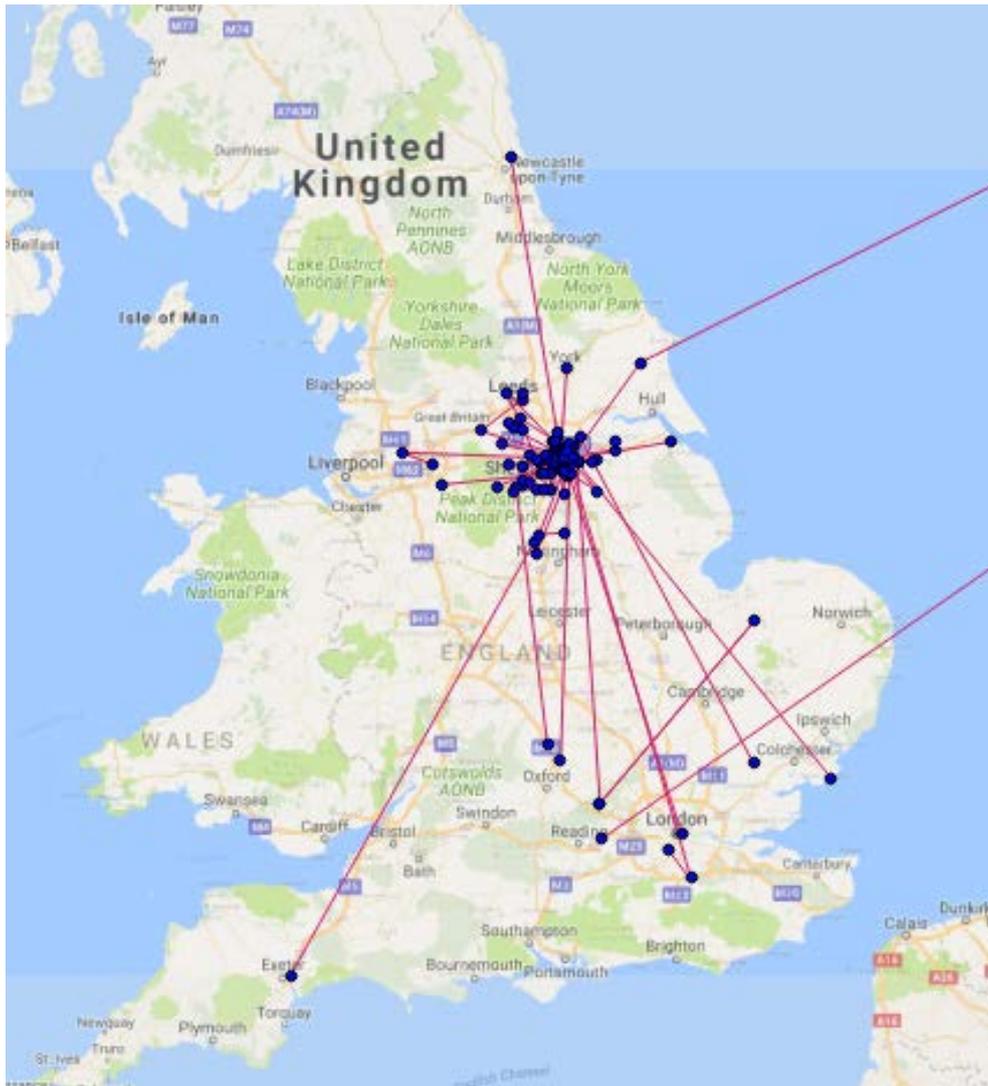


Figure 8.15: Geographical distribution of households moves: all survey respondents, UK

As Figure 8.15 illustrates, over the course of the previous three addresses, respondents had moved from a wide variety of locations across England, with one respondent reporting an international move within their previous three addresses, having lived in Sweden, (returning later). No respondents reported moving from other countries within the UK across these moves. The highest concentration of moves was within Doncaster itself and the surrounding areas, with the vast majority of moves occurring within South Yorkshire. Movers had also previously lived in Northern cities including Sheffield, Newcastle upon Tyne, York, Leeds and Manchester as well as a variety of smaller locations closer to Doncaster. Moves to and from the south of the country were far less represented in the survey results, although some movers had previously lived in the south and east of England, including London, Exeter and Oxfordshire.

8.6 Distance moved and reasons for moving

Survey respondents were also asked to provide reasons for moving to each of the properties listed at their four most recent addresses: their current address (current); their most recent previous address (P1), the previous address prior to P1, (P2) and P3 – the previous address prior to P2). Respondents were given 30 options relating to their reason for moving, and a 31st option - 'other', to allow

respondents opportunity to provide more information about their reasons for moving, or to include reasons which had not been listed. The 30 options provided related to reasons for moving were divided into five categories for analysis, which are given in Table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3: Categorisation of reasons for moving

Category	Examples of reasons relating to category
Category 1: Factors relating to the home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To move to a larger home • To move to a smaller home • Wanted new home • Wanted a bigger garden • Property condition • Cavity insulation • Access problems (e.g. stairs) • The property was affecting health
Category 2: Tenure – change or end	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wanted to buy own home • Wanted to rent own home • Evicted • End of tenancy • Home was repossessed
Category 3: Factors relating to the neighbourhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To move to a better neighbourhood • To move closer to transport links • To move closer to shops and services • For a better school • For higher education/university • To move to a safer neighbourhood
Category 4: Family/ relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationship or family breakdown • To live with partner • To move closer to friends/family • To make it easier to receive care/support • To provide care to family/friends
Category 5: Employment/Financial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To move to cheaper accommodation • To free up capital investment • To be closer to a new job • Got accommodation tied to a job • Retirement

8.7 Previous mobility histories and reasons for moving

Figure 8.16 shows the reasons for moving of respondents across all previous moves (current, P1, P2 and P3), based on the categories above. Where respondents chose the option ‘other’ and provided a reason, the most appropriate category from the five listed above was chosen.

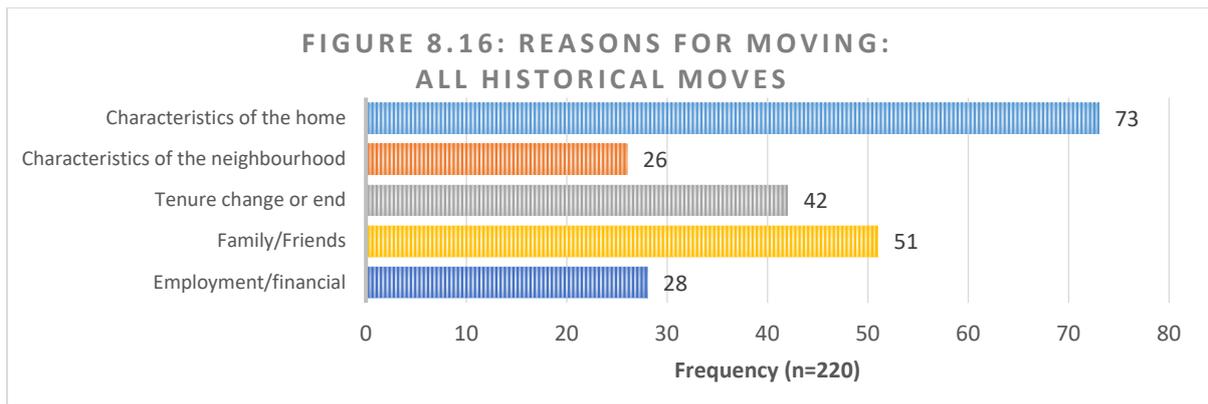


Figure 8.16: Frequency of reasons for moving (All historical moves)

As Figure 8.16 shows, the main reasons for moving across all previous moves related to characteristics of the home, which accounted for over a third of all reasons for moving. Around a fifth of previous household moves related to issues relating to family and relationships, and issues relating to tenure. Slightly fewer respondents reported moving as a result of a change in tenure, or employment or financial reasons.

Where respondents provided a departure address and a destination address, as well as a reason for moving, it was possible to analyse the reasons for residents moving across variant distances. The results are shown in Figure 8.17.

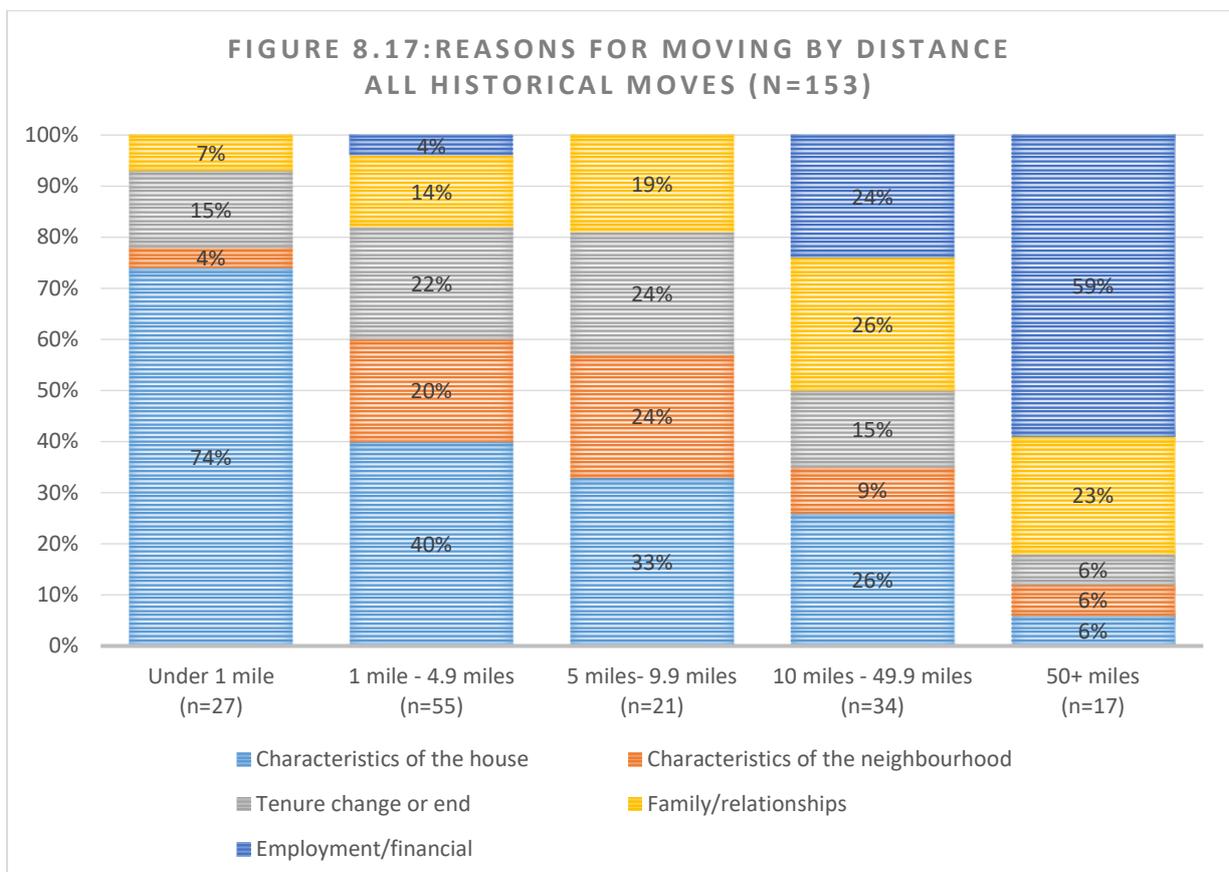


Figure 8.17: Reasons for moving by distance (All historical moves)

In total there were 153 complete sets of data provided by respondents across their housing histories, which included a starting address, a destination address and a reason for moving.

As Figure 8.17 shows, across all historical moves, as the distance moved increases, the proportion of moves prompted by reasons in each category also changes. Most notably, the percentage of moves prompted by characteristics of the house decreases as the distance moved increases - whilst in contrast, the percentage of responses relating to employment and financial reasons increased with the distance of moves, with this category being the most common in moves over 50 miles. These findings are compatible with previous findings suggesting that longer-distance moves are more commonly associated with changes to employment or issues relating to relationships, whilst shorter-distance moves are more commonly associated with factors relating to the home or neighbourhood (see, for example Clark and Huang, 2004). As Figure 8.17 also shows, shorter distance moves were far more numerous across all previous household moves than longer distance moves, with over half (53%) of moves being over a distance of 5 miles or less. Moves of over 50 miles only accounted for 11% of all household moves. This again is congruent with previous findings that suggest that short-distance moves are far more frequent than long-distance moves (Clark and Huang, 2004).

8.8 Most recent household moves

In assessing the impact that new-build houses could have on prompting migration into the borough, it is important first to examine where movers came from on their most recent move. Figure 8.18 shows the frequency of distance of moves from P1 to current addresses.

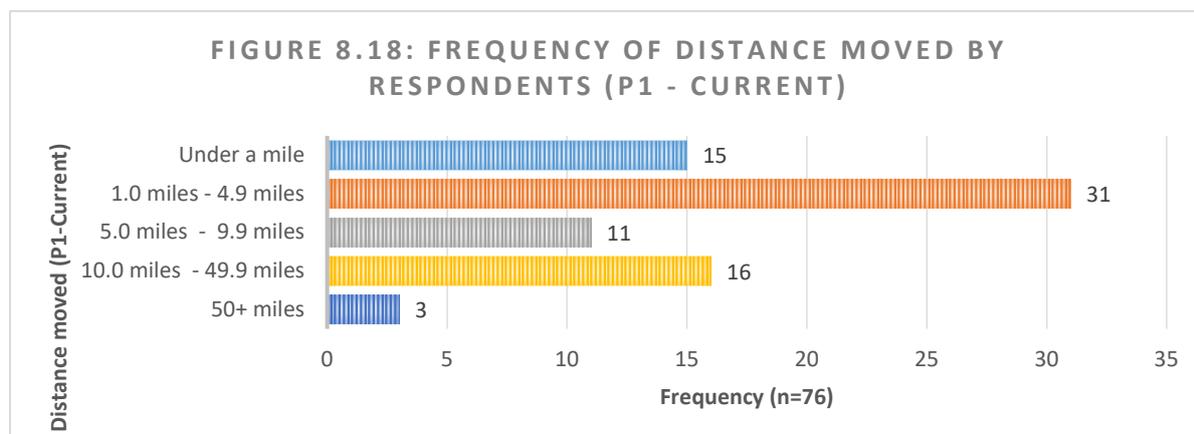


Figure 8.18: Frequency of distance moved by respondents (P1-Current)

As Figure 8.18 demonstrates, households were typically moving to their new homes from within a relatively small radius. Over half (59%) of respondents moved to their new homes from a distance of less than five miles and almost three-quarters (73%) moved to their home from within 10 miles of their current property. Of the 78 movers in the study, just 3 moved from a distance of over 50 miles to their new-build home in Doncaster.

Figure 8.19 shows the reasons for moving across the most recent move.

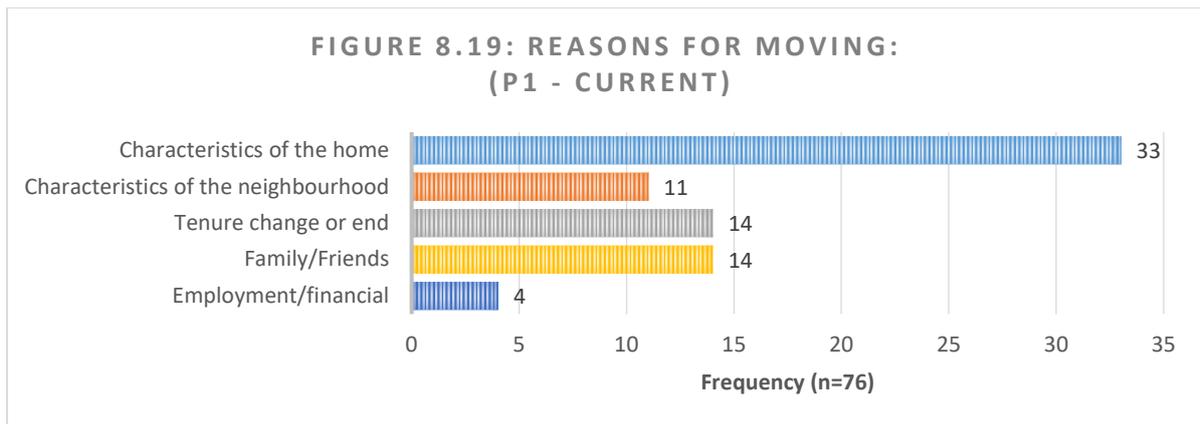


Figure 8.19: Frequency of reasons for moving (P1 – Current)

Almost half of the movers gave reasons relating to characteristics of the house for their most recent move, and only 5% of movers (4) moved as a result of employment or financial reasons. This is perhaps unsurprising given the relatively short distances of P1-Current moves and the relationship as outlined above between distance of move and reasons for moving.

These results are broken down by distance of move in Figure 8.20 below.

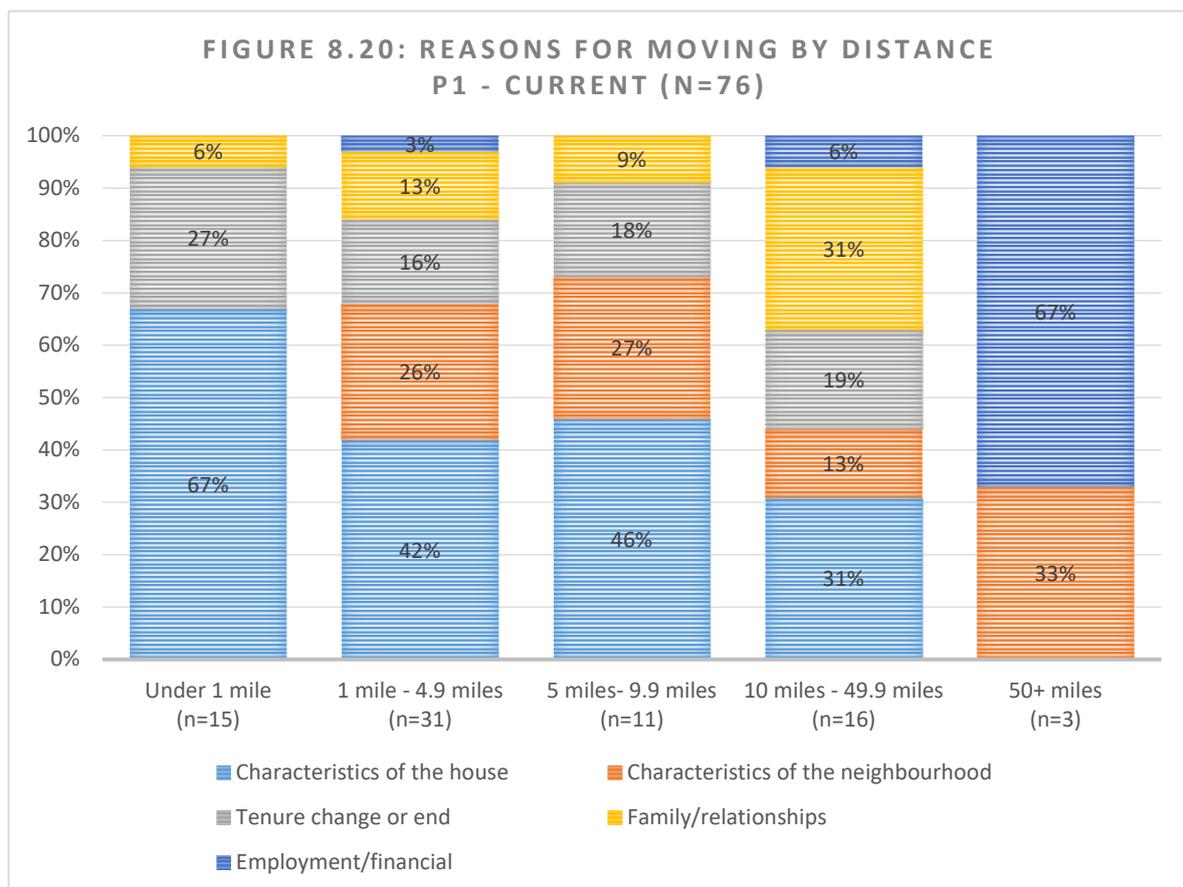


Figure 8.20: Reasons for moving by distance (P1- Current)

As Figure 8.20 shows, distribution is weighted towards shorter-distance moves, with 57 of these moves (75%) being under a distance of 10 miles. This shows that the majority of movers were moving into new-build homes from across relatively short distances. This is perhaps not surprising, given the

frequency of inward and outward migration between Doncaster and neighbouring authorities as discussed in Chapter 6. Again, as Figure 8.20 shows those respondents who were moving relatively short distances were more likely to have stated characteristics of the house as their main reasons for moving, where reasons relating to finances and employment were most common across distances of over 50 miles (although this represents only three movers).

Figure 8.21 shows the geographical distribution of most recent moves, coded according to the category of most important reason for moving as stated in the household survey. The area marked in dark blue represents the Doncaster boundary, and those in medium blue represent the other local authority areas in Sheffield City Region (SCR); Sheffield, Rotherham, Barnsley, Bolsover, North East Derbyshire, Derbyshire Dales, Bassetlaw and Chesterfield. As Figure 8.7 shows, the majority of P1-current moves were concentrated within the borough of Doncaster itself with many respondents moving from within the SCR, particularly the neighbouring authorities of Rotherham and Bassetlaw, as well as Sheffield.

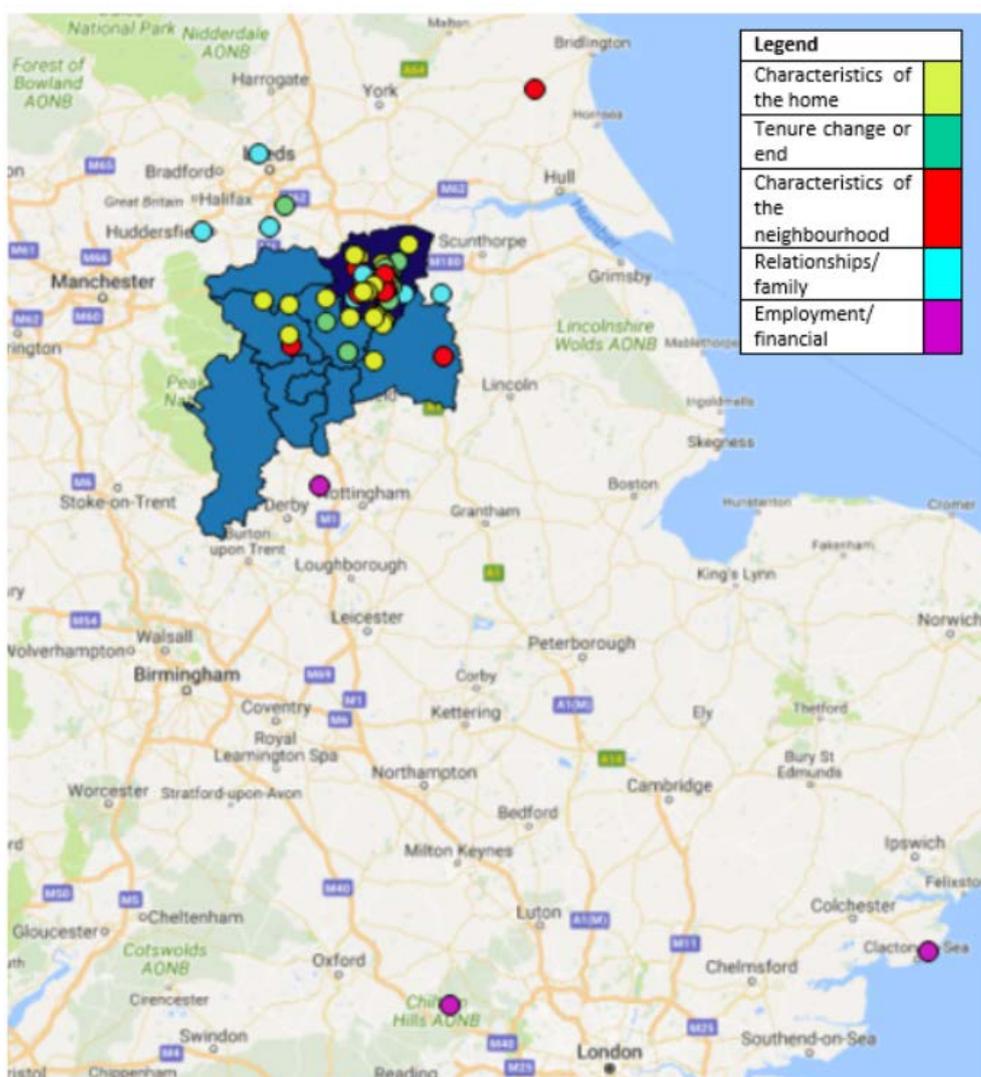


Figure 8.21: Map showing reasons for moving and geography of most recent moves (P1-current)

The majority of movers who moved primarily as a result of characteristics of their homes either moved from within the borough, or from within SCR. Moves relating primarily to family and relationships

were most often stated by those moving within the borough and outside of the SCR and moves made relating to financial or employment reasons were exclusively stated by those who moved from outside of both the borough and SCR.

8.8.1 All historical moves to Doncaster from outside of the borough

Figure 8.22 shows the distance that respondents moved from outside of Doncaster, when moving to the borough across all historical household moves.

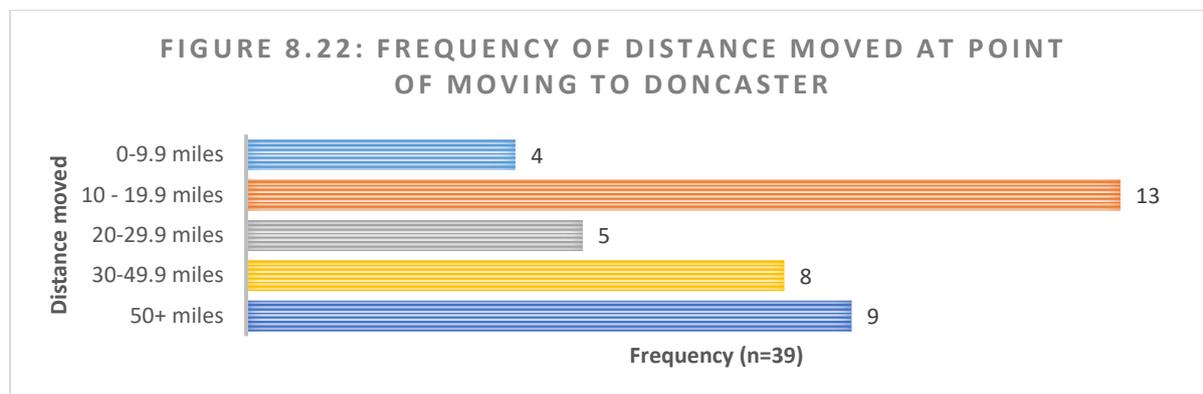


Figure 8.22: Frequency of distance moved at point of moving to Doncaster (most recent and historical)

As Figure 8.22 illustrates, when all historical moves into Doncaster are considered, there was a wide range of distances moved by respondents. At the point of moving to the borough and the mean distance from which newcomers moved into Doncaster from outside of the borough across all historical household moves was 46.7 miles.

8.8.2 Reasons for moving to Doncaster from outside of the borough (all historical moves)

To understand the factors that may draw newcomers into Doncaster from elsewhere, it is mobility motivation at the point of moving into the borough. Figure 8.23 shows the reasons given by survey respondents for moving home at the point at which they moved to Doncaster.

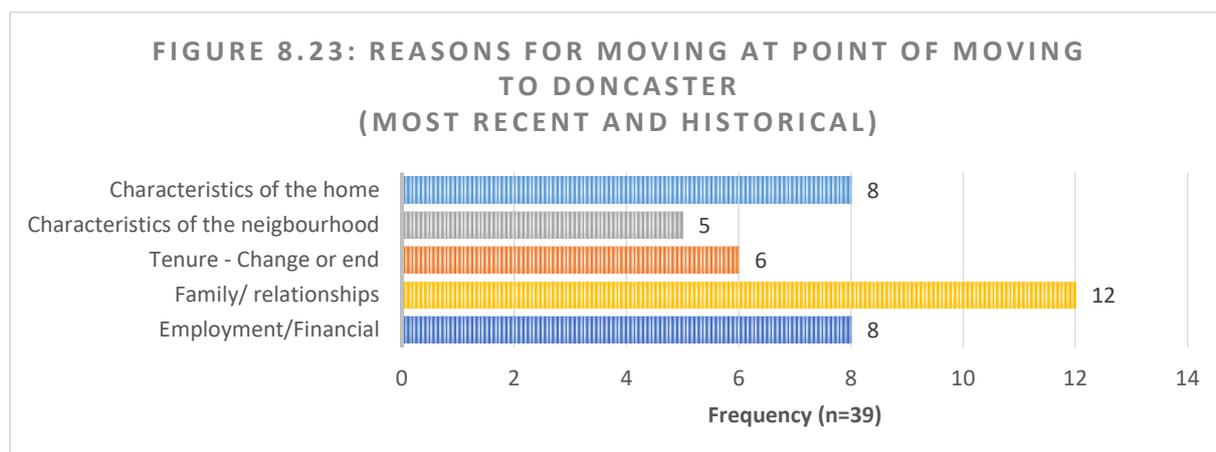


Figure 8.23: Frequency of reasons for moving at point of moving to Doncaster (all historical moves)

As Figure 8.23 shows, the most common reasons respondents gave for moving to Doncaster from outside of the borough related to family and relationships, with respondents citing these reasons making up just under a third of responses. The distribution across other reason categories was overall fairly even. This shows that whilst there was no one key driver of moves into Doncaster, social reasons

relating to family and relationships appear to have been important in the decision to move to the borough from outside. Figure 8.24 below shows the reasons for moving by distance at the point of moving to Doncaster.

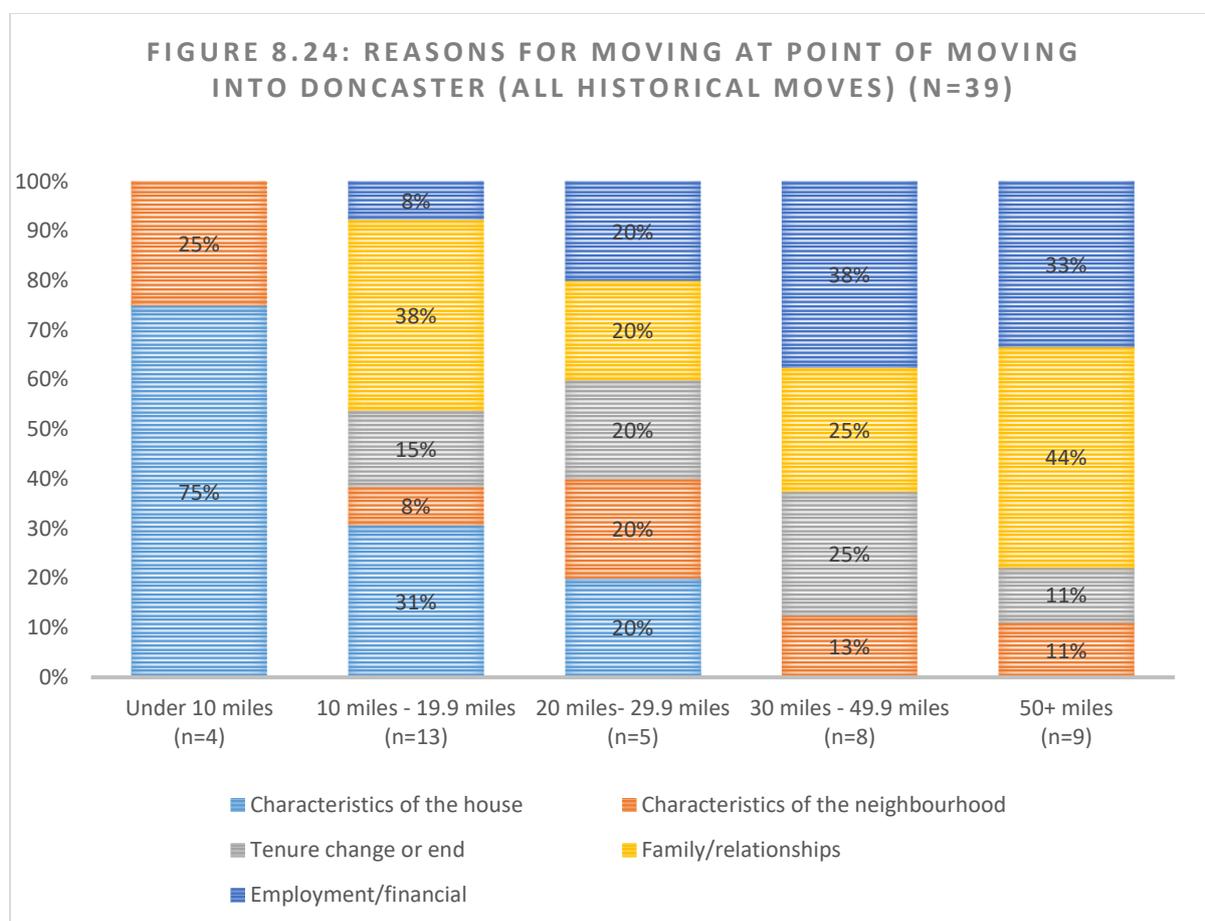


Figure 8.24: Reasons for moving at point of moving into Doncaster (all moves)

As Figure 8.24 shows, whilst (as outlined above) financial and employment reasons accounted for the most common reason to move over longer distances across all moves to all places, evidence from survey data suggests that long distance moves specifically to Doncaster were more likely to relate to issues relating to family and relationships. This finding needs to be noted with caution, given the small numbers of respondents, but it does suggest that family and relationships may have been influential in the decision to move to Doncaster in particular, where economic and financial reasons for moving had been more common across all historical long-distance moves. This may tentatively suggest that respondents would cite partnership formation or situated relationships within the borough as reasons for moving over long distances to live in Doncaster. As outlined above, family and relationships constituted the largest reason category across all distances when moving to Doncaster, and this reason for moving was important across all distances over 10 miles, whilst for those moving very short distances, characteristics of the home remained the most common reason for moving.

As Table 8.4 shows, of the 76 survey responses, just over half (39) provided an address outside of Doncaster within the last 3 household moves. 22 of these 39 moved to the borough on their most recent move (P1-current) and as such are newcomers who could have been attracted to Doncaster by

new-build homes, 12 moved to the borough between P2 and P1, moving once within Doncaster subsequently, and 5 moved between addresses P3 and P2, moving twice since moving to Doncaster.

Table 8.4: Frequency of P1,P2 and P3 moves to Doncaster

Move	Frequency	% of total into-Doncaster moves
P1- Current	22	56
P1-P2	12	31
P3-P2	5	13

In total, across all developments in the study, 29% of respondents moved from outside of Doncaster at the most recent move, and 71% of respondents moved from within the borough. This is broadly in keeping with DMBC’s assessment of ‘over 70%’ internal moves in the borough (DMBC, 2015), suggesting that new-build homes included in the study were not more likely than the Doncaster average to have been taken up by newcomers to the borough.

8.8.3 Reasons for moving of those who moved from outside of Doncaster at the most recent move

The sections above have outlined some of the main reasons for moving for different groups of respondents at various points in their mobility histories. For the purposes of this thesis, the most influential movers are those who moved to Doncaster on their most recent move. These are the respondents who could potentially have been brought to the borough by the attraction of new-build housing, and the respondents who – being newcomers – have the potential to bring significant net financial and social change to the borough as a direct result of their moving to Doncaster. The results presented here are from a small data set (n=22) and it is not possible to draw conclusions from these figures. Nevertheless, the data is presented here for context, owing to the importance of this group.

Figure 8.25 illustrates the main reasons for moving for those who made inward moves from outside the borough on their most recent move (P1-current).

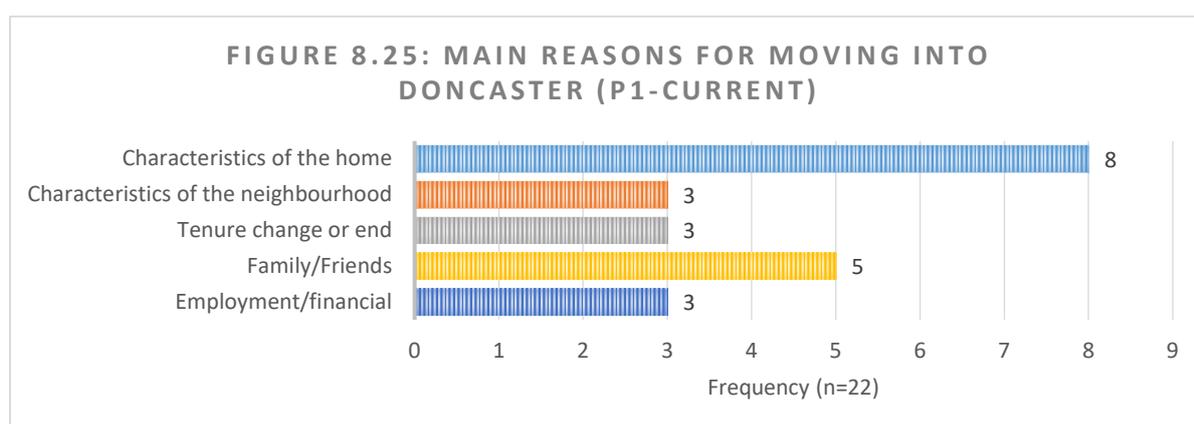


Figure 8.25: Main reasons for moving into Doncaster at most recent move (P1-Current)

As Figure 8.25 shows, the most common reason category for moving to Doncaster from outside at the most recent move was as a result of characteristics of the home, with issues relating to family and relationships being the second most commonly stated reason for moving. This again reiterates the potential importance of relationships (alongside housing) in the decision to live in Doncaster

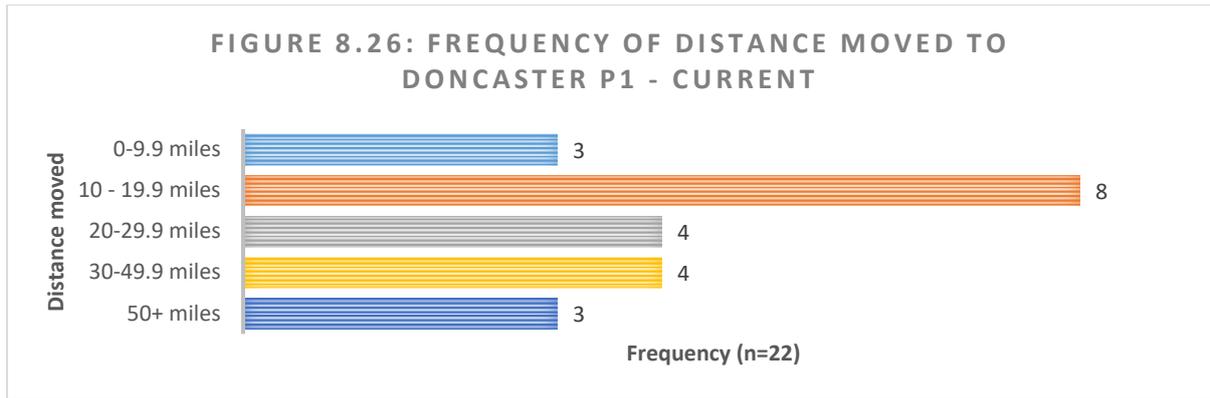


Figure 8.26: Frequency of distance moved to Doncaster (P1 – Current)

At the most recent move, just under two-thirds of respondents (63%) of newcomers had moved under 30 miles with around a third making more long-distance moves into the borough. Figure 8.27 below shows the main reasons given for moving to Doncaster from outside at the most recent move, arranged by distance.



Figure 8.27: Reasons for moving to Doncaster, by distance (P1 - Current)

By far the most common category of reasons for moving at the most recent move was ‘characteristics of the house’. Given the importance of characteristics of the house, new-build housing could have been an influencing factor on the decision to move to the borough from elsewhere at the most recent move.

8.9 Geographical mobility patterns leading movers to new-build homes in Doncaster

When previous mobility histories are considered outside of the most recent move, there are five main geographical mobility patterns through which movers came to a new-build home in Doncaster (Figure 8.28). Due to the incomplete mobility history data of survey respondents, it was not possible to determine which survey respondents fell into each category and these patterns can only be identified for interview respondents. Nevertheless, this categorisation provides a helpful way to understand and group respondents' previous experience of living in Doncaster. The five groups can further be grouped into three main categories for analysis. These groups are discussed under Figure 8.28.

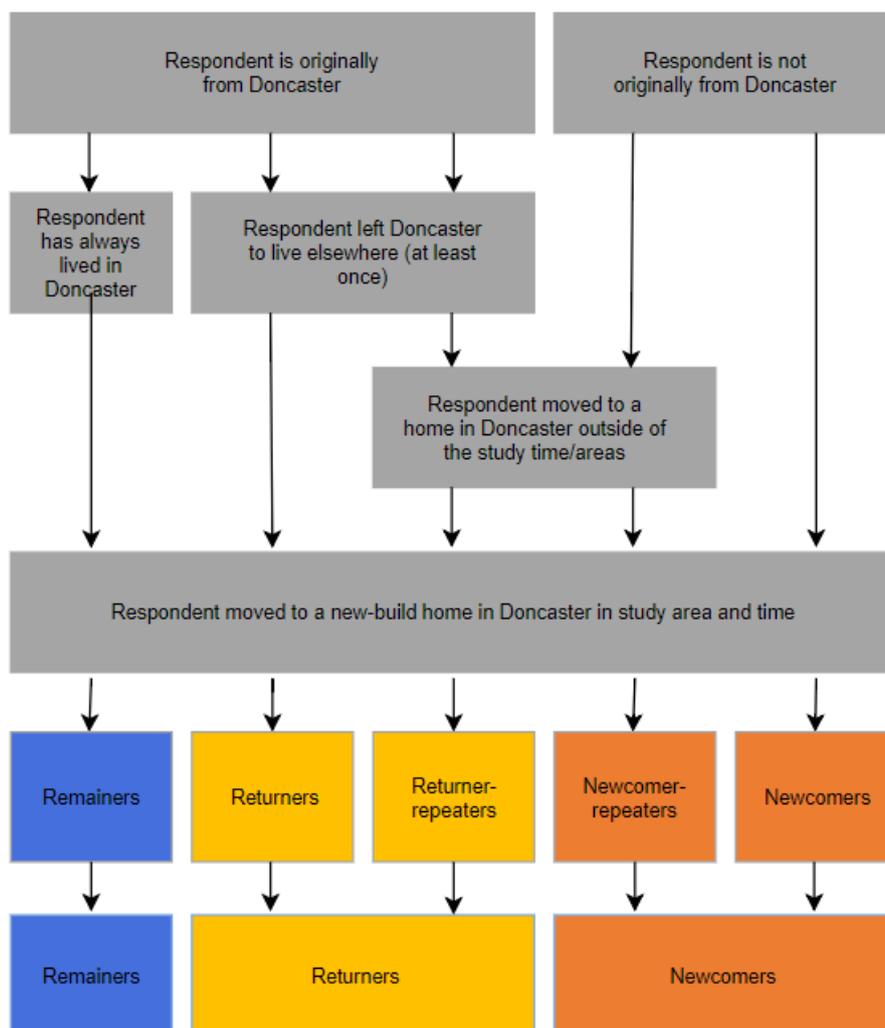


Figure 8.28: Previous mobility route of interview respondents to new-build housing in Doncaster

Remainers

This category represents residents who were originally from Doncaster and have always lived in Doncaster. These residents may have made several moves within Doncaster before coming to their current new-build home. This category represents eight of the interview respondents (Alison, Dean, Danielle, Jill, Naomi, Natalie and Vanessa). Two respondents who have lived outside of Doncaster are also included in this category for the purposes of analysis. The first is Karen, who lived in, Harworth, a village which is on the border between Doncaster and Nottinghamshire, but described herself as

always living in Doncaster due to the extremely close proximity of her home to the borough. The second of these is William, who worked abroad for a short period. Whilst William did live abroad, he maintained his home in Doncaster and always intended to return, his overseas work placement being temporary. As such, these respondents are categorised as *Remainers*. This is the largest group of respondents in the study.

Returners and Returner-Repeaters

This category represents movers who were originally from Doncaster, have moved away from Doncaster and returned on one or more occasion, either moving directly into a new-build home, or moving from within the borough to a new-build home having returned at an earlier point. This category represents returners; Holly, Jade, Jamie, Rachel and Victoria and one returner-repeater, Hannah.

Newcomers and Newcomer-Repeaters

Newcomer repeaters' represents movers who were not originally from Doncaster but moved to Doncaster in adulthood prior to their most recent move. As such, these movers were already living in Doncaster at the time of their most recent move and could not have been attracted into the borough as a result of new-build homes. This category represents five movers; Harriet, Hayley, Richard, Judith and Terry. Some of these movers have lived in Doncaster for many years, moving several times within the borough, and others have moved more recently.

Some of the newcomers were not originally from Doncaster and had no experience of living in Doncaster prior to their most recent move. These residents moved directly into new-build housing in one of the study sites when moving into the borough. This category represents five households (including both couples) Ben and Madeleine, Carol and Stephen, Jessica, Kristina and Sylvia.

Table 8.5: Interview respondents' names and previous mobility routes

	Remainers	Returners and returner-Repeaters	Newcomer-Repeaters	Newcomers
Respondent pseudonym	Alison Dean Danielle Jacquie Jill Karen Naomi Natalie Vanessa William	Hannah* Holly Jade Jamie Rachel Victoria	Harriet Hayley Judith Richard Terry	Ben and Madeleine Carol and Stephen Jessica Kristina Sylvia
No. respondents	10	6	5	5

* Returner repeater

These patterns and categorisations are presented here as a means through which to group respondents with reference to their previous experience of living in Doncaster and whether or not respondents were living in Doncaster at the time of their most recent move

As illustrated in Figure 8.28, there are only two mobility patterns which represent newcomers who could potentially have been attracted to the borough as a result of new-build housing – *Returners* and

Newcomers. All of the other interview respondents were living in Doncaster prior to their most recent move. Information gathered from these movers is the most pertinent for understanding the factors that brought movers to Doncaster from outside the borough on their most recent move. However, the stories of other movers in the study are also important for understanding broader narratives relating to housing choice and the role that new-build housing (alongside other factors) played in residential location choice. In particular, narratives of newcomers and returners can provide information into the types of factor that might motivate mobility into a peripheral post-industrial place (PPIP) (Gherhes et al., 2017).

8.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has introduced survey and interview respondents, tracing household moves across the previous three addresses to new-build housing in Doncaster. The chapter demonstrates that when compared with the Doncaster average, new-build housing was taken up by a group of households who were more likely to be in employment than the Doncaster average (whilst being less likely to work in Doncaster) and were also more likely to be high earners. At the same time, respondents are spending relatively low proportions of their income on rent or a mortgage. This in turn suggests that respondents are likely to have relatively high levels of disposable income, which in turn could potentially contribute to local economic growth through spending.

However, as discussed in Chapter 5, the extent to which these households would contribute to a potential net overall economic contribution is reliant largely on the extent to which respondents have moved to the borough from outside, and the extent to which housing was taken up by existing residents. The chapter showed that just 29% of respondents had moved to Doncaster from outside, a figure that is comparable to the Doncaster average (DMBC, 2015). As such, evidence from the survey suggests that new-build housing was no more likely than other homes in Doncaster to be taken up by newcomers, and this relatively low rate necessarily limits the potential net economic impact of newcomers relating to skills, taxes and spending (these issues are revisited in Chapter 10).

In order to contextualise these most recent moves, the chapter also presented the previous geographical moves of respondents and the main reasons for moving, exploring how reasons for moving varied according to distance.

This analysis has allowed for a preliminary understanding of the relationships between mobility and reasons for moving, and for moving to Doncaster. However, whilst reasons for moving, particularly when correlated with distance moved provide important contextual insights relating to mobility and migration processes, information relating only to distance moved and reasons for moving is somewhat unsatisfactory in determining *how* and *why* respondents decided where to live. In addition, it is difficult to determine the specific reasons for choosing to move to Doncaster in particular: an issue which is central to this project. As outlined in Chapter 7, more qualitative analysis is required to understand the complex and multifarious factors that can contribute to mobility, as they are understood by movers. These issues are explored in more detail in the following chapter: Pathways to Doncaster.

Chapter 9 Pathways to Doncaster

9.1 Introduction

Chapter 8 introduced survey respondents via their previous mobility patterns. The chapter identified three main groups of movers; *Remainers*, *Returners* and *Newcomers*. This chapter builds on the previous to situate the geographical mobility patterns as outlined in Chapter 8 within biographical data collected at interview, discussing in more detail the factors which brought movers to Doncaster and the role that new-build housing played in these decisions.

The chapter opens by looking at the geographical extent of the housing search in relation to Doncaster, outlining where respondents searched for housing as well as how many and which respondents considered living outside of Doncaster on the most recent move. This factor is important in determining the extent to which movers were comparing Doncaster, its neighbourhoods and its homes with elsewhere and why Doncaster was ultimately chosen as an appropriate place to search for housing and to live. The chapter then looks in more detail at the reasons respondents gave for remaining in, returning to, or relocating to Doncaster, drawing on cross-sectional analysis to identify pathways to Doncaster.

9.2 Searching outside of Doncaster: Where did respondents search for housing?

The household survey asked respondents whether they considered areas outside of Doncaster when searching for their new home and, if so, which areas they considered. Some respondents mentioned more than one area and the areas mentioned by respondents are shown in Figure 9.1.

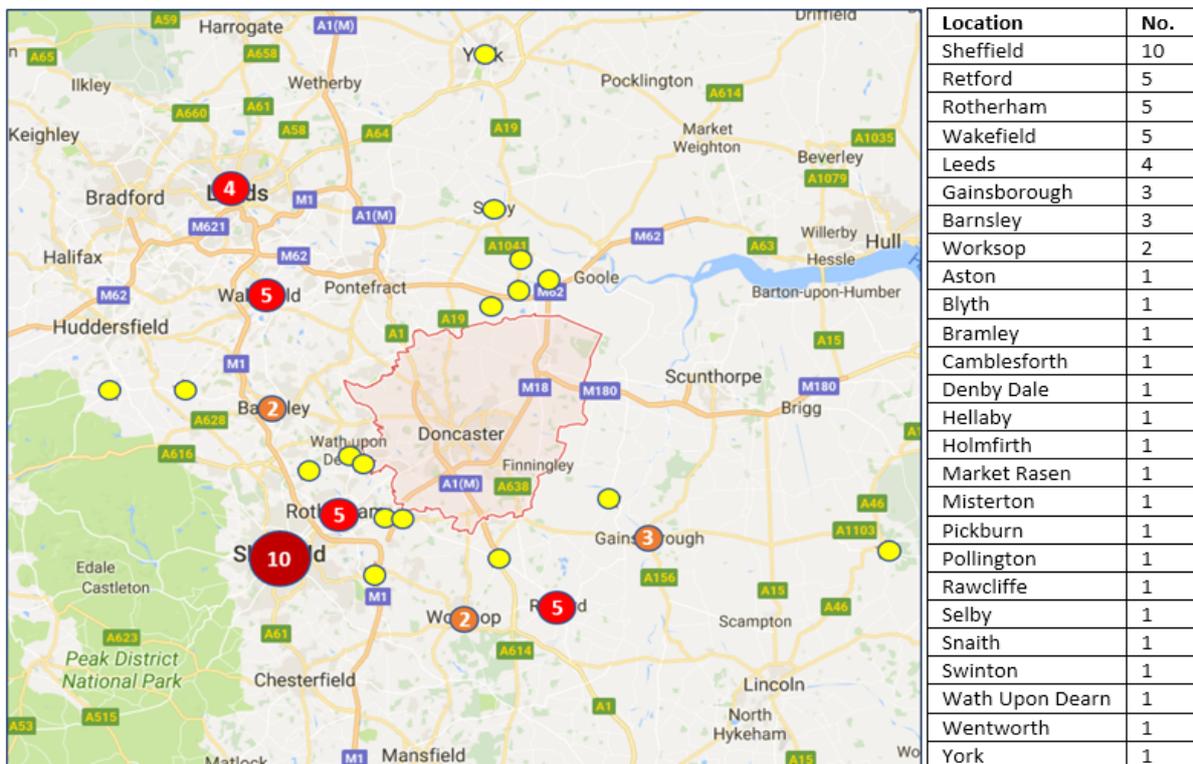


Figure 9.1: Areas outside of Doncaster considered by movers on their most recent move (P1-current)

As Figure 9.1 shows, whilst several areas outside Doncaster were considered by movers, the vast majority of responses related to a relatively small radius of Doncaster. The larger and darker markers

represent areas mentioned most frequently and the numbers on the markers represent the number of times these locations were cited as potential places to consider in the housing search. Where no number is specified, these places were mentioned by only one survey respondent. Sheffield was the area outside of Doncaster most frequently mentioned by movers as a potential residential location, with 10 respondents reporting considering the city when moving. The majority of those located further afield from Doncaster were other larger towns and cities, including Leeds, Rotherham, Wakefield, Retford, Barnsley, Worksop and Gainsborough.

Whilst Figure 9.1 shows some searches outside of Doncaster, this information was, overall, not congruous with findings from the interviews, where the vast majority of respondents reported actively searching only within Doncaster (even where they had indicated otherwise on the household survey). The discrepancy here may lie in the nuance between whether respondents *would have* searched in these areas, and whether they actively undertook a search in those areas. Of the interview respondents, only those from three households described actively searching for housing outside of the borough: Sylvia, Carol and Stephen and Rachel.

9.3 Remainers and the decision to remain in Doncaster

None of the *Remainers* reported considering looking for a home outside Doncaster on their most recent move. For this reason, in discussing where they considered living and searched for housing, information from *Remainers* more typically focussed on moves within Doncaster and are discussed in more detail in Chapter 10. Where respondents did reflect on their decision to remain living in Doncaster, these decisions were often related to reasons around familiarity and situated relationships within the borough. For example, Natalie stated:

I don't think I'd want to move anywhere else really...I quite like it round here but it's probably just because I know it rather than not.

Natalie, Remainer, Carr Lodge Estate

Natalie's familiarity with Doncaster meant that she realistically had not considered searching for a house in other areas. Jacquie referred to the importance of situated relationships in her decision to remain living in Doncaster, stating,

I can't see that I would leave Doncaster, or I'd have to take all my family with me.

Jacquie, Remainer, Lakeside

Jacquie's assertion that she could not imagine herself moving away from Doncaster was echoed by the fact that none of the *Remainers* considered living outside of Doncaster at the most recent move.

A small number of the *Remainers* did discuss times when they had considered living outside the borough in the past. For example, Jill, a retired widow who has always lived in Doncaster described a time when she thought about living in another part of the country after her husband died. Jill has family in the south of England and when visiting them, she started to consider moving. She spoke to her sons who encouraged her to make the move and she looked in more detail at the area, considering the housing market, local amenities and connectivity. However, Jill decided not to make the move. As she stated, 'the more I thought about it the more I thought it's a big thing to do, it's a long way.' As this example shows, although Jill considered the possibility of moving away from Doncaster at one time, and was supported by her family, the move into a completely different area

was considered too great a move to make and was therefore discounted in favour of remaining in Doncaster. For Jill, a long-distance move was considered to be interesting, but a 'big thing to do' in reality.

Jacque, like Jill, has always lived in Doncaster, she grew up in Doncaster and like her parents and grandparents before her, has chosen to remain in the area for every household move to date, living, until her most recent move, in one of Doncaster's pit towns. During the interview, Jacque described a time when she had considered moving to another part of the country to live with a former partner. However, she reflected that she had made the right decision in remaining in Doncaster and now would not consider moving away from the borough.

9.4 Newcomers, Returners and the decision to live in Doncaster

Given the importance of *Newcomers* and *Returners* and their decisions to live in Doncaster for this study, the sections below discuss the mobility decisions of these respondents in more detail. The sections below discuss the pathways (Clapham, 2002; 2005) of younger and older residents that drew them to live in Doncaster. The chapter concludes by focussing on those who cited the housing supply in Doncaster and in particular, new-build housing as a primary factor in the decision to live in the borough. An overview of the main reasons for moving at the point of moving to Doncaster for these respondents, along with the primary reasons for choosing to return or relocate, to Doncaster are provided in Appendix D.

9.5 Ambitious, mobile young movers: Ambitions, hometowns and changing priorities over time

In analysing the pathways of the younger movers in the study, there was a remarkable similarity in how many of these movers spoke about their early moves. In describing their early mobility pathways, many of these respondents reflected the types of moves associated with young ambitious movers, as described in Chapter 2 (Faggian and McCann, 2009; Sage et al., 2013; Champion, 2005; Champion et al., 2014; Fielding, 1992).

The most common pathway which younger *Returning* and *Newcomers* shared was one of moving out of home and to a city (usually to study higher education), sometimes relocating several times between large urban conurbations before moving to Doncaster. Key amongst many of the younger respondents was the need to balance relationships, family life and career choices, and these factors often influenced decisions about where to live. Many of the young respondents left home to attend university, often moving from relatively small or medium sized-towns to larger cities. For several of these respondents, upon reaching adulthood, continued residence in small or medium-sized regional towns was considered negatively and associated with parochialism. For example as Hannah explained, growing up in Doncaster, she and her peers were keen to leave the borough and to move to the city.

We said...while we were growing up, 'oh it's a bit rubbish... you want to go and move to the city.

Hannah, Returner-Repeater, Finningley

Similarly, Harriet a *Newcomer* who spent most of her childhood and teens living with her mother in a medium-sized town in the south of England stated,

I've got a few friends in [hometown] and they always criticise people who are still living in [hometown] like 'oh my god, I can't believe they've not moved out yet.

Harriet, Newcomer-Repeater, Finningley

In these extracts, both Harriet and Hannah alluded to a social expectation or belief that young people *should* move away from their hometown and into a city upon reaching adulthood. Notably, these early pathways were characterised as representing not only individual aspirations, but also broader social expectations, where the decision to remain living locally was met with some distain. This context and the explicit references which respondents made to societal expectations demonstrates that structural and social factors served as an influencing to influence decisions, shaping early pathways relating to education, careers and mobility.

In line with these expectations, the vast majority of younger *Returners* and *Newcomers* did leave their hometowns to move to cities around the country, with many leaving home to attend university. Commonly for these respondents, earlier moves were associated with moves into and out of university accommodation, followed by moves that focused on initiating careers, career progression and romantic relationships. At these early junctures, many of these respondents favoured city locations that were seen to be preferable for career progression. Jade, for example stated she 'preferred staying in the city rather than moving back to a town at the time'. Her choice of residential location was also limited by career and employment opportunities. As she stated, 'I'd ...stayed in Sheffield because I'd been in uni there and the job I got straight out of uni... I was originally going to move to Leeds but the catchment area for the job meant that I couldn't live in Leeds'. Jade also commented that with her education and experience, she 'had potential to move to London'. Whilst Jade decided not to move to London, it was clear that this move would have been in some sense an aspirational one to make for her career.

Many younger respondents were willing to move frequently and travel long distances to pursue career ambitions. Holly, for example, lived in a range of locations after initially leaving Doncaster, attending university in Manchester and moving to other towns and cities primarily according to employment and promotion opportunities. Judith, a successful medical professional, made several long-distance moves across the country to complete specialised postgraduate qualifications. Kristina, originally from Italy, moved from her hometown to Rome, and later to the UK to complete a postgraduate qualification in her chosen field.

Despite the propensity of career-related moves to draw young movers to cities, several of the *Newcomers* – Jessica, Ben and Madeleine and Harriet, moved to Doncaster primarily owing to employment opportunities in the borough. Jessica, a young respondent from Sheffield moved to Doncaster on her most recent move. Prior to moving to the borough, Jessica had always lived in Sheffield, where she attended university. After graduating, she found a job as a teacher in Doncaster and commuted to the borough for several years. However, after she had her first child, she found that the commute from Sheffield to Doncaster for work became more burdensome and she and her partner decided to move to the borough.

At the time of moving, both Ben and Madeleine, and Harriet moved to Doncaster initially on a temporary, short- or mid-term basis, with the intention to move again from the borough later. For these households, the decision to live in Doncaster (initially, at least) was framed as a temporary decision to take up work placements, with the aim of leaving the borough in favour of other locations later. Prior to the move to Doncaster, Ben and Madeleine had been living in Essex, until Madeleine was offered a promotion by her employer. As part of the promotion deal, Madeleine was offered

employment in six European locations from which she was able to choose. Madeleine was originally from Derbyshire and had spent some time in Doncaster as a child and so had some familiarity with the borough, and this formed a further attraction to Doncaster. Madeleine described a sense of isolation in Essex, where she likened the population to that of London, expressing that she felt that in Essex, people were busy and unfriendly, a reputation that she associated more with those from the south of the country than the north. As she stated,

Because I come from Derbyshire...I was quite keen to move back up north...**I know people are a lot more friendly**, I hadn't got any worries about moving to Doncaster, nothing that would put me off.

Madeleine, Newcomer, Branton

This was a sentiment which brought Madeleine to favour a move to Doncaster over her other options. However, this sentiment was not shared by her colleagues in Essex, who Madeleine perceived to have a relatively negative impression of Doncaster:

As I mentioned to different people...that we were looking for a property in Doncaster...friends and family down in the south it was... **'ooh Doncaster, what do you want to go there for?'** but certainly from my point of view **there was nothing that really concerned me about living in Doncaster... I was quite looking forward to being in the local area.**

Madeleine, Newcomer, Branton

The couple determined that Madeleine should take up the opportunity and move to Doncaster. In choosing where to live, Ben and Madeleine briefly considered areas outside of Doncaster, but, upon a brief examination of commuting distances from nearby towns into the borough, chose to live in the borough owing to Madeleine's employment in Doncaster. This move was conceived of as part of a five-year plan, according to which they would relocate again in a few years. As such, for Ben and Madeleine, the move to Doncaster can be seen as broadly in keeping with the pattern described above of frequent mobility and career-driven location choices. It is unclear at this stage whether they will choose to remain in the borough for longer than the planned-five year period.

Harriet also initially moved to Doncaster as a result of an offer of short-term employment in the borough. After leaving home initially, Harriet studied at a university in the north of the country. After graduating, despite completing her course with a first-class qualification, Harriet found it difficult to find employment in her chosen field. As she was struggling to find work, she moved back to stay with her mother, where she was able to apply for work placements, without the costs associated with paying rent and living independently. Harriet planned to gain some work experience with a longer-term intention of moving to London, where she felt she would be able to advance her career most effectively. In describing her feelings around this move, Harriet stated:

Obviously it was ever so odd **being back where you started!** So I spent that time applying for jobs and applying for apprenticeships and programmes and stuff like that...with the aim to move to London...

Harriet, Newcomer-Repeater, Finningley

The return home to live with her mother was a tactical move for Harriet, back where she started, but a step towards meeting her future goals of moving to London. After some time staying with her mother, Harriet found a work placement in Doncaster. Her father was living in the borough at the time, and his residence in the borough facilitated her choice to take up the placement, which was

originally going to last for 2 weeks. Harriet presented this move as a step on her trajectory towards moving to London. As she describes:

So I moved up here where my dad was, and I was just gonna stay...for a couple of weeks...the **idea was if I came up here and I did a brief two weeks in an office...**in my industry, **then I could go back to London.**

Harriet, Newcomer-Repeater, Finningley

After staying with her father in Doncaster for the duration of her work placement, Harriet's contract was extended and, during this period, Harriet met her (now) husband Tim. Subsequently, Harriet moved into Tim's flat and eventually, the couple bought a new-build home in Doncaster together. Despite Harriet's long-set ambitions to gain work experience and move to London to pursue her career, meeting her partner led to her subsequently re-evaluating her priorities. As she stated:

I was all about, 'oh it's just about a career, not bothered about anything else', but I guess when you find the right partner, you start to enjoy when you finish work ...**I probably wasn't bothered about commuting before whereas now I think I'd miss my evenings here...** that's a big part of... picking where to live...**having the right balance**, and I think watching...certain other members of my family...**practically kill themselves working all the time and I thought that was what I wanted** and now I... I dunno, I can sort of see that you probably can have a little bit of both sometimes.

As this example illustrates, in choosing to live more permanently in Doncaster, Harriet was revaluating her priorities and ambitions; she was choosing to settle with her partner in Doncaster rather than pursue a career in the south of the country and in making this decision, she was deviating from her expected trajectory. Purchasing a home in Doncaster was symbolic of a commitment to this change, as Harriet describes:

We'd been dating maybe a year-and-a-half, so it **was quite a big deal** to all of a sudden get a house and especially for me because...**I could've walked... I could've left my job and gone to, I don't know, New Zealand or Australia and got another job...I think Tim still worries that I probably should've gone off.**

Whilst in buying her home and marrying Tim, Harriet was making a commitment to her partner and the financial arrangements of buying a home – where she could have moved to New Zealand, Australia or London - she was also now committing to living in Doncaster, and implicit in this decision is the change from the expected career-focused trajectory of moving to London:

I still work in London every now and again and I enjoy it for the day **but I now can't picture myself living there.** I enjoy that it takes me half an hour to get home and there is no traffic...I mean I enjoy that there's a pond down the road and stuff like that...life in London - I don't think I'd ever be able to afford...**you'd be somewhere out in the 'skirts in a building block wouldn't you?**

With the early focus on career progression and the associated preference for city locations, many of the younger respondents explained that when leaving their hometowns, they expected that they would remain living in cities or did not anticipate that they would move back to their hometown, or to other smaller or mid-sized towns, such as Doncaster. Like Harriet, several of the respondents did return home or to stay with relatives on a temporary basis during these stages, often during breaks in employment, to access employment, or following relationship breakdowns.

These early pathways were often not linear and during these early life course stages, many of the respondents reported periods of return migration to harness the 'parental safety net' (Sage et al., 2013) in times of need, or during transitional stages. As Haartsen and Thissen (2014) state, 'return

migration may even prove to be a specific tactic or part of a broader life course strategy' (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014, p.29) and there were certainly elements of these narratives in the stories told by movers, where respondents harnessed social connections to pursue their goals, maintaining and harnessing networks in Doncaster and elsewhere at particular life course junctures. However, the return home or to stay with relatives in these early stages was often not considered a permanent move and was instead a stepping-stone. Within such narratives, returning moves to the hometown were sometimes presented as a pause, or backwards step, but also as a supportive option, allowing respite after relationship breakdowns or allowing opportunities to develop an expected career and housing trajectory.

However, unlike Harriet, whose decision to move to Doncaster *prompted* a change in her priorities, many of the respondents moved to Doncaster in *reaction* to changing ambitions and needs. In contrast to the early focus on careers in the moves of respondents as outlined above, it appears that the move to Doncaster for younger movers was more often framed with a change in priorities from careers and city-life, to relationships, family life and children.

For a relatively large group of younger movers, the decision to live in Doncaster following these periods of early mobility appears to have reflected a change in priorities as life course factors altered. In particular, at the point of moving to Doncaster, a common narrative amongst several younger movers was the transition into a 'family-building phase' (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014, p.90). For *Returns* specifically, but also for some *Newcomers*, the decision to live in Doncaster in particular at this time appears to have been influenced by the potential to harness 'location-specific capital' (DaVanzo, 1981; Feijten and Mulder, 2002; Mulder, 2007; Mulder and Wagner, 2012) in the form of childcare to be provided by grandparents. For *Returns* in particular, situated support networks in the borough were highly influential in the decision to move to Doncaster at this juncture. Most commonly, *Returns* reported the desire to give or receive support from family members who were living within the borough.

Several of the respondents who had children or – more commonly - were planning to start families chose the location of their home largely based on the proximity of family members for assistance with childcare. For example, Victoria chose to return to Doncaster, framing this decision within the idea of 'future-proofing when we're going to have a family'. Victoria's mother has retired and now spends time looking after her other grandchildren, and for Victoria and her partner, the return to Doncaster was seen as pragmatic to help the couple fulfil their ambitions to begin a family, whilst balancing childcare with work commitments. Holly, who returned to Doncaster on her most recent move lived outside of Doncaster for 11 years before returning and, like Victoria, her desire to return to Doncaster was prompted by her plans to have children in the near future. As she stated, 'I've been away for...11 years. It was better for us to be near family when we start a family'. Again, in this description, Holly is highlighting a change in priorities relating to housing and location choice. Similarly Jade, a young professional who returned to Doncaster on her most recent move stated that a key factor in this decision was the proximity of her family and the support that she could receive with childcare in the future. Whilst Jade was (at the time of interview) not in a relationship and not planning to immediately start a family, her decision to move to Doncaster was made with long-term plans in mind. These findings are compatible with those noted elsewhere, where households may choose to relocate *prior* to, and in anticipation of family growth particularly in relation to the move into parenthood (first child) (Feijten and Mulder, 2002).

Where Jade had previously preferred city life and focussed on her career, she felt that owing to her age, she ought to plan for the possibility of starting a family:

I'm obviously getting to the age where I am starting to think about children but I'm not currently in the position to do that...obviously by doing quite a big step move I wanted to make sure that **I wouldn't necessarily have to move again if children came into the equation.**

This factor was influential in her decision to return to Doncaster. As she stated:

I'd like to stay living in **Doncaster purely from a childcare aspect** and the fact that I've got family on the doorstep and the whole scenario of having **grandparents nearby**, family to rely on... **I work away a lot** ...and... there is always somebody there at the drop of a hat...to help out. Even if you do put the child in a nursery... a couple of days a week, you still know that **if there is something wrong and I'm at the other side of the country, there is still somebody to go and pick them up.**

Jade, Returner, Branton

At her most recent move, in choosing where to live, Jade was planning ahead, ensuring that she was able to reach a balance between her work commitments and a (potential) future family.

As these examples illustrate, there was a group of respondents from Doncaster, who, after spending several years outside of the borough decided to return when they wanted to start families, harnessing support through situated relationships in the borough. These moves reflect a change in priorities at this life stage, where some characteristics of the hometown or of smaller town and cities more generally which were considered undesirable are reframed at different times in the life course.

It is important to note here, that the draw of situated relationships and associated support networks did not uniquely revolve around childcare. Rachel, a respondent living in Tickhill, who also had a young family, wanted to return to Doncaster so that she could be closer to her parents as they aged, providing support as necessary. Whilst Rachel and her husband wanted to build their own home - a life-long ambition - the decision to build the home *in Doncaster* was contingent not only on the availability of land and planning permission in the borough, but also, more importantly, on the relationships that Rachel had in Tickhill where her parents were living. Shortly after Rachel and her husband returned to Tickhill, Rachel's father and then her mother died. Reflecting on this course of events and her reasons for returning to Doncaster, Rachel commented, 'the reason why we moved here, or the main reason why we moved here has now gone.' This statement from Rachel shows the import of the relationship with her parents in the decision to return to Doncaster, and to Tickhill in particular.

For *Returners*, situated support networks and 'safety nets' (Sage et al., 2013) were valued, not only in the practical support which could be given or received, but for their role in creating a sense of belonging, of familiarity and place attachment. For example, Jade left home to attend university in Sheffield and, upon completing her course she bought a home towards the southeast of Sheffield city centre. During her interview she explained that she never really enjoyed living in Sheffield, but it was only when her friends and peers began to move away and start families that she started to feel isolated and began to start thinking of returning to Doncaster. Owing to her situated relationships in Doncaster, and her concerns about isolation and loneliness, Doncaster became framed as an appropriate place to live:

I am very close to my family so I spend a lot of time with my mum for example, she's more like a friend so it **made sense for me location-wise to move [to Doncaster]**.

Jade, Returner, Branton

Similarly, whilst Holly stated that she wanted to move back to Doncaster to access support in raising a family from both her parents and her partner's parents who live in the borough, the proximity to her family was also important for her sense of identity as a 'family girl'.

Well both mine and my partner's families are from Doncaster...and **I am quite a family girl** so I like being round my family.

Holly, Returner, Auckley

Holly similarly explained that she would prefer to live in close proximity to her family and this was an important factor in the decision to return to Doncaster. *Returners* often expressed a sense of place attachment, familiarity and belonging in Doncaster which movers sought to access through their return to Doncaster. These two factors were often interlinked as Jade described:

To be honest ...I wanted to move back to Doncaster because **this is where I was born and I grew up here** and **family live like five miles away from where I am now** so that was a big deciding factor.

Jade, Returner, Branton

As this explanation of her reasons for returning to Doncaster demonstrates, Jade wanted to return to the borough not only to access social support through her family networks in the borough, but also because it was where she was born, it was where she grew up, it is where she is *from*. Clearly, this sense of belonging and attachment for Jade was related to the relationships that she has in the borough, with her mother for example, but it was also related to her *history* of living in the borough and of growing up in Doncaster.

Feelings of place attachment for *Returners* were also expressed through the notion of 'home' and, bound within this were other historical connections built up through extended residence in, or interaction with a particular place – memories and life events become associated with specific places and can create meaning. As Rachel stated:

It's home for us, you know? It's where we grew up and there's some...**really happy memories here**, it's where my husband and I met.

Rachel, Returner, Tickhill

These attachments, as expressed by *Returners* were inherently place-specific, and explicitly tied with Doncaster. Such sentiments echo the reasons for remaining in Doncaster expressed by *Remainers* above.

Underlining the specific role that historical connections with place can hold, at times, *Returners* contrasted this unique sense of place attachment related to the hometown with other places that they had lived. Hannah, a *Returner-Repeater* described the unique nature of her relationship with Doncaster, contrasting it with her experience of living in Manchester. Hannah described a failure to recreate the feeling of 'home' which she associated with Doncaster elsewhere, despite having lived in a single place (in this case, Manchester) for a long period of time. For example, she stated:

I think it just feels like home. **It sounds really clichéd but Doncaster definitely has always felt like home** because I lived in Manchester for...seven years. **It wasn't home and yeah, I loved it, but it wasn't.**

Hannah, Returner-Repeater, Finningley

Jade similarly expressed that despite living in Sheffield for several years, the city never felt like home to her. Her preference for Doncaster was associated with feelings of familiarity, and this in turn, was associated with a sense of her own identity. As she stated, 'it's familiar to me because I grew up here...I am one for familiarity'.

As these examples illustrate, interview data suggests that whilst living away from Doncaster, despite earlier grievances with the hometown, *Returners* often retained a sense of place attachment with Doncaster, a unique relationship which they were not able to replicate elsewhere and which retained importance despite in some cases, long periods of living outside of the borough. Whilst these feelings may have persisted whilst respondents were living outside of the borough, however, the move to Doncaster was commonly actuated as a result of a shift in priorities owing to life course factors. Where earlier housing moves were more commonly associated with career progression by this group, more recent moves were associated with the desire to start or to raise families, and the decision to move to Doncaster was key in this. Many of the *Returners* had by this point established themselves in their careers, or career motivations were less prominent in their mobility decisions. For other respondents, it was clear that place attachment and returning to live close to family was prioritised at this juncture. For example, Holly described explicitly prioritising social factors ahead of economic and employment opportunities:

To be honest, **you can change jobs** like...God, for the last five years **I've just changed jobs like they're a phone**, but...we've had the opportunity to be able to move somewhere where we're closer to family... I'll pick somewhere [to work] within an hour's drive...if you know what I mean?

Holly, Returner, Auckley

However, returning respondents' impressions of Doncaster having returned were not always positive. As outlined in Chapter 8, Doncaster whilst many returning respondents valued the situated support networks which they had in the borough, and often had a sense of place attachment to Doncaster, many of these respondents considered Doncaster an unambitious place to live and often, it was this factor which led them to leave. Several of the respondents reported continued negative impressions of those living in Doncaster. For example, Jade commented that her firm desire to return to Doncaster has restricted her in other areas of her life - most notably in finding a partner. As described in Chapter 8, Doncaster was considered by several of the respondents to be an unambitious place and for Jade, this factor made it unlikely that she would be able to meet a partner in Doncaster, and that ultimately she may have to leave Doncaster for a relationship,

Jade: **I understand that the calibre of person that I am looking for probably wouldn't end up living in Doncaster**, therefore it would probably be something that I might have to compromise on.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is?

Jade: **Because it's a town and there's not the opportunities in the town** so, for example... at the minute I've been dating for quite a while a surgeon. So obviously he needs to be near a big specialist centre. Well Doncaster is never going to be that so ...if we ever progressed any further, I would need to be near a big specialist centre or we would have to decide to live separately and come together at weekends...**It's**

probably the calibre of person that I'm looking for. Doncaster has probably restricted me and that's probably one of the reasons... **because I've been set on ... moving back here and I've not wanted to compromise on that.** Probably one of the biggest reasons as to why I'm still in the position that I'm in and I've probably come to realise that maybe I might have to be a little bit more flexible with it.'

As such, for some respondents, negative associations of Doncaster as an unambitious place to live persisted amongst respondents and returning or relocating to Doncaster was considered an unusual or surprising thing to do for this group of university-educated respondents. Even amongst those who had returned to, or relocated to Doncaster, negative impressions of the borough and the types of individuals who live in Doncaster persisted for some respondents.

As outlined above, similar early housing and career pathways were experienced by relocating movers in the study, with a desire to leave the hometown, attend university and with long distance moves, primarily relating to employment characterising early moves.

Despite the fact that *Newcomers* had not lived in Doncaster prior to their move to the borough in adulthood, situated relationships were in fact very influential in drawing these movers to the borough. There were several ways in which respondents discussed the influences of these relationships. For example, one of the *Newcomer-Repeaters* in the study, Judith, described the move to Doncaster being both advantageous and convenient at the time of the move, partially owing to situated support networks in the borough associated with her (now ex-) partner.

Prior to moving to the borough, Judith was living in Oxfordshire with her partner who was from Doncaster. Judith is a successful medical professional and, whilst living in Oxfordshire, she was offered a promotion based in Huddersfield in West Yorkshire. Judith's desire to take the promotion and relocate to the north of the country was further bolstered by a recent move by her parents - Judith's father was offered a promotion in Lancashire, and he and Judith's mother relocated there. Whilst her office is based in Huddersfield, Judith works in a wide range of locations across the north of the country. Accordingly, it would be possible for her to live in a relatively broad geographical area in the north of the country whilst taking her promotion. A move further north associated with the promotion would simultaneously also allow her to be closer to her family.

At this time, Judith and her partner had a one-year-old daughter, and the decision to move to Doncaster *in particular* was taken as it was suitable geographically in allowing her to access employment and visit her family, but *crucially* as it was where her (now ex-) partner was from. This relationship meant that Judith and her partner would be able to access situated support networks through his family connections in the borough, to have help with childcare when needed. Whilst Judith moved to Doncaster as a *Newcomer*, her partner was moving to Doncaster as a *Returning* resident, and was able to access the types of situated support networks as discussed in the sections above. Had Judith not been romantically involved with someone in Doncaster and been able to access support networks through this relationship, she may have chosen any number of locations within the north of the country.

The reasons behind Judith's decision to move to Doncaster were similar to those of the *Returns* and her previous mobility patterns were markedly similar. Five of the six *Returns* showed a residential pattern of moving from their hometown, moving to one or more city and moving predominantly according to employment changes before returning to Doncaster to start or raise a family. Judith had followed a very similar pattern: she had moved around the country after finishing university to

complete her postgraduate qualifications and further pursue specialism in her field. However, in contrast to the *Returners*, Judith's decision to relocate to Doncaster was framed in terms of convenience as opposed to situated emotional attachments.

Whilst ostensibly, Judith moved to Doncaster for similar reasons to the *Returners*, the relative unimportance of Doncaster as a *place* when compared to *Returners* in Judith's story is notable. Where *Returners* highlighted the importance of familiarity, emotional attachments and a sense of identity in Doncaster, Judith's narrative instead highlighted convenience and practicality. Judith commented that she had not had a desire to move to Doncaster outside of this relationship. However, where Harriet (described above) expressed difficulty in justifying her decision, Judith did not express the same contradiction in the decision to move to the north of the country. As she stated 'I had never heard about Doncaster. I don't think I had any perceptions of the north per se'. It is interesting to note that when compared with Harriet, Judith's career was relatively established when she moved to Doncaster and perhaps as a result of this, she did not express the same feelings of career-related sacrifice in moving to the borough.

Similarly to Judith - for Kristina, one specific situated relationship in Doncaster was particularly influential in her decision to move to the borough - that with her then boyfriend, now husband, who is a long-term Doncaster resident. Kristina is originally from Italy and moved to the UK to undertake a postgraduate qualification, studying at the University of Leeds. Kristina lived in Leeds whilst studying, afterwards moving to Huddersfield (West Yorkshire) where she lived for a number of years whilst working in Doncaster. During this time, Kristina commuted from Huddersfield to Doncaster, where she met her partner - a colleague who had lived in Doncaster since his youth. The couple decided to marry and wanted to cohabit. During the interview, Kristina commented that she would have preferred to have returned to Leeds or to Wakefield when the couple decided to live together, but that this was not possible as her partner would not consider living outside of Doncaster:

The primary reason was my husband. He wouldn't move to anywhere else. I would happily move to Leeds or Wakefield because they are closer to Doncaster... yeah, **I would have preferred to move to Leeds or Wakefield.**

Kristina, Newcomer, Lakeside

As the couple both work in the borough, the decision to live in Doncaster meant that Kristina would have to travel a significantly shorter distance to work than she had previously. However, she had built up friendship networks in both Leeds and Wakefield, and also considered the areas to have more to offer in terms of facilities and amenities. Nevertheless, as her partner would not search outside of Doncaster- and as Kristina wanted to live with her partner - she only actively searched for housing in the borough and she compromised with her partner on their choice of residential location. Like some of the other movers, whilst Kristina moved to Doncaster, her desire to remain in Leeds or Huddersfield owing to her situated friendships there, despite the longer commute again, shows a prioritisation of social over economic factors. But also this decision shows disagreement between Kristina and her partner, where Kristina capitulated to her partner's preferences, sacrificing her own. Ultimately, the decision to move to Doncaster was part of an intra-household negotiation and compromise.

The sections above have focused on one type of pathway, in which respondents left home, moved away to cities around the country before returning to, or relocating to Doncaster. However, not all of the younger respondents in the study had this type of mobility pathway, and whilst there are broad

similarities in the types of moves that the respondents above have made since adulthood and the factors influencing their decisions relating to mobility, other respondents in the study reported different types of pathways which brought them to Doncaster.

Hayley, for example, moved to Doncaster as her first move outside of the parental home. At 15, Hayley's father died and, because of growing pressure in the family household, at 17 she fell out with her mother and decided to move from Sheffield to Doncaster to stay with her then boyfriend, now husband, with his parents on a council estate in the north of Doncaster. Hayley was working as an apprentice beautician at the time and did not have a lot of disposable income. As Hayley explains, this move appeared to be her sole alternative to staying in her family home:

So I had this big fall out with her [Hayley's mother]...he was living at home with his mum and dad so...that was **the only place I could've gone.**'

Hayley, Newcomer-Repeater, Bentley

As such, Hayley's reason for moving to Doncaster originally was determined by her relationship with her partner and her disagreement with her mother, leaving relocation to Doncaster as her main option. Her fall out with her mother was the push factor leading her to move, and her relationship with her partner was the pull factor which gave her an option to live away from her mother's home and which simultaneously drew her to Doncaster, where she has now lived for almost two decades. Like many of the other movers in the study, Hayley was drawn to Doncaster as a result of a relationship and specifically 'location-specific capital'(DaVanzo, 1981; Mulder and Wagner, 2012) which was inherently situated within the borough.

Unlike many of the other movers in the study, Richard had had continued localised mobility patterns close to his parental home in Essex, before making the long-distance move to Doncaster. Like Kristina and Judith, Richard's move to Doncaster was influenced by a romantic relationship and his decision to move to Doncaster was described in terms of restriction and compromise. Richard left home to study at a university close to his parental home in Essex. After completing university, he moved back to his parents' home, where he stayed until he met his partner Renata. Unlike many of the movers introduced above, Richard had not moved far from the town in which he was raised and compared to some of the other movers in the study, he had relatively localised mobility patterns prior to his move to Doncaster. Richard had a strong sense of attachment in Essex and did not want to leave. He would have preferred to have continued living in Essex and was planning to buy a property in Colchester. However, Renata had financial ties in Doncaster, having bought a Right to Buy property in the borough where she was living with her mother. She was unable to sell the property as her mother intended to continue living there:

Had we both been tie free...we may have lived in Essex... **I couldn't have afforded to buy a house down in Essex - and that's what I really wanted to do - on my own**, I needed Renata to do it with me and she couldn't do it because she couldn't sell this one up here.

Richard, Newcomer-Repeater, Lakeside

As Richard explains, although he would have preferred to have remained living in Essex, the relative price of properties in Essex when compared with Doncaster meant that he was unable to afford a property there given his wife's financial ties in Doncaster. For Richard, like Kristina, the place-specific and situated nature of his partner's relationship with Doncaster restricted his choice of residential

location, where he would otherwise have chosen to live elsewhere. Unlike Kristina, for Richard and his partner, these restrictions appear to have been primarily financial and structural.

Here, alongside the agency of individual decision-makers, there were a range of external issues which served to influence mobility, and narratives of moving to Doncaster, these decisions for *Newcomers* in particular were often framed within wider discussions of sacrifice and compromise (Green, 1997; Levy and Kwai-Choi Lee, 2004; Levy et al., 2008), where respondents discussed choosing between individual priorities and needs, and the priorities and needs of others. In the narratives of *Newcomers* in particular, issues of compromise and sacrifice at the intra-household level were particularly prevalent, most notably in cases where respondents had chosen to relocate to Doncaster to live with a partner who was already located in the borough and where there was the perception that choice was restricted. In this sense, respondents appear to have been willing to make 'individual sacrifices' for 'household benefits' (Green, 1997, p.641).

Others outside the home were also found to influence moves, by providing support (financial or otherwise) or guidance, or where respondents planned their residential location to travel easily to visit family members. The importance of these wider family relationships have been noted elsewhere (Mason, 2004; Green, 1997; Levy and Kwai-Choi Lee, 2004; Levy et al., 2008) and were indeed important in shaping residential choice, highlighting further the embedded and situated nature of decisions about where to live.

9.6 Older respondents: moving to Doncaster for retirement

Whilst the sections above have primarily focused on the reasons given for younger movers in choosing to move to Doncaster, three of the relocating households were made up of older respondents. Carol and Stephen, and Sylvia, are retired, and Terry is approaching retirement, while his wife is retired. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these respondents reported different types of reasons for choosing to move to Doncaster. Unlike the younger respondents, for older households, it was more commonly the facilities, connectivity and character of Doncaster that attracted them to the borough and situated relationships here were less important.

The clearest and most explicit example of this draw to Doncaster is illustrated by Carol and Stephen. Carol and Stephen are a retired couple who previously lived in a medium-sized market town in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Whilst now retired, Stephen was previously employed in the military and this career meant that he and Carol have lived in a wide range of locations globally, moving home every few years. Of all the movers in the study, Carol and Stephen have had the most varied residential history. Together during their marriage, Carol and Stephen have lived in '27 domiciles', in a range of locations across the country and in five locations abroad. Typically, during their marriage, Carol and Stephen have moved every three years and this persistent mobility appears to have impacted the relationships that they have with places and approach to mobility. As Stephen stated,

'I mean, where's home? We always had this little thing up in the house, 'home is where the air force sends you' because you've got to make it your home.

During their interview, Carol and Stephen talked of the different places that they had lived and the ways in which their persistent mobility has made them efficient at settling into new places,

C: We have no boxes to unpack. Stephen can get his car in the garage. The garden is done. The grass is done. You know. We can now live.

S: You're up and running with your craft. I'm up and running with my golf. **This is done**

However, the repeated mobility which Carol and Stephen have experienced in their lives has also impacted the way in which the couple discussed places that they have lived. When asked to describe the places that they had lived previously and how their new home and neighbourhood compared to those places, Carol answered:

Probably for someone else who's always lived in the same place... it is a very easy question but for us... because we've travelled so much and because we've lived in so many different places, **when we move to the next place I can leave it behind. The last place is gone. It's finished, it's gone...** within a couple of months I can almost think, 'oh, I did live there, but it must have been a long time ago'... this is the next phase and it's looking forward and it's not looking back and you have the memories and you keep in touch with some people but this is the next bit of our life.

As such, owing to their varied and frequent mobility history, Carol and Stephen appear to have become accustomed to settling into new place quickly and easily in practical terms. Their interview suggested that the couple also found it easy to make relationships with new people. However, where other respondents in the study expressed strong senses of place attachment, Carol and Stephen appear to have found it relatively easy to detach themselves emotionally from the places that they have lived. In highlighting the differences between her own residential history and that of others who have had long term residence in a single place, Carol explicitly related this disconnection with place with the couples' persistent mobility.

At the most recent move, whilst they were happy with the neighbourhood they were living in initially, they increasingly felt that they 'outgrew' the neighbourhood – they were not easy able to access the services and amenities they needed and wanted. Whilst both were feeling discontented in their neighbourhood, Carol's increasing sense of isolation was a triggering factor in their decision to move:

Basically I was very busy at my golf club. Too busy in many ways. Carol doesn't drive so was finding it more and more limited and I'll say it... we joke - we said we had a heart to heart. She had a heart-to-heart talk and I had a heart-to-heart listen (laughing).

Stephen, Newcomer, Branton

Carol and Stephen have both had very busy lives which have involved a great deal of travel. In retirement, the couple keep busy and enjoy hobbies. The location of their previous property and the lack of connectivity meant that Carol was unable to partake in her hobbies: as Carol stated, 'I particularly felt more and more isolated with not driving...I was dependant on him and I couldn't get the public transport.' This change was explicitly tied to Carol and Stephen's changing needs over time as they aged:

- S: I think as we also got ten years older... the accessibility thing which didn't seem a problem to start with...
- C: Came into play...
- S: I mean Sheffield was an hour and a half trek to...so it got to...that's why we use the term, 'we outgrew it'... whilst it sort of ticked all the boxes to start with, the goalpost moved... the ticks started to fall the wrong side of the line.

After deciding to move, Carol and Stephen had determined that they wanted to live in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire. The couple described the most in-depth, broad and varied housing search of all of the respondents and were one of the few households to conduct an active search for housing outside of the borough, viewing a number of properties and actively comparing various aspects of different neighbourhoods and different homes, both inside and outside of Doncaster.

The couple had a previous connection with Doncaster as they had visited the borough on a number of occasions for craft fairs and hobbies. Doncaster was also considered to be relatively well-placed for accessing a wide range of locations within the country and abroad and, given the couple's enthusiasm for travelling, this was a significant source of attraction to the borough:

We knew Doncaster was only a few minutes down the road [from their previous home], but we wanted to... get to the motorway in 10minutes because... we like to go across to Europe... from [previous town] it was 40 minutes before you even get out of the motorway... So this takes 40 minutes off the journey ... That 40 minutes makes the world of difference.'

Carol, Newcomer, Branton

When compared with the other respondents' stories outlined above, Carol and Stephen also had relatively few restrictions on where they could live. The retired couple do not have any dependents. They commented that while Doncaster would shorten the distance to visit relatives, this was not a primary reason for choosing to live in the borough, and they were not drawn by situated relationships. As such, when compared with other households in the study, Carol and Stephen were relatively free to pursue their lifestyle pursuits without external obligations, and free from employment-related time restrictions on finding a home.

Similarly, Terry and his wife described relatively few restrictions when choosing to move to Doncaster. The couple have lived for their whole lives within South Yorkshire, and for the majority of this time in a village under 10 miles away from Doncaster. When the couple decided to marry, they were unable to afford to buy a property in the village and decided to leave and purchase elsewhere in South Yorkshire. As soon as they could afford it, Terry and his wife returned to the village in which they had met, where they remained until moving to Doncaster. After their two children had both left home, moving to other parts of the country, Terry and his wife decided to downsize as they no longer wanted to live in a family home. Terry described how, over time, his satisfaction with living in the village had changed, which was partially due to his perception of the changing population in the village. He recalled a visit to the local pub:

I'd gone to school there, lived there all of my life virtually **and going there, I wouldn't see...that I knew. Everybody moved away...** you could go in there and nobody would speak to you unless you were with friends who you went there with already.

Terry, Newcomer-Repeater, Tickhill

In addition, there had been several changes to the village which, in Terry's opinion changed the character of the village, influencing the enjoyment of his home:

It was a small village but then... **Rotherham council spoilt it.** They built loads of housing estates in it, round it and it's really, well if you go through it now they've put a dual carriageway through the middle of it and it's like you've got two separate villages. We lived right up against one of these dual carriageways

when we were in [village] and oh! It was deafening... .. we liked living there, we've got a lot of friends there, got family there as well but when... when we go back now...we're glad we've moved.

Terry, Newcomer-Repeater, Tickhill

As Terry describes, whilst he still had relationships within [village], the physical changes to the village prompted him to consider looking for a home elsewhere. Terry described that he chose Tickhill in particular, as it reminded him of the way that [village] used to be. As he stated:

What I liked about Tickhill was **it reminded me of what [village] was like when I was a kid** because I was born there and – **it seemed a small village and everybody sort of knew you and so you had to behave yourself otherwise somebody always knew who your mum was** and.... We had a cub group of... I think there was about ten of us, so it was a small village

Terry, Newcomer-Repeater, Tickhill

Terry describes wanting to move to Tickhill due to a sense of nostalgia which he felt in the village, which reminded him of the place where he grew up. Terry's search was restricted to one particular village within Doncaster and decisions about where to live in Doncaster are discussed in more detail in the following chapter and this factor will not be expanded on in detail here where the focus is on borough – level in-ward migration.

Unlike Carol and Stephen, Terry still works in [village] and commutes each day from Doncaster, although he will soon retire. When choosing where to live, Terry needed to be close to his place of work, but he did not consider moving outside of South Yorkshire. Like Carol and Stephen, the characteristics and amenities of Doncaster drew Terry to consider living in the borough, rather than primarily employment-related reasons or situated relationships.

9.7 Housing supply, new-build housing and the decision to live in Doncaster

Thus far, this chapter has outlined the stories presented by respondents relating to their decision to live in Doncaster, exploring the ways in which personal ambitions and needs interacted with the ambitions and needs of others. The chapter has outlined a range of factors which drew respondents to Doncaster and thus far, none of the descriptions have focused on housing as a primary driver of inward mobility into the borough.

Interviews with both *Returns* and *Newcomers* suggest that the housing supply in Doncaster, including new-build housing and the relative affordability of housing in the borough was a relatively minor, although not insubstantial influencing factor in returners' decision to move to Doncaster. Several respondent did refer to a price differential between Doncaster and elsewhere, in which Doncaster was placed favourably. Victoria, for example, described housing as cheaper in Doncaster than in Sheffield. She commented that her household would not be able to afford the same lifestyle in Sheffield they can enjoy in Doncaster. However, this factor was posed at interview as an additional advantage, as opposed to a reason for moving to the borough, and it was mentioned only in passing. Similarly, for Richard, the relative affordability of housing in Doncaster when compared to Essex, along with his partner's situated ties to the borough were the primary driver in choosing to move to Doncaster. Most commonly, the decision to live within Doncaster, however, was decided prior to, and separately from, the choice of home in the borough.

For two respondents who came to Doncaster on their most recent move, housing, and new-build housing in particular, was undoubtedly a substantial influence on the decision to move to (or return to) Doncaster and the pathways of these respondents are discussed below.

Jamie, a *Returner*, moved from a town in South Yorkshire, and related his decision to move to Doncaster to new-build housing in particular. Whilst Jamie was living outside of Doncaster, he continued to work in the borough, and it was on his commute to work that Jamie noticed signs for the new-build housing development at Finningley. Jamie had left Doncaster to live with his partner in another South Yorkshire town. However, he never felt comfortable living in the town, owing to his perception of the people there. As he stated:

I'm not a fan of [previous town]. They [Doncaster and current town] are quite different in terms of the people. There is a lot of social housing in the area although we were up in the private accommodation - lots of council properties ...there wasn't a massive difference in terms of crime rates, but a big difference in just the general people. They seem to be a bit more...I can't think of the word but I'm sure you get my meaning....

Jamie did not connect with others in his partner's hometown, preferring the company of people from Doncaster. He was running a business from Doncaster and accordingly, Jamie may have had a latent desire to return to Doncaster without entering into a housing search. However, his awareness of the new housing development appears to have motivated the search and prompted the move. As he stated:

We really weren't intending to move at that point in time...I worked...close to airport on the airport estate and I was passing signs about a new housing development, so I drove down there and at looked the properties, which were really nice, which prompted us to look at the show house, which then prompted us to looking more seriously into moving here. I doubt the decision was made long after that.

Jamie, Returner, Finningley

As such, new-build housing itself was influential in Jamie's decision to return to Doncaster, allowing him to act on a latent desire to move where other dissatisfactions relating to his relationship with his new neighbourhood and proximity to work existed. As will be discussed in the following chapter, awareness of new-build developments was an important factor for many respondents when moving within Doncaster, but for now, it is important to note that awareness of the development did attract and motivate one move into the borough.

Of the *Newcomers*, only one - Sylvia, explicitly associated her decision to move to Doncaster with the housing supply in the borough. For Sylvia, the housing provision in Doncaster and the relative affordability of properties were key drivers in choosing to live in Doncaster.

Sylvia is a retired widow who lives alone in a three-bedroomed property in Lakeside. On her most recent move, Sylvia came to Doncaster from Sheffield. Sylvia's main reasons for moving according to her household survey was that she was looking for a larger home, and specifically wanted a new-build home. On the surface, Sylvia's decision to relocate to Doncaster appears to have been a relatively simple economic calculation; to obtain a suitable property she was willing to relocate to Doncaster from Sheffield, where she was able to find a larger, new-build property for a lower price than she could in Sheffield. Biographical information provided by Sylvia at interview however, outlined a much more complex story, and a wide range of factors contributing to her decision to move to the borough.

Sylvia grew up in Lincolnshire, but had lived for most of her adult life in the south of the country, moving to a range of different locations. Sylvia and her husband worked in the catering industry for the majority of their careers, living primarily in accommodation linked to their place of employment. The couple had two daughters who both left home, attended university, married and started families of their own, one in Sheffield, and one in Brighton. Sadly, a number of years ago Sylvia's husband passed away and, shortly afterwards, the company where the couple had worked went bankrupt. As such, Sylvia was left in a position where she had to find a new place to live, at a time when she had faced a major change in her life. In determining where to live, Sylvia decided that she would like to move back to the north of the country. She was originally from the north and she considers the people in the north to have a 'sharpness' and a 'humour' which she missed whilst living in the south of the country.

Sylvia's eldest daughter was living in Sheffield, bringing up a young family and, limiting her search primarily to this area, Sylvia managed to find a job with associated accommodation within the city. This continuation of her previous living arrangements of live-in accommodation was comforting and helpful to Sylvia as she found herself living alone after the death of her husband: 'it was a living-in job which was safe and it was good after my husband died'. But she began to question her housing choice and living arrangements: 'I suddenly thought I haven't actually got a house, you know? I don't own anything... and nowhere to sort of get away to because it was a living-in job.'

Dissatisfied with her living arrangements and feeling the pressure of a full-time catering job, Sylvia left her job to take a part-time administration role and bought her own two-bedroomed property in Sheffield. The property was the first that she had owned and, during the interview, Sylvia talked about this home with a sense of nostalgia and a fondness. As she stated:

It was the first house I had owned... it was *my* house, not anybody else's, you know what I mean?... so I think that's probably why it holds a thing in my heart really (laughs).

Sadly, shortly after she moved to Sheffield, Sylvia's eldest daughter passed away, leaving behind her husband and two children. Since the passing of her daughter, Sylvia has sought to support her son-in-law by playing a more active role in providing childcare for her grandchildren.

Sylvia's son-in-law is not able to take time away from work to look after the children during school holidays and Sylvia cares for the children during these periods. Sylvia's property in Sheffield was not large enough to accommodate her grandchildren over the holidays and so it became a requirement that she seek a larger property. Sylvia's home in Sheffield, whilst sentimentally important to her, was also an older property and she found that she was increasingly spending time and money maintaining the property, a factor which became increasingly pertinent since retirement. As she stated:

It was going to become a bit of a nightmare...keeping it up...because when you retire (I retired when Lydia died)... I went to go and look after the boys to help Michael get back on his feet three days a week ...I'd retired really and so when you retire you haven't got quite as much money as you had... you didn't notice the leaks and things because you've got the money to spend to do it but now...I haven't so I've got to be quite careful (laughing).

As such, Sylvia found that as she and the property aged, their compatibility reduced. The ongoing costs of maintaining an older property was becoming increasingly burdensome and, looking to the future she anticipated that this situation would worsen and 'become a bit of a nightmare'.

Sylvia began looking for a property in Sheffield but was unable to find suitable new-build developments and she was constrained financially as a result of her retirement, limiting the range of properties and areas that Sylvia was able to consider in her search. Sylvia's younger daughter and her son-in-law agreed to help her financially with purchasing a property and, in searching for her new home, this factor influenced her decisions relating to where to live. As she stated:

There was a budget... it makes it very difficult...if you want a three-bedroomed house with two double bedrooms, **you are looking at quite a lot of money and as your children are helping you buy it...**

When visiting a close friend in Doncaster, Sylvia saw the development at Lakeside and decided to view properties there. She was impressed with the connectivity and convenience of Doncaster and Lakeside, and felt that the development would allow her grandchildren a suitable place to visit during the holidays, owing to the amenities in the local area. Sylvia was not able to find a property which met her housing needs within her budget in Sheffield, although as she stated:

I would have preferred it to be in Sheffield if I could because I loved it... I think Sheffield is a great city but there was just nothing ...**practically there wasn't anywhere** [affordable, three-bed new-builds] and I'm happy, I mean I like it here...it's very nice...as you can see it's beautiful round here and the lakeside and the facilities, as the boys are the ages they are now - 12 and 9...if they go on their bikes down there and round the lake...we go bowling and swimming...so they love it'

9.7.1 Sylvia's decision to live in Doncaster

The primary reasons for Sylvia moving to Doncaster related to the housing supply in Doncaster and the relative affordability of a three-bedroomed new-build property compared to Sheffield. When taken at face value, it could appear that a model of housing choice based on economic rationality was applicable to Sylvia's narrative – she was willing to relocate to access a suitable property in a suitable neighbourhood for an acceptable price and these issues certainly were important drivers in Sylvia's decision to move. However, as the sections above have illustrated, her decision was inextricably linked with a wide range of influences.

Alongside her immediate housing and amenity needs, Sylvia's decision was also driven by her previous experiences and relationships with people and places and was inherently influenced by longitudinal, relational and structural factors (Findlay et al., 2015). For example, Sylvia might not have moved to Doncaster had she not had a close friend in Doncaster, who she was visiting when she saw the development at Lakeside. Similarly, she may not have moved to Doncaster, had she not originally been from the north of the country and had a desire to return. She may not have returned to the north had her husband not passed away and the business she was working for not gone bankrupt. She may not have chosen to move to Sheffield previously had her daughter not been living there. Had she not lost her daughter, she may not have needed a larger home to house her grandchildren. It is not possible to hypothesise on the exact influence that these factors had on Sylvia's decision to move to Doncaster, but in revealing her housing pathway, Sylvia explicitly linked these events and circumstances to her decisions about when to move and where to live. Her move to Doncaster appears to have been as dependent on her history and relationships, as it was on her current and future needs.

The complexity of influences outlined in Sylvia's story highlights the ways in which, despite being the sole decision-maker within her household, her mobility decisions were influenced by relationships with others outside her household, her relationships with people and places, the wider economic and housing context in which her decisions were made and her changing needs over the life course. As

such, despite the over-simplification inherent in the translation of a housing biography to the interviewer, and the further simplification of presenting the information relayed here, it is clear that Sylvia's decision to move to Doncaster was far more complex than a simple economic calculation.

9.8 Chapter summary

Using cross sectional analysis of biographical interview data, this chapter has explored respondents' 'pathways' to Doncaster, examining the types of factors which drew residents to the borough, and the ways in which these decisions were situated in respondents' life course. As the findings presented in the chapter have demonstrated, respondents were not acting as footloose, rational economic agents, but rather mobility decisions were found to be complex and deeply embedded within changing relationships with people and places over time. In choosing to move to Doncaster, respondents were reacting to a wide range of longitudinal, relational and structural factors, based on their own histories, experiences and preferences and the intersection between these needs and the needs of others. Here, situated relationships, emotional attachments and 'location-specific capital' (DaVanzo, 1981; Mulder and Wagner, 2012) were found to be particularly influential.

It is difficult to quantify the exact extent to which new-build housing was responsible for attracting newcomers to the borough. However, whilst the housing supply and relative affordability of homes in Doncaster were considered important to several movers, in practice, these factors appear to have been a relatively minor consideration when compared with other influences. When combined with findings as presented in Chapter 8, these factors would suggest that changes to local housing supply may be a relatively inefficient approach to attracting the inward migration of newcomers, and this appears to be related to incorrect assumptions associated with mobility drivers.

The following chapter considers mobility at the meso scale in more detail.

Chapter 10 New-builds and neighbourhoods – moving in, moving up, moving on

10.1 Introduction

Chapters 8 and 9 were primarily concerned with moves into Doncaster and mobility at the borough level. This chapter moves to the meso scale, examining in more detail moves at the sub-borough level and the factors that were important when choosing a home and neighbourhood in Doncaster.

As discussed in Chapter 3, and in the conceptual framework in Chapter 5, both intervention (for example, housing construction) and household moves have the potential to impact change at the neighbourhood level. The first part of the chapter examines the moves that households made into the study sites in Doncaster, and the ways in which individuals discussed these decisions. The purpose here is not to produce a quantitative analysis of the process of housing choice, or the ways in which different preferences were prioritised, but rather to explore the ways in which respondents spoke about their decision to live in particular developments in Doncaster, the types of moves they made and the ways these moves were understood.

Situating mobility decisions within a life course framework, the chapter thus tells respondents' 'arrival stories' (Savage et al., 2005, p. 90), that is, 'their accounts of how they came to live in their current residence'. Together, the accounts of respondents provided through interviews and survey responses serve to build up a picture of residents, neighbourhoods and mobility into and within Doncaster, highlighting issues of neighbourhood change within the borough and how these processes relate to new-build housing.

10.2 Moves into Doncaster's towns and villages

Table 10.1 below shows the percentage of the survey sample who moved to each of the developments in the study. As described in Chapter 8, 71% of most recent moves were from within Doncaster and 29% of movers came from outside of Doncaster on their most recent move. This proportion of movers was relatively consistent across neighbourhood areas, with the exception of Bentley, which had no incoming movers, and Branton, where just over two-thirds of respondents had moved to the neighbourhood from outside of the borough. Given the relatively low number of responses relating to moves at the neighbourhood level, differences between the neighbourhoods must be viewed with caution, but these figures do suggest some potential differences in the relative potential of different neighbourhoods to attract newcomers.

Table 10.1: Moves into and around Doncaster by development

Development	Total moves to n'hood	Internal moves(no.)	Internal moves (%)	Incoming moves (no.)	Incoming moves (%)
Auckley	10	7	70%	3	30%
Bentley	3	3	100%	0	0%
Branton	6	2	33%	4	67%
Carr Lodge Estate*	7	5	71%	2	29%
Edenthorpe	6	5	83%	1	17%
Finningley	12	9	75%	3	25%

Lakeside*	25	18	69%	7	31%
Tickhill	7	5	71%	2	29%
Total	75	54	71%	22	29%

* one respondent from each of these areas did not provide information relating to previous moves

The geographical distribution of moves within the borough is illustrated in Figure 10.1, which shows all moves *within* Doncaster leading to a move to a new-build home. As such, for some respondents, up to 3 household moves (where they each occurred within the borough) are mapped.

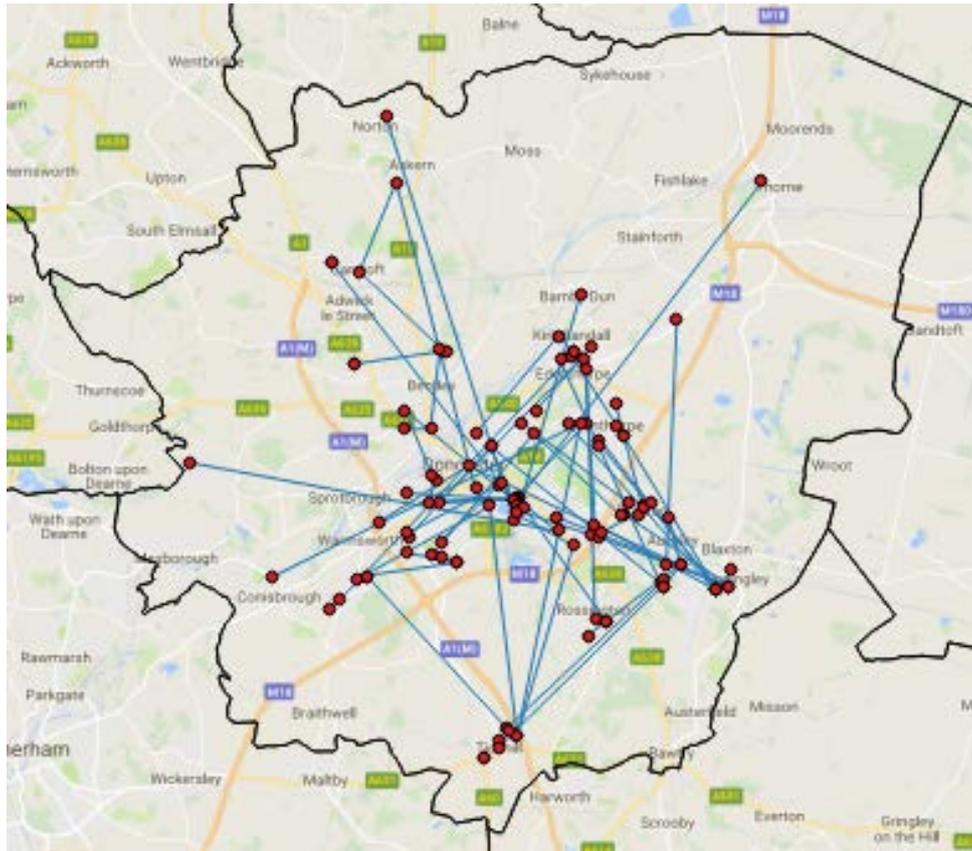


Figure 10.1: Map of all moves within Doncaster leading to a move to a new-build home

Figure 10.1 demonstrates the short distance covered in many household moves and accordingly the relatively short distance between many of the homes of respondents. Whilst the highest concentrations of mover addresses unsurprisingly are in the case study areas, (Auckley, Bentley, Branton, Carr Lodge Estate, Edenthorpe, Finningley, Lakeside and Tickhill), the map reveals some additional clusters. For example in Edlington to the south-west of the town centre, in Carcroft to the northwest, Rossington towards the south of the borough and Armthorpe to the northwest, areas which are all ex-mining towns and villages within Doncaster. The map shows that new-build housing within the study has attracted movers from within the borough from a wide range of geographical areas. Figure 10.2- 10.9 below show the moves within Doncaster that culminated in a move to a new-build home within one of the case study areas, arranged by neighbourhood.

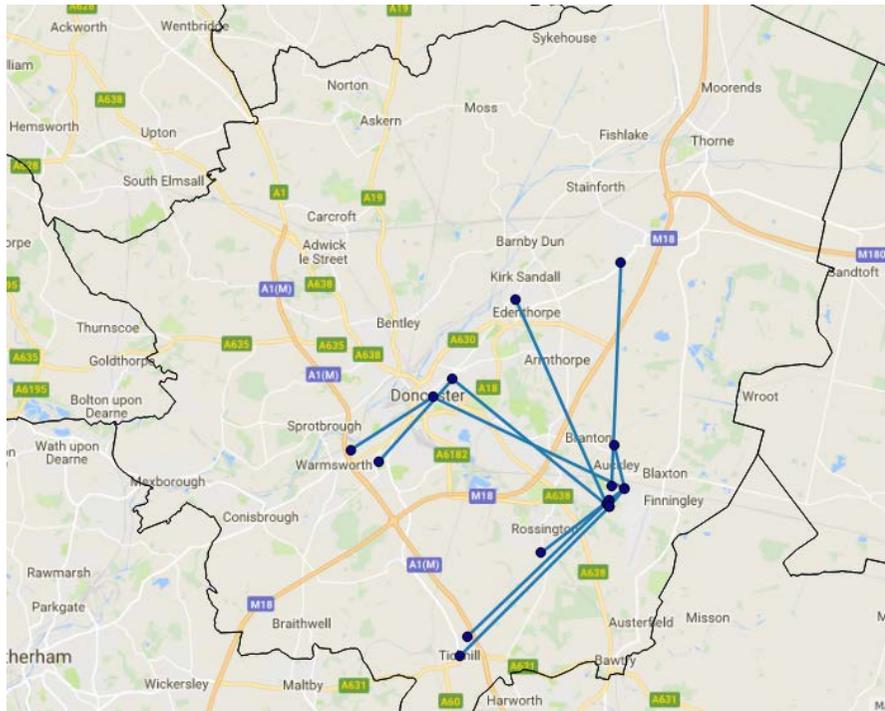


Figure 10.2: Map of moves within Doncaster to Auckley

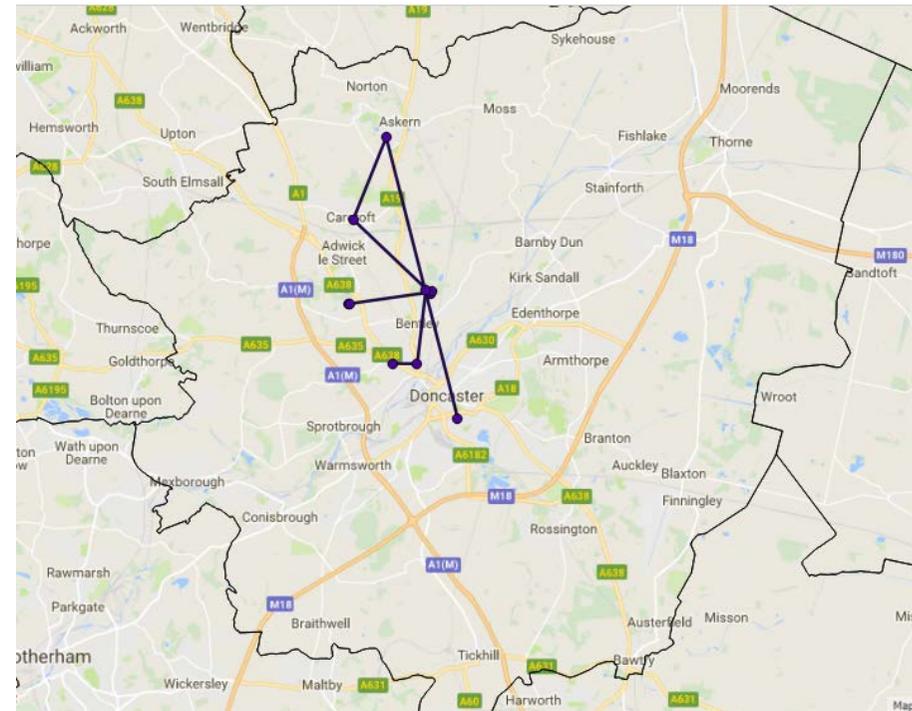


Figure 10.3: Map of moves within Doncaster to Bentley

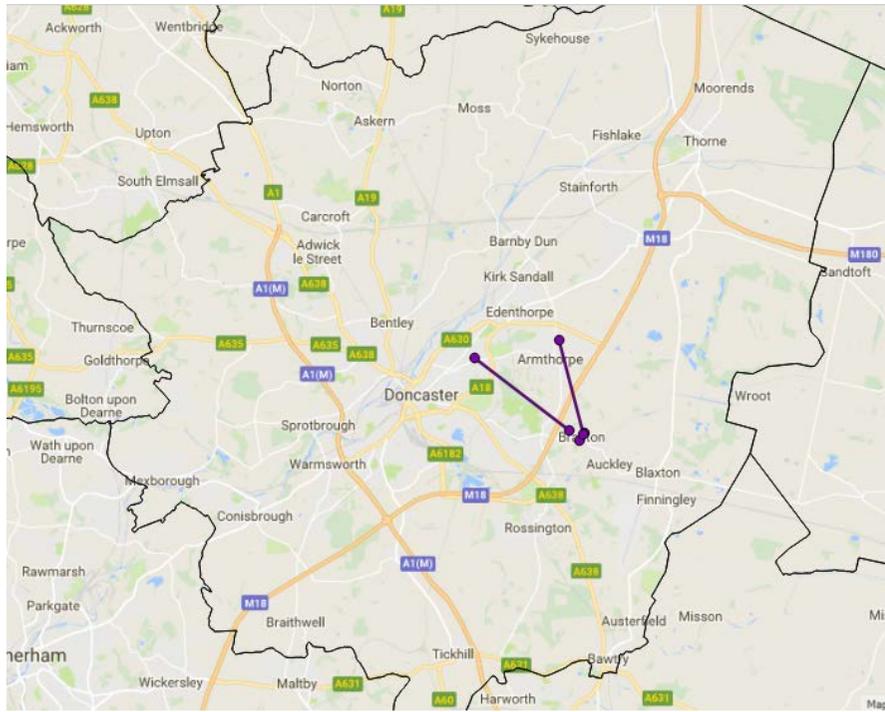


Figure 10.4: Map of moves within Doncaster to Branton

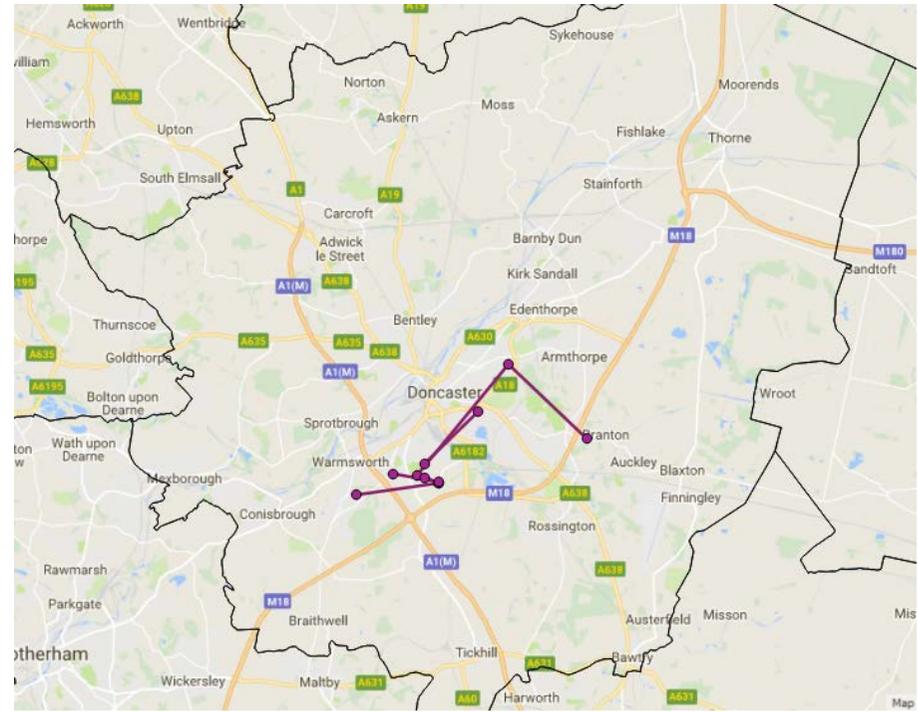


Figure 10.5: Map of moves within Doncaster to Carr Lodge Estate

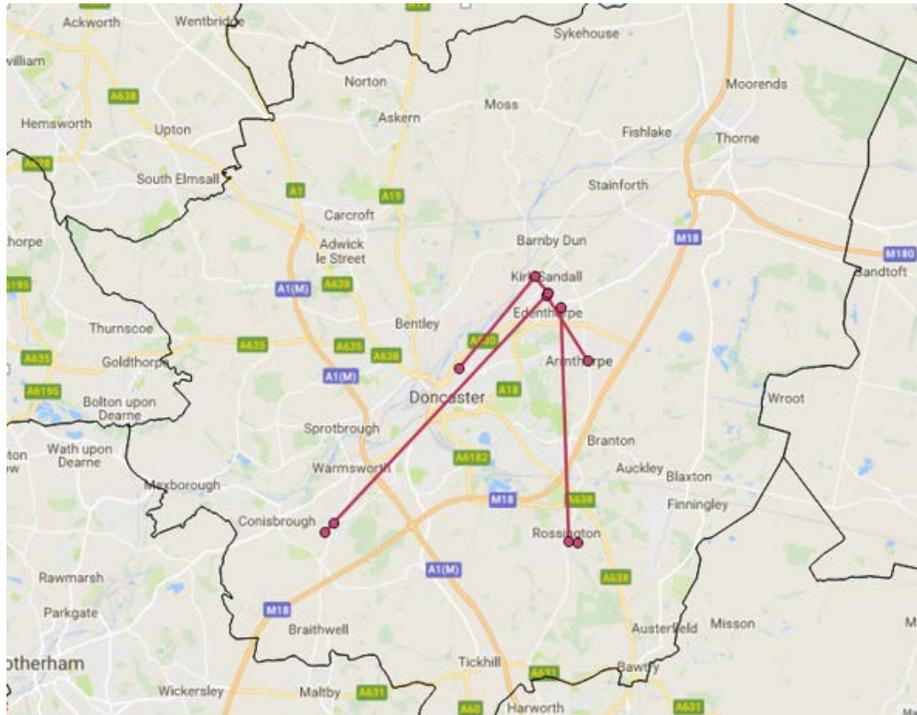


Figure 10.6: Map of moves within Doncaster to Edenthorpe

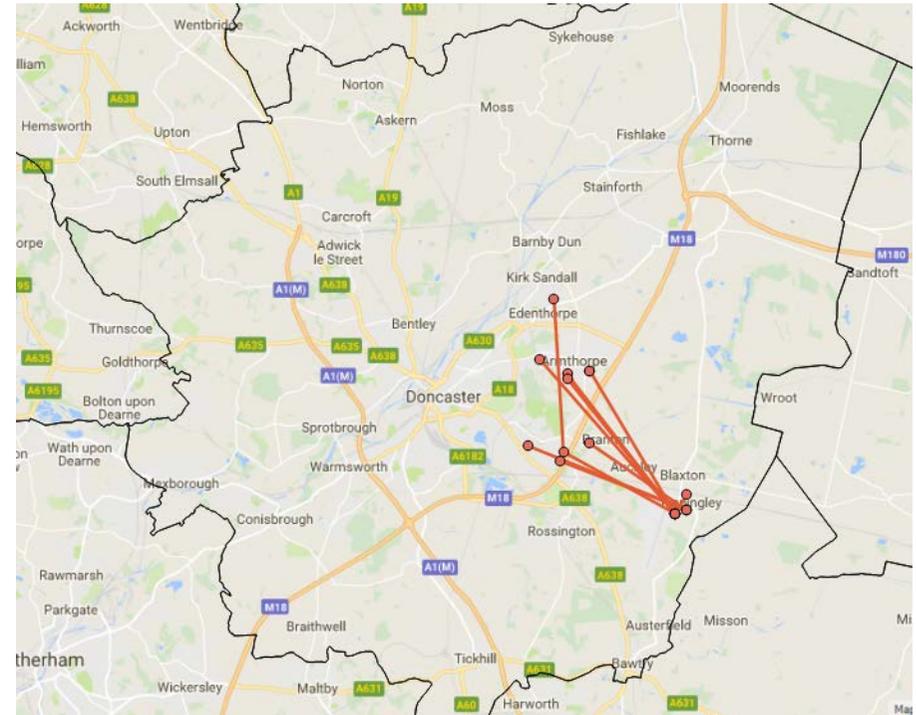


Figure 10.7: Map of moves within Doncaster to Finningley

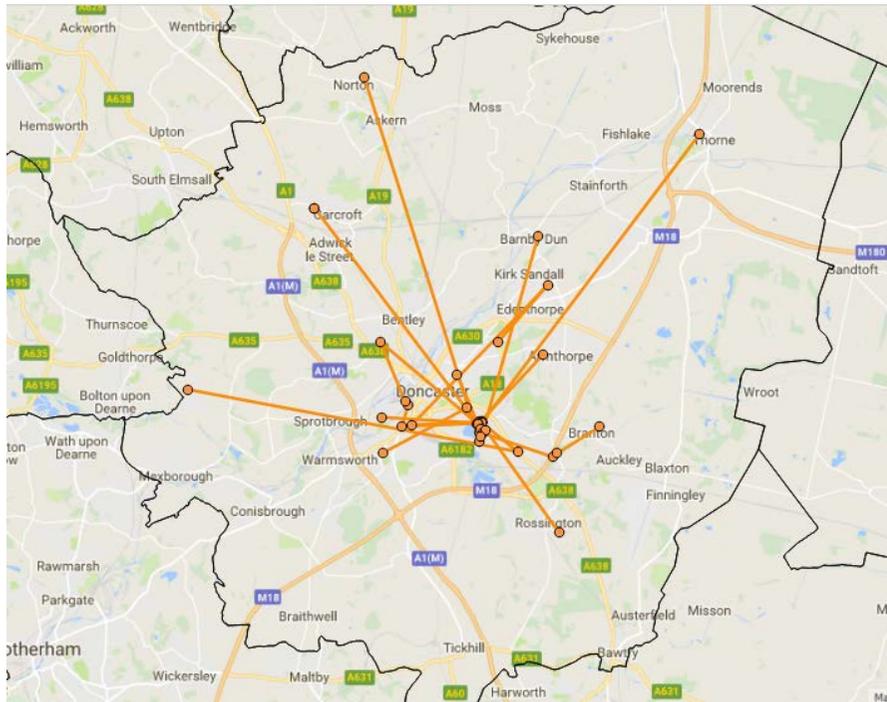


Figure 10.8: Map of moves within Doncaster to Lakeside

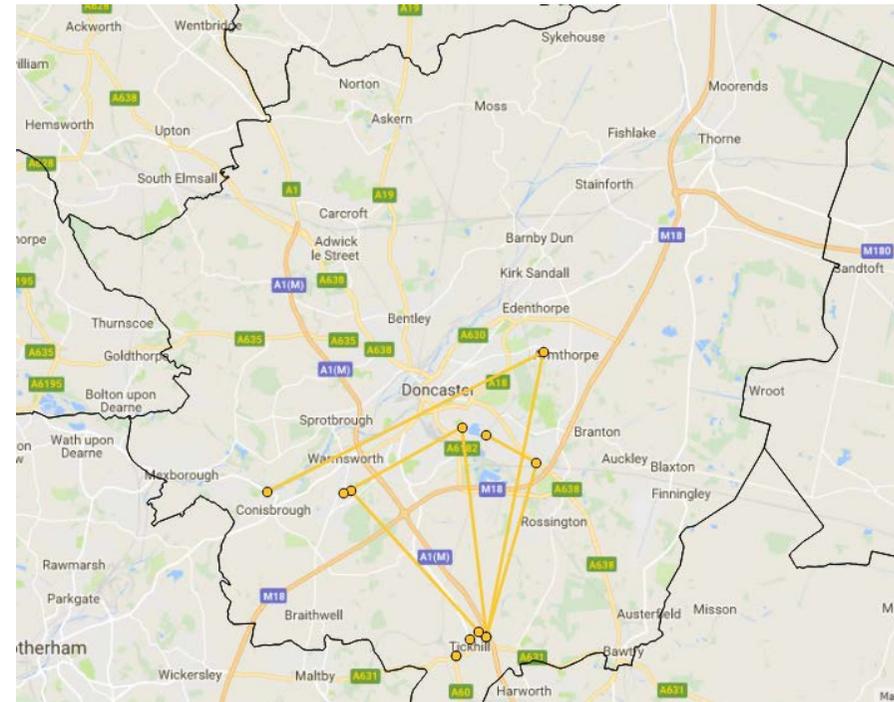


Figure 10.9: Map of moves within Doncaster to Tickhill

When moves inside Doncaster are mapped according to the destination development, patterns of moves within Doncaster begin to emerge. Movers from inside Doncaster typically came from areas that were relatively close to their current neighbourhood, with few instances of respondents crossing the borough to live in a new-build home. There appears to be a south-east to north-east axis across Doncaster which, in the majority of cases, was not crossed by movers. Respondents in the village locations to the south and southeast of the borough (Auckley, Branton, Finningley, Tickhill) typically moved from other locations within the south and southeast of the borough, and those moving to Bentley typically moved within the north of the borough, for example. The exception to this rule is Lakeside, which attracted in-migration from respondents from across the borough.

The household survey asked respondents to provide information about the neighbourhoods within Doncaster that they considered in their housing search, and the neighbourhoods that they did not consider, alongside reasons for these choices. Broadly, these preferences correlated with the patterns of actual moves made, whereby respondents were often ruling out specific towns and villages within Doncaster, as well as geographical areas of the borough when searching for housing (survey responses relating to neighbourhoods considered and not considered 'location-preference maps' are provided in Appendix D of this document).

In aggregate, information provided by respondents relating to their reasons for considering, or not considering particular areas within Doncaster, revealed substantial (although not universal) agreement amongst respondents about the characteristics of some of Doncaster's towns and villages. Some patterns emerged whereby respondents in aggregate were assigning similar descriptors to particular towns, neighbourhoods and villages in Doncaster, using these as reasons for considering or discounting areas within Doncaster in their housing search.

As explained in the introduction to the chapter, in order to explore neighbourhood moves and selection, this chapter makes use of Savage et al.'s (2005, p.90) concept of 'arrival stories'. Savage et al. (2005) stated, of respondents' arrival stories in their study of neighbourhoods in Manchester:

These were partly functional accounts presented in terms of the demands of job and family, but they also invoked occasions for musing and personal reflection, whereby respondents talked of their own lives as implicated in the choice of places to live (p. 90).

In respondents arrival stories here there was a similar reflection, where movers discussed not only the physical, functional and practical considerations involved with neighbourhood selection, but also the social, historical and symbolic meaning of these choices, and the ways in which these factors intersected with aspects of their own life course. In other words: 'personal narratives of what matters' (Mason, 2004, p.64). When combined, information from the household survey and biographical semi-structured interviews also revealed stories about Doncaster and its neighbourhoods as they were understood by respondents. As Feijten et al. (2008) stated, 'having lived in a place may...change the awareness of and attitudes towards the type of residential environment it offers' (p142). Survey and interview data revealed that many movers were long-term or life-long residents of the borough, whilst others were returning respondents who had left the borough, moving back at a later date. Local knowledge, and in particular knowledge of a 'pecking order' (Savage et al., 2005, p.91) of neighbourhoods and developments was clearly presented in interviews and several movers in the study discussed neighbourhoods and neighbourhood selection within the context of their perceived position of desirability in *relation* to other neighbourhoods within Doncaster.

The sections below describe the ways in which respondents discussed their decisions to move into particular settlements in Doncaster. The discussion is divided by neighbourhood and the following sections discuss: Arrival stories from Bentley; Arrival stories from Carr Lodge; Arrival stories from Lakeside and Arrival stories from the outlying villages (which discusses moves into Auckley, Branton Finningley and Tickhill). The discussion below shows the ways in which respondents expressed preferences and how these preferences were shaped by life course factors in the housing search. What emerged was a range of images of the different types of community in Doncaster and stories relating to how respondents saw themselves in relation to these communities, and to Doncaster as a whole.

10.3 Arrival stories from Bentley

When outlining the areas that they would or would not consider living in, Doncaster's pit villages and towns as well as built up areas in the centre of Doncaster, were repeatedly described by respondents as unattractive places to live. In describing these areas, survey and interview respondents spoke negatively of both the perceived physical characteristics of these areas describing them as 'grey', 'run down', 'built up' and the perceived social characteristics of these areas including 'high crime', 'social housing', 'poor'. Survey responses showed that when deciding where to live, many respondents were looking to avoid the centre of Doncaster and the borough's pit towns and villages. Interviewees - in particular those who had lived in Doncaster for a long time - characterised these areas as being in a state of decline, marked by a lack of investment and a growing legacy of neglect, with several respondents leaving Doncaster's pit villages at the most recent move and others describing leaving on earlier moves.

As outlined in Chapter 6, this study included one ex-mining village, Bentley, and it is notable that all three interviewees currently living in Bentley had moved either from within Bentley (Dean) or from other nearby ex-mining towns and villages in the north of Doncaster (Hayley, Naomi). No other *Remaining, Returning or Newcomers* moved to the development at Bentley, or reported considering it in their search. Several respondents specifically stated that they would not consider living in Bentley, with one respondent commenting 'not even in the new-builds'. The reasons that respondents gave for choosing to live in a new-build home in Bentley are described below.

Dean has always lived in the northwest of Doncaster, in Scawsby, Cusworth, Scawthorpe and Bentley and his parents, grandparents and siblings all live within a three-mile radius of his new home. Dean and his partner were living in rented accommodation in Bentley prior to their most recent move. Dean explained that they had considered moving, and had begun saving for a deposit as they wanted to move into home ownership. However, the couple did not engage in an active search until they became aware of the new-build properties in Bentley:

We just really came down for a look, we looked round the show house and fell in love with them and basically just bought there and then. **It were more of a spur of the moment than actually...anything that we took a long hard think about.'**

Dean, Remainer, Bentley

Where Dean had strong situated attachments to a particular area in Doncaster, he was not willing to consider moving far, and the new-build homes provided him an opportunity to move into home ownership, through the Help to Buy scheme, without moving away from his relatives. For Dean, the existence of new-build housing locally allowed him to act upon a latent desire to move, whilst not requiring him to leave the area where he has situated attachments. Upon hearing that Dean and his partner had bought a new property at Bentley, his parents also decided to buy in the same development.

Similarly, Naomi who has always lived in the northwest of Doncaster – in Bentley, Carcroft and Hyde Park – stated that she was keen to remain local at her most recent house move. Naomi is a social housing tenant and was able to access her home through the council's bidding system. Naomi lives with her partner, and her two children from a former relationship. When Naomi had another child,

and her partner's daughter moved into their home, they needed to relocate due to overcrowding. Naomi also cares for her elderly parents who are in poor health and her continued residence within the north of Doncaster allowed her to fulfil those roles.

Hayley moved from a small ex-mining village in the north of Doncaster to Bentley at her most recent move. As outlined in Chapter 9, she moved to the borough when she was 17, leaving her mother's home. Hayley lived with her partner Pete and his parents in a council property until a household dispute led Hayley and her partner to leave and apply to the council for a property of their own. They were able to quickly find a home in the same village, where they were to live for over 15 years. During the interview, Hayley described the close-knit, but insular community:

It was an ex-pit village. It was sort of the original pit village built for Brodsworth pit before they built Woodlands and all that ...so it was basically terraced housing, a lot of it was still coal fires. Predominantly council owned, a lot of council tenants. It's one of them kind of places that was, **if you're in, you're in. Everybody is either related or knows each other, there's sort of three or four main big families** that...predominantly control the... the village they call it.

Hayley, Newcomer-repeater, Bentley

Hayley, as an outsider found this insularity restrictive, despite long-term residence in the village. Her account featured several descriptions of specific incidents to illustrate these feelings, including this one:

It's a village, it's a community, everybody sort of sticks together. If you're in there, you're in there. If you're not then you know about it, you get your house set on fire, you get murdered...that's not a joke. I remember we lived up there at the time, I think it was about 2004, 2005. There was a man that had moved in...nobody knew him and then basically...there's a big obsession with paedophiles, there's a lot of people with young children that are basically spitting them out to go on benefits and they all sort of, 'who's he? He's weird. We don't like the look of him. He's a paedophile.' Next thing you know someone's caved his head in with an hammer and he's dead...**if you're not from round there and you don't fit in you really don't fit in, so it were quite a scary place at times.**

Hayley developed strong relationships with some of the others living in the village - her partner has grown up in the community, and through him, she was able to build connections with others in the neighbourhood which made her feel less unsafe:

A lot of Pete's family still live up there - his cousins are up there, and his cousins are known. Basically if anybody you knew disrespected his family then that's the end of it...so **we had a level of protection...** It sounds like something out of a gangster movie doesn't it? But that's really what it were like.

However, she increasingly felt isolated within the neighbourhood, observing that the actions and experiences of others did not match up with her own. This perception appears to have been driven by Hayley's sense of self-identity and her incongruity with others in her neighbourhood. Hayley described the experience of getting up in the morning and seeing curtains on her street still closed. This symbolised to Hayley a difference between herself and others in her neighbourhood; where she was working, others were not. As she described, 'I'd been brought up as ... you work for a living, you pay your way, you earn and you knuckle down and you get on with it...That's always been the attitude I'd

been brought up with'. This perception of herself stood in contrast to her impression of her neighbours who were, 'laying in bed and feeding off the taxes that I'm paying into the system'.

Hayley's interview was characterised by a theme of moving up and improving. She discussed her move to Doncaster and her spell as an apprentice beautician, which was followed by a string of unstable, poorly paid employment positions through which she was struggling for money with low levels of disposable income. Hayley is now an area manager for a large manufacturing company and as her career progressed, her sense of incongruity strengthened. As she said:

It got to the point where I were buying cars that were worth more than the house we lived in... I don't think it's so much the 'snob factor' but it were... **we don't belong round here** anymore.

She described others living in the village:

I don't want to use the word inbreeds but they were kind of... 'so and so is going out with so-and-so's cousin who is their mate and had their kid and it were their son' and... it were like hillbillies. There were some of them that really were like hillbillies. It were awful in that sense but like I said we were... because of the familiarity of it all and because we knew them to avoid and who we could talk to... it weren't too bad.

Whilst Hayley stated that her desire to move was not related to the 'snob factor', at this stage, Hayley began to feel embarrassed living in her former neighbourhood:

With the level of career that I've progressed to. It's a bit embarrassing to say I'm from [previous neighbourhood]. 'What do you do for a job? 'Oh I'm a general manager' 'What? What are you doing in [previous neighbourhood]?' (laughs)

Hayley described how her sister (who is 'a bit of a snob') would not allow her children to visit Hayley whilst she was living in her previous village, and Hayley wanted to live in a larger home so that her nieces and nephews could visit. Additionally, Hayley and her partner want to start a family and she considered her former neighbourhood an inappropriate place to raise a family:

We want to start a family and have kids but not in an area that's surrounded by people that have got the wrong attitude towards family life and family circumstances... obviously there's a lot of horror stories... I didn't want to have a child in an area, in an environment that would be put through not necessarily those circumstances itself but be witnessing that from around where they live and it sort of being a cultural thing of... basically neglect and that kind of thing which happens a lot round there.

Hayley started to think about moving, and began to look for properties in the local area. She restricted the search to the north of Doncaster; in particular Woodlands and Adwick. Hayley is interested in local history and spoke at some length about the mining communities in the north of Doncaster and the growth of the towns and villages based around Brodsworth Pit. She discussed the ways in which the various stages of growth from the mining industry had led to the expansion of the towns, about the houses for the supervisors and the separate areas for the workers. But she also talked about decline in the area, stating that 'it all fell to bits in the '80s and '90s'. She commented on the decline of the area and the associated negative reputation but also did not want to move from the north of Doncaster, and the area around 'Broddy' pit in particular. These locations were close to her partner's family and would still allow him to cycle to work in Doncaster centre. In addition, they 'knew the area

already' and despite the fact that living elsewhere, as she noted, would have allowed her easier access to her own place of employment in Sheffield.

Hayley was keen to move from their previous home, her partner was less enthusiastic – 'Pete's very much...you've got to force him into things'. When passing through the borough, Hayley noticed the new houses at Bentley and convinced Pete to view the show home. Hayley described the way in which the aesthetics of the new-build, and their contrast with the aesthetics of their previous home helped to convince her partner to consider moving home:

So we had a look round the show house and Pete were like...**his interest sparked because he saw the nice white shiny cupboards and everything chrome and sparkly and nice...** I mean that house that we were living in at the time now feels ... I think it were built in 1903 or summat like that so it were really, really old and... **'lots of character' I think the term for that is (laughing)**. Holes in the ceiling and burst pipes...

Hayley, Newcomer-Repeater, Bentley

When compared with their ageing council property, the modern fixtures and fittings and contemporary décor of the new-build home were particularly attractive, and it was this factor that led Pete to agree to consider a move out of the village in which he had hitherto always lived. After viewing the home, Hayley and her partner decided to put in an offer:

I couldn't sleep that night. All I could think about were this house. He were the same so it were like, 'it's got to be perfect if we're that obsessed with it' - not even being able to sleep because of it, the house is perfect, 'let's just go for it'. So that were it basically, we come down the next day and were like, 'right yeah, go! Reserve! We'll do it!' Paid our deposit there and then.

The move from her previous village to Bentley allowed Hayley to move from somewhere which was tarred with 'such a poor reputation' although, as she stated, 'I thought 'It's Bentley...hmmm' You know, Bentley's not exactly got the best reputation either...it's kind of...out of the frying pan into the fire moving from [previous village] to Bentley (laughing)'. Nevertheless, the move to Bentley was characterised in Hayley's interview as part of a broader narrative of 'moving up' and improving their circumstances moving into an area with a slightly better reputation, where Hayley felt more comfortable. She commented that she liked to see the curtains of her neighbours homes open at seven o'clock and to see them in their cars in the driveway in the morning:

It's nice to go out in a morning, get in your car to go to work and everybody else is doing the same...where I used to live before, I was the only one doing it. Out of...three hundred houses up there, there were me and...a couple of other people that go to work at 7, 8 o'clock in the morning...For the first couple of weeks I just could not get my head around it, it was so weird. But...everybody's got their routine in the morning... it's nice because you know that everybody's actually going to work and doing something.

Residence in the town also allowed her to access the nature reserve close to the village - a benefit of Bentley also highlighted by Dean – and access to a pub. She stated 'You couldn't really use the pub that were near [previous village] because it were full of people from [previous village](laughing)'.

Amongst residents who had moved to Bentley as a whole – although there were only three – situated attachments and relationships appear to have been the primary driver in moving to (or within) the

village. Whilst all three of these respondents would potentially have considered living in a similar community in the north of Doncaster, their search was confined to a relatively small geographical area.

It is also notable that outside of the three respondents who moved into Bentley, the high-end new-build development in the village appeared unpopular with other movers, and few reported searching in the area, whilst several explicitly mentioned Bentley as an area to avoid. One respondent wrote of Bentley, that they wouldn't consider the village 'not even in the new-builds'. In the 'pecking order' (Savage et al., 2005 p. 91) of neighbourhoods in Doncaster, Bentley, along with the other ex-mining towns and villages in the borough was typically understood to be near the bottom.

10.4 Arrival stories from Carr Lodge

As described in Chapter 6, Carr Lodge is a development in the relatively deprived ward of Balby. The Carr Lodge estate itself sits outside of the main area of Balby, closer to the relatively affluent neighbourhood of Woodfield Plantation. Carr Lodge was valued by respondents particularly for its proximity to the A1(M), its proximity to Woodfield Plantation and its potential to develop further into an attractive neighbourhood as development at the site continues. Three interview respondents had moved to the Carr Lodge estate; two from inside Doncaster (Natalie and Danielle), and one *Returner*, Victoria.

Danielle is a housing association tenant and as such, she was afforded relatively little freedom in her exact choice of housing location. Danielle has always lived in Doncaster and, prior to her move she had been living in a property in Balby for 17 years. Like Naomi, Danielle needed to move to a larger home owing to an increase in her household size. She put in a bid on a property in Warmsworth, a village to the southwest of Doncaster, and another property in Balby before securing her new home in Carr Lodge. She was keen to remain locally as her family live nearby and her preference was to remain within Balby.

In choosing to return to Doncaster, as discussed previously, Victoria wanted to be closer to her parents in order that they might be able to provide support with caring for future children. She initially viewed three older properties in Sprotborough, where she was originally from and where her parents live, but she also decided to view the development at Carr Lodge. Victoria's husband's employer is based in Leeds, although he works all over the north of the country. In choosing where to live in Doncaster, Victoria and her partner favoured the Carr Lodge estate owing to its proximity to the A1(M), so that her partner could travel to work relatively easily. The couple also bought the property in anticipation of the future development. As outlined in Chapter 6, there are plans for substantial further development at Carr Lodge and this factor, along with the development's proximity to the A1(M) and the new-build home itself, which Victoria and her partner 'fell in love' with, influenced their decision to live in Carr Lodge. As the development was (at the time of interview) in its first stages, and households were still buying and moving into the new homes, Victoria did not comment on her relationship with her neighbours, save to say that they have 'no massive contact', or her connection with her new neighbourhood as a place to live. Rather, her decision was framed in terms of practicality – being close to her family for childcare, whilst still providing access to work, although she was optimistic about future development on the site:

... in the future it would probably be quite a good area to live...the development is still I bet not even half complete so...we were looking to the future as well for the development rather than what's already here because it is a bit of a building site.

Victoria, Returner, Carr Lodge Estate

Natalie, a *Remainer* had for a long while wanted to live in Woodfield Plantation ('the Plantation'), a neighbourhood within Balby which is adjacent to Carr Lodge Estate. Prior to her most recent move, Natalie was living in terraced housing in the ex-mining village of Edlington. She had bought the house with her father's help, and lived in the village for a number of years. Natalie had described a deep discomfort when living in her previous village. She had had disputes with her neighbours over noise and parking spaces and felt uncomfortable in her community. She also felt that her previous neighbourhood was unsafe. As she stated:

Edlington is...an old mining village....If you go into the village it's quite...how can I put it?...**unkempt... nothing's been done up, it's...old pit houses and a lot of council houses** and things like that. **Sometimes I wouldn't even dare go to the shop** because...**just the kinds of people that hang around, a lot of drugs and things like that, and when they closed the police station it got worse.**

Natalie described Edlington as an area which was in decline and which suffered from a poor reputation and in her desire to move to Woodfield Plantation, she was wanting to access a place with a better reputation:

[Woodfield Plantation is a] very, extremely popular area...really, really popular. Everybody were just like...if you spoke to somebody in town, **'Where do you live? Or, where do you want to live?' they always want to live on Lakeside or 'the plantation'**.

She had determined to live in this area and paid close attention to the market, finding that properties in the area are sold relatively quickly. At an earlier stage, Natalie did view a property on the plantation, with the aim of purchasing the house, however, the condition of the property was poor and Natalie did not want to complete the work necessary to renovate the home. Instead of choosing to renovate the existing older properties, Natalie decided instead to wait in Edlington, despite her discomfort, until new-builds became available at the adjacent development at Carr Lodge, whereby she bought a property as soon as she could, off-plan. In Natalie's story, it is clear that there was a discomfort in her previous neighbourhood and after choosing to leave, she had very specific ideas about areas in Doncaster that she would consider living in: this was largely based on reputation or 'symbolic capital'. In choosing to buy her home off plan, Natalie acknowledged that she was taking a risk, but the opportunity to move into the neighbourhood negated this risk. Again, Natalie's arrival story was clearly framed in a narrative of 'moving to improve', where she was choosing to leave a more deprived neighbourhood. In choosing her new neighbourhood, her decision was based not only on the inherent characteristics of the neighbourhood but also on its position in the 'pecking order' (Savage et al., 2005, p. 91), that is, she was aware that the neighbourhood had a positive reputation and this was a central driver in her decision.

10.5 Arrival stories from Lakeside

As stated above, Natalie claimed that 'they [the people you meet in town] always want to live on Lakeside or the Plantation' and Lakeside was certainly considered to be an attractive place to live by

many interview and survey respondents. Aside from her desire to live in Woodfield Plantation, or the adjacent Carr Lodge estate, Natalie herself stated that Lakeside was the only other development she would have considered, although she dismissed the area for being too expensive. One of the respondents in the study described the 'Serenity' development at Lakeside as having the 'wow factor', and indeed many interview and survey respondents were desirous of living in the area. In particular, Lakeside was valued by interviewees and survey respondents for its proximity to Doncaster's town centre; its amenities including the Dome, a football stadium, the outlet village; and its green space, including the lake and surrounding grassy area. Many of the respondents in the study (both in the household survey and at interview) reported that they enjoyed using the area around the lake to walk, jog and walk their dogs.

Of the eight interview respondents who had moved into Lakeside at their most recent move, two – Kristina and Sylvia – had moved from outside of the borough, with the rest of the respondents moving from within Doncaster. As noted in the previous chapter, Sylvia moved to Lakeside after seeing signs for the development. Sylvia noted that the development at Lakeside had lots of amenities which would suit her grandchildren, and that the development was well connected to Doncaster town centre through public transport. As such, and owing to her need to move to a larger, new-build home, Sylvia did not look elsewhere.

Kristina moved to Doncaster to live with her husband who would not consider moving from Doncaster (see Chapter 9). When moving to Doncaster, Kristina needed a part-exchange on her old property, which was largely influential in the decision about where to live in the borough. She commented, that they chose 'this particular development because it was close to work and they did a part-exchange which meant I could do it very quickly with my house'. For both of these movers, the decision to live in Lakeside was framed in practical terms; it was the first development that they saw or they needed a part-exchange and so to move to Lakeside was financially agreeable. The local services and amenities and the connectivity of the area, and for Kristina, the proximity to her place of employment were all important factors in choosing the development, but neither of these respondents who had moved from outside of the borough provided a clear perception of Lakeside and its position as an aspirational place to live within the borough.

Richard, (*Newcomer-Repeater*) who had moved to Lakeside from Thorne (a market town in the borough), had considered a few new-build developments in his search. He had regretted buying an old terraced house at his previous move, He found that the property needed re-plastering and painting, a project which was much more time consuming and expensive than he initially anticipated. The doors were a non-standard size, meaning that replacing them was expensive. Richard framed his decision to move into this older property as naïve, and this led him to consider only new-build properties on his most recent move.

In choosing where to live, Richard drove around several new-build developments within Doncaster to get a feel of the 'vibe' of the areas. He eventually chose the development at Lakeside due to his perception of the future resale value of the property, owing to its location in Lakeside. He described comparing Lakeside to the new-build development at Edenthorpe:

I just didn't get a nice vibe from it. The houses looked nice enough... were...trying to factor in resale value of new homes and I just didn't get the impression that people, **when they come to sell a home that is situated next to a whole load of council bungalows would get the same kind of 'wow factor' as coming onto like say a 'Serenity' estate** so ... I discounted that as well.

More often, where residents had moved to Lakeside from within the borough, they had done so without considering other areas within Doncaster in their search. Amongst many of these respondents, there was a clear perception that Lakeside was a desirable place to live within Doncaster, and a 'clear sense of the 'pecking order' of the area 'within a local status and housing hierarchy' (Savage et al., 2005, p. 91), within which, Lakeside was placed favourably.

Several of the respondents who were already living in Doncaster described having relatively long-set ambitions to move to Lakeside. Vanessa, for example, had noticed the development at Lakeside some time before choosing to move onto the development. She has three children and when her second son left home to go to university, she and her husband decided to downsize, and at the same time, make the move to Lakeside. The couple did not consider living in any other neighbourhood areas within Doncaster outside of Lakeside which they 'stalked for about three months'.

Jill and Jacquie similarly described having long-set ambitions about moving to Lakeside and both of these respondents viewed properties on the development when the first properties in the area were built, only to discount the development at first due to prohibitively high prices.

Prior to her move to Lakeside, Jill had built up a latent desire to move home. Her previous property was ageing, and she felt that if she stayed in the property she would have to spend time and money on maintenance. Jill had also been looking to downsize - whilst she had been living with her partner and children, once her partner died and her children had left home, she began to think about moving. She had briefly considered a move to Dorset, as explained in Chapter 9, but determined instead to stay in Doncaster and put thoughts of moving to the back of her mind. At this stage, Jill also considered a move to Lakeside. She viewed a property on the development but discounted the development for being too expensive until more recently when passing, Jill once again revisited Lakeside:

There's an ASDA across the road from where I am [in Lakeside]...and I was in there one day doing the shopping and I thought, 'I'll just walk across there and have a look at those show homes' ...And then when I saw this show home where I am now I thought 'ooh I could live there' because it's only just down the road from where I lived so we went into it and I sold it (clicks fingers) just like that! I couldn't believe it! Absolutely couldn't believe it.

Jill, Remainer, Lakeside.

Jill did not actively conduct a housing search, and instead, she only considered the development at Lakeside after being reminded of the development when passing:

Interviewer: Did you look in any other developments?

Jill:...I must admit I didn't really look around...because I wasn't really serious about moving until I saw something that I really thought would work, you know?

Jill, Remainer, Lakeside

Jacquie also only considered Lakeside in her search, like Jill, discounting a move at first, before reconsidering the development:

They were very expensive when they were first sold and I think **it were an affluent...it were a right popular area** when they built these houses round Lakeside, so I think that's why **the prices went up and up and up...We've always driven past for a few year, but just thought to ourselves, 'they're nice but they're beyond our price range...'** **They were unaffordable**, so we just stopped and had a look [more recently] and they were...cheaper than the apartments [that Jacquie had previously seen]...**so we finished up putting deposit on one and that were it! (laughs) So it wasn't something we'd been looking at, it were just something that we happened to be just going past...and I were in that frame of mind.**

Jill, Remainder, Lakeside

As these examples illustrate, there were several respondents who had been living in Doncaster for some time and had become aware of the development at Lakeside as an aspirational place to live. There was a clear sense that the area was popular and that, being relatively expensive, it was exclusive. It is also notable that at least two of the respondents had desires to move to Lakeside, but waited until the property prices became more affordable.

Jacquie was attracted to the development primarily because of the proximity of the development to Doncaster town centre, which she would be able to walk to easily from the development, and by the lake close to the development which she could visit for walks. For Jacquie, the relatively short move from Armthorpe to Lakeside was not an easy one. She was scared that she would miss her relatives and the relationships which she had built up in Armthorpe. When she decided to move, Jacquie was cautious, and first decided to let out her previous home in case she decided to return:

We definitely wanted to buy this house, we didn't want to lose it, but also **just in case I did start to feel homesick** or whatever or I didn't feel that I'd settle here then we could just go back and try to sell this one.

Jacquie, Remainder, Lakeside

Jacquie has since settled in Lakeside and does not anticipate leaving the neighbourhood. However, whilst Lakeside has many local amenities, when compared with her previous neighbourhood, it lacks the sense of community that Jacquie felt in Armthorpe. She had moved from a close knit community in Armthorpe commented that the population in Lakeside was composed of a relatively transient group of individuals, who were moving to Doncaster and living in Doncaster for short periods of time, before moving on, leading to a lack of a community feel:

Because it's a newish estate...**there are quite a lot of professional people who live round here from all sorts of different areas.** A lot of people from Armthorpe, **their families are from there so that's like your family so...it's not parochial as such, but it's still got more of a community attached to it than what we have here...**a lot of them seem to **go up for rent and a lot of them seem to stay for a few years and then move...**whether that's with their jobs I don't know'

Jill, Remainder, Lakeside

Even where Lakeside residents have come from other neighbourhoods in Doncaster, Jacquie argued they do not have a shared history:

Because people have come from all different places who live here...I think some of the people who come to live here they are from Doncaster but **they're not from the same villages**, went to the same school... **they don't know so and so's uncle, 'oh I went to school with your dad ' and all of that, which I think you do get a lot especially in this area with the mining communities and what have you.**

For Jacquie, Lakeside residents do not have the same historical connection with one another; they did not go to school together, they did not grow up together, they are from different places and have different experiences and as such, do not promote the same sense of community. Bonds between people relating to similar experiences, which Jacquie relates particularly to the mining communities, do not seem to exist in the new development at Lakeside in the way in which they did in her old neighbourhood of Armthorpe. Many members of Jacquie's family remain in Armthorpe and she visits the neighbourhood almost daily. Whilst leaving a tight-knit community was a frightening move for Jacquie, she was keen to take advantage of the facilities and connectivity of Lakeside, and the symbolic capital afforded by residence in Lakeside, whilst maintaining a connection with her old neighbourhood and the situated relationships she retains there.

There was certainly a sense from Lakeside residents that the development was exclusive and crucial in the position of Lakeside in the local market was not only its offer in an absolute sense, but also its *relational* value and here, alongside the perceived benefits of living on the development (the lake, the facilities and so on), respondents (in household surveys and at interview) expressed a simultaneous and explicit 'othering', comparing the neighbourhood to others in terms of its offerings, but most pointedly in terms of its (perceived) population. In discussing the important relationship between understandings of place, Easthope (2004) argued, that whilst individuals may identify with particularly places and those living within them, 'people also identify against places, establishing their own sense of place by contrasting themselves with different places and the people in them' (Easthope, 2004, p.130).

As Jill, for example, stated:

Because of the houses and the price of the rent, I don't think you're going to get...there's not...**there's supposed to be no council buildings at all on the estate. I mean that sounds a bit snobbish...but you know what I mean, don't you?**

Jill, Remainder, Lakeside

Judith (*Newcomer-Repeater*) who had only been in Doncaster for a few weeks before her move to Lakeside was guided to consider Lakeside through advice from friends. As outlined in Chapter 9, Judith moved to Doncaster to live with her partner and, at her most recent move she decided to move to enter into homeownership from the private rented sector. Like many others moving to Lakeside, Judith did not consider other areas in the search. She had been advised by a friend that Bessacarr, an area which neighbours Lakeside was the best place in the borough for schools and, prioritising her young daughter she decided to move to the development:

I knew about Bessacarr...**people had told me it was the best place to be** because of the schools and obviously I've got a little daughter so I knew about this development and it was also the **Help to Buy** scheme **which I needed because I was buying on my own**, my partner was not buying with me so...it worked out quite well in the end (laughing)

Judith, Newcomer-Repeater, Lakeside

As she stated, 'I sort of walked onto this site and said, 'What's the next house that's going to be ready?' and they showed me these three and I bought this one (laughing)'. For Judith, as for Dean, the Help to Buy scheme was attractive in particular as it allowed her an opportunity to move into homeownership. When Judith and her (now ex-) partner moved to Doncaster, they first moved into a rental property. Shortly after moving into the property, the boiler broke, which, combined with long-term dissatisfaction with the private rented sector led Judith to state that she was 'fed up with landlords'. At her most recent move, Judith stated that it was very important to her to be able to own her own home. She no longer wanted to pay rent for 'someone else to pay off their mortgage'. Judith was more financially stable than her partner and the Help to Buy scheme meant that she was able to buy the property on her own, without the financial assistance of her partner.

Homeownership for Judith also represented a sense of ontological security. She reflected that when her mother saw the house that she had bought she cried, as she considered that her daughter had increased security now that Judith had become a homeowner. When Judith and her partner separated, Judith commented that it was advantageous that she owned the home so that she had a place to stay, with her partner moving out of the property.

Judith also echoed a sense of distinction and exclusivity related to Lakeside, believing the population living in the development to be more sophisticated than the population of Doncaster in general:

My non-politically correct side would say [Doncaster] is full of Daily Mail Readers. I don't tend to date guys from Doncaster. It is a UKIP stronghold and those are not my ideologies...there are some stereotypes that I probably tend to agree with in terms of political leaning of the population... my experience of other people in Doncaster is **you get a lot of Britain First and things that...offend me, because I'm an immigrant to this country** so there are times when I sit there and think, you don't realise who you're talking to, you know?... that's...the impression I get of the sort of local population...I have not experienced any of that in Lakeside.

She continued:

It probably makes me sound a bit of a snob but...this is a more affluent area and **the people in Lakeside I think tend to be well educated, open minded, not as easily influenced by what they hear...they will challenge and not take things at face value, they will ask questions a bit more** so in that respect, the population here...they tend to be a bit more...**I'd like to think they were more broad-minded.**

Judith, Newcomer-Repeater, Lakeside

As such, Judith clearly drew a distinction in her perception of those living in Doncaster and those living in Lakeside – where Lakeside residents were considered to be not only more affluent, but also more educated and accepting. Judith was clearly able to differentiate a sense of otherness between these two groups, where she perceived those living nearby to be more likely to have similar political beliefs.

Overall, Lakeside was presented by respondents as being a development which is aspirational or desirable place to live, particularly owing to its amenities and proximity to the town centre, but it also appeared to hold social value as an affluent and distinct area. Lakeside was presented as a relatively exclusive and expensive place to live, with a relatively transient population of newcomers from outside

of the borough. This is interesting as it is not supported by evidence from the survey, where 17% of respondents from the development were newcomers, compared to a 29% average. Whilst evidence from the survey does not suggest that Lakeside was more likely than the Doncaster average to attract newcomers from elsewhere, there was certainly a perception that Lakeside housed a more sophisticated group of residents than Doncaster as a whole, and many of Doncaster's existing residents in the sample certainly had aspirations to live on the development.

Residents of Lakeside were perceived to be not only more affluent (although this was important) but also more open-minded, more educated than the population of Doncaster as a whole. Evidence from interviews showed particularly clear examples of othering, beyond 'homophily' (Clark and Coulter, 2015) and 'people like us' (Benson, 2014) and more explicitly as 'us and them'. Here, the relative cost of living in Lakeside and housing provision (particularly the lack of social housing) were perceived as positive characteristics, facilitating a geographical separation from the affluent 'us', and the closed-minded, poor 'them' living elsewhere in Doncaster. As discussed in Chapter 3, this desire for segregation, particularly amongst relatively affluent middle-class groups has been observed elsewhere (Atkinson, 2006; Benson, 2014) and has also been associated with high-end new-build housing developments and a focus on the affluent homeowner in housing construction (Atkinson, 2006).

10.6 Arrival stories from outlying towns and villages: Branton, Auckley, Finningley and Tickhill

When discussing the neighbourhoods that she and her partner considered in Doncaster, Jessica stated, 'we would have been happy in Tickhill, Bawtry, Finningley, Auckley or Branton, any of those five'. This overlap in the housing search was reported by several respondents in the household survey and at interview, and many of the respondents who made a successful move to one of these towns and villages considered the others in their search, along with a small number of other towns and villages such as Sprotborough and Edenthorpe in some cases. There were commonalities in the ways in which many respondents spoke about these towns and villages, and the types of characteristics which drew them to consider these places in the search and as such they are discussed together here. Respondents who considered and moved to these towns and villages highlighted the 'villagey' feel of these communities. Where respondents wanted to avoid the 'built up' and 'run down' ex-mining towns and villages, the outlying villages in the borough were described as 'pretty' and 'crime-free' with a 'nice character' in household survey responses. At interview these views were often reiterated and many respondents drew a sharp distinction between these outlying towns and villages and other neighbourhood areas in Doncaster.

Some of the respondents had very specific reasons for choosing to live in particular outlying towns and villages owing to personal attachment to those areas. For example, as outlined in the previous chapter, Rachel's decision to return to Doncaster was intimately connected to Tickhill, as it was where her parents lived and she wanted to live near them. Of all the *Returns* in the study, Rachel was the only one to have returned to the village in which she grew up. Whilst Rachel was originally from Tickhill, other respondents had built up attachments to particular village as a result of their residence and as such only searched in these areas at the most recent move. For example, William has lived with his wife in Branton since 1979. He was originally from Edlington, a mining town in the borough, but the couple moved to Armthorpe when they married. William worked abroad for a short period and, when

he and his family returned to Doncaster, they chose to move to Branton, owing primarily to the reputation of the schools. Since moving to Branton, William and his family moved several times within the village. The main reasons for William and his wife wanting to move at the most recent move was to move to a smaller property, to move further from the neighbour's barking dog, and to find a house with a south-facing garden, and without a deciduous tree. When considering where to live, William and his wife did not consider any homes outside of Branton. As he stated, 'we've really lived here more than anywhere else so we really belong here, you know? We belong here'.

For Karen, a move to Tickhill allowed her to move out of a declining ex-mining village, without moving too far from the area she has always lived. Karen had lived for the majority of her life in Harworth, an ex-mining village just south of Doncaster, bordering the borough. When she left her parents' home, Karen moved into a council property in Harworth, which she bought through the Right to Buy scheme. She later sold the Right to Buy property, purchasing another property in Harworth before leaving the village she had lived in her whole life to move to Tickhill at the most recent move. In describing her reasons for moving, Karen expressed a feeling that Harworth had deteriorated over time:

It's just your average pit village and I was in a way, very comfortable there because I lived there but it looked quite run down...once the pits closed it seemed to deteriorate...When I grew up it was...we lived in a council house on a council estate...and people tended to look after...they still looked nice but...what the street's like now, it's horrendous.

Here again, there was a perception of decline in a former mining town, and these types of narratives were common amongst movers. Whilst her increasing dissatisfaction with the town led Karen to move, she did not want to move too far from the town in which she grew up when considering where to live:

I still wanted to feel comfortable. I didn't want to go too far. I liked the idea of a brand new start and that kind of thing **but...to go somewhere totally new, I wouldn't have done that.**

Karen, Remainder, Tickhill

Karen was only willing to consider a new-build property ('it had to be a new house where everything was clean and lovely and nobody had used it'), and she also had a number of restrictions on the types of settlements in Doncaster she would consider in the search. As Karen describes, her sense of 'comfort' was closely related to remaining somewhere in which she felt familiar. Further, as she stated, 'there's only a few places that I would move to in Doncaster, I don't know if that's a bit snobby but there are'. In choosing Tickhill, Karen stressed that the town is 'very pretty', and drew attention to the stone buildings in the centre of the town. For Karen, the move from Harworth to Tickhill was described in terms of the latter being an objectively 'nicer area' and in choosing where to live. She described that it had a sense of community, but a different 'type of community' to that of Harworth.

Similarly, Terry who moved to Doncaster specifically to live in Tickhill did not consider living anywhere else, and in fact at his most recent move he moved next door. Terry's description of the village in his words 'sound[ed] like a blummin' advert for Tickhill', where he highlighted the beauty of the town, the local shops and services, community events and so on. Both of Terry's children have since decided to move to Tickhill and settle in the village, and his son will soon marry in the local church. For Terry, as outlined in Chapter 9, Tickhill in particular was chosen as it reminded him of the village in which he had grown up and this factor brought him to Doncaster.

For others who were not from Doncaster and did not have a great deal of local knowledge, the outlying towns and villages studied appear to have been particularly popular and for many, searches encompassed not only one of these settlements, but several. It is important to note here that many of the movers in the study had a preference for new-build housing and there was a wide range of reasons for this, which are discussed later in the chapter. For those with less local knowledge in particular, searches – and particularly those in the outlying villages were often arranged according to the existence of new-build developments.

As described in the previous chapter, Harriet had come to Doncaster initially on a short-term basis, but had met her partner and decided to remain in the borough, purchasing a house in Finningley. Harriet, was keen to move home as when she moved to her partner's home with her belongings the place began to feel cluttered and overcrowded. In addition, Tim had been living in the property for 8 years prior to her moving and as she stated 'it was *his* identity in *his* home', and Harriet wanted to find a home together. Harriet described Armthorpe as being in a state of decline, being 'dilapidated' and 'derelict'. She repeatedly referred to the 'greyness' of Armthorpe, noting that it was 'chock-a-block', making her feel 'penned in'. Harriet and Tim did consider remaining in Armthorpe. His family live locally and his parents are ageing. As Harriet noted, the couple's move from Armthorpe to Finningley was considered by his parents to be a long distance move. But Harriet wanted to leave the town and they could not find any suitable properties there. As she stated, the town offered old pit houses or new-builds which looked 'footballers' wives', which equated to the housing provision being 'from one extreme to the other', and were as such undesirable.

Outside of Armthorpe, Harriet and Tim visited a number of developments, including those at Auckley and Branton, Edenthorpe, Bawtry and Finningley. They drove around the developments to 'get a feel for the place' and to see if they could 'imagine' living there. In describing Finningley, Harriet mentioned that the village was 'green' and it 'felt as if you could breathe' there, an observation which described the village in direct contrast to that of Armthorpe, which she felt to be built up, grey and claustrophobic. She also described Finningley as being a quaint place, evoking imagery of a semi-rural suburban village:

Finningley as a whole is very nice...it feels like a community. I don't know if that's because it's got a little church and it's got the community centre...and the corner shop is brand new...but it used to be like a post office from the sixties, like with two old women...selling Eccles cakes and weighing stuff and they...used to write everything in by hand...**I think that's kind of the little epicentre as well for when you first come into Finningley, that's what you see and that's the feeling you get and there's a pond up there and there are peacocks and all of that sold it to us...**we get a parish newsletter...People were complaining about the peacocks and I was like, 'No! that was part of the reason we moved in!'

Harriet, Newcomer-Repeater, Finningley

These types of nostalgia were common in describing the suburban towns and villages in the study. As outlined in the previous chapter, when thinking about leaving [village], Terry and his wife chose to move to Tickhill because it reminded him of his youth, of a place in which everyone knows each other and each other's business, and for many of the respondents, there was a perception across these towns and villages as having a strong sense of community, based on the image of a semi-rural close-knit suburban area. When discussing settling into the local community in the outlying, suburban towns

and villages, a strong sense of community was evoked, but in contrast to that of the mining towns and villages, here respondents typically reflected a sense of a more open and accessible community. Whilst attraction to these neighbourhoods was at time driven by a sense of nostalgia, integration does not appear to have been contingent on a shared history. Several respondents reported a feeling that in the village locations in particular, a sense of community was derived from the perception that they were living in a small place in which everyone knows everyone else. For example, as Hannah commented:

'I really like the community feel. It's a bit cliché but everybody is, a lot of people do know everyone – I quite like that...**Everyone sort of knows people, there's dancing in the village, yeah it's really nice.**

Hannah, Returner-Repeater, Finningley

Similarly, Jade stated: 'everybody pretty much knows everybody, so it's a much nicer feel as a village location'. As outlined in Chapter 9, Terry moved to Doncaster primarily as a result of his changing relationship with his previous neighbourhood and he described how 'everybody wants to know your business and don't mind asking...it's nice. Nice community.' Many respondents also spoke about physical and social aspects of the village neighbourhoods and the ways in which these strengthened the perception of a community feel in these neighbourhoods. Public and community buildings and services such as the post office, community centres, pubs, churches and so on, were often used to describe a community feel within these neighbourhoods. For example, as Jessica stated:

I think because of the school and then the church and the pub do quite a lot, the pub's got quite a strong community links, they're always putting like little fun days on and it's got it's little Facebook group where everybody talks to each other.'

Jessica, Newcomer, Auckley

As Terry described:

They have all different sorts of festivals, they've got...a cycling fest thing and they've got folk groups on in the pubs and they've got marquees outside and they've got a real ale festival all on this weekend...they have...duck races, little plastic ducks for the kids racing and there's lots of things going off at Christmas – they have a carnival on the close with all the different groups that enter...it's just a really nice community, it's really nice.'

Terry, Newcomer-Repeater, Tickhill

This community feel, however, was not based on a shared history like that described in the ex-mining communities, but rather for many respondents, on a sense of distinction, on a selective, middle-class English belonging, which was explicitly exclusive.

This exclusivity was very closely tied in with the perception of the bucolic 'villagey feel' and the types of people who might live in these places. These impressions were presented in direct contrast to a lower-class 'other' who might live elsewhere in Doncaster. Several respondents living in the outlying towns and villages spoke quite clearly in stating that they 'despise' Doncaster as a whole, or that they would feel ashamed to say that they lived in the borough. Of course, geographically, these neighbourhoods are situated further from the centre of the borough and as such are physically separated from central areas, but it was also here that respondents reported the clearest emotional detachment from the centre of the borough and explicit desire for self-segregation as well as their

literal and metaphorical separation from other neighbourhoods and populations in the borough. At the same time, residents of these towns and villages almost universally reported a sense of community and belonging in their new neighbourhoods. As such, these representations had similarities with Watt's (2009) concept of 'selective belonging', with respondents demonstrating a 'schizophrenic relationship', with spatially defined belonging in their current neighbourhoods and a concurrent and very distinct emotional separation from the centre of the borough, focused primarily on the perceived population living in other areas.

For example. Karen stated:

Where I live...I'm not pretending it's perfect but three miles down the road you walk through Hexthorpe... **It's horrendous! Those long terraced houses...**they just look so run down now...I know that there's a lot of drugs in Hexthorpe and Balby...**I know which schools are good, which aren't...**like central schools – there are so many different languages spoken in those schools... I think in one of the schools in central Doncaster there were 32 languages spoken...**it's nothing against those people.** Nothing at all but no, **I wouldn't want to live in the centre of Doncaster.**

Karen, Remainder, Tickhill

Similarly, Hannah stated:

I don't really like the feel of those sorts of places, I don't know if it's just because I quite like the village setting and also they are quite, **they are also quite mixed...**you've got **a lot of either rented or...council or ex-council and then also the bigger houses,** I just...for me... **I don't think it was for us really...** I don't think the schools are that great...my friend did mention...this particular school with...a **hugely disproportionate amount of Eastern European children** for example and polish children...**it's not an issue** ...I don't think it would be hugely detrimental...**I just think it... wasn't for us and if we could live in more of a leafy village, I'd rather do that if I'm honest.**

Hannah, Returner-Repeater, Finningley

As Hannah's example demonstrates, this distinction in population types is clearly linked with different types of settlements. Rather than being 'mixed' neighbourhoods, with eastern European families and council and ex-council homes, there was an implication that these families would not live in the 'leafy villages'. Similarly, both Harriet and Jamie were advised by estate agents that they would like the development at Finningley because it was home to lots of 'executives'.

In choosing to live in these leafy towns and villages, movers were choosing not only the beautiful, green settlements with local amenities and community events, but they were also choosing exclusivity and a way to live in Doncaster, whilst maintaining a sense of separation between their own neighbourhoods, the semi-rural 'oasis' (Watt, 2009), and the rest of Doncaster.

This sense of distinction was observable both in the selection of neighbourhoods and in perceptions after moving. For example, in choosing to live in Auckley, Holly stated:

I think because Auckley is quite far away...it's quite...I know it sounds really awful but **it's...far enough away. It almost feels as though it's not Doncaster,** I don't know if that sounds strange or if it sounds a bit snobbish.

Similarly, Harriet stated:

I don't really like telling people I live in Doncaster... I always say, 'Oh I live *near* Doncaster' and I even say, 'Have you heard of the airport? I live next to the airport'.

Rachel commented: 'we actually genuinely...and to speak quite bluntly...despise Doncaster as a whole', and William stated that Finningley was 'completely, completely different' and that he 'wouldn't go and live in Doncaster itself, no way!'

Doncaster's outlying towns and villages were presented as being attractive owing to their semi-rural location. Respondents in the study who moved to these areas typically valued the 'community feel' of these towns and villages, which appear to have been related to the built form, community buildings and organisations but like Lakeside - and often to a greater extent - there was also a sense of exclusivity to these areas, that they were separated from Doncaster not only in terms of physical proximity, but also in terms of culture and of the people who lived there. Here, several respondents reported their residence in these locations as being in Doncaster, but not quite 'Doncaster', being in some way distinct.

10.7 History, nostalgia local knowledge and decisions about where to live

In making decisions about where to live, those who had lived in the borough for many years typically had very clear ideas about not only the *types* of towns and villages that they would consider living in, but also *specific* towns, villages and developments. More precisely, there was an acute understanding of the ways in which towns and villages in Doncaster fit into the 'pecking order' (Savage et al., 2005, p.91) of the local market. This perceived hierarchy related not only to the relative market value of residence in different places, but also the social value or symbolic capital which was associated with residence in Doncaster's towns, villages and developments. Often, there was a very clear sense of which areas were popular and desirable and which were not, alongside commonly shared opinions about the types of people who might live in particular neighbourhoods.

The ex-mining towns and villages in Doncaster were often associated with a strong, insular sense of community, based on a shared, working-class, community history. This factor was most explicitly illustrated in Hayley's example of the unknown newcomer in her former neighbourhood and her continued feeling of being an outsider despite over a decade of residence in the neighbourhood, but there were echoes of this insularity in interviews with several respondents, such as Harriet and Natalie. A sense of nostalgia in the ex-mining towns and villages was often presented in terms of loss, of change and decline: loss of a rich industrial past which is now gone. When talking about these places, the impact of deindustrialisation was most apparent, particularly for those who had always lived in the borough or were long-term residents. For William, reflecting on his former time working in Edlington pit, 'it never was a posh place but it were home, it were ok, it were alright'. Jackie described the way that even though she was not from a mining family, she had lived in Armthorpe (almost) all of her life. She was married to a miner and she recalled the miners' strike which 'wasn't a very happy year'. This history and connection with the community was important in her understandings of place and of neighbourhood change over time. Karen described the ways in which the old council houses on the streets she grew up on in Harworth were not tended to like they used to be and had fallen into disrepair.

Throughout many interviews and survey responses there were references to this shared history and sense of decline in certain neighbourhoods across the borough. Bentley was the only study site placed in a mining community. Bentley, as outlined above, was considered to be relatively low down the 'pecking order' - at least in aggregated representations - and was more commonly referred to as a place to avoid than somewhere to consider. More broadly, the ex-mining towns and villages, in caricature at least, repeatedly came to the fore; characterised by neglect, with poor quality schools and services, run down council and ex-council housing, high rates of poverty, high levels of unemployment, high levels of immigration, high crime rates and low levels of ambition and many respondents were choosing to leave the old mining communities. In these places, there was certainly a sense that the 'moral ownership' (Savage et al., 2005, p.31) remained with a 'born and bred', working-class population and where respondents had chosen to move from these neighbourhoods, particularly after long-term residence, there was often a sense of disappointment and regret at this apparent decline.

A sense of a pecking order was also described in relation to other neighbourhoods – for example, Natalie's desire to move to Woodfield Plantation, and her description of the development as somewhere that everyone wants to live. As described earlier, Natalie wanted to live in Lakeside, but the development was prohibitively expensive and there were no properties available in Woodfield Plantation, so Natalie moved to the Carr Lodge estate in substitution. Similarly, this type of hierarchy was reflected in Hayley's move from her previous village to Bentley – 'out of the frying pan and into the fire' but perhaps to an area with a slightly better reputation. The symbolic capital and social meaning of where she was living was important to Hayley, and this is reflected in her discussion of her 'snobby' sister not allowing her children to visit, and her embarrassment at admitting where she lived – an inappropriate place for a general manager. The most prominent example of this was in the ways in which existing residents coveted Lakeside, a development which was valued as a result of its proximity to the town centre, its many amenities and services and its lake, but – perhaps more importantly – for its symbolic capital, its prestige and its inherent exclusivity (higher rents, no social housing and so on), and it is perhaps this quality which explains the draw of Lakeside for movers from all across the borough, although not disproportionately from outside of the borough (17% incoming moves compared to 29% across all developments).

For those with long-term residence and partners or family members in Doncaster, preferences were also influenced by place attachment, situated relationships and familiarity. As the maps earlier in the chapter show, with the exception of Lakeside, respondents were on the whole, not moving across the borough, and were remaining in relatively distinct areas. In this way, places were valued not only in terms of an absolute economic value (in terms of the resources, amenities, and so on weighed against price), but also for their social meaning, which was both situated and subjective.

It would be easy to characterise the moves of Dean, of Hayley, or Naomi, who moved into new-build homes in Bentley as being left behind in failing neighbourhoods, or as being restricted in their choices but these were not the way that moves were characterised by these respondents, even where Naomi was in fact highly restricted as a social housing tenant. Instead, the decision to remain in these areas was presented as an active choice, where these movers were centring familiarity, place attachment and situated relationships (along with the commitments and responsibilities bound up with these

relationships) in their decisions about where to live. Hayley, for example, who has been successful in her career, would likely (given her economic success) have had the opportunity to live in a wide range of locations across the borough. Indeed, reputation was important to her, and she lamented the reputation of not only her old neighbourhood but her new village of Bentley and she noted that a move elsewhere would have been more convenient for her commute to work. Nonetheless, owing to her partner's situated relationships, the need for him to cycle into work, and the need for the couple to provide care to Pete's ageing parents, Hayley did not search outside of this area, and this fact was not presented with resentment. This example shows the ways in which place attachment and a desire for improvement intersected in housing location choice.

Similar stories were told by several respondents, and those who were moving within Doncaster were not, broadly, searching widely across the borough but instead many respondents were choosing to live very locally, in neighbourhoods and communities which they knew. For example, this was shown in William's insistence that he and his wife 'belong' in Branton, owing to their continued residence. Even where respondents had a desire to move out of neighbourhoods they saw to be falling into disrepair, there was often an accompanied desire to remain living locally within the borough. For example, Karen, who wanted to leave her hometown of Harworth which she perceived to be in decline, would not search across the borough. She certainly had clear ideas about where she would avoid 'there are not many places in Doncaster I would live. I know it sounds snobby, but there aren't', but at the same time, she did not want to move too far from Harworth, where she had always lived, and as such, she found the solution in Tickhill, a neighbouring community, which she described as an objectively 'nicer area'. Again, this move was clearly framed as an upwards move – Karen explained how her daughter now 'turns her nose up' at her old friends in Harworth, but the search area was purposefully narrow so that Karen would not have to 'go somewhere totally new'. For Jacquie, there was a very explicit weighing up of these two drivers – familiarity and belonging and the draw of the 'affluent, right popular' development at Lakeside. When Jacquie made the decision to move, she took out insurance in the form of letting her property in case she should change her mind. Jacquie was very satisfied with her move to Lakeside, and is now selling her old home, but this satisfaction was contingent on her continued connection to her previous community in Armthorpe, which she visits daily.

In the towns and villages in the south and southeast of the borough, rather than the working-class mining heritage, there was an appeal to a kind of quaint, middle-class, English nostalgia, and an evocation of semi-rural suburbia, complete with post office, church and duck pond. When discussing these towns and villages, respondents appealed to the physical characteristics, in particular the green, leafy nature of the villages but also to the community buildings and services; the pub, the church, the community centre. In these places, everybody knows each other, there are community events and there may be an old woman hand-writing receipts for Eccles cakes in a local village shop. Here, the sense of nostalgia and history was important, and was a draw to these places for movers from within Doncaster and outside, but unlike in the ex-mining towns and villages, this sense of nostalgia was not specific to Doncaster, and was not based on a shared history but on a more general appeal to a former time.

These towns and villages were certainly imbued with a sense of exclusivity similar to Lakeside, but in these instances – and, perhaps owing to the distance between these villages and Doncaster centre -

there was also a sense that these neighbourhoods were not only attractive areas to live *within* Doncaster, but also that they were separate, as if to be not *in* Doncaster at all. This is reflected in the statements of many respondents who moved to the outlying towns and villages, where a clear distinction was drawn between their own residential location and the 'other' in Doncaster.

As the sections above have illustrated, when choosing where to live in Doncaster, respondents were navigating a complex set of influences and relationships which were bound to place attachment, situated relationships, history and experience, symbolic capital and reputation, and a wide range of other factors. Where the decision to live in Doncaster or elsewhere was often discussed in relation to broad life ambitions and trajectories, the decision about where to live in Doncaster was a more nuanced process.

10.8 New-builds and the housing search within Doncaster

When discussing housing needs and preferences, respondents in the study typically had clear ideas about some aspects of the home which they considered to be preferable. Most common among these was the size of the home: respondents typically had a requirement or desire for a particular number of bedrooms and function rooms. As discussed in Chapter 8, the most common reason for moving at the move (P1-current) related to characteristics of the home and respondents typically moved to larger homes at the most recent move. Several of the respondents in the study were looking to expand their current household (as discussed in the previous chapter), but other respondents discussed simply wanting more space in their new homes. Respondents also had specific requirements relating to the layout of the home and accessibility, with older respondents in particular expressing concerns relating to mobility within the home as they age. Others reported only looking for detached properties, due to experiences with troublesome neighbours. Some respondents reported desiring a property with a garage, with parking spaces, or with a south-facing garden. It is outside of the scope of this study to explore all of these factors in detail. Instead, the sections below focus specifically on new-build housing and the ways in which this property type influenced mobility.

The majority of respondents stated that they were only considering new-build housing in their search and would not consider older houses. There were some exceptions to this. For example, two of the respondents were social housing tenants and as such, were faced with additional restrictions on housing choice. Two respondents built their own home and, whilst these respondents were living in new-build homes, they did not go through the same process of choosing a home within the Doncaster market. Accordingly, there are some differences in the ways in which these respondents talked about housing choice. In addition, a small number of respondents were willing to consider older properties in their search. However, given the importance of new-build housing in this study, it is necessary to explore the ways in which respondents discussed new-build housing and how these perceptions influenced the search.

10.8.1 Latent desire to move and serendipity

For some respondents, new-build housing allowed the opportunity to move where there was a latent desire, where movers were 'wishful thinkers' (Coulter, 2013; Sell and DeJong, 1983). Dean, for example was saving for a deposit with his girlfriend, but would not move far from his previous home. The new-builds allowed him the opportunity not only to move into homeownership, but to move more quickly,

where he otherwise would have waited for an opportunity. Similarly, Natalie was afforded the opportunity to move *close to* Woodfield plantation, where she had wanted to move for a long time. She was uncomfortable in Edlington, but was not willing to move outside of a few select neighbourhoods.

Awareness of new-build developments and the serendipitous passing of signs for developments or the housing developments themselves were also influential in shaping the areas that respondents searched, but also for prompting mobility, where there was a latent desire to move or otherwise. Sylvia, Dean, Hayley, Jacquie, Jamie and Jill all discussed the ways in which becoming aware of one development either facilitated a latent desire to move – ‘wishful thinkers’ (Sell and DeJong, 1983; Coulter, 2013), or created the desire to move. Further, Lakeside an entirely new development was considered to be an attractive place to live owing to the facilities, amenities, shops and restaurants and its central location and for several respondents, the existence of this development shaped mobility preferences and prompted the move.

10.8.2 Newcomers and information gathering

These factors were particularly associated with *Remainers* and other existing respondents. For those with less local knowledge, the search was more explorative and in lieu of existing local knowledge, respondents spoke of acquiring information from a range of sources. Ben and Madeleine for example, explored different areas in Doncaster through online searches; Jessica, who was already working in Doncaster gathered information from her colleagues; Judith, who moved from within Doncaster but had only lived in the borough for a few weeks asked friends which were the best areas for schools, others searched crime statistics of various areas. Others, like Harriet, gained information about different neighbourhoods from her relationship with others in the borough, but also from sales representatives and sales staff, who provided information about new developments. Notably, there was a large group of respondents who did not have a great deal of local knowledge, but did have a desire to live in a new-build home, and as such, the search was often shaped by the existence of new-build developments in the borough, with respondents searching across several neighbourhoods, visiting where possible to ‘get a feel’ for the developments.

10.8.3 A preference for new-build housing

For newcomers and existing residents alike, however, there were several characteristics of new-build homes which made the property type particularly attractive. There were three main types of reasons for this. The first related to the aesthetics of new-build homes, where several respondents preferred the modern style of new-build homes and the opportunities for decorating the home to their own tastes. The second reason related to the relative ease of moving associated with new-build properties, and the lower associated maintenance costs. The third related to deals and incentives associated with new-build housing. These issues are discussed in brief below.

Aesthetics and décor

Some respondents valued the newness of new-build properties in itself, and the idea of living in a home that no one else had lived in, with new appliances, fittings and furnishings. For example, as stated above, the aesthetics of the new-build home which they viewed was key in Pete’s decision to move, and Karen similarly only wanted somewhere ‘nice and new’. Others valued the clean, plain lines and modern aesthetic of new homes. As Carol stated:

We like the **clean lines** of this house...we've never been interested in antiques or anything like that, we've always liked nice clean lines.

Carol, Relocating Newcomer, Branton

For some, the plain décor of new-build homes allowed them an opportunity to decorate according to their own tastes. As Jacquie stated, 'I think it were the fact that... we could just put us own print on it kind of thing'. Several respondents talked of the ways in which their ability to choose their décor represented a type of freedom that they had not had at other times in their lives, particularly during student years, time in rented accommodation, or in homes provided by employers. For example, whilst they have owned a home in the UK for most of their lives, Carol and Stephen have spent the majority of their married life in accommodation provided for them by the military. This experience meant that they were not always able to choose the way in which their homes were decorated:

None of them have been ideal and we've lived with stuff that's been provided either by the Air Force or the Foreign Office... so **you live with somebody else's and somebody else's colours**.

Carol, Relocating Newcomer, Branton

For Carol and Stephen, the blank canvas provided by new-build housing provided not only a preferable aesthetic in and of itself, but also allowed an opportunity for them to express their own tastes in their home. Carol and Stephen's tastes were intrinsically linked with their previous experiences of living abroad in different countries, where they were able to build up ideas about aspects of décor and interiors they considered to be attractive. Whilst they had previously been restricted in the extent to which they were able to express these tastes and preferences, the freedom provided through the decision to live in a new home allowed Carol and Stephen to decorate their home according to their tastes. Similarly, others spoke of the desire to decorate their homes with art of photographs and the ways in which the neutral décor allowed them to do this more easily and this type of freedom relating to décor was mentioned by several respondents as a reason for preferring new-build homes.

Ease of moving and maintenance

Furthermore, new-build homes were considered quicker and easier to move into, without the need to decorate and renovate and with lower ongoing maintenance requirements and maintenance costs. As described in Chapter 9, this was an important factor for Carol in choosing to live in a new-build home, and for Jill in wanting to move home. As Carol stated:

Everything would be brand new... We wouldn't have to do any painting or anything like that for the first year or two so **new-build for me meant we could move in, get ourselves settled and then we didn't have to worry about anything... I didn't want the hassle**. We've had a very busy working life moving all over the place and I just wanted to move in and... put my slippers on and get in my chair and get on with what I wanted to do'

Carol, Relocating Newcomer, Branton

Whilst the couple did view some older properties, they ultimately chose a new home and as Carol stated, this was explicitly related to their age and the ease of moving into a newer property. As she stated, 'maybe ten years ago we would've taken on something of a project but I... physically can't cope with too much of that now'.

This factor was particularly important for older respondents and those who were moving long distances or had to move quickly. For example, for Madeleine and Ben, the experience of living in an older property which required a great deal of work led them to prefer somewhere that they could move into quickly, without having to undertake a significant amount of work:

Going from a house which we had completely gutted, spent three months working and doing the property up - Ben took time off work, we called all our mates in to help us out - **we just wanted something that was quick and easy to move into with none of the hassle.**

Madeleine, Relocating Newcomer, Finningley

As Ben and Madeleine were relocating to Doncaster from Essex primarily for employment, it was imperative that they could move quickly and, given their experience of renovating a previous older property, the couple were keen to avoid these issues in their most recent move. Many respondents recounted experiences of undertaking a great deal of work prior to moving into previous properties which they were reluctant to repeat on their most recent move. For example, as described above, when Richard first moved to Doncaster to live with his wife, Renata, the couple moved into an older property. It was the first home that Richard had bought, and he described his frustration at the work that he had to complete, which was directly related to the age and condition of the property.

Deals and incentives

Further new-builds also come with new fixtures and fittings as well as developer guarantees and these factors were important to a range of respondents, but particularly those who were approaching old age:

Alright, there's always a problem with a new house but it's always fixable... and you get the ten-year guarantee and if things do go badly wrong it could be fixed by the builder... not at your expense

Carol, Relocating Newcomer, Branton

Furthermore, the guarantees and incentives provided by developers were considered attractive, especially for older movers such as William, Sylvia and Carol and Stephen who were concerned about costs and labour involved in maintaining older properties. As Stephen stated of the developer guarantee, 'this is a bit like an insurance policy. This is worth having.'

As described above, other schemes such as the Help to Buy scheme allowed respondents such as Hannah, Dean and Judith to move into homeownership where they were renting before and looking to move into homeownership.

Moreover where respondents needed to move quickly, or to move long distances, the ability to part-exchange their former property was also an important and influential feature of new-build housing and shaped the developments which respondents were able to consider in their search. Like Kristina in Lakeside, the ability to part-exchange necessarily shaped the search for Ben and Madeleine. As outlined above, Ben and Madeleine moved to Doncaster from Essex, primarily because of Madeleine's work promotion in the borough. As part of a relocation agreement Madeleine had with her employer, she was given one week to search for a property. This led the couple to favour part-exchange, meaning the couple could move without a chain, thereby giving them more security so that they would be able to move quickly.

'If we got into a chain, how long would it take that process to go through? Because again we were trying to move really before December last year and that was...a worry. **Again, that was what pushed us back to new-build properties...hopefully we could get just ourselves and the buyer, or - even better yet - we could get the...building company to take the house from us part-exchange**'.

Madeleine, Newcomer, Branton

Moreover, specific deals offered by sales agents proved very attractive and in some cases were the deciding factor between different developments and neighbourhoods in Doncaster. Others referred to offers deals and incentives in choosing between developments. For example, as Jade stated:

Interviewer: What made you choose Branton over the other neighbourhood areas that you looked at?

Jade: ...It was the deal that I got on the house because it was a new-build property... I just happened to fall very lucky... **I ended up getting a deal probably that I shouldn't have got so the deal kind of secured it for me**

Similarly, Harriet described being offered a range of incentives if she chose to purchase her new-build home, stating 'it was just an attractive deal.' However, as Harriet stated:

'They gave us so much with this that the bank started saying if they are giving too many freebies then we deem it as you can't afford the property... **they really frustrated me...they were still trying to sell it to me even though I'd said 'yes'**, so they were saying, 'you're getting a free fridge' and I was saying, 'I don't care about the fridge. The fridge is making us possibly not afford the house now' because...if they deem that all the free things are more than ten percent of the property then we can't have it so I was like, 'take the fridge away!''

Harriet, Newcomer-Repeater, Finningley

Harriet's description of buying her new home shows that sales agents offering deals and incentives were influential in the decision about where to live, in some cases offering more than was expected and highlighting aggressive sales strategies of sales agents.

10.9 Chapter summary

Situating neighbourhood selection within respondents' 'arrival stories' (Savage et al., 2005, p.90) this chapter has explored the relationship between new-build housing, mobility and neighbourhood change over time. Together, the rich narratives provided by respondents at interview, and bolstered by survey data, reveal collective and individual perceptions of Doncaster, its neighbourhoods and local residents.

As the sections above have illustrated, each of the neighbourhoods and developments in the study played a different role in the local market, and new-build housing played a number of functions at a local level. For some, these developments allowed an opportunity to move where they had previously been restricted; for others, these developments provided attractive new housing options and for *Newcomers* in particular; this housing type served as a way to structure the search. Whilst each respondent narrative was unique, cross-analysis of interview and survey data revealed that several of the movers in the study were choosing to improve their living circumstances through their moves. For several respondents, this was expressed through moves out of neighbourhoods which were considered to be in decline, and into the more desirable new-build developments. Here, the concept

of a local 'pecking order' (Savage et al., 2005, p.91) was apparent in several narratives, where respondents were aware of the local housing market hierarchy and the position of Doncaster's neighbourhoods within these structures. This is not to say that movers were acting dispassionately when making neighbourhood choices and indeed, local histories were shown to be intrinsically linked with individual and collective identities, where several respondents reported regret at the decline of Doncaster and some of its neighbourhoods.

Moreover, amongst several respondents, and particularly those in Lakeside and the outlying towns and villages, there was a clear emotional and fractured sense of belonging and identity, where respondents simultaneously reported feeling situated attachments at the local level, whilst concurrently feeling disconnected from the borough as a whole. In aggregate, these findings suggest potential for new-build housing to contribute to increased spatial segregation at the sub-borough scale.

The following chapter moves into the final section of the thesis (Section 5), which provides a discussion of the findings of this research in the context of the literature as presented in Section 2 of the thesis.

Chapter 11 Discussion

11.1 Introduction

The previous three chapters outlined the findings of this research, with each aligning to a different area of investigation relating to mobility into and within Doncaster. This chapter draws together the findings of this research, exploring the interactions between empirical outcomes observed at the macro and meso scales and more theoretical discussions of decision-making and preferences at the micro scale. The research findings and this discussion will then be used in the following chapter as the basis of broader conclusions to the thesis including policy implications.

The chapter is divided into three further sections. The first considers the assumption often built in to policy, relating to the rationality of individuals and households as decision-makers in the market. The findings of this research clearly showed that new-build housing was ineffective at attracting significant inward migration into the borough, where the majority of movers were coming to new-build homes from within Doncaster. Section 11.2 below draws out the relational and dynamic nature of household decision-making, arguing that static economic models based on household rationality are insufficient for capturing the complexity of embedded decision-making. Instead, in deciding where to live respondents referred to dynamic narratives of place attachment, historical and embedded experiences, structural influences and issues of relational and individual identity. In turn, it is argued below that local economic policy which continues to be based on assumed economic rationality in residential decision-making is likely to fail to meet policymaker ambitions.

The second section discusses the findings of this research in relation to narratives of the use value and exchange value of housing (see for example, Madden and Marcuse, 2016) as expressed by respondents. In exploring housing and neighbourhood choice across the eight study sites, it was possible to identify variance in these themes in neighbourhood selection. It is argued in Section 11.3 that owing to the high degree of containment in the local housing market in particular, there is a need to ensure that housing is catering to an existing population, rather than focusing on a hoped-for group of newcomers. Here attention should be paid to the wider market context. In turn, this suggests a need for policy which focuses on the use value of housing for those who intend to live in the local area, as opposed to the profits of housebuilders and investors.

Whilst the potential for high end housing construction to contribute to local economic growth formed the initial impetus behind the research, it has been acknowledged throughout that any change (whether to the physical environment or otherwise) designed at the local authority level has the potential to influence change at more localised scales. More pertinently for the context of the research findings here, the high degree of containment also allowed for a more nuanced discussion of neighbourhood selection and household preferences.

The third section considers in more detail household moves at the neighbourhood scale, focussing on issues of identity and belonging and how these issues shaped mobility choices and aggregate outcomes. As discussed in Chapter 4, a central theme in sociological approaches to understanding the relationships between issues of identity, belonging, place attachment and mobility have focused on the balance of structure and agency and the ways in which opportunities and restrictions to mobility can be understood. Here, analysis is often shaped around binary frameworks: between the middle-class and the working-class; the footloose and the situated, the newcomer and the local. Drawing on the discussion throughout the chapter, Section 11.4 considers the extent to which these frameworks

are appropriate for understanding mobility processes and neighbourhood selection in the context of this research. It is argued that whilst individualistic, atomistic models of standard economic or postmodern conceptualisations fail to capture the embedded and social nature of decision-making, neither were these binaries sufficient for understanding mobility in this context. Instead, issues of identity and belonging were more complex, striated and relational, being situated within complex and dynamic networks of influence.

These findings and theoretical insights are then linked with the choice of study area; that of a self-contained housing market in a peripheral, post-industrial place. Here it is argued that concepts and theories designed to understand mobility decisions within core cities and high-pressure urban housing market areas may be insufficient for understanding mobility decision-making in these lesser-studied contexts.

11.2 Housing as a driver of inward mobility

11.2.1 The myth of the rational, footloose individual

As described in Chapter 5, the first area of investigative focus was concerned primarily with the macro scale. Here the purpose was to explore the extent to which new-build homes had been taken up by newcomers or existing residents of the borough, and the factors which contributed to these outcomes. This was essential for determining the extent to which population change (and therefore potential economic change) could have been brought about by high end housing construction and accordingly, the potential for net economic change linked to inward migration.

Household survey data showed that only 29% of respondents had moved from outside of the borough at the most recent move, with the remainder making an internal move. As described in Chapter 6, Doncaster has a self-contained housing market with around 70% of moves being internal (DMBC, 2015). This suggests that newcomers were no more likely to move into the new-build homes in the study sites than into other homes in Doncaster, and in turn, that the creation of new housing alone may not be a sufficient mechanism to attract substantial inward migration into Doncaster.

As argued in Chapters 2 and 4, the expectation that new-build housing in Doncaster might motivate inward migration is inherently reliant on a particular conceptualisation of a footloose consumer, who in seeking to maximise their utility through their mobility choices would be capable of being drawn into a given locale following a dispassionate economic calculation. Accordingly, it was posited in Chapter 5 that should there be a failure of homes in Doncaster to attract significant inward migration, this may be related to the failure of households to act in such an aspatial, rational and footloose manner.

As the findings in Chapters 8 and 9 showed, almost all of the respondents had settled on the decision to live in Doncaster prior to commencing the search, and movers in the study were certainly not searching indiscriminately, focusing the search instead on a relatively small geographical area. Indeed, an overarching and almost universal narrative in the reasons that respondents gave for moving to Doncaster related to the importance of place and situated relationships that were specific to the borough. The desire to live in the borough itself, was for many movers a key motivation for the household move, highlighting the importance of place and situated relationships in motivating not only location choice but also in motivating mobility.

11.2.2 Flux and fluidity: Changing relationships with people and place across time

Interviews with respondents highlighted the dynamic and fluid nature of residential preference as it intersected with changing relationships with people and places across time. Here, the employment of a life course or pathways approach allowed the possibility to capture some of this nuance, as respondents reflected on their changing needs and preferences across time. For returning respondents specifically, but also for some newcomers, the decision to live in Doncaster in particular at this time appears to have been influenced by the potential to harness 'location-specific capital' (DaVanzo, 1981; Feijten and Mulder, 2002; Mulder, 2007; Mulder and Wagner, 2012) in the form of childcare to be provided by grandparents. Whilst these households often recalled a focus on career-driven mobility motivation in their earliest household moves, a common narrative amongst respondents was the transition into a 'family-building phase' (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014, p.90) motivating them to move to Doncaster. These findings confirm previous findings relating to a relationship between return migration and child rearing (Niedomysl and Amcoff, 2011; Rérat, 2014; Haartsen and Thissen, 2014; Newbold, 2009), particularly in more rural or peripheral locations (see e.g. Rérat, 2014; Haartsen and Thissen, 2014, p.90). In turn, these findings are indicative of one life course phase that may be a significant influential motivator of inward mobility into peripheral places. More broadly, the findings highlight the dynamic nature of mobility, as needs and preferences change across time.

Whilst narratives were characterised by flux and fluidity, it is important also to highlight the enduring sense of attachment and belonging which *Returns* expressed in relation to Doncaster as their home town. These descriptions often extended beyond situated relationships and practical considerations (relating to child-rearing, for example), and into issues of identity, belonging and place attachment. This factor was a strong motivator of mobility, where several respondents expressed having a distinct association with Doncaster as 'home', despite some movers having spent several years living outside the borough. In addition, this sense of attachment was often expressed alongside a long-standing impression of the borough as an unambitious place to live. Indeed, several respondents described making sub-rational market decisions in their choice to live within the borough, explicitly favouring social and situated attachments over economic gain in their decisions. Here, issues of employment and career advancement were often placed secondarily to more social, relational considerations. Whilst preferences were shown to be dynamic and changing over time, this finding demonstrates the continuing importance of previous residential experience on future housing preferences (Feijten et al., 2008; Winstanley et al., 2002). In turn, these findings stand in direct contradiction to the theoretical analyses of a footloose *homo economicus* concerned with utility maximisation, highlighting instead the enduring importance of place in decision-making within longitudinal and relational narratives.

11.2.3 Embedded, relational actors

It was not possible, given the focus on individuals in this study to conduct an in-depth analysis of intra-household power and mobility decisions (see Chapter 7). Nevertheless, it was clear that relationships both within and outside of the household, as well as broader societal norms and structures served to influence decision-making. Indeed, even where there was a sole decision-maker in the household (for example in the case of Sylvia: see Chapter 9), decisions about where to live were not representative of a single narrative, instead reflecting the complex relational and embedded nature of decision-

making. Here, and throughout interviews, respondents showed themselves to operate in a highly dynamic and relational way, where decision-making was situated within networks of influences including those related to friends, family and peers as well as external norms and structural influences (Levy and Kwai-Choi Lee, 2004; Levy et al., 2008; Mason, 2004). Whilst individual histories, preferences and experiences were important, the embedded, relational decision-maker revealed through the course of the study showed the propensity for individual respondents to align, modify or eschew their own preferences according to a range of external social stimuli and needs.

For example, for *Newcomers* in particular, the discussion to move to Doncaster was often framed within wider discussions of sacrifice and compromise (Green, 1997; Levy and Kwai-Choi Lee, 2004; Levy et al., 2008), where respondents discussed choosing between individual priorities and needs and the priorities and needs of others. In several cases, these Doncaster residents either preferred not to, or refused to move outside of the borough, influencing *Newcomers* to relocate inward. In this sense, respondents appear to have been willing to make 'individual sacrifices' for 'household benefits' (Green, 1997, p.641); eschewing their own personal preferences in order to satisfy the needs or preferences of others.

Here, again, these findings are incompatible with neoclassical or postmodern interpretations of the individualistic and self-serving decision-maker as described in Chapter 4. Instead, decisions were shown to be substantially socially negotiated and embedded (Levy and Kwai-Choi Lee, 2004; Levy et al., 2008; Mason, 2004).

11.2.4 Flawed policy assumptions

The findings of the research very clearly indicated that for the vast majority of respondents, inward moves to Doncaster were not substantially related to the offerings of the borough in terms of the built environment, housing or employment, but because it was the place in which family members lived or where respondents had a prior residential history or emotional connection. In turn, the findings suggest that the failure of new-build housing to attract substantial inward migration from newcomers may be substantially related to flawed assumptions relating to household rationality and decision-making. In other words, the findings suggest that the reality of housing market outcomes may fail to match the expectations of policymakers, where physical and functional characteristics of the home and utility maximisation which form part of the rationale for high-end construction. This in turn suggests that it is incorrect to assume that changes to the built environment (specifically housing provision) are likely to be sufficient to substantially promote demographic change through inward migration in this market context. These macro-level findings speak more broadly to potential implications for urban development and economic growth strategies as discussed in Chapter 2, and these are returned to in the following chapter.

More broadly, the findings of the research highlight the need to explore mobility decision-making within the context of longitudinal, relational and structural factors. It is arguably not possible for any single study to fully capture the complexity of the multitude of factors and influences which can shape mobility and instead, each study can only focus on a limited number of aspects of what is an inherently complex set of processes (Clapham, 2009). However, the findings of this research suggest a need for further investigation using a longitudinal, relational approach to analysis in understanding mobility motivations (Coulter et al., 2016; Findlay et al., 2015).

11.3 Use value and exchange value: Ensuring appropriate supply for local residents

As outlined in the thesis introduction, owing to the commodification and financialisation of housing, there has been a shift in the importance of the 'exchange value' of housing, from its 'use value' (Madden and Marcuse, 2016). Here, housing can increasingly be seen as an economic asset by developers and investors, but also by the public as the perceived financial and social benefits of homeownership become entrenched in housing preferences (Ronald, 2008). Moreover, migration and mobility processes can be highly relational, and shaped by a range of interpersonal and structural influences (Findlay et al., 2015; Coulter, 2013; Mason, 2004; Winstanley et al., 2002; Smith et al., 2006; Munro and Smith, 2008; Christie et al., 2008; Karsten, 2007). Housing and neighbourhood choice have been associated with issues of both individual and categorical identity (Karsten, 2007; Sirgy et al., 2005; Clapham, 2005) and choices about where to live can also serve as a social marker, signifying one's social position (Karsten, 2007; Clapham, 2005; Watt, 2009; Sirgy et al., 2005). Here again, the 'use value' of housing – its function as a home and place of living – can superseded by economic and prestige value.

In focusing construction on higher-end private sector housing, and where homeownership is associated with financial security, high-end newbuild homes may be considered to have the potential to attract more affluent residents. However, as the findings of the research showed, respondents were not footloose investors. In describing their decision to live in Doncaster, respondents were clearly highlighting the continuing importance of the use value of housing, including the importance of maintaining situated relationships and seeking to secure a sense of familiarity, often in a place associated with 'home'.

The relatively high proportion of internal moves has implications not only for the extent to which new-build housing might be considered an appropriate mechanism for achieving economic growth, but also for the relative import of the neighbourhood scale in examining mobility in this empirical context. Here, multi-scalar analysis allowed for a more nuanced discussion of mobility at the neighbourhood scale.

Interviews and survey responses showed that each of the four neighbourhoods (with outlying towns and villages grouped collectively) had a unique position within the housing market, and in discussing their decision to move to these developments, movers stressed the importance of different qualities.

At the most basic level, the development at Bentley provided a welcome addition to the local housing market, allowing mobility for those who wished to remain living in the north of the borough. Carr Lodge was uniquely well situated in terms of transport links and was viewed as an 'up and coming area', providing upwards mobility without the expense (or prestige) of Lakeside. Lakeside was the clearest example of a wholly new, prestigious, aspirational development (as opposed to an extension of an existing community), and the outlying towns and villages allowed respondents the benefits of living close to Doncaster (in terms of connectivity, situated relationships and so on,) whilst allowing for a physical and emotional separation from other areas in the borough and to some extent, the borough itself. Here in aggregate, narratives provided by respondents revealed collective perceptions of

neighbourhoods across the borough in relation to an internal 'pecking order' (Savage et al., 2005, p. 39) of neighbourhoods in Doncaster.

As discussed in Chapter 3, a key strand in residential mobility literature has been the propensity for households to 'move to improve' (Clark et al., 2014), that is, where afforded the opportunity, individuals and households will choose to move 'upwards' in terms of housing and neighbourhood across their lives (Clark and Dieleman, 1996; Clark et al., 2006, 2014). At the same time, not every household has the same potential to move. Those with more resources may have more opportunities to move and greater choice in the housing market. A number of studies have noted the propensity for the outward migration of relatively affluent groups from more deprived neighbourhoods (Clark and Coulter, 2015; Hedman et al., 2011; Andersson and Bråmås, 2004; Clark and Morrison, 2012), which in turn can lead to a 'spiral of selective downwards mobility' (van Ham and Clark, 2009, p.1445) as less affluent households are left behind and more affluent households are subsequently replaced by less affluent newcomers.

The findings of the research showed a high propensity for movers to seek to improve their housing and neighbourhood conditions through their move and for many, new build developments allowed respondents to fulfil these ambitions, sometimes allowing for 'wishful-thinkers' to fulfil mobility ambitions (Sell and DeJong, 1983; Coulter, 2013). However, many respondents reported leaving more deprived neighbourhoods in the borough and simultaneously avoiding these areas at their most recent search. In turn, these findings suggest the potential for increased spatial segregation resulting from internal moves associated with the construction of these high-end homes (see for example Atkinson, 2006). Accordingly, whilst the new build homes provided a welcome addition to the market for more affluent households, there is a need to consider the broader market implications of targeted high-end new-build construction and household moves.

In discussing their housing preferences, the ways in which respondents spoke about the relative import of the 'use value' and 'exchange value' varied across neighbourhoods. As the findings presented in Chapter 10 showed, narratives of respondents in Bentley – the neighbourhood closest to the bottom of the collective 'pecking order' – most commonly stressed the situated 'use value' of housing, and the importance of access to friends, family and local amenities in their narratives. In contrast, those respondents in the outlying towns and villages and in Lakeside in particular, more forcefully stressed the 'exchange value' of housing; its financial potential and prestige.

However, it is important to note that situated attachments, belonging and a prioritisation of the 'use value' of housing were by no means restricted to those who moved to Bentley. Whilst many respondents were choosing to move from the ex-mining towns and villages and were not including them in their search, the individual histories of respondents were often embedded in these communities in way that could not be negated through wealth accumulation or career success. Indeed, for many respondents, the history of Doncaster and its neighbourhoods were intrinsically linked with their own history and sense of identity. Respondents were not searching indiscriminately throughout the borough and even where respondents clearly expressed a desire to 'move up', neighbourhoods were selected not only by their exclusivity or 'exchange value', but also by their proximity to former neighbourhoods and family members; the 'use value' of these homes and neighbourhoods. Many movers chose to live in nearby communities, rather than (on the whole)

moving across the borough to a distant neighbourhood. In this way, several respondents explicitly framed their moves as a mediation between competing needs and desires; moving, but not *too* far, 'moving up' into the more desirable and affluent neighbourhoods and developments included in the study, but retaining access to former neighbourhoods and communities, both for their own comfort and for the needs of others.

Similarly, whilst respondents in Carr Lodge and Bentley in particular expressed deep, place-based attachments, interviews also revealed themes of ambition and distinction. For example, Hayley's explanation of the relationships between her career and financial success, her housing and neighbourhood choice and a symbolic narrative of improvement were particularly illustrative of this complexity. In her neighbourhood choice, Hayley was certainly prioritising the 'use' value of housing in prioritising proximity to her family and former neighbourhood, but at the same time, themes of moving up and improving were central to her narrative, and these ideas were firmly situated in issues of relational and individual identity, expressed in the positional role of neighbourhood selection.

Of course, it is important to acknowledge the desire of residents to improve their housing and neighbourhood circumstances and here, high-end new build housing played an important role. However, there is a need to consider the wider impact that these developments can have on existing nearby neighbourhoods and communities. A continued focus on economic value of housing and its role in the political economy necessarily has implications for housing affordability and accessibility (Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Jacobs and Manzi, 2017). Where housing is seen primarily as an economic asset and where profits of housebuilders, market agents and investors are primary drivers in housing provision, there may be difficulties in ensuring that housing provision meets housing need, particularly for more deprived households (Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Jacobs and Manzi, 2017). These issues become more pertinent in the context of a self-contained market, where many household moves fall within the local authority area.

For example, effects of segregation may be particularly influential in creating segregation where new build housing developments are constructed outside of existing neighbourhoods. Here, there is the potential to create 'enclaves', increasing segregation (Atkinson, 2006), as more wealthy households leave deprived neighbourhoods in a bid to improve their housing and neighbourhood circumstances.

Evidence from interviews suggested that whilst many respondents left neighbourhoods which were considered to be in decline, this often happened with some reluctance, where respondents had deep attachments locally. Here, it was clear that for the majority of respondents, the use value of housing remained of central importance and that place attachment and belonging at the neighbourhood scale shaped mobility preferences. Whilst some respondents were seeking to access the prestige of new build developments, and others were seeking to improve their housing, several movers reported being reluctantly prompted into their move owing to a perceived neighbourhood decline. Here, regeneration initiatives have the potential to reduce the need for outward moves from these neighbourhoods, where respondents prefer to remain living locally. Further, whilst (as argued in Chapter 3), mixed tenure developments have shown limited potential in terms of social mixing of residents between tenures, high-end development along with regeneration in the more deprived neighbourhoods in the borough may allow for local residents to improve their housing circumstances,

whilst maintaining situated relationships and attachments, thereby minimising churn and associated potential for segregation.

More broadly, these findings highlight the need to focus on the 'use value' of housing and targeting provision toward local need; balancing the housing needs and aspirations of more affluent groups with those of more deprived households.

11.4 Newcomers and locals: Elective belonging, selective belonging and dwelling in place

Alongside a comment on aggregate outcomes and the possibility for neighbourhood change resulting from household moves, the selection of eight study sites across the borough in different types of neighbourhoods allowed for a detailed discussion of mobility in different neighbourhood contexts. Accordingly, it was possible to explore how the narratives of individuals and households in Doncaster intertwined and intersected and shaped household preferences, particularly in relation to place attachment, identity and belonging in neighbourhood selection.

As described in Chapter 4, there has been a long-standing bifurcation in understandings of place attachment and mobility between a situated working-class and a mobile middle-class (see for example Gustafson, 2001 for a discussion). It is here that the conceptualisation of the footloose consumer is applied to a classed framework, with mobile affluent individuals being contrasted with 'rooted', 'born and bred' working-class households (see for example Lewicka, 2011; Gustafson, 2001; Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009 for a discussion). Whilst these narratives might be enduring and attractive for policymakers seeking to harness mobile labour for economic growth, the concept of the footloose middle-classes with few attachments to place has been criticised from a range of perspectives (see for example Savage et al., 2005; Savage, 2010; Gustafson, 2001).

As described in Chapter 4, there have been several attempts to reconceptualise issues of place attachment. For example, Savage et al's (2005) concept of 'elective belonging' has been used as a means to reimagine middle-class relationships with place in the context of a modern, globalised world. As Savage states:

In contrast to the literature which portrays advantaged groups as rising above space, as somehow caught up in the "space of flows" detached from any particular location...the middle-class culturally engaged are actually highly invested in their location (2010, p.132).

This interpretation gives nuance to the concept of a footloose middle-class by acknowledging some of the complexity of place attachment for different groups. Here, upon arriving in a given location, middle-class movers are able to create a sense of belonging through claiming a 'moral ownership', thereby bypassing the need for long-standing residence often associated with place attachment. Accordingly, it has been argued that this concept works to 'deconstruct the traditional binary between 'locals' and 'incomers'' (Watt 2009, p.2876), as each group constructs their own claims to place, based variously on a shared history or rationale of living somewhere 'appropriate for "someone like me"' (Savage, 2010, p.132). As described in Chapter 10, these frameworks had resonance the ways in which some respondents spoke about their neighbourhood selection.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was in the relatively affluent, leafy outlying neighbourhoods where respondents spoke most clearly of a sense of 'elective belonging' (Savage et al., 2005). Many of the movers living within these neighbourhoods showed a high degree of place attachment and situated belonging within these communities. For *Newcomers* as with existing residents, these communities appear to have been welcoming, quickly allowing movers to feel a sense of community, without the implied long-term residence usually associated with place attachment (Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009; Gustafson, 2001). The descriptions of the semi-rural nature of these developments, coupled with descriptions of strong community ties were linked with a sense of shared history, which was abstracted from the specificity of Doncaster as a place, allowing for newcomers to integrate quickly. More specifically, these neighbourhoods were considered to be relatively exclusive, and whilst respondents in these neighbourhoods spoke enthusiastically of the local community, of local events and of the aesthetically pleasing nature of the villages, it was here that the 'schizophrenic relationship' described by Watt (2009) was most apparent. The leafy, green neighbourhoods, separated from Doncaster geographically, could also be seen to be distinct in both demographics and built form. The relationship could be more accurately described as 'selective belonging' (Watt, 2009) manifesting in a clear and explicit geographical bounding to the sense of attachment specific to their neighbourhoods, and exclusive of the rest of the borough. Here, this conceptual framing was helpful in capturing the fragmented relationship that newcomers in particular had with Doncaster and its neighbourhoods.

In contrast, in Bentley, the 'moral ownership' (Savage et al., 2005, p.31) appears to have been with the traditional working-class, situated at least partially around long-term residence and a shared history. In interviews with respondents, these ex-mining communities were bestowed with a sense of nostalgia specific to local community and history, albeit tainted by the perception of decline. Further, by some movers these communities were presented as being relatively insular, where belonging was to some extent dependent on a shared history or community, and where newcomers (such as the unfortunate man in Hayley's anecdote) may be unwelcome. It is notable that all respondents who moved into the new-builds in Bentley (although there were only 3,) had all moved from within the neighbourhood or from relatively deprived close-by ex-mining towns and villages. Further, the types of relationships and embedded attachments typically associated with embedded working class communities appear to have been particularly important for those choosing to move into Bentley.

Here then, it is possible to identify the types of relationships which are often observed in literature relating to neighbourhood selection and residential mobility and in narratives of belonging, identity and place attachment. However, whilst themes of 'elective belonging' (Savage et al., 2005; Savage, 2010), 'selective belonging' (Watt, 2009) and 'dwelling in place' (Savage et al., 2005; Savage, 2010) were certainly apparent in interviews and characterised variously across the study sites, it is important not to overemphasise the applicability of these concepts.

Whilst these concepts certainly provide a useful base from which to explore the complexity of middle-class place-based attachments, these models are predicated on a number of fundamental binaries which were not reflected in the findings of this research. As Savage states:

Elective belonging pitches choice against history, as the migrant consumer rubs up against dwellers with historical attachments to place. In this encounter numerous oppositions can be found: between mobile

incomers and stable locals; between those exercising “choice” and those fixed in place; the agent and the object, all of these embedded in the mobilization of present against past (2010, p. 116).

Here, whilst place attachment amongst newcomers and existing residents is reconceptualised through the recognition of different types of attachment and belonging, there remain foundational binaries in Savage’s (2010) analysis, contrasting a relatively footloose middle-class - the ‘elective belongers’ and the more situated, working-class ‘dwellers’. The middle-class might be adept at bypassing the need for long term residence in creating a sense of belonging, but in order from them to achieve this, it is necessary for these individuals to arrive in an unfamiliar place.

Accordingly, one of the key reasons for this discrepancy relies on the blurred boundaries between newcomers and locals in the study. Respondents in this study were not, on the whole, middle-class newcomers, without prior connections to the borough. Instead, respondents reported complex historical, emotional and relational connections Doncaster prior to their most recent move. The messy and complex process of identifying groups of movers according to their previous residential history in the borough, as shown in Figure 8.28 illustrated part of this nuance. An appreciation of broad categorisations were important for initial analysis of inward migration and for understanding the extent to which respondents were newcomers, but the process of determining and delineating these groups was challenging. Figure 8.28 reflected an oversimplification of the nuanced and varied relationships that respondents had with Doncaster, which was helpful for analysis and discussion. However, even a quinquepartite categorisation of newcomers, newcomer-repeaters, returners, returner-repeaters and remainers was insufficient in capturing the complexity of respondents’ relationships with the borough. For example, some of these latter groups of movers had lived in the borough for several decades and others had moved much more recently; some had family or a spouse from the borough and others had been familiar with the borough for a long period before their decision to relocate. In addition, many of the ‘newcomers’ were part of a household that included remaining or returning Doncaster residents. Here, as a result of the complex relationships that movers had with Doncaster and its residents, the binary caricatures of newcomers and existing residents were striated and complicated by historical, dynamic and relational factors.

Neither was there a clear distinction between middle-class ‘belongers’ and working-class ‘dwellers’. The findings of the research did not uncover caricatures of unambitious local, ‘salt of the earth’ working-class residents, uninterested in ‘exchange value’ and prestige of housing. Neither did they present footloose, middle-class investors, distinct from an existing population, prioritising prestige and financial investment. Here again, the research findings did not clearly adhere to existing frameworks based on binary characterisations of identity and belonging. Instead, as it has already been argued, respondents in the study were largely local residents, looking to improve their housing or neighbourhood circumstances. Whilst narratives of respondents were clearly focused on improvement, these desires were shaped, inspired and constricted by issues of identity and belonging situated in networks of historical and interpersonal relationships. Accordingly, the findings of the research revealed neighbourhood selection to be situated in multiple concurrent and sometimes competing desires based on nuanced, embedded and historical relationships with people and place. Here, respondents could claim rooted, embedded relationships and historical connections within Doncaster’s mining towns and villages, whilst simultaneously participating in processes of othering and distinction from these same, or similar communities. These types of identity were also at the same

time fluid, as (for example) financial or relationship circumstances changed, and enduring, as individual, collective and situated histories and narratives intertwined to shape identities, preferences and attachment.

Accordingly, whilst existing narratives of the relationships between newcomers and existing residents, middle-class and working-class households, use value and exchange value are helpful tools for understanding neighbourhood and housing selection, these binaries were insufficient for explaining the complexity and nuance revealed by respondents, where competing individual and relational narratives shaped issues of belonging.

Here, it is important to consider empirical context of the research, and the focus on a medium-sized, peripheral place in the north of England. These findings reveal that traditional binaries of a mobile middle-class and a situated working-class are not sufficient for understanding mobility in the context of a peripheral region, particularly in a self-contained housing market, where the majority of moves were internal and where few (if any) respondents were true newcomers. Here, complex longitudinal relationships with people and places and competing individual and collective identities prevented direct application of binary frameworks. In turn, where there has been a continuing focus on the middle-class and on mobility into and within inner city locations and successful regions, the findings of this research suggest that concepts and theories developed in these contexts may have limited applicability in places such as Doncaster.

11.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a discussion of the findings of this thesis, linking empirical findings with broader theoretical debates relating to mobility processes.

The findings suggest that economic growth policy based on assumptions of economic rationality within households are likely to fail to meet policymaker expectations. The sample included in this study did not reflect a footloose group, free from attachment to place. Instead, the dynamic, longitudinal and relational narratives collected at interview revealed stories about Doncaster, its neighbourhoods and residents that served to shape mobility preferences and ultimately choices. What emerged was not a story of middle-class newcomers, distinct from an existing, embedded, working-class population. Instead, blurred boundaries in the binary distinctions that are often presented in mobilities and place attachment literature, revealed a more complex and nuanced picture of history, relational identity and belonging that shaped mobility preferences.

Drawing on these findings, the following chapter presents the conclusions of the thesis.

Chapter 12 Conclusions

12.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored the relationship between new-build housing, mobility and the life course. In doing so, the research provided an examination of decision-making and mobility outcomes to explore the potential impacts of housing-driven economic policy in a peripheral place.

This chapter provides a conclusion to this thesis, outlining the key findings and contribution to the research, the policy implications of these findings, the limitations of the research, suggestions for future research and a concluding statement.

12.2 Research context, aims and objectives

As demonstrated in Sections 1 and 2 of the thesis, the research intersects with three broad literature themes, with each being primarily concerned with a different spatial scale. The first theme related to the macro context; a changing housing market and existing ideological, political and economic pressures which shape the nature of the housing market and the policy context for local policymakers. The second theme relates to local housing markets and neighbourhood change over time. Here, the primary scale of interest is the meso or neighbourhood scale and understanding how policy influenced by macro-level pressures is manifested at more localised scales, and the potential implications this has on neighbourhoods and local populations. The third theme relates to migration, mobility processes and decision-making. This micro scale interest concerns the ways in which individual and households make decisions about where to live and the types of factors which influence mobility. These themes are re-introduced in brief below along with a restatement of the research aims and objectives.

12.2.1 Housing and local economic growth

As outlined in the thesis introduction there exists a perceived housing crisis in the UK and, in response there has been a continued accompanying rhetoric focused on increasing housing supply through new-build. However, whilst there has been an unwavering policy focus on supply, the commodification, financialisation and globalisation of the housing market as described in the introduction to the thesis necessarily serves to shape housing provision and the structure of the market (Madden and Marcuse, 2016). In this context, there has been a considerable shift in the perceived value of housing, from its functional use value, to its exchange value and its potential to store and generate profits (Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Jacobs and Manzi, 2018; Aalbers, 2016).

As well as shaping the behaviour of housebuilders and investors, the commodification and financialisation of housing has the potential to impact the behaviour of households. Housing can be seen as a positional good, specific aspects of housing such as tenure (along with, type, size, location and so on) can be equated with social status. Here, homeownership is increasingly viewed as the tenure of success, offering stability, assurance and the possibility for financial gain (Ronald, 2008). In turn, the social rented sector, and to a lesser extent the private rented sector have become further stigmatised as homeownership has become considered the primary tenure of stability, success and ambition (Flint, 2003).

In turn, the commodification and financialisation of housing have led to a market which is more suited to cater for economic interests, rather than offering supply-side solutions aimed towards the use needs of low income families (Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Jacobs and Manzi, 2017). These broader trends necessarily shape the potential for local policymakers to ensure suitable, affordable housing for an existing population (Jacobs and Manzi, 2017) and these structural issues have had the impact of creating a spatially segregated and unequal housing market. Moreover, where housing has become seen as a fundamentally financial asset, and can be understood as a potential means through which to attract inward migration, local policy focus may shift from catering to local need, to the economic potential associated with attracting groups of affluent potential residents.

Chapter 2 outlined the ideological, political and economic context which forms the backdrop to the formation of local economic growth strategy. Here it was argued that there has been a gradual and varied incorporation of neoliberal rationality into policy making at a range of spatial scales. These processes, it was argued, represent a 'pervasive "metalogic"' (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 383) in which notions of the free market, of fluid movement of capital, business and labour and of individual property rights have increasingly (albeit heterogeneously) become incorporated into policy rationale and rhetoric (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Forrest and Hirayama, 2015; Harvey, 2007; Blanco et al., 2014; Olesen, 2014; Peck and Tickell, 2002).

In a market-driven, competitive environment, towns and cities are increasingly required to adopt 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1999) strategies to local economic growth. Public-private partnerships have been encouraged through a range of initiatives designed to encourage economic growth, such as Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), City Deals, Growth Deals, the Regional Growth Fund and Devolution Deals, which promise new opportunities for local growth through devolved powers. Here, localities are being asked to take on a responsibility for growth whilst at the same time working in an environment of diminished funding and restricted resources within which to achieve these aims (Meegan et al., 2014). This context has led some to use Peck's (2012) concept of 'austerity urbanism' to describe the current approach to spatial development strategies in the UK (Meegan et al., 2014; Crisp et al., 2015). Here, local authorities are increasingly required to act as entrepreneurs, adopting 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) approaches to local economic development

These ideological, political and economic contexts provide a conundrum for lagging regions, tasked with promoting local growth, but with limited resources and investment to manage it. Here, despite significant spatial inequalities and disadvantages, PPIPs such as Doncaster are required to enter into interurban competition, to act as entrepreneurs and chase economic growth and competition-based funding.

As described in Chapter 2, human capital is thought to be important in encouraging and maintaining economic development and there has been a long-standing interest in mobility process, particularly of young, ambitious groups and graduates (Faggian and McCann, 2009; Sage et al., 2013; Smith and Sage, 2014; Champion, 2012; Fielding, 1992; Champion and Coombes, 2007). In addition, whilst the concept of the 'creative class' (Florida, 2003, 2005, 2006) has faced much criticism, there remains an unwavering policy expectation that certain groups of individuals may be able to act as a catalyst to growth. Indeed, this rationale is key to the urban competition LEP approach (Ferrari, 2018). In turn, these movers are presumed to have the potential to attract inward investment (here the assumption

is that jobs will follow people), as well as contributing to the local economy through taxes and spending – thereby presenting a potential double economic benefit for local authorities.

By implementing housing strategies which focus improving provision for more affluent groups, policymakers may hope to alter the demographic mix of the local area with the aim of stimulating economic growth to compete more effectively in a globalised world (Lee and Murie, 2004; Tomaney and Bradley, 2007). Indeed, as outlined in Chapter 6, this potential relationship between targeted housing market growth and economic growth has been explicitly referred to in Doncaster's housing and economic strategy documents (DMBC, 2013, 2015). However, this relationship between high-end new-build housing, inward migration and local economic growth in a lagging region remains relatively untested (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007; Lee and Murie, 2004).

This broad, macro context led to the development of the first two aims and objectives of the thesis:

- To examine the extent to which new-build housing in Doncaster is taken up by newcomers to the borough, and the extent to which it is occupied by existing residents
- To explore the processes which lead to inward migration of households into Doncaster and the role of new-build housing developments (alongside other factors) in shaping these mobility outcomes

12.2.2 New builds and neighbourhoods

At the same time, intervention designed at the local authority scale (in the built environment or otherwise) has the potential to influence change at the sub-borough or neighbourhood scale. Accordingly, a further concern of the thesis (discussed in Chapter 3) related not to the efficacy of housing-based urban competition strategies as a way of promoting economic growth, but on their potential social and economic impacts at a local level. Here, change to housing mix has the potential to promote neighbourhood change to the physical environment, but also in its capacity to motivate mobility. In this way, a focus on more affluent groups has the potential to increase spatial inequalities and segregation (Atkinson, 2006).

These concerns may further be pronounced in the context of an absence of area-based interventions (ABIs) designed to counteract spatial inequality and concentrations of poverty. As described in Chapters 2 and 3, a policy focus on more successful regions has meant that initiatives designed to intervene in lagging regions and areas with high concentrations of poverty have been abolished, without comparable replacements (Meegan et al., 2014; Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015; Crisp et al., 2015). ABIs have faced substantial criticism (see e.g. Cole, 2015 for a discussion). However, without replacement initiatives designed promote regeneration and focus investment in disadvantaged areas, localities are left unsupported (and without obligation) to shape regeneration efforts (Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015). Here again, such initiatives may be increasingly challenging in the context of restricted resources.

This led to the third research aim:

- To explore neighbourhood selection in incoming and internal moves and the role of new-build housing in internal mobility processes

12.2.3 Understanding choice through a longitudinal, relational lens

In exploring these issues, an examination of the literature (discussed in Section 2 of the thesis) highlighted a continuing emphasis in housing policy on the rationality of decision-making. Here, it was argued that the expectation that high-end new-build housing might be able to attract newcomers is hinged on a particular conception of how individuals process mobility decisions. Specifically, in hoping to draw in these individuals to a new area through the provision of desirable but affordable properties, there is an inherent presupposition that households will act in an economically rational way when making decisions about where to live, seeking to maximise their utility through their actions in the housing market.

Despite a range of criticisms, neoclassical economic rationality models in policymaking and academic literature retain a dominance (Clapham, 2005; Winstanley et al., 2002; Maclennan, 1982; Watkins, 2008) and it is these narratives which shape people-first 'bootstraps' (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993) approaches to economic growth as favoured by the LEP structure. However, alongside the production of increasingly complex and nuanced economic models based on neoclassical economic theory, a range of economic, geographical and sociological perspectives have added nuance to understandings of mobility, the housing market and decision-making processes.

Drawing on these diverse perspectives it was possible to hypothesise that far from the footloose, rational *homo economicus* making value-free, abstract and aspatial economic calculations, residential mobility and migration decisions may represent a more complex negotiation of competing interests, preferences and ambitions, situated in issues of identity, relationships with people and places and changing needs over time. In turn, it was hypothesised that these varying conceptualisations of the housing market and its actors might have implications for the extent to which housing provision might be an influential driver of mobility and also the ways in which (potential) newcomers might interact with the local market (in terms of consumption). As such, it was argued in Chapter 4, that whether this urban competition strategy was deemed to be effective or not, it was likely that the reasons for this might be uncovered through interrogating household moves from the micro scale – starting from the perspective of residents themselves.

In turn, this led to the adoption of a life course approach, investigated jointly by household surveys (to measure household and household characteristics, previous addresses and mobility histories) and biographical semi-structured interviews (designed to explore mobility histories, motivations and relationships with place in more detail). Here, whether new-build housing was substantially responsible for inward migration or not, these motivations and drivers (as they were understood by respondents) were likely to be uncovered. Using a biographical life course approach, this research aimed to explore these issues through examining the types of moves that respondents made into new-build homes, the reasons for these moves and the potential wider social and economic implications of these aggregate mobility processes. This approach was specifically designed to capture the types of factors that contributed to inward and internal migration within Doncaster, in order that both moves into Doncaster, and into and between neighbourhoods within the borough could be understood as they were presented from the perspective of decision-makers in the household.

In exploring the life course narratives of household preferences and decision-making at the household scale, analysis of interview and survey data revealed the dynamic, relational and embedded nature of migration and residential mobility.

Accordingly, the findings went beyond exploring empirical outcomes at the meso and macro scales to exploring the motivating factors behind these outcomes. In exploring the relationship between new build housing, mobility and the life course, the research revealed a story of Doncaster, its history, its neighbourhoods and its residents. Here, the biographical life course approach allowed for an examination of the ways in which shared and collective narratives combined to influence household needs and preferences, and ultimately mobility outcomes.

12.3 Key findings and contributions of the research

In exploring these issues, this research has provided significant empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to knowledge. These sections below restate the key findings and contributions of the research.

12.3.1 Empirical contributions

New-builds, inward migration and (the potential for) economic growth

As argued throughout the thesis, the potential for changes to housing supply in attracting newcomers and, potentially, the elusive 'creative class' has been noted before (Tomaney and Bradley, 2007; Lee and Murie, 2004). However, there has been relatively little empirical investigation into these processes, particularly in relation to lagging regions. This research has provided a contribution to an empirical gap in the literature, testing the likely efficacy of housing-related urban competition approaches to economic growth in a peripheral post-industrial place (PPIP) (Gherhes et al., 2017).

The findings showed that whilst new-build housing was occupied (and mostly owned) by a relatively affluent group, who may have substantially higher levels of disposable income than the Doncaster average, these developments were no more likely than the Doncaster average to attract newcomers, with under a third (29%) moving from outside the borough at the most recent move. As such, ***the evidence suggests that new-build housing of this type is insufficient as a policy mechanism to attract the substantial inward migration of affluent groups in Doncaster (and potentially other PPIPs).***

These findings are likely to be transferable to some degree to other peripheral post-industrial places (PPIPs) (Gherhes et al., 2017) facing similar challenges. Of course, there are certain findings of this research, which are distinct and inherently linked to Doncaster as a place. In particular, the legacy of Doncaster's mining industry was certainly apparent in interviews with respondents, despite these issues not being directly interrogated through the research process. These findings show that place-based histories as well as individual histories and narratives are important for how individual, households and communities relate to places and examine their relationships with places and neighbours. Nevertheless, the continuing focus on 'success' stories of core cities and urban centres has meant that less attention is given to average, ordinary (see for example Allen et al., 2007) or lagging regions (see for example the arguments made by Crisp et al., 2015; Etherington and Jones, 2016b; Tomaney and Bradley, 2007). However, in reality, places like Doncaster and the study sites within Doncaster that have formed the basis of this research are not unusual and as such, this research has provided new insights into the types of factors, which may motivate inward migration into a PPIP,

situating these factors within the context of the life course. The findings of this research have shown that situated relationships and place attachment were of particular significance in motivating inward migration into Doncaster. In addition, it was possible to identify return migration into Doncaster as a common narrative for younger adults moving into a 'family building phase' (Haartsen and Thissen, 2014, p.90).

The findings of this research also speak to existing similar investigations. For example, Tomaney and Bradley's (2007) empirical study which was introduced in Chapter 2, suggested that the targeted high-end development in their study of north-east England, had a role in attracting and retaining the 'creative class' and drawing newcomers into a 'lagging' region (Tees Valley). The findings of this study can be compared to those of Tomaney and Bradley (2007), offering some similarities and some differences.

In their discussion of housing supply and the creative class, Lee and Murie (2004) described the extant housing provision in the post-industrial north to be potentially unattractive to the creative class and successful knowledge workers. Their discussion highlighted in particular, the 'creativity' of the 'creative class' and the need for exclusivity and luxury homes with a focus on bespoke features. The development at Wynyard as studied by Tomaney and Bradley (2007) was found to provide a unique local housing option and a particularly high-end development in the context of the local surrounding area. When compared with the development at Wynyard, the study sites in Doncaster may not be considered to evoke the same luxury appeal, and it is possible that this factor limited the extent to which the homes in Doncaster might serve to attract affluent newcomers. Further, Tomaney and Bradley's (2007) study was specifically selected as it was close to the KIBS institution. Should further research be conducted exploring the relationship between the 'creative class', housing and migration, this factor may prove to be important. Moreover, the Wynyard development, when compared with the study sites in Doncaster is more peripheral to existing developments, whereas those in Doncaster were located more centrally. As such, it is likely that the development at Wynyard would have induced car-borne commuting of respondents, which may not have been necessary in Doncaster.

Nevertheless, both studies identified the potential for high-end homes to contribute to *retention* of an existing population. The congruence between the two studies highlights the importance of a varied housing offer, allowing opportunities for a range of different groups, as well as the need for relatively high-end homes, particularly for those who want to improve their living circumstances whilst remaining living locally.

In exploring the types of reasons that respondents gave for moving to Doncaster, this research not only contributed to discussions relation to urban competition strategies for local economic development, but also broadly to a relatively neglected empirical context. Whilst it has been argued that a people-first approach to economic development may have with limited potential, these findings are likely to be of interest to academics and policymakers interested in peripheral places and less successful regions, regardless of future changes to regional and local development strategies.

New-builds and neighbourhood change

Whilst it certainly must be concluded that high-end new-build housing was not a primary driver of inward migration into Doncaster, this is not to deny the inherent value of high-end new-build housing

in the local market. **Evidence from interviews showed new-build housing as a housing type was valued by many respondents in the study.** Responses showed that these properties were valued for their relatively low maintenance costs, perceived ease to move in, modern, plain aesthetics and new-build-specific schemes and incentives. Further, new-build developments shaped respondents' mobility decisions in a number of ways. Owing to the preference of new-build housing, several of the respondents restricted their search to this housing type. For some 'wishful thinkers' (Sell and DeJong, 1983; Coulter, 2013), new-build developments in Doncaster allowed movers to move where they had otherwise been unable, and for many, new-build homes provided new opportunities to improve their living circumstances through changing their home or neighbourhood. Indeed, the majority of respondents showed a strong preference for new-build homes and, whilst this might be expected given the homes included in the research, it was not anticipated that this would be an almost universal preference amongst respondents and such an influential factor in the search.

However, concurrently, **interviews with respondents suggested the potential for growing spatial inequalities, as affluent movers reported leaving neighbourhoods that were considered to be in decline in favour of the new-build developments.** Evidence from interviews suggests that the majority of movers were not considering the high-end new-build homes in the more deprived neighbourhood of Bentley (and to a lesser extent, Carr Lodge), and were instead drawn to the more affluent neighbourhoods of Lakeside and the outlying towns and villages. Moreover, **interviews showed that many of these movers in these developments were choosing to self-segregate, and these high-end developments and some movers valued these homes not only in their material value or their social value, but also in their exclusivity, their ability to keep out the 'other'.** These findings resonate with previous discussions as outlined in Chapter 3, relating to growing spatial inequalities at the neighbourhood level, increased social-spatial segregation and associated growing concentrations of deprivation (Atkinson, 2006).

Whilst the new-build developments in Doncaster catered to the relatively affluent respondents and provided attractive new options for mobility, these processes may themselves have the potential to promote change, not only in the neighbourhoods which respondents have moved in to, but also those that they have left. As such, whilst new-build housing certainly provided attractive housing and neighbourhood options for the more affluent, a continuing focus in policy and particularly in the housing market on more affluent groups, has the potential to lead to negative socio-spatial implications (Atkinson, 2006).

12.3.2 Theoretical and conceptual contributions

In exploring the reasons that respondents gave for moving to Doncaster the findings suggest that **housing (supply, affordability and so on) was not a central factor in influencing inward migration.** Instead, analysis of respondents' housing biographies and pathways revealed that **household moves were deeply embedded in longitudinal, relational and structural factors.** In describing household moves **respondents repeatedly referred to issues of individual and relational identity and here it was clear that mobility decisions were closely associated with the ways in which respondents saw themselves, the ways they understood themselves in relation to others and how they wanted to be seen by others.**

Whilst the narratives of respondents were all unique, in aggregate these findings lead to a more fundamental conclusion from the study: that ***experiences, places and relationships with others mattered to movers when making decisions about where to live***. Whether respondents were reacting to their own emotional and historical attachments, to the needs of others, or respondents were compromising and acting according to the preferences of others or otherwise, respondents were not acting as footloose agents when looking for their new homes, but instead were responding to complex and often spatially situated needs and preferences.

The majority of research examining migration patterns and the relationship of these moves with economic growth or neighbourhood change have focused around more successful regions and affluent households. This research has allowed the opportunity to test some of the concepts and theories relating to mobility and neighbourhood change over time as discussed in Chapter 3 and particularly Chapter 4 in an empirical context that has historically received scant attention. In particular, this research has allowed the opportunity to explore some theories and concepts relating to mobility processes, identity, class and belonging at the neighbourhood scale in an empirical context which is less frequently the focus of study.

As discussed in Chapter 11, one of the key findings of the research related to the issues of translating the binaries so often expressed in mobilities and neighbourhood change literature to the data collected throughout the course of the study. The findings of this research showed mobility to be a highly relational process, which was dynamic and embedded in longitudinal and competing issues of identity, belonging and relationships with people and places. In addition, these feelings and relationships were found to be highly dynamic and fluid, changing over time as individuals, their circumstances and their relationships altered.

Rather than acting as individual agents, respondents in their study showed the complex and embedded nature of structural and social influencing factors on mobility decisions. Here, narratives of 'elective belonging', 'dwelling in place' (Savage et al., 2005; Savage, 2010) and 'selective belonging' (Watt, 2009) were certainly apparent in the ways in which respondents spoke about their neighbourhood selection and relationships with others in the borough. However, individual and collective histories, place attachment and situated relationships were also found to be of central importance, striating and blurring these boundaries. In analysing the arrival stories of residents, it was not possible to identify clear distinctions between newcomers and locals, or middle-class and working-class groups. Class-based analyses and narratives such as gentrification and displacement, which often forms the focus of research into more high-end developments, were as such not applicable to this market context. Instead, the findings of the research revealed a much more nuanced and dynamic picture of mobility processes within Doncaster, where narratives of identity and belonging were complex and multifaceted.

These findings, as it was argued in Chapter 11 are likely to be related in part to the status the Doncaster as a relatively self-contained housing market in a peripheral place, a factor that was reflected clearly in the findings of this study. Where there has been a containing focus on more affluent groups and more affluent neighbourhoods, theories developed with data collected in these contexts and in these groups may not necessarily translate perfectly to other market contexts. This research has explored the translation of these concepts into this market context, revealing significant limitations. In turn, the

research highlighted the need for further investigation into explorations of issues of belonging and identity in residential mobility processes, particularly in lower pressure housing market environments.

12.3.3 Methodological contributions

The empirical contributions of this study are further bolstered by methodological contributions provided by the application of a life course and pathways approach. In exploring the pathways and life course factors that influenced mobility into a PPIP, this research has used existing frameworks in a new empirical context.

In Chapter 7 it was argued that singular reasons or 'nebulous categories' (Coulter and Scott, 2015, p.358) as collected through the household survey may fail to capture the complexity of mobility decisions, where there are often multiple and diverse factors influencing migration and residential mobility (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993; Coulter and Scott, 2015). Accordingly, a biographical approach was adopted in order to situate moves within life course narratives. Here, respondents' previous mobility patterns and decision to relocate to, or return to Doncaster were cross analysed as 'pathways' (Clapham, 2002; 2005). Whilst this study did not seek to produce a typology of pathways or generalizable pathways, through analysis of individual biographies, and cross-sectional analysis of multiple accounts of mobility, it was possible to analyse parallels between narratives, whilst also allowing the observation of differences (Clapham, 2005).

Cross-sectional analysis of respondent narratives focusing on the point of moving to Doncaster revealed that in choosing to live within Doncaster, respondents were considering not only their own needs and preferences, but also interacting with a wide range of influences and needs. Respondents in this study showed themselves to operate in a highly relational way, where decision-making was situated within networks of influences including those related to friends, family and peers as well as external norms and structural influences. Accordingly, these findings add to the critique discussed in Chapter 4 of individualistic postmodern interpretations of mobility decision-making (see for example, Mason, 2004, Winstanley et al., 2002; Levy et al., 2008; Mulder, 2007). Here, understanding housing as another item for consumption as part of the individual lifestyle project as posed in postmodern interpretations of mobility and housing pathways necessarily fails to capture the relational nature of mobility and household decision-making. As such, whilst the pathways framework allowed for structured, cross-sectional analysis of in-depth biographical data and provided a useful framework to understand similarities and differences across narratives, evidence from this research shows there is much to be gained from adopting a relational, rather than individualistic approach to analyses and a need to move away from individualistic post-modern analyses of motivation, toward a more relational analysis.

Whilst this thesis did not attempt to produce definitive 'pathways' to Doncaster, nevertheless, the employment of a cross-sectional life course framework has allowed for some preliminary findings relating to inward migration into PPIPs, which could potentially be further developed into a typology. This methodology in turn was critical to uncovering the central theoretical and conceptual findings of the thesis.

12.4 Implications for policy

Alongside academic contributions to knowledge, the findings of this research also offer some insights that relate to policy. The sections below outline some potential policy implications and suggestions in brief below.

12.4.1 Regional economic development strategies, mobility and ‘places that don’t matter’

The findings of this research provide empirical insights into one reason why housing-related urban competition approaches to economic development may be ineffective. As described in Chapter 4, the elegant simplicity of neoclassical economic models continues to be appealing in seeking to understand urban processes and produce models of housing market behaviour (Watkins, 2008; Clapham, 2005). This is not surprising: the ability to accurately predict and model behaviour accurately would be invaluable for planning, strategy and policy related to the housing market and a wide range of urban processes. In working towards these goals, models designed to understand micro-processes within the housing market certainly offer substantial potential to improve our understanding. However, as it has been argued throughout the thesis – and as the findings of this study suggest – mobility appears to be a complex and substantially social process and here, alongside (and often overshadowing) economic motives relating to mobility are a range of highly personal and emotional factors, which in reality mean that movers will often act in (economically) sub-rational ways. Factors such as place attachment, belonging and situated relationships may be much harder to build into generalizable models, but this does not negate their importance.

As described in the thesis introduction, competitive urban growth strategies have been criticised for their assumption relating to the causality of the relationship between labour market growth and human capital, where it has been argued that firms may have much more limited capacity for mobility (Storper, 2011) than is assumed in the urban competition LEP approach to development. Such arguments equally raise fundamental questions about the potential efficacy of the urban competition ‘bootstraps’ rationale, which is centrally reliant on the ability of regions to provide attractive possibilities for investment (through human capital, taxes and so on) (Ferrari, 2018). That is, that even if newcomers had been attracted to Doncaster as a result of changes to local housing provision, it is not clear that this would result in investment from business (Storper, 2011).

It is also important to consider the context of changes to regional spatial development patterns and strategies when interpreting the findings of this thesis. As Ferrari (2018, p.147) stated, “bootstraps’ approaches to economic policy...flounder in the prevailing winds of spatial agglomeration’. Narratives of the economic benefits of agglomeration have been influential in shaping approaches to regional spatial development policy in the English context (Etherington and Jones, 2016b; Martin, 2015; Martin et al., 2016; Gardiner et al., 2013; Ferrari, 2018; Haughton et al., 2014). Where agglomeration is perceived to be a natural equilibrium state, limitations on place-based interventions (designed to promote growth in lagging regions) can be justifiably scrapped (Overman, 2012) in favour of people-based policies, aimed at encouraging mobility into agglomeration cores (Leunig and Swaffield, 2007). Here, both the NEG approach (favouring agglomeration), and the bootstraps LEP approach (favouring ‘bootstraps’ approaches) are fundamentally reliant on the relatively free movement of human capital. Whilst in the urban competition approach, this labour could potentially be harnessed through favourable residential offers (or other types of urban competition pursuits – cultural events, amenities

and so on), and here, jobs follow people, in the NEG conceptualisation, 'people move to jobs' (Storper, 2011, p.336). Moreover, a core tenet of the agglomeration argument is in 'process of circular and cumulative causation' (Storper and Scott, 2008, p.157), which is manifest in the movement of human capital and firms to agglomeration centres. Here, following this rationality, individuals and households may be encouraged to move to these cores (Leunig and Swaffield, 2007).

However, in choosing to move to Doncaster, employment, like housing provision, was a similarly minor driver of inward migration. This is not to say that employment is not important in migratory decisions more generally – the findings of this research showed that it is. Moreover, it is true, as Storper and Scott (2008) argue that securing appropriate employment is necessary for the vast majority of households and as such are necessarily considered in most household moves. These arguments are not disputed here. Further, it is not possible to tell from the scope of this research whether or not there exists a footloose group of creative individuals, capable of providing a catalyst to growth such as that proposed in the creative class thesis. However, this footloose group was certainly not represented in the sample, at least at the point of moving to Doncaster.

Whilst employment was a key factor in attracting a small number of the movers to the Doncaster, and was certainly important for others in shaping mobility decisions, employment (like housing) was only one strand in the decision-making process, where movers were weaving employment needs (of themselves and others) in with wider life course factors. Of course, these findings are perhaps not surprising in the context of a PPIP, where employment opportunities in some industries may be limited. However, these findings suggest that an unwavering focus on economic motives for mobility may fail to capture their inherent complexity.

In this context, neither the NEG, nor the 'bootstraps' approaches are likely to be substantially for beneficial Doncaster and its residents. Whilst the assessment that 'people move to jobs' (Storper, 2011, p.336) may have a basis in assessing the causal relationship between labour market growth and human capital, such analyses are necessarily insufficient for encapsulating the complexity of emotional, relational and here, particularly longitudinal factors which contribute to migratory decisions across the life course. That is that even where long-distance migratory moves can be in aggregate associated with career-driven motivations for moving, a policy focus which neglects the importance of peripheral places themselves has the potential to negatively impact not only living in these communities, but also a wide range of households who may have connections within these localities. Here, in the context of prevailing arguments relating to agglomeration processes based around a small number of large cities, social and ethical questions may continue to be raised (Ferrari, 2018).

Whilst these issues might be peripheral, tangential or non-existent concerns for economists planning for economic growth, the findings of this research have contributed to a growing body of literature that suggests that place continues to matter to movers. It is not argued here that agglomeration processes are not the optimum approach to achieving economic growth and prosperity at a national level. It is outside of the scope of this research to comment on these wider issues of national growth. However, given the continuing importance of place for the respondents in this study, it is necessary to reiterate the potential social and ethical implications of this policy focus. As described in the thesis introduction, an unfortunate but inevitable corollary of the NEG approach is that places which are

considered to be failing in fact should be left to decline in favour of a policy concentration on more successful regions (see e.g. Martin, 2015; Gardiner et al., 2013; Ferrari, 2018 for discussion). Whilst some groups may have relatively few spatial ties and may be more adaptable to relocate for economic opportunities, the same cannot be said for all groups at all times. Accordingly, policies which favour economic growth above other issues, and which fail to account for historical, emotional and social factors necessarily have the potential to be harmful not only for the 'places that don't matter' (Rodríguez-Pose, 2018), but also for the people who value them.

12.4.2 Housing and neighbourhood regeneration

Given the relatively high concentration of internal moves and the self-contained nature of the housing market, the findings of this research suggest that there is a need for local policymakers to focus on providing suitable homes for a local population. As outlined in the introduction to the thesis, the commodification, financialisation and globalisation of the housing market have implications for housing policy at a local level (see for example, Madden and Marcuse, 2016, Jacobs and Manzi, 2017), constraining the possibilities for local policymakers to shape supply for an existing population.

These discussions also have relevance for understanding the contemporary value and purpose of housing in a peripheral market context and for potential housing policy implications. In particular, as described in the introduction to the thesis, a classed binary in the relative import of the 'use value' and 'exchange value' for different groups has often assumed (see for example, Madden and Marcuse, 2016). As outlined above, where housing is linked with the economy and can be understood as a potential means through which to attract inward migration, the local policy focus may shift from catering specifically local need, to groups of affluent *potential* residents. Here, there is a risk that a housing market designed to produce profits for house builders and cater for affluent middle-class homeowners may fail to produce appropriate housing for local populations. These issues may be particularly pertinent in self-contained housing markets, where local populations are the most likely to take up homes in the area.

The research findings suggest that whilst new-build housing might be an ineffective way of driving inward migration, a focus on more affluent groups in approaches to housing market growth has the potential to exacerbate spatial inequalities and issues of segregation at the neighbourhood level.

These issues may cause concerns alone, but the withdrawal of place-based interventions has the potential to exacerbate the negative implications of these processes. Specifically, as outlined in the thesis introduction, for the first time in 40 years, there exist only scarce area-based interventions designed to mitigate place-based concentrations of poverty (Meegan et al., 2014; Lupton and Fitzgerald, 2015). Of course, it is important to note, as discussed in Chapter 3, ABIs have faced a great deal of criticism. As such, this thesis is not calling for the reinstatement of MCI or HMR. Nevertheless, as Crisp et al. (2015, p.180) argue, 'To suggest...that past performance invalidates regeneration entirely as a tool for tackling material poverty perhaps shows a failure to appreciate possibilities for reconfiguring the scale and form of area-based interventions to improve outcomes.'

Here, it is not proposed that former ABIs be reinstated - whilst such initiatives may have had some successes, these approaches were heavily criticised from a wide-range of perspectives. In reality, as Crisp et al. (2015) argue, the most effective response may be a fundamental restructuring of regional

spatial strategy, which is unlikely, short of a substantial change in political direction. However, this study follows Crisp et al., (2015) in suggesting the potential for a renewed focus on area-based policy. In lieu of radical change, it is possible that joined-up strategic place-based strategies will have a place as a meaningful way to tackle spatial inequalities and concentrations of poverty. As such, perhaps it is not quite time to abandon all faith in such schemes, but rather to call for renewed approaches to local and regional spatial policy, drawing on the lessons derived from strategies of the past.

12.5 Limitations and suggestions for future research

This research has provided a significant contribution to research in a number of ways. Nevertheless, there were a number of limitations to the study, which in turn offer promising opportunities for future research.

12.5.1 Development of conceptual and theoretical typology linked to lower pressure housing market areas and peripheral places

This study was undertaken within the context of constrained time and resources and it was not possible to extend the study to other case study areas. However, there exists an opportunity to conduct similar research into further understand processes of mobility and migration and the resultant neighbourhood effects in other peripheral places.

As described in Chapter 11, frameworks which have been developed in core cities and inner city regions have limited application in the context of a housing market in a peripheral place. The findings of this research suggested that the contemporary conceptual tools for understanding issues of belonging and identity and the ways that these factors can influence mobility and associated neighbourhood change over time might be inapplicable to housing contexts in more peripheral regions. Nevertheless, these concepts and themes were useful for identifying some strands of identity and belonging amongst respondents. This research has provided helpful insights into identifying where these areas may need to be reconsidered, which could potentially be to create a workable typology for discussions focused around similar market areas. Future research could draw on and expand on the findings outlined here, with a focus specifically on the meso or neighbourhood scale to explore neighbourhood selection, belonging and identity in peripheral places in order to create a useable typology for similar market contexts.

This research could be used to understand belonging and identity in different neighbourhood types, which in turn offers the potential to expand our understanding of social cohesion and segregation through processes of neighbourhood change.

12.5.2 Vacancy chains and modelling

In measuring the impact that new-build homes will ultimately have in Doncaster, a forward-looking longitudinal approach would be necessary to predict future change relating to new-build developments.

In analysing neighbourhoods within Doncaster, this research has opened up opportunities to begin to identify market segments for more forward-looking simulation approaches. Vacancy chain offer potential in developing different scenario models that could simulate the future impacts of policy and exploring the interlinkages between different housing tenures and markets (e.g. between new-build

private and social rented housing, for example) (Ferrari 2011). This poses an opportunity for future research, building on the findings of this study.

12.5.3 Return migration, peripheral places and the life course

Findings from this study have reiterated the potential importance of understanding return migration in more detail, particularly as these moves may relate to PPIPs and other similar settlements in the north of England. As the findings of this research have suggested, these mobility patterns may prove increasingly important in the context of labour market changes. Whilst it was not possible here to focus exclusively and in-depth on return migration, the findings of this study have highlighted these moves as a research area which has received relatively little empirical investigation and which offers opportunities for future research.

12.6 Concluding statement

This thesis has explored inward and internal migration into Doncaster, a PPIP (peripheral, post-industrial place, Gherhes et al, 2018) in South Yorkshire. The research was inspired by unanswered questions relating to the potential for new-build housing developments, focused particularly towards middle-class homeowners, to promote local economic development through attracting inward migration of these groups.

The research findings suggest that targeting high-end new-build housing is insufficient as a policy mechanism to attract the substantial inward migration of middle-to-high income groups in Doncaster. Evidence from interviews show that new-build housing as a specific housing type is valued by many respondents in the study. However, concurrently, the research suggests that a policy focus on more affluent groups has the potential to exacerbate local spatial inequalities and threaten social cohesion by creating new opportunities for the segregation of more affluent groups. In turn, the findings suggest that where housing markets are relatively insular and fail to increase and capture economic capital-rich households, do not bring about the expected trickle-down effects, but at the same time increase segregation – perhaps it is time for a new approach to managing regional and local development.

In exploring mobility through in-depth biographical narratives framed within a life course approach, the research developed into a story of Doncaster, its neighbourhood and its residents, exploring how individual, shared and collective narratives combine to influence household needs and preferences, and ultimately mobility outcomes. The cross-analysis of data allowed for the understanding of similarities and differences between life course narratives and it was here that the history of Doncaster and its neighbourhoods were revealed to be embedded, entwined and mutually influential with the lives of the borough's residents. The findings of this research suggest that existing binary analyses relating to a situated working-class and mobile working-class, between newcomers and existing populations and between are insufficient for understanding the complexity and nuance of identity and belonging, particularly within the context of a self-contained housing. In turn, this research highlights the need for dynamic longitudinal and relational approaches to understanding mobility processes and the need for further research focused on peripheral places.

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Appendix A: Household survey



Amy Beckett
Dept. of Town and Regional Planning
Western Bank, Sheffield, S10 2TN
Telephone:
Email:
Date

Dear Sir/ Madam,

My name is Amy Beckett and I'm a researcher at the University of Sheffield.

Most of us move several times in our lives but how do we decide when and where to move and what effect do our housing decisions have on the local economy and community?

Local housing policy is often based on the assumptions and expectations of policymakers about who will move into new homes, where they are likely to come from and the effects that new residents could have on the local community and economy. My research aims to test these assumptions through studying the stories and motivations behind household moves.

The focus of my research is on new housing developments in Doncaster. As a resident of a new home in Doncaster, I'd be really interested to hear about where you moved from, why you decided to move, how you chose your home and the stories behind these decisions.

The survey enclosed within this letter will only take a few minutes for you to complete, and your responses are essential for my research. The survey should be completed by one adult who was involved in choosing the home you currently live in. At the end of the survey you will have an opportunity to leave your contact details to take part in a related interview. Your participation in this is greatly appreciated.

Please be assured that all responses to this survey will be treated with the strictest confidence and all responses will be anonymised.

If you have any questions about the research, please do not hesitate to get in touch.

Yours sincerely,

Amy Beckett

Section A: About your current home and your most recent home

I'd like to know more about your previous and current housing. Please answer the questions in this section thinking about both your current and your most recent previous home.

A1. Please select your tenure status at:

A1(a) Your current home?		
A1(b) Your most recent previous home?		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Owner-occupied (with a mortgage)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Owner-occupied (no mortgage)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Shared Ownership (part rented, part owned)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rented from the Council / Sheffield Homes
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rented from a Housing Association
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rented from a private landlord or letting agency, (including student accommodation)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rented from a relative/friend of a household member
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tied or linked to a job

A2. What type of property is:

A2(a) Your current home?		
A2(b) Your most recent previous home?		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Detached house
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Semi-detached house
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Terraced (including end-terraced)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Flat/apartment
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Bedsit/Studio
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Bungalow
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maispette
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other

A3. If you own/owned your home, who with? Please tick all that apply.

A3(a) Your current home?		
A3(b) Your most recent previous home?		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Alone
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	With a partner
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	With family (e.g. siblings, parents)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	With friends
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	With somebody else

A4. How many rooms of the following type are in your current and your previous home? Please write a number for each.

A4(a) Your current home?		
A4(b) Your most recent previous home?		
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Bedrooms
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Bathrooms/ WC
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Living, dining or reception room
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Kitchens and utility rooms
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Other rooms

A5. Which of the following do/ did you have at:

A2(a) Your current home?		
A5(b) Your most recent previous home?		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	A driveway, off-street or allocated parking
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	A garage
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	A garden
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Central heating
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Full double glazing
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Partial double glazing
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Loft insulation
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cavity insulation

A6. Including yourself, how many people live(d) in your current and previous home? Please write a number for each

A2(a) Your current home?		
A5(b) Your most recent previous home?		
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	People in total, including
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Pensioners
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Students in Further or Higher Education
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Children (0-16)

Section B: About your decision to move

I'd like to find out more about how people decide to move and how they choose their home. The information in this section is important as it will help me to assess where people who move into new housing in Doncaster have moved from and the reasons behind your housing decisions.

B1. Please complete the table below to show your previous moves. The table allows space to provide information about your former addresses, the date you moved into these properties, the reasons for your moves and the main reason for your moves. You can use the table at the bottom of the page if you wish to provide numbers for your reasons, or just write your answers in the box. *Please complete this section as fully as possible.*

Home	Address	Date moved here (mm/yy)	Reason(s)	Main reason
1. (your current home)	Street name			
	City/Town/Village			
	Postcode			
	County			
2. (your most recent previous home)	Street name			
	City/Town/Village			
	Postcode			
	County			
3. (your former home)	Street name			
	City/Town/Village			
	Postcode			
	County			
4. (your former home)	Street name			
	City/Town/Village			
	Postcode			
	County			

1	To move to cheaper accommodation	9	Wanted to buy own home	17	Evicted	25	To move closer to transport links
2	To move to smaller home	10	Wanted to rent a home	18	End of tenancy	26	To move closer to shops and services
3	To move to a larger home	11	Relationship or family breakdown	19	Home was repossessed	27	To move to a school catchment area
4	Wanted a new home	12	To live with a partner	20	Access problems e.g. stairs	28	For a better school
5	A bigger garden	13	To move closer to friends/family	21	The property was affecting health	29	For higher education/university
6	Property condition	14	To be closer to work or a new job	22	To make it easier to receive care/support	30	To move to a safer area
7	Free up capital investment	15	Got accommodation tied to job	23	To provide care to family/friends	31	Other (Please specify)
8	Cavity insulation	16	Retirement	24	To move to a better neighbourhood		

Section B: About your moving decisions.... Continued...

Please complete the rest of this section thinking about your most recent move.

B2. When you were deciding where to move, did you consider any other neighbourhood areas in Doncaster?

Please list any other areas you considered in your search and the reasons why below

B3. Were there any areas in Doncaster which you would not consider moving to?

Please list the areas and the reasons why below

B4. When you were deciding where to move, did you consider any other areas outside of Doncaster?

Please list any other areas you considered in your search

Section C: About you and your household

Finally, I'd like to ask some questions about yourself and your household. The information in this section is important for my research as it will help me to assess the ways in which housing mobility and movement relates to the local economy.

C1. Please select the option below which best describes your household type

<input type="checkbox"/>	Single adult household
<input type="checkbox"/>	Couple with children
<input type="checkbox"/>	Couple without children
<input type="checkbox"/>	Lone parent family
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other

C2. Please tick the boxes which best describe the employment status of yourself and your partner (if applicable).

C2 (a) You

C2. (b) Your partner (if applicable)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Full-time employment
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Part-time employment
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Self-employed
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployed
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Retired
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Full-time student (16+ years)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Looking after family/friend
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Permanently sick/disabled

C3. Please tick the boxes which best describe the employment status of yourself and your partner (if applicable).

C2 (a) You

C2. (b) Your partner (if applicable)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Manufacturing
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Construction
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Distribution, hotels & restaurants
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Transport & communications
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	IT, banking, finance & insurance
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Retail & wholesale trade
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Public administration
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Education
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Health & social work
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other services
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agriculture/fishing
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Armed forces
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other

C4. If you or your partner (if applicable) work, where do you work? Please write in the work location by completing as much as you know in the table below for you and your partner (if applicable). I am only interested in where you/they work, not the name of your/their employer

	You	Your partner (if applicable)
Street, area or industrial estate		
City, town or village		
Post Code		

C5. Thinking back to your most recent previous home, if you and your partner (if applicable) worked, where did you work?

	You	Your partner (if applicable)
Street, area or industrial estate		
City, town or village		
Post Code		

Section C: About you and your household... Continued...

C6. How much of your net household monthly income (i.e., after tax and benefits) do you spend on your rent or mortgage? Please tick one only

<input type="checkbox"/>	Below 15%
<input type="checkbox"/>	15% - 25%
<input type="checkbox"/>	25% - 35%
<input type="checkbox"/>	35% - 45%
<input type="checkbox"/>	45% or above
<input type="checkbox"/>	Don't know

C7. Do you receive any financial support to run your home? Please tick all that apply

<input type="checkbox"/>	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, Housing Benefit / Local Housing Allowance
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, Council Tax Benefit
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, another type of benefit

C8. Please estimate your household's total annual gross (before tax) income, including any income from investments and benefits Please combine incomes of the whole household and tick one only. Information will be treated in confidence

<input type="checkbox"/>	Up to £4,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£5,000 - £9,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£10,000 - £14,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£15,000 - £19,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£20,000 - £24,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£25,000 - £29,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£30,000 - £39,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£40,000 - £49,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£50,000 - £74,999
<input type="checkbox"/>	£75,000 or more

Thank you for very much for your time!

Your responses are extremely valuable for the success of my research and are greatly appreciated.

I am also looking for residents to take part in an interview to discuss your experiences, opinions and stories relating to your recent move and about Doncaster.

If you are able to take part in an interview, please fill in the contact information below or contact me directly using the contact details below. As with the survey, all responses will be treated with the strictest confidence and your responses are very important to me.

Please post this form back using the envelope provided. You do not need a stamp.

Name	
Address	
Telephone	
Email	

Contact

Call/text:

E-mail:

Web:

Post

<<Code>>

Appendix B: Interview schedule

Theme 1: Housing history and pathways to new-build housing in Doncaster

I am interested in your housing histories, and am looking to find out more about where residents of new-build housing in Doncaster have come from and how and why they chose their homes

- Could you please tell me about the places you have lived since adulthood, the reasons you moved between homes, why you moved and how you chose your homes?
- Prompts about other homes, reasons for moving, most important factors etc.
- Prompts from survey information – “I saw you lived in x... what made you move there?”

Theme 2: Housing priorities and preferences and the housing search

Thinking back to when you were choosing your new home...

- (If newcomer/returner) what factors brought you to consider Doncaster?
- Did you consider any areas outside of Doncaster/ South Yorkshire?
- What were the **most important** factors when choosing your new home (e.g. price, location, employment, schools, connectivity of Doncaster, housing characteristics, family/friend connections)
- How did you **prioritise** these factors? Were there any which you were more/less willing to compromise on?
- Please describe your **previous home** and how it **compares** to your new home?
- Please describe your **previous neighbourhood** (if different) and how it compares to your new neighbourhood?
- **How much did you know about the area** before you moved here?
- Did you consider **other houses** within this neighbourhood? Outside this neighbourhood?
- Was this considered an ideal neighbourhood, or **were there compromises**?

Theme 3: Community, belonging and interaction with Doncaster and its residents

I am also trying to understand a little bit more about your relationship with your neighbours and others in the borough. In order to do this, I'd like to ask you a few questions about your relationships with others in Doncaster,

- How much did you **know about the area** before you moved here?
- Did you know your **neighbours** before you moved?
- Do/did you expect to form **friendships** with your new neighbours or keep themselves to themselves?
- Did the people you saw living/**expect to live** next door/your street **influence your choice** of new home?
- What sort of **relationship** do you have with your **neighbours** – passing hello, friends, never spoke?

Theme 4: Consumption habits, shopping and leisure

Finally, I would like to ask some questions about your shopping, spending and leisure habits.

- Do you tend to spend a lot of your spare time in **Doncaster**, or **prefer to travel** elsewhere?
 - o Prompts – where, why, how often,?
- If you go **shopping**, to a **restaurant** where do you tend to go?
- Was the **culture and community** of Doncaster a deciding factor in choosing the area?
- Do you find that Doncaster provides you with access to all of the shopping and leisure facilities that you require?
 - o If not, what do you think is **missing**?
- In what ways, if any, do you think that Doncaster has changed since you have lived here?

Appendix C: Location-preference maps

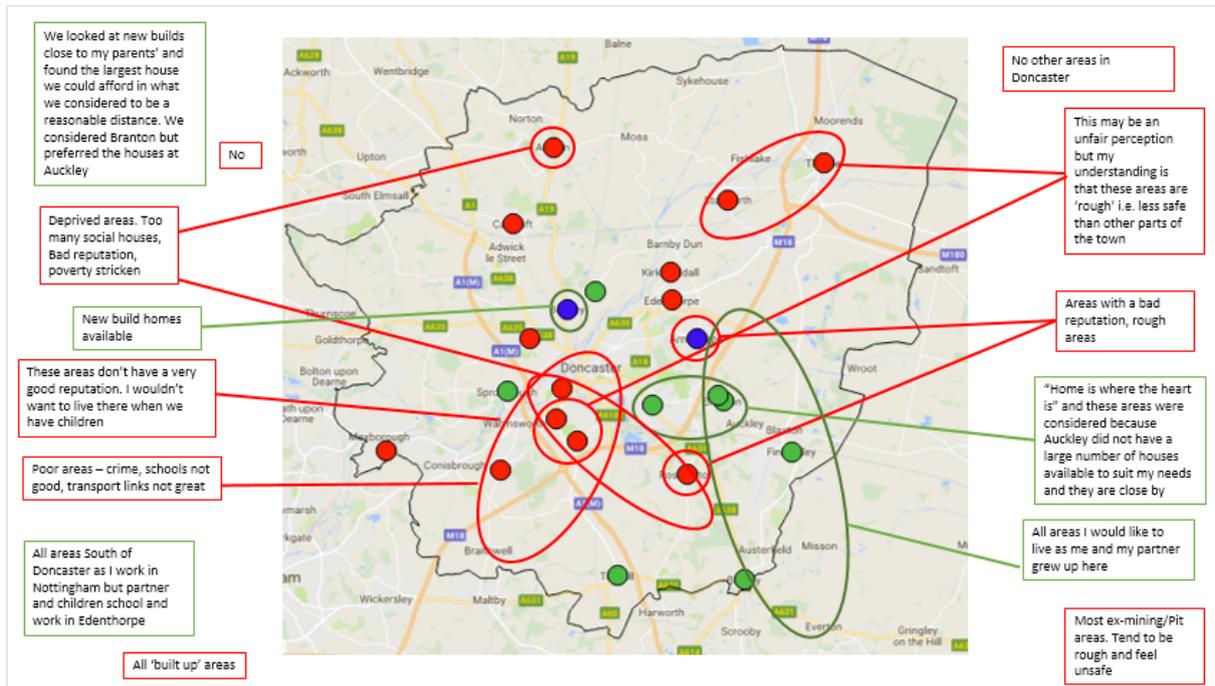


Figure C.1: Auckley location preference map

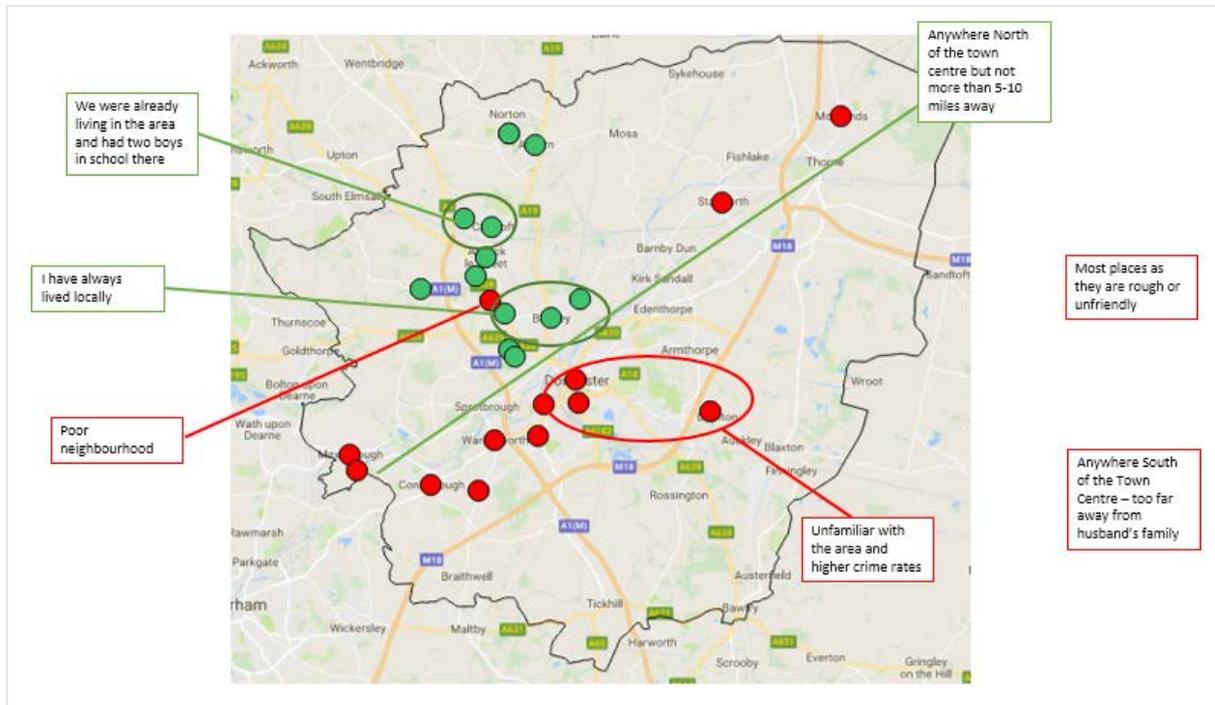


Figure C.2: Bentley location preference map

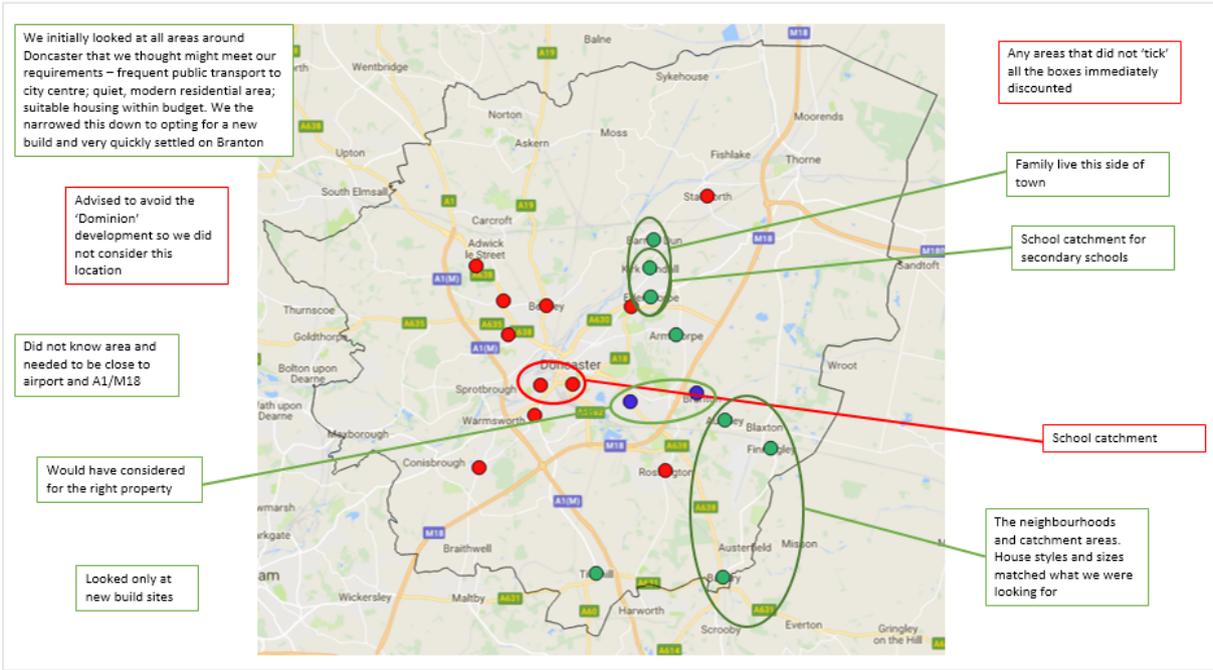


Figure C.3: Branton location preference map

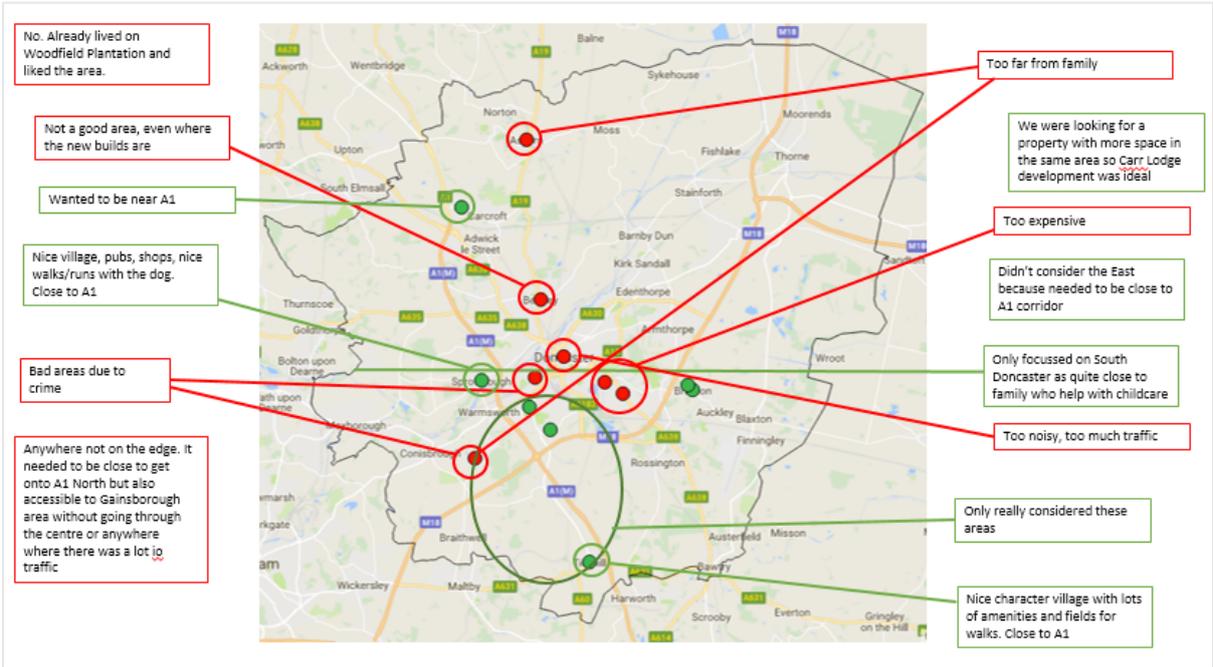


Figure C.4: Carr Lodge Estate location preference map

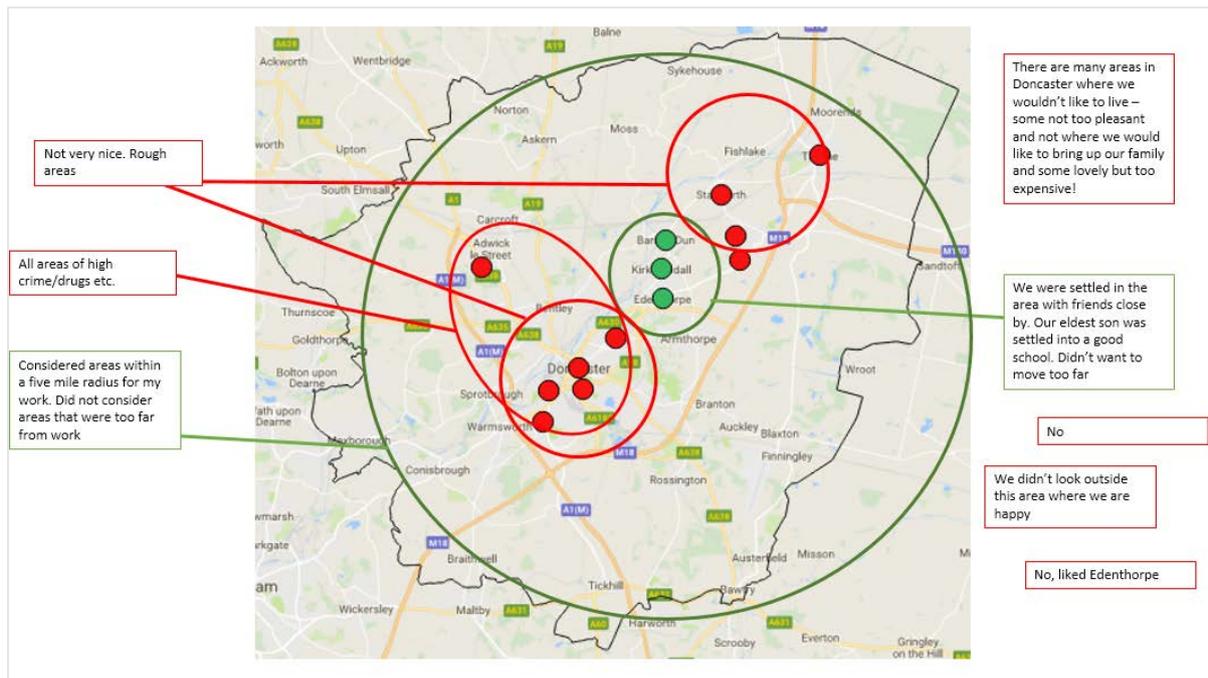


Figure C.5: Edenthorpe location preference map

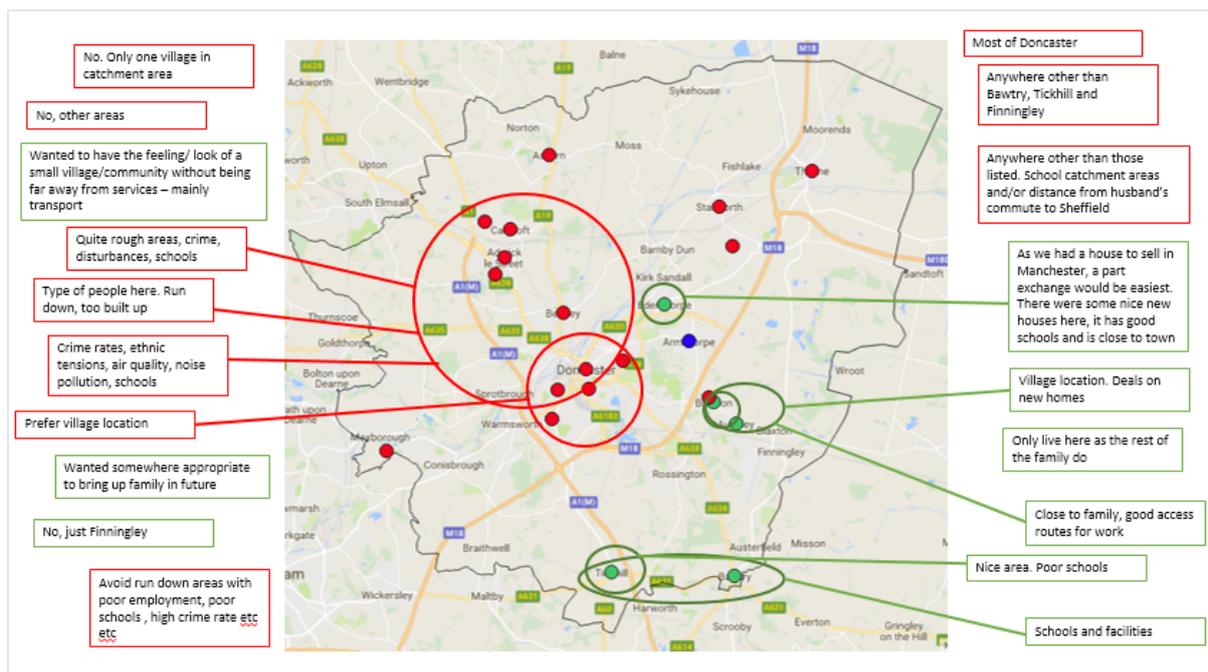


Figure C.6: Finningley location preference map

Appendix D: Reasons for moving tables

Table D.1: Returning Residents: Reason for leaving Doncaster, reason for moving and reason for returning to Doncaster

Mobility pattern	Respondent pseudonym	Reason for leaving Doncaster/ moves since leaving?	Why did the respondent move at the most recent move?	What reasons did the respondent give for returning to Doncaster?
Returners	Jade	Jade left Doncaster to attend University in Sheffield . After finishing University, Jade bought a property in the Sheffield, where she lived for a number of years whilst working in Leeds.	Jade described becoming increasingly dissatisfied with her life in Sheffield. Whilst she lived in the city for a number of years she never felt at home in the city . As time passed, Jade found that many of her friends were settling down with partners, or moving away to other places and she began to feel increasingly isolated . She moved predominantly as she wanted to return to Doncaster .	Owing to the growing feelings of isolation that Jade felt living in Sheffield, Jade wanted to move back to Doncaster to be closer to her family , and to live in her hometown , with which she was familiar and which felt like home . Jade also plans to start a family in future and wanted to live closer to her family who might be able to help her with childcare given her busy work schedule.
	Holly	Holly left Doncaster to attend University in Manchester . After completing University, Holly left Manchester and lived in several places in the north of the country, with her moves being primarily prompted by changes in employment.	The main reason for Holly moving was that she wanted to return to her hometown of Doncaster.	Both Holly and her partner are both from Doncaster and their parents still live in the borough . Holly and her partner are planning to start a family and wanted to be close to their parents so that they could access support with childcare .
	Victoria	Victoria left Doncaster at 19 to live with her partner in Leeds. She bought a house in Leeds and lived there for several years before returning to Doncaster for a short time. Since then she has lived a range of locations in the north and lived in London for a period.	The main reason for Victoria moving was that she wanted to return to her hometown of Doncaster.	Both Victoria and her partner are from Doncaster and their parents still live in the borough . Victoria and her partner are planning to start a family and wanted to be close to their parents so that they could access support with childcare .

	Jamie	Jamie left Doncaster to live with his partner in a nearby small town in South Yorkshire	Jamie noticed signs for a new-build development at Finningley and this prompted the move.	Jamie wanted to return to Doncaster , He still works in the borough and it is his hometown . The existence of the new-build development provided an opportunity
	Rachel	After leaving her parental home, Rachel lived in several homes in Doncaster. She tried to get planning permission to build in Tickhill but was refused and again on appeal. Rachel and her husband moved from Doncaster when they saw a home which could serve as an investment opportunity in a neighbouring borough.	Rachel and her husband managed to get planning permission to build their own property in Tickhill.	Rachel and her husband had for a long while wanted to build their own property and were keen to move to Tickhill, where they both grew up. Rachel's parents also encouraged the couple to return to Tickhill, in order that they would be closer as their parents aged . When an opportunity came up to build a property in Tickhill, the couple made the move, despite having recently bought a home in a town outside the borough.
Returner-Repeaters	Hannah	Hannah left Doncaster to attend University in Manchester . She and her partner lived in several homes in Manchester before returning to live in a rental home in Doncaster. When the couple's landlord decided to sell the property, they moved into one of the new-build houses in the study.	Hannah's landlord decided that they wanted to sell the home that Hannah and her family were living in. As such, it was necessary that they move.	Whilst she had lived in Manchester for seven years, it never 'felt like home' and Hannah felt strongly that she wanted to return to the borough to be closer to her family .

Table D.2: Newcomers: Reasons for moving to Doncaster, and factors which brought Doncaster into the scope of movers

Mobility pattern	Respondent pseudonym	Reasons for moving at point of moving to Doncaster	Factors which brought Doncaster into the scope of movers
Newcomer-Repeaters	Judith	Prior to moving to Doncaster, Judith was living in the south of the country with her former partner, who was originally from the Doncaster. Judith moved primarily as a result of being offered a promotion based in a large northern town.	Doncaster was considered as an appropriate potential location to search for housing as it was convenient for Judith's new job opportunity , relatively close to her parents who had moved to the north of the country. Doncaster was where her partner was from and as such she would be living close to her partner's family .
	Harriet	Harriet is a young professional who lives with her partner Tim in a four-bedroomed home in Finningley. After finishing university, Harriet returned to her mother's home and began to look for employment opportunities. She eventually found a work experience opportunity based in Doncaster where her father was living .	Harriet's decision to move to the borough was driven jointly by her desire to gain work experience and an opportunity arising in Doncaster, alongside the fact that her father was living in Doncaster , allowing her to take that particular opportunity. When first moving to Doncaster, Harriet's ambition was that she would gain experience in her field before moving to London to pursue her career.
	Richard	Until his move to Doncaster, Richard had lived continuously in Essex, moving away from his family home to attend university and moving back to his parent's following completion of his course. Richard's wife is from Doncaster and his move was primarily to cohabit with his partner .	Richard would have preferred to have remained living in Essex, and for his wife to join him living in Essex. However, Richard's wife, who is from Doncaster , had bought a Right to Buy property in the borough, which her mother is currently living in. As such, she was unable to sell the property and the couple were not able to afford a property in Essex, instead deciding to live in Doncaster.
	Terry	Terry and his wife are both originally from a village in South Yorkshire. When their children left home, the couple decided to move home .	Terry and his wife had become increasingly dissatisfied living in their former village. The village has experienced significant development since Terry and his wife were younger and the couple felt that it had lost much of its 'villagey' feel . Terry stated that the couple chose Tickhill in Doncaster as it reminded him of the feeling and community in the neighbourhood he was raised in.
	Hayley	At 15, Hayley's father died. At 17 she moved to Doncaster to live with her partner and his parents in a council property in Doncaster.	Hayley's dispute with her mother at a young age led her to place living with her partner and his family in Doncaster as her only real option when deciding where to live at that time.

Mobility pattern	Respondent pseudonym	Reasons for moving at point of moving to Doncaster	Factors which brought Doncaster into the scope of movers
Newcomers	Kristina	Kristina and her partner wanted to marry and live together. They were living apart prior to the move and so wanted to move into accommodation together.	Kristina's partner had lived in Doncaster for most of his life and preferred not to live anywhere else. The couple both work in Doncaster and have done for a number of years. As such, it was also considered convenient for work.
	Carol and Stephen	Carol and Stephen described how they 'outgrew' previous neighbourhood. Carol and Stephen have moved frequently throughout their marriage owing to Stephen's employment in the military.	Whilst Carol and Stephen had not lived in Doncaster, they had visited the borough on many occasions for hobby and leisure activities. They noted the connectivity of the borough and quickly began to consider the borough to be an appropriate place to search for housing.
	Ben and Madeleine	The primary reason for Ben and Madeleine moving was a promotion that Madeleine was offered at work.	Of the six European locations Madeleine was offered, she chose to take employment in Doncaster. Madeleine wanted to move back to the north of the country. She had visited the borough regularly as a child with her father and had a positive impression of Doncaster.
	Jessica	The primary reason for Jessica's household moving was to move to a larger home. Jessica and her husband had had a baby and were considering growing their family further. Whilst they had believed that their previous home would be suitable for a growing family, they gradually realised that they might be comfortable in a larger home.	Jessica has worked in Doncaster for over 5 years and the move to Doncaster was considered to be pragmatic, reducing her commute as her responsibilities at home increased.
	Sylvia	Sylvia decided to move as her property in Sheffield was not large enough for her to look after her children during the holidays.	Sylvia initially searched for a home in Sheffield. She was looking for a three-bed, new-build home, but was unable to find a suitable, affordable property in Sheffield. Sylvia had a close friend in Doncaster and, when visiting her friend, she noticed the development at Lakeside.