

**The effects of recent migration on local authorities' allocation of housing  
and actions under homelessness legislation**

**A study in six local authorities**

**December 2009**

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## **Glossary of Terms**

**A2 Accession States** – the second tranche of eastern European nations who joined the European Union in 2007. Citizens of Bulgaria and Romania are referred to as citizens of A2 Accession States.

**A8 Accession States** – the first tranche of eastern European nations who joined the European Union in 2004. Citizens of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia are referred to as citizens of A8 Accession States.

**Immigrant** – a person who has moved from one place to another (usually used to refer to those who have moved from one nation state to another)

**Immigration** – the process of moving from one place to another (usually used to refer to movement from one nation state to another)..

**International migrant** – a person who moves from one nation state to another.

**International migration** – the movement of population across international boundaries.

**International Passenger Survey** - a large multi purpose random survey of passengers arriving at and departing from the main UK airports, sea ports and the Channel Tunnel. The sampling procedure developed means that the sample represents about 1 in every 500 passengers.

**Labour Force Survey** - a quarterly sample survey of 60,000 households living at private addresses in the UK.

**Migrant** – a person who moves from one administrative area to another. (used in this report to refer both to those who have moved from one nation state to another, and those who have moved from one region of the UK to another).

**Migration** – the movement of population from one administrative area to another. (used in this report to refer both to movement from one nation state to another, to from one region of the UK to another)..

**Recent migrant** – a person who has lived in one of the local authorities within the 'six counties' area for three years or less.

**Regional migrant** – a person who moves from one region within the UK to another.

**Regional migration** – the movement of population from one region to another within the UK.

**Workers Registration Scheme** - covers citizens of the A8 Central and Eastern European countries (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, which became members of the European Union in May 2004) who register to work as employees in the UK.

## 1 Introduction

- 1.1 This research project was commissioned by the Welsh Assembly Government because of concerns expressed locally, regionally and nationally about the level of housing demand generated by migrant households<sup>1</sup> in certain areas (particularly the coastal and rural areas) of Wales.
- 1.2 The research project was undertaken on behalf of the Welsh Assembly Government by consultants Housing + Cymru, and focused on six coastal authorities in the north and west of Wales selected by the Assembly:
- Anglesey;
  - Ceredigion;
  - Conwy;
  - Denbighshire;
  - Flintshire; and
  - Gwynedd.
- 1.3 The research was carried out between November 2008 and July 2009.
- 1.4 The aims of the research were to establish:
- the scale and nature of recent cross-border migration in the six authorities;
  - how this was expressed in the demands for assistance with housing made to local housing authorities; and
  - the outcomes for migrants and longer-standing residents.
- 1.5 The research involved the following stages:
- a review of literature and data sources (including all-Wales and the six local authorities);
  - a case study of each local authority which involved the following stages:
    - analysis of relevant data and statistics;
    - interviews with key officers;
    - a consultation session with elected members;
    - a detailed analysis of a randomly selected sample of files from the years 2005/06, 2006/07 and 2007/08 of:
      - homelessness cases where the local authority had reached a decision;
      - those housed in either local authority tenancies or in housing association tenancies following a nomination by the local authority.

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<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this research project, migrant households are defined as those who have moved into the local authority area from elsewhere. This could be from a neighbouring local authority, a distant local authority, or another country.

- 1.6 The outputs from the project are as follows:
- an overview report which focuses on the research findings across the six local authorities, in which data on particular individual authorities has been anonymised;
  - a report for each of the 6 local authorities (confidential to those authorities) providing an analysis of the local data and observations from Housing + Cymru.
- 1.7 This report is the overview report, which consists of:
- a literature review which considers:
    - international migration;
    - regional migration;
    - the role of seaside towns;
    - the rural housing debate and the meaning of 'local';
  - a description of the characteristics of each of the 'six counties' included in the study, and data in relation to migration in respect of each;
  - a summary of the views of key local stakeholders in respect of the impact of recent migrants on homelessness and allocations in the area;
  - an analysis of the homelessness cases reviewed across the 'six counties';
  - an analysis of the lettings cases reviewed across the 'six counties';
  - conclusions and observations in respect of the effects of migration in the 'six counties' on the allocation of housing and actions under homelessness legislation.
- 1.8 The consultants were assisted throughout the project by a Project Steering Group comprised of representatives from the Welsh Assembly Government, the Welsh Local Government Association and Community Housing Cymru. The consultants would like to extend their thanks to the Project Steering Group, and to everyone in the 'six counties' who contributed to this research project, for their time, their hospitality, and their help in locating data and in answering our many queries.

## **2 Migration and access to social housing: a literature review**

### **Introduction**

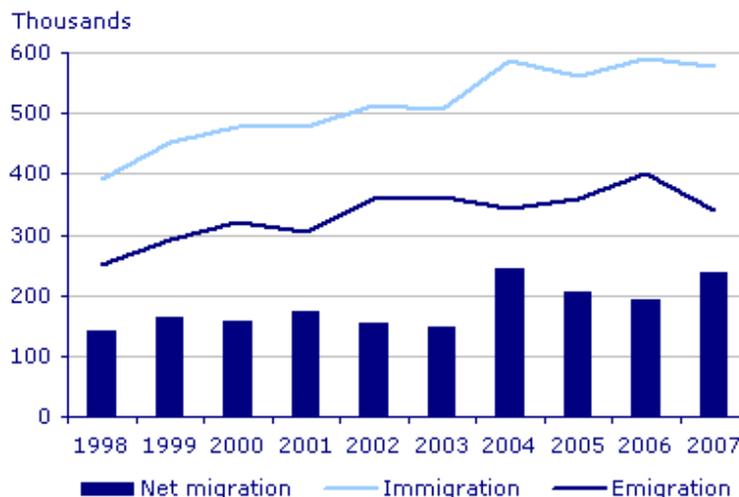
- 2.1 There is a wealth of academic literature on migration. One of the most influential papers was written by Lee (1966), who conceptualises migration as involving origins, destinations and the links between them. Lee suggests that the characteristics of the origin tend to 'push' the individual away from an area, whilst the attributes of the destination serve to 'pull' the migrant to an area. Lee suggests that some links between origins and destinations have barriers which prevent or limit migration (eg. national borders, language differences and cultural differences) whereas some links have attributes which smooth or encourage migration (eg. shared culture and language, family or friends living in the destination).
- 2.2 This review will not consider all of the literature on migration, but will consider:
- the scale of migratory flows;
  - the determinants of migration;
  - the housing implications of migration (in particular the impact of migration on social housing lettings);
  - the changing meaning of place; and
  - the impact of in-migration on rural areas.
- 2.3 The first part of this review will consider international migration. It will examine central government data on international migration to the UK and to Wales, and assess the available evidence on international migrants and their access to the social housing sector.
- 2.4 The second part of the review will consider migratory flows within the UK. It will consider the determinants of regional migration, official data on migration into and out of Wales, the tradition of migration within Wales, the impact that this has on the characteristics of rural Welsh communities, and the demand for social housing in seaside towns.
- 2.5 The third part of the review will consider the meaning of 'place' and 'local' in the context of rural communities within modern western societies. It will investigate the causes of housing problems in rural areas in the UK and Wales, and consider one often-used method of addressing rural housing problems, letting social housing in rural communities to 'local' people.
- 2.6 A series of conclusions relevant to this research project are then drawn from the literature review.
- 2.7 A detailed bibliography is included in Appendix 1.

## International migration

- 2.8 This section draws on a number of official data sources to provide information on international migration to the UK:
- the International Passenger Survey (IPS), which measures the flow of people into and out of the UK. The IPS is a large multi purpose random survey of passengers arriving at and departing from the main UK airports, sea ports and the Channel Tunnel. The sampling procedure developed means that the sample represents about 1 in every 500 passengers. One of the drawbacks of using the IPS findings is that, in relation to residency, they are based on migrant's initial intentions at their point of entry into the country. The IPS has been subject to substantial criticism and the validity of the estimates called into question by, amongst others, the House of Commons Treasury Committee (2008). The IPS is one small component of the population estimates used as a means of estimating the funding requirements of local authorities, and the Treasury Committee suggested that the IPS (which was intended for capturing information about tourism and business travel) was not fit for this purpose;
  - the Labour Force Survey (LFS), which is a quarterly sample survey of 60,000 households living at private addresses in the UK. Whilst the principle purpose of the LFS is to provide information on the labour market, the survey includes questions on nationality and housing;
  - the allocation of National Insurance numbers (NINOs) to overseas adults entering the UK. NINO data records the nationality of overseas adults applying for a NI number by the local authority area that they are resident in at the time of their application. As there is no requirement to deregister from the scheme, the data provides information on inflows only;
  - the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS), which covers citizens of the A8 Central and Eastern European countries (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, which became members of the European Union in May 2004) who register to work as employees in the UK. The WRS provides information on nationality, age, gender, wage rate, sector, occupation, hours worked, planned duration of stay and dependents. The WRS provides data on the basis of workplace, rather than residential address. As there is no requirement to deregister from the scheme, the data provides information on inflows only;
  - the Registrar General's Mid Year Population estimates, which include estimates of the extent of international migration into and out of a local authority area. The IPS forms one component of the data sources used to establish the estimates.

- 2.9 The UK has a long history of immigration and emigration. Green, Owen & Duncan (2008) outline a series of phases of inward migratory flows from the end of the Second World War to the present day:
- the first phase involved employers recruiting migrants from Western and Eastern Europe to assist with reconstruction in the post-war period;
  - the second phase, which reached a peak in the early 1960s, coincided with rapid economic growth in Western Europe, and saw many employers recruiting cheaper labour from Ireland and the New Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962 curtailed immigration from the West Indies, but migration from the Indian sub-continent continued at a rapid rate until the early 1970s. After the mid 1970s and throughout the 1980s Green et al suggest that immigration to the UK from the New Commonwealth continued, but at a considerably slower pace;
  - the third phase, from the mid 1990s up until the present day, has seen migration steadily increase. Green et al suggest that a marked difference between this phase and the earlier phases of immigration is the more diverse range of national origins of in-migrants.
- 2.10 Migrants make up an increasing but small proportion of the UK population. Green et al state that during the 1980s the annual increase of the UK's population due to international immigration was around 50,000 per year. This increased during the 1990s to around 100,000 a year. Since the expansion of the European Union in May 2004, the number of in-migrants has increased markedly, resulting in a significant growth in the net migration rate, as shown in Figure 1 below.

**Figure 1. Total international migration to and from the UK 1998 – 2007**  
Source Office for National Statistics 2008



- 2.11 Compared to many other western countries, the net inflow into the UK has been relatively small. Nathan (2008) states that between 1971 and 2006 the UK population grew by 8.2%, compared with growth in the US of 44.6%. In both instances, the main driver for the growth in population has been international migration. Blanchflower (2007) states that population growth across most advanced countries has been greater than that in the UK over the past three decades. Over the period 1971-2004, population growth in the UK ranks 31st out of 38 European and other large nations for which data are available. Only Germany (East and West) and seven East European countries had slower population growth.
- 2.12 Green et al show that between 2001-02 and 2006-07 the UK's population grew from 59,323,000 to 60,975,000. They estimate that 71% of the population growth can be attributed to immigration. However, the annual growth in the population as a result of net migratory gain is small. The estimated net migratory gain for 2006-07 was 198,000, which represents 0.32% of the total population.
- 2.13 Total international migration (TIM)<sup>2</sup> data indicated that in 2006, 191,000 more people entered the UK than left. This figure was 13,000 less than the previous year, as a result of an increase in the number of people emigrating from the UK, rather than a decline in the number of in-migrants. Net inward migration was greatest for New Commonwealth citizens (115,000), followed by the EU25 citizenship grouping (101,000). Within the EU25 citizenship grouping, net migration from A8 states was 71,000, and just under 74% of A8 in-migrants were Polish. The most popular reasons for migration for those entering the UK were work related (39%), followed by formal study (25%) and moving to accompany or join people already resident in the UK (18%).
- 2.14 National Insurance Numbers allocated to overseas nationals show the growth in foreign workers entering the UK. Table 1 (drawn from the Department of Work and Pensions website) shows the growth in the number of foreign workers being allocated NINOs from 2004 on. The substantial growth in the number of foreign worker being allocated NINOs in the UK has been mirrored in Wales.

**Table 1. NINOs allocated to foreign workers (thousands) 2002-03 to 2007-08**

Source DWP

	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08
Europe - EU excluding Accession Countries	80.09	85.54	80.71	97.84	102.75	107.47
Europe - EU Accession Countries	17.67	28.72	116.84	276.68	317.50	332.44
Europe - non-EU	14.66	15.87	14.04	15.50	16.14	17.21
Africa	65.98	70.71	64.08	74.03	60.72	59.63

<sup>2</sup> The following figures are based on Total International Migration data (TIM estimates are based on IPS data combined with data from other sources eg asylum seeker data and migration with the Republic of Ireland).

Asia and Middle East	113.56	116.03	109.39	134.40	143.79	149.87
The Americas	26.33	31.41	26.52	31.53	31.50	32.64
Australasia and Oceania	27.13	24.49	23.16	32.51	32.98	33.35
Others and Unknown	0.80	0.72	0.61	0.56	0.46	0.49
<b>All NINos allocated in UK</b>	<b>346.23</b>	<b>373.50</b>	<b>435.35</b>	<b>663.06</b>	<b>705.84</b>	<b>733.09</b>
NINos allocated in Wales	5.28	7.09	10.04	16.64	16.72	16.35

- 2.15 TIM data indicates that there is a continuing trend for more males to migrate than females (either into or out of the UK). For every 10 males that entered the UK in 2006, 9 women also arrived. IPS also notes that whilst immigration from older (45-59 and 60 years +) people has remained constant, there has been an upward trend in the younger (15-24 and 25-44) age groups. TIM data also shows that there are greater numbers of single people migrating into and out of the UK than those who are married or divorced.
- 2.16 In terms of their employment characteristics, Glover et al (2001) suggest that international migrants are very mixed, and that their experiences are more polarised than those of the population as a whole, with larger concentrations at the extremes (wealth and poverty, low skills and high skills). Green et al suggest that there are different patterns for different national groups of migrants, with those from Central and Eastern Europe concentrated at the lower end of the skills spectrum.
- 2.17 Portes and French (2005) show that Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) applicants were predominantly young, with 43% under 24 years of age and a further 40% aged between 25 and 34. The majority of applicants were working in the hospitality, agricultural and administrative sectors. Wages were low, with 80% earning the national minimum wage or just above.
- 2.18 Overall migration to the UK is contributing to population growth in all regions of the UK. However, migrants are unevenly distributed around the UK. Nathan suggests that whilst migrants have historically been attracted to cities and large towns, recently a number of rural areas have experienced rapid growth in their migrant populations. Nathan states that in 2002-03 over half of all net migration was to London. Around 69% of the remainder was to the other major conurbations. The IPS shows that only 28% of migrants entering the UK in 2006 cited London as their area of residence, down from 43% in 1999. The Labour Force Survey shows that, prior to the entry into the European Union of the A8 states in May 2004, 50% of all A8 nationals living in the UK lived in London, with two thirds living in the South East of England. This has reduced since accession, with just 25% of A8 nationals living in London.
- 2.19 Much of the literature on the impact of international migration focuses on the labour market effects of immigration. The impact of immigration on the

labour market is surprisingly limited. Gaston and Nelson (2001) suggest that the majority of empirical studies agree that there is no statistically significant effect of immigration on labour market outcomes, with the possible exception of the least skilled domestic workers. Portes and French suggest that one of the main impacts of immigration on the labour market is not the effect on wages, but the composition of output. They suggest that migration of workers into a particular sector allows that sector to expand, leaving the wages and employment of the existing workforce unchanged.

- 2.20 However, the impact of immigration on the provision of goods and services in local areas will have an impact, increasing competition for consumption goods (such as housing) which have a relatively inelastic supply. The Audit Commission (2007) found that the impact of immigration on housing was one of the most notable of local impacts. Where employers or agencies arrange tied accommodation for migrant workers there can be problems with the quality of accommodation and with overcrowding, but did not find an increase in inspection or enforcement activity to match the increase in the numbers of Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs). Migrant workers with hotel-based jobs often live in annexes and therefore have no impact on the wider housing market. For seasonal migrant workers in the agricultural sector, caravans, caravan sites and converted farm buildings are often the only practical option for employers, which again have no impact on the wider housing market.
- 2.21 Where foreign workers have to find accommodation in the housing market, the impact of these migrants on the local housing market and the local neighbourhood will vary according to local housing circumstances. The Audit Commission suggests that, in areas where the housing market has been depressed, the influx of migrant workers can serve to reduce the number of empty homes and increase prices. In areas where large numbers of private rented homes are on the market because of an increase in purpose built student accommodation, an influx of migrant workers will take up the slack. In areas of high demand for housing, an influx of migrant workers adds to demand for affordable rented property. This has created rapid growth in the number of HMOs, and has led to increasing rates of overcrowding in the private rented sector.
- 2.22 IDeA (2008) note that many local authorities have reported an increase in the growth of HMOs stemming from the growth of migrant workers in their areas. They suggest that the properties purchased by landlords are two-storey houses, which fall outside the three-storey classification of HMOs for which local authorities have licensing and inspection powers. They state the case of Slough, which said that 1050 two-storey HMOs were reported to the local authority over an 18 month period.

2.23 In terms of the impact of international migration on the social housing sector, the Chartered Institute of Housing (2008), Robinson (2008) and Shelter (2008) show that the ability of foreign nationals to access social housing is limited by regulations which severely restrict their right to reside in this sector. In brief:

- migrants workers from outside the European Union have no right to housing assistance, unless they are asylum seekers, who are entitled to housing but not to mainstream social housing<sup>3</sup>. The UK Border Agency is responsible for people seeking asylum in the UK. Under the New Asylum Model (NAM), those with an existing asylum claim are entitled to housing and support until their claim is fully determined. Housing is provided on a no-choice basis. This can be anywhere in the country, and is usually in shared accommodation;
- EU nationals are not required to apply for a work permit, and have the right to freedom of movement within the EU. Entitlement to housing for EU workers depends on their nationality and their status as a worker:
  - workers from states that were EU members prior to 2004 have the same rights to benefits and housing as UK nationals, provided they are working;
  - workers from the A8 and A2 states<sup>4</sup> are eligible for public funds (including housing) if they are registered as workers with the WRS or the Worker Authorisation Scheme. However, once A8 workers cease to work and to be registered as workers they lose this entitlement. Different rules apply for A2 workers, who are required to obtain a specific post and to register on the Worker Authorisation Scheme before they arrive in the UK. Therefore both A2 and A8 workers, because of the seasonal nature of much of the work they undertake, are likely to move in and out of entitlement to housing.

2.24 Robinson (using CORE data from 2006/07) shows that 4.5% of new lettings made by social landlords in England were to foreign nationals, and less than 1% were to A8 nationals. Robinson also quotes the Labour Force Survey to state that 6.7% of social housing tenants in England were foreign nationals. This would suggest that relatively small numbers of new in-migrants are accessing the social housing sector.

2.25 Rutter and Latorre (2009) suggest that eight factors affect the tenure of new migrants to the UK. These were:

- immigration status
- household income
- family size
- employment conditions

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<sup>3</sup> The Housing Rights website <http://www.housing-rights.info/> provides guidance on the housing rights of people with different types of immigration status.

<sup>4</sup> The A8 states are Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The A2 states are Romania and Bulgaria

- length of residency in the UK
  - local housing market conditions
  - migrant aspirations
  - migrant perceptions about particular forms of housing and their safety in particular areas
- 2.26 Rutter and Latorre, through a detailed analysis of the Labour Force Survey found that new migrants to the UK over the last 5 years make up less than 2% of those living in the social housing sector and that most of the newly arrived migrants who occupy social housing are refugees who have been granted permission to remain in the UK. They conclude by suggesting that much of the public concern about the impact of migration on social housing has, at its roots, the failure of the supply of social housing to meet the needs and demands of the population and that the negative attitudes towards migrants are bound up with fears of diversity and change.

### **Regional migration**

- 2.27 Much has been written about the determinants of migratory flows in a regional context. Much of this output is econometric and focuses on labour market flows. The most complete guide to the determinants of regional migration is the paper produced by Champion et al (1998), which reviewed the existing base of data and evidence. Champion et al suggest that the following determinants of migration exist within England:
- demographic factors;
  - cultural and social factors;
  - labour market factors;
  - housing factors;
  - environmental factors;
  - public policy factors;
  - impedance factors.
- 2.28 A number of these factors will have an impact on the profile and economic circumstances of migrants moving to and from the 'six counties', and it is therefore worthwhile considering them. Where appropriate reference will also be made to more recent works.

### **The role of age and life cycle stage**

- 2.29 Champion et al show that migration varies with age. Migration rates are high for young children, decline to a minimum at the age of 15, rise from the age of 16 to a peak at the age of 22, decline to a minimum in the 60s and then rise in the 70s and 80s. However, they point out that age has no direct influence on the ability of a person to migrate. Rather, age is a surrogate indicator for the life cycle stage.

2.30 Drawing on the work of Warnes (1992), Figure 2 shows the life stage, age, housing needs and aspirations of households and the distance of moves.

**Figure 2. Life-course transitions associated with household changes and migration** Source: Warnes (1992), p.184

Life-course transition	Housing needs and aspirations	Distance of moves (repeat frequency per year)	Ages (years)
Leaving parents' home	Low-cost, short tenancy, central city, often share	Short and long distance High frequency (1+)	16-22
Sexual union	Low/medium-cost, tenancy few years	Short distance Medium frequency (0.3)	20-25
Career position	Low-mortgage flat or house	Many long distance Medium frequency (0.5)	23-30
1st child (good income)	Medium-mortgage 2+ bedroom house	Short distance (long suburban move in large cities)	23-30
1st child (low income)	Local authority flat or house	Very short distance	21-28
Mid-career promotions or inheritance	Higher-mortgage larger house	Many long distance Low frequency (0.1)	30-55
Divorce	Low-cost, short tenancy	Short distance	27-50
Cohabitation and second marriage	Medium-cost rental or low-mortgage	Short and long distance Low frequency (0.1)	27-50
Retirement	Buy outright medium or low-cost house	Many long distance to peri-urban areas	55-68
Bereavement or income collapse	Low-cost, rental or share in well serviced areas	Short distance or return migrations	70+
Frailty or chronic illness	Low-cost, rental, share, congregate or institutional	Short distance Medium frequency (0.3)	75+

2.31 Drawing on the work of Stillwell et al (1996) Champion et al suggest that people of working age were significantly over-represented in inter-regional flows, compared with children and the older elderly, who confine their moves within local housing markets. This is supported by the work of Warnes and Ford (1995) who show that, whilst there is an increase in the propensity to move with increasing age above 75 years, most of this migration takes the form of short distance moves.

2.32 Champion et al demonstrate that life stage related migratory flows are also related to population density. They suggest that the general pattern is for high density (urban) areas to lose migrants to low density (rural and suburban) areas, and that this pattern applies to family and later working ages, and to a lesser extent to males aged 65+. However, for young people aged 16 – 29 the opposite is true, with moves from low density to high density areas associated with moves from rural and suburban areas to high density neighbourhoods located close to education establishments.

### **Gender differences**

2.33 Champion et al show that migratory flows for women tend to rise faster and peak earlier than males beyond the age 16, declining slightly below males until after retirement age when they exceed male migration rates.

This, they suggest, is related to:

- women leaving home 1 or 2 years before men and co-habiting with/ marrying men about 2 years older; and
- men dying earlier than women and escaping the migrations consequent upon the death of a spouse.

This is supported by Warnes and Ford, who show that the increased propensity to move amongst people aged over 75 years is most pronounced amongst women aged over 85 years.

2.34 In terms of who is the principal motivator in the migration, and drawing on the work of Green (1997) in Nottingham, Champion et al suggest that dual-career families seek locations which give both partners maximum choice in terms of employment. Accessible semi-rural locations close to motorways are favoured.

### **Demographic factors at origins and destinations**

2.35 Champion et al show that the volume of out-migration will be influenced by the age-gender composition of the area of origin. Youthful areas with growing populations have high out-migration rates (and even higher in-migration rates), and areas with older populations have lower out-migration rates. Champion et al suggest that at destinations, the age and gender composition reflects the cumulative effect of past migration decisions, so areas with a high concentration of retired migrants (seaside towns and spa towns) continue to attract retired migrants who seek out the facilities and environment that attracted similar migrants in earlier years.

### **Ethnicity**

2.36 Champion et al, referring to the work of Owen and Green (1992) and Champion (1996), show that, whilst minority ethnic groups are less likely to move home than white households, there is significant variation between minority ethnic groups. Migration rates for Chinese and Black African households are double that of Indian, Black Caribbean and Pakistani households. Additionally, Chinese households tended to move longer distances than white households.

### **Economic activity**

2.37 Owen and Green show that inter-regional migration is dominated by those employed and their dependents, followed by those moving out of employment. Champion et al quote a series of studies which present an unclear picture of whether unemployed people are more or less likely to migrate:

- Antolin and Bover (1997), in a study of unemployed workers in Spain, showed that the registered unemployed have lower migration rates than the remainder of the population;
- Kitching (1990), in a study of low skilled and unemployed people in Liverpool, found that the chance to secure housing and the support of family and friends seemed to carry greater weight than the uncertain prospects of a better job elsewhere;
- Van Dijk et al (1989) showed that unemployed people in the Netherlands were more likely to migrate than those in employment. Champion et al suggest this could be associated with the more efficient and effective transmission of information in the Netherlands on job vacancies, which enabled the unemployed to find work more easily.

2.38 Boheim and Taylor (2002) show that, although the unemployed account for only 10% of house moves, an unemployed person is more likely to move than an otherwise similar employee. However, they demonstrate that the probability of regional migration declines with unemployment duration, and that the long term unemployed are less likely to migrate to find work.

### **Social class**

2.39 Champion et al point to evidence that suggests that people in managerial and professional occupations exhibited inter-regional migration rates 50-90% above the average. In contrast, manual occupations had inter-regional migration rates that were 50% of the average. This, they suggest, is related to specialisms in occupations. The higher up the occupation hierarchy, the more likely it is that a qualified person will have to move to find employment, whereas manual and semi-skilled jobs are more widely available in labour markets. Boheim and Taylor show that manual workers are less likely to move than all other occupation groups.

### **Education**

2.40 Champion et al show that inter-regional migration rates are around twice the average for those with a degree or higher degree qualification, while they are much lower for those with only school qualifications. However, as they indicate, higher education also contributes to migration rates directly, with students traditionally being encouraged to seek a place at an institution away from their home area.

### **Occupational vacancies and skilled labour mismatches**

2.41 Champion et al, quoting Oberg (1997), suggest that even if labour supply and demand in regions are in balance, migration of workers will be necessary because of mismatches in the timing of recruitment of labour with specialist skills to small labour markets. They illustrate this point by providing a hypothetical example of 100 vacancies for mathematics teachers in one area over a 10 year period and 100 people living in that

area applying for such jobs. Whilst the assumption would be that none of the applicants would fail to get a post, the key point is the timing of the vacancies and the availability of the applicants. So despite job markets appearing to be in balance, migration will still occur between areas.

### **The changing structure of the economy**

2.42 Champion et al suggest that big changes in the structure of the international economic system since the 1970s have had profound effects on national and regional migration in developed countries. They refer to the work of Dunford and Fielding (1997), who identify seven elements of post-Fordist (post labour intensive mass production) economic restructuring which have affected patterns of migration:

- deindustrialisation;
- privatisation;
- flexible specialisation;
- feminisation;
- multi-culturalism;
- social polarisation;
- globalisation.

This, they suggest, has substantially reduced opportunities for people in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations to move from region to region.

### **Employment change, unemployment differentials and wage differences**

2.43 Champion et al consider the range of work undertaken by migration modelers. Although work has demonstrated that high unemployment is associated with net migration loss and low unemployment is associated with migration gain, this pattern is not as straightforward as it would appear. They refer to the work of Congdon (1991) who showed that, in developing an inter-regional migration model, it was important to include both employment change variables and information on house prices, because these variables are directly related to the migration decision, whilst regional income is much more loosely linked with the decision to migrate.

### **National and regional business cycles**

2.44 Champion et al suggest that there is no clear link between the stage of the economic cycle and inter-regional migration. They suggest that the boom period of the 1980s saw greater outflows of companies and population from more congested urban locations, in search of cheaper locations and less congested environments, but that this trend slowed dramatically as the property-led recession of the early 1990s took hold.

2.45 Jackman and Savouri (1992) state that the volume of migration is linked to the stage of the economic cycle, with migratory flows reducing when the economy is in recession. This, they suggest, is because the overall

number of jobs being filled is lower in a period of recession, so there are fewer opportunities for potential migrants.

#### **The multiplier effects of consumption led migration**

2.46 Champion et al point to the types of people who are free of workplace constraints and largely choose cheaper locations outside of the main cities. This tends to have a multiplier effect in creating jobs to cater for this migration-led population growth. They refer to work undertaken by Newton and Bell (1996) and Bell (1995), who refer to this form of migration as consumption-led migration. Champion et al suggest that this form of migration has been identified for the following groups:

- elderly people;
- older working people making pre-retirement moves;
- self-employed people who do not need to travel regularly to a separate workplace;
- unemployed people who calculate that their fixed welfare benefits will go further in non-metropolitan areas and out-of-season resorts.

#### **Public sector housing as a barrier to migration**

2.47 Champion et al point to the body of literature which shows that public sector housing is a barrier to labour mobility. A whole series of studies undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s showed that those living in council housing were more likely to be recent migrants, but that they were less likely than those in owner-occupied housing to move over long distances.

2.48 Pawson and Watkins (2008) show that, whilst distances moved by new tenants remain typically small, there is clear evidence that such distances tend to increase following the introduction of choice based lettings schemes.

#### **Owner occupied housing**

2.49 Champion et al state that households living in owner occupied housing are more likely to migrate long distances than those in council housing, but less likely than those living in private rented housing, and that the continuing growth of the owner occupied sector will have implications for inter-regional migration. They go on to draw out the key findings from the literature about factors that influence owner-occupied inter-regional migration. These include:

- **new housebuilding**

Evans (1990) argued that tight planning controls on the development of land will cause rises in house prices which will deter in-migration. Bramley (1995) and Bramley and Watkins (1996) suggested that net in-migration rates are highly responsive to the release of land for housing development. Forrest and Murie (1994), in a study of housebuilding in southern England, showed that the home ownership market was becoming introverted, due to substantial price rises,

making it difficult for a substantial minority to enter owner occupation. The development of new homes did not result in such households entering the sector, as they were crowded out by more affluent new households and owner occupiers. This, they suggested, inhibited inward migratory flows to the region;

- **house prices**

It has been demonstrated that there is a negative relationship between regional house prices and migration in Britain. Champion et al quote the work of Gordon (1982) and Harrigan et al (1986), who demonstrated that inter-regional migration in Britain is negatively related to relative house prices. Forrest (1987) suggested that it was owner occupation, rather than council housing, that was emerging as the main barrier to labour mobility;

- **national recession**

Champion et al refer to the work of Pissarides and Wadsworth (1989), who showed that, during periods of economic recession, the employed and the unemployed become less mobile, and Fielding (1993), who demonstrated that the 'south-east' escalator region experiences net migration losses during economic booms and net migration gains (or only small losses) during deep recessions. Fielding demonstrated that out-migration rates for the south east reduce significantly during periods of recession, which is attributed in part to the difficulty of disposing of housing. In contrast, in-migration rates do not appear to vary significantly between boom and recession periods. Jones (2009) demonstrated a relationship between movements in average house prices in London and Wales and the rate of in-migration to Wales. Jones showed that the rate of in-migration to Wales increases at times when the gap between average house prices in London and Wales are at their greatest. Whilst the rate of out-migration from Wales remains fairly constant, the rate of in-migration increases as the gap between average house prices in London and Wales widen.

### **Private rented housing**

- 2.50 Champion et al state that far less attention has been paid to the role of private rented housing in respect of migration, in part because of the small size of the sector in the UK when compared with other developed nations. Minford et al (1987) suggests that policies relating to the private rented sector were responsible for the relative lack of privately rented property in the UK, and that this affected the mobility of labour. Bover et al (1989) support these arguments, and suggest that certain Rent Acts acted as key factors in reducing inter-regional migration. Studies by Boyle (1993), Hughes and McCormick (1981) and Boheim and Taylor have consistently shown that those moving into privately rented property are less

constrained by distance than those moving into other sectors of the housing market.

### **Migration between tenures**

- 2.51 Champion et al highlight the fact that migration sometimes involves tenure changes, with substantial numbers of movers leaving one tenure at the origin and moving into a different tenure at destination, including substantial numbers moving from the owner occupied sector into the rented sector. Buck (1994) shows that older people moving into sheltered housing were prevalent amongst this group, but that a considerable number of moves were related to evictions and repossession.

### **'Counterurbanisation'**

- 2.52 Champion et al point to the influence of environmental factors which are particularly influential in migration from urban to rural regions and moves from larger to smaller places in the urban hierarchy. They refer to this as 'counterurbanisation', and say that this trend is complex – people move for a variety of reasons and to a variety of places. They refer to the work of Halliday and Coombes (1995) who identified three types of urban exodus:
- 'anti-metropolitan' – involving the desire to get away from heavily populated regions with high house prices and rat race connotations;
  - 'anti-urban' - emphasising the push factors of crime, social malaise, ethnic unease, congestion and pollution that are problems associated with larger cities and towns as opposed to smaller settlements;
  - 'pro rural' – emphasising the search for a better environment or a more tranquil lifestyle, and seen as an extension of suburbanisation.
- 2.53 Cross (1990) suggests that there are three main groups of people involved in the counterurbanisation process:
- retired people;
  - long distance commuters;
  - people taking up jobs in the locality.
- 2.54 Champion et al suggest that the literature is very clear about why these people are moving in larger numbers and are having a bigger impact on rural areas than previously:
- the population of older people is growing in size, people are retiring at an earlier age than previously, and more people are owner occupiers than in previous generations and are able to contemplate trading down in the market and purchasing in a cheaper area to increase their savings;
  - since the 1970s the choice of retirement area has changed from seaside town to the countryside;
  - improvements in transport networks, particularly the road network, have enabled people to commute longer distances than before, making

migration to rural areas a more realistic option for people in employment;

- the single most important change has been the change in the geography of employment. The vast majority of households moving into rural areas in England contain people who work, and the processes of deindustrialisation and decentralisation of employment from urban areas have fuelled the 'counterurbanisation' trend.

2.55 Champion et al point to a body of work that demonstrates that one of the reasons triggering moves to non-metropolitan areas is that people like the countryside. Halfacree (1994) found that 59% of urban to rural migrants referred to the 'physical quality of the environment' and 41% to the 'social quality of the environment'. They also state that people moving out of metropolitan areas are leaving the well-to-do suburbs rather than the less attractive neighbourhoods. Fielding (1993) suggested that, although migration out of the metropolitan region is the dominant theme in English migration, participation in that theme varies with life course. He suggested that people are attracted to cities in the early stages of their adult lives, when many are rising rapidly in job status, and opt to move to a quieter life in less congested and expensive surroundings at a later stage in life.

### **Regional migration into Wales**

2.56 Green (1992) stresses the role of migration from England directed at the rural areas and south east Wales. She suggests that Wales is essentially part of the out-migration hinterland of the Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol metropolitan areas, and even of south east England.

2.57 Drinkwater and Blackaby (2004) paint an interesting picture of migration into and out of Wales, and point to the long history of migratory flows. They state that:

- Wales has the most diverse population of the countries of the UK, with 25% of the population being born outside of Wales, compared with 13% of the population of England and Scotland and 9% of the population of Northern Ireland;
- in local authority areas in north east Wales, the Welsh-born only just outnumber those born outside of Wales<sup>5</sup>;
- a high proportion of Welsh-born individuals leave the country, with 22% of the Welsh-born population who lived in the UK living outside of Wales, a greater proportion than amongst the English, Scottish and Northern Ireland born populations;

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<sup>5</sup> The following proportions of the populations of the 'six counties' were born in Wales: Anglesey 67.5%, Ceredigion 58.5%, Conwy 53.9%, Denbighshire 57.9%, Flintshire 51.1% and Gwynedd 69.8%. Source: <http://neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/>

- annual in-migration rates have increased considerably in recent years, from around 45,000 in 1981 to 64,000 in 2002, compared with an annual out-migration rate of around 50,000;
- the net migration gain in Wales in 1999-2000 was 7,000 individuals (of which those in the 45-64 year age group accounted for more than half) and that rural local authorities have the highest net in-migration for this age group;
- Welsh-born individuals account for 23% of migrants to Wales from other parts of the UK, and 30% of migrants from outside of the UK.

2.58 Drinkwater and Blackaby suggest that part of the reason for the migratory gain is that rural areas provide an attractive location for those who are retired and those approaching retirement.

2.59 Hartwell et al (2007) show the importance of in-migration to rural areas of Wales. Between 1981 and 2001 the population of rural Wales increased from 886,200 to 957,700, an increase of 8.3% fuelled by in-migration. If in-migration were removed from the population change equation, the population of rural Wales would have decreased over the period 1991 to 2001, with natural change in the population (the variation in population resulting from births and deaths) showing a loss of population of 19,400. However, Hartwell et al suggest that the growth in the population in rural Wales masks the out-migration of young people.

2.60 The Welsh Assembly Government (2005) in the statistical bulletin 'Patterns of migration for Wales: Rest of UK and International' illustrate the changing patterns of migration to Wales from the rest of the UK and the rest of the world in the period 1994 to 2004. It shows that:

- migration to Wales from the rest of the UK accounted for 85% of total immigration into Wales;
- in each of the years in this period there was a net inflow of migrants into Wales from the rest of the UK;
- there was an average annual net inflow of 2,700 migrants from the rest of the world during the period 1994 to 2004, and this reversed a long term trend of net out-migration to the rest of the world.

2.61 The Welsh Assembly Government (2006) in the statistical bulletin 'Patterns of Migration in Wales' illustrate migratory patterns into, out of and within Wales during the period mid-1999 to mid-2004. It shows that:

- North Wales attracts the largest number of net migrants from England, accounting for just over a third of the net flow to Wales;
- there is a net outflow of migrants to England amongst the 16-24 age group, with the exception of South East Wales;
- most out-migrants leave Wales to go to the South West of England, whilst most in-migrants to from England to Wales come from North West England.

## **The role of seaside towns**

- 2.62 A piece of relevant academic literature that needs to be considered in this review is a study undertaken by Beatty et al (2003), which, as part of a series of studies on the way that the labour market and demand for housing interact, provides information about the components of demand for social housing in four seaside towns in England. They state that seaside towns are a unique group of settlements different in function, history and character from Britain's cities, industrial towns and rural areas, having significantly larger private rented accommodation than elsewhere and a significantly smaller social housing stock. The study shows that the largest in-flows into the social housing sector came from those living in the private rented sector in the area, and that flows into the social rented sector from outside of the area (from whatever tenure) were much more modest. They conclude that social housing in seaside towns is not being filled by people moving directly to this type of housing from elsewhere.
- 2.63 Beatty et al suggest that the private rented sector acts as a point of entry into the local housing market for non-employed people moving between areas, as it neither requires the resources necessary for owner occupation nor the administrative hurdles associated with the social housing sector. In addition, in seaside towns there is a large stock of former holiday accommodation that is available to rent.
- 2.64 They estimate that far more of the non-employed in-movers into private rented housing come from outside of the area, and, of these, the two largest groups are those who were either previously owner-occupiers or social housing tenants. When this is considered alongside the findings of Buck (1994) (who suggested that a large proportion of regional migration, where tenure change occurs, is linked to repossession and eviction), it could be argued that many private tenants from outside of the area have moved into the private rented sector in seaside towns following a tenure failure elsewhere. However, it should be stressed that there is no evidence of the scale of this group of private sector tenants. Champion et al (1998) suggest that one example of consumption-led migration was unemployed people moving to 'out of season' holiday resorts to maximise their welfare benefits, but again, there is no evidence of the scale of this practice.
- 2.65 Beatty et al conclude that, over time, there is a flow out of the private rented sector into the social housing sector. Therefore some of the in-migration to seaside towns feeds through to higher demand for social housing.

## **The rural housing debate and the meaning of 'local'**

- 2.66 In a study such as this where the local authorities concerned are predominantly rural areas, it is worthwhile considering the changing meaning of 'place' and 'local', investigating the root causes of rural housing problems in the UK and Wales, and discussing one of the proposed solutions to rural housing problems, ensuring that homes in rural communities are let to 'local people'.
- 2.67 Place is one of the most complex of geographical ideas, and has been the subject of substantial discussion in the field of human geography. Castree (2003) provides an overview of these discussions and, drawing on the work of Agnew (1987), suggests that place has three principal meanings:
- place as a location – a specific point on the earth's surface;
  - a sense of place – the subjective feelings people have about places, including the role of place in their individual and group identity;
  - place as locale – a setting and scale for the daily actions and interactions of people.
- 2.68 Using these definitions, it is apparent that place can mean different things to different people, depending on their experiences. However the meaning of place and what constitutes local can be seen to change over time. This is best illustrated by Strathern (1984) in her work investigating the social meaning of localism. Strathern worked with different groups of villagers in the village of Elmdon in Essex to gain an insight into the meaning of 'local' to these groups. She suggests that middle class villagers regarded length of residence, custom and occupation as determining whether a person was a 'real villager' or a 'stranger'. However, this opposed the views of those who claimed the label of 'real villagers', who narrowed the qualification down to family connection, thus excluding the bulk of the population.
- 2.69 Castree argues that the process of globalisation and its stretching of social relationships across space has called into question the traditional view of place. This is best described by Massey:
- "one of the results of this is an increasing uncertainty about what we mean by 'places' and how we relate to them. How, in the face of all this movement and intermixing, can we retain any sense of a local place and its particularity? An (idealised) notion of an era when places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogeneous communities is set against the current fragmentation and disruption."*<sup>6</sup>
- 2.70 Traditionally, 'locals' are defined as those with a specific territorial connection mainly because they live and work in an area. Huigen, Groote and Haartsen (2000) suggest that such definitions do not suffice anymore, because considerably more stakeholders are involved in modern western

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<sup>6</sup> Massey (1991), p.1.

- societies who have legitimate demands for rights of say about the use of rural resources.
- 2.71 Woods (2007) describes the 'global countryside' as a contested place where the transformations wrought on rural space by globalisation frequently meet resistance from local campaigners. Rural housing would appear to be one of many areas where the local comes into conflict with the global.
- 2.72 Shucksmith (1990) suggests that there is a long tradition of conflict over ownership and occupation of rural housing in the UK, which would appear to be more prominent than the rest of Europe. Rural housing problems have emerged in the post 1945 era alongside counterurbanisation and globalisation. These two trends have changed the academic debate around the meaning of place and locality within the fields of human geography and rural sociology, which highlight the rapidly changing nature of society and its impact on rural areas.
- 2.73 Gallent (2007), drawing on the work on Newby (1979), suggests that rural inter-war communities tended to be 'traditional' and 'occupational' in the sense that there was greater uniformity across the social groups making up these communities:  
*"people tended to work in land based occupations; they had the same educational background; they tended to live, work and die in their 'community'. Communities were places of common bonds and of interaction, built on tradition, shared values and ideas, and a common culture."*<sup>7</sup>
- 2.74 Drawing on the work of Martin (1962), Gallent goes on to state that the social structure of rural communities had changed very little over the previous 600 years. Gallent suggests that the start of counterurbanisation in the 1960s brought about by economic shifts, significant improvements in the transport infrastructure and the changing fortunes of the agricultural sector (the emergence of subsidy based mechanised agriculture) altered the structures in rural communities, creating communities splintered along class lines, with people living and working in different ways, people leaving, people moving in, people buying weekend cottages and many people deriving incomes from city-based jobs.
- 2.75 Lewis and Sherwood (2000) argue that the view of counterurbanisation as a predominantly one-way movement of population only provides a partial understanding of the patterns of contemporary rural migration and social change. They suggest that rural migration includes a whole range of complex cross-currents of movements and a wide variety of different

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<sup>7</sup> Gallent (2007) pp.99-100.

populations. Focusing on rural England, Lewis and Sherwood suggest that the restructuring of the British housing market has meant that rural villages are becoming increasingly dominated by expensive, detached, owner-occupied properties, and that this has a major effect in determining the nature of migratory flows into and out of the countryside. They suggest that the loss of local authority stock through Right to Buy, and the development of housing association homes on rural exception sites, has led to the development of new rural housing sub-markets. Specifically they suggest that former council homes in rural areas are purchased by households moving from 'local' urban areas into smaller villages, and that some affordable housing developed on rural exception sites is occupied by households who are not from the immediate locality and often originate from 'local' urban areas.

- 2.76 Halfacree (2006), in attempting to achieve a definition of rurality, shows how wider change has an impact on definitions of rural areas, and that these changes are taking place within an international context of ongoing rural and urban change. Halfacree suggests that two key, interrelated dynamics appear to be at work:
- first, and of significance to every nation, is the changing and intensifying influence of 'capitalist globalisation', as manifested in a globalised food system and the retreat of direct state engagement with the agricultural sector. This, he suggests, has promoted intensification and industrialisation within the agricultural sector in advanced western nations;
  - second is the recognition of the increasing consumption role and potential of rural places. Halfacree suggests that this is manifested in the developed world, where rising consumption concerns are reflected in everything from the increasing weight given to 'environmental' considerations within some forms of agriculture, to the replacement of agriculture by other land uses which attempt to service the 'external' demands of urban residents.
- 2.77 Gallent, Mace and Tewdwr-Jones (2003) suggest that housing supply (and in particular planning policy which constrains development) is one of the primary causes of housing problems in rural areas, rather than the usually-cited issues of in-migration and second homes. Gallent et al suggest that a combination of supply constraints, the loss of social housing, and the desire of people to move to the more attractive rural areas, means that some local groups face severe access and affordability problems.
- 2.78 Shucksmith (1990) suggests that the acquisition of rural housing in the UK is a desirable symbol of status and a means of entry to a lifestyle which is perceived as 'idyllic'. The accumulative potential (in terms of its monetary value) rests on a continuation of this culture, together with restrictions on

- the supply of such housing. Shucksmith goes on to suggest that concern for local needs reflects the notion of balanced rural communities central to the 'rural idyll'.
- 2.79 Gallent et al go on to suggest that Wales needs to develop a positive strategy towards addressing the housing requirements of in-migrants in rural Wales, as the majority of population growth in Wales will derive from this source.
- 2.80 The Joseph Rowntree Foundation Commission on Rural Housing in Wales, JRF (2008) attributes the problems of affordability in rural Wales firmly to the shortage of supply of affordable housing in rural communities in Wales:  
*"it is our view that the limited provision of, and restricted access to, affordable housing in rural Wales are affecting the social and cultural sustainability of many of its communities.....Without significant changes to the existing housing and planning systems, there is a real danger that we will lose the next generation of rural people, which will lead to a broader set of social, cultural and welfare problems for rural communities."*<sup>8</sup>
- 2.81 Webb (2006) sets out the theoretical background to Cymuned's opposition to migration into or 'colonisation' of Welsh-speaking communities in rural Wales by non-Welsh speaking migrants<sup>9</sup>. He argues that such migration has a significant impact on the language and culture of the communities that migrants move to, and argues for the need to ensure that sufficient affordable homes are developed in Welsh-speaking communities to meet the needs of younger households who are priced out of the local property market.
- 2.82 In terms of allocation of social housing, one of the most often proposed (and adopted) measures for addressing housing problems in rural areas (and the difficulties that certain groups at the lower end of the income range have in accessing housing) is the attempt to ensure that housing is allocated to local people.
- 2.83 Rogers (1985) reviews the arguments in favour of, and against, housing policies which favour local people in the allocation process. He indicates some very serious handicaps in the implementation of such policies in terms of defining what is local, the impact of such policies on local people themselves and on the rural economy, the fact that such policies increase the level of demand for the existing housing stock, raising house prices further beyond the reach of local people, and that when taken to their logical extreme they can take on a form that is both unjust and morally

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<sup>8</sup> JRF Commission on Rural Housing in Wales (2008), p.41.

<sup>9</sup> Cymuned is a community pressure group which works to strengthen Welsh language communities.

- unjust. Rogers states the example of Jersey and Guernsey, whose housing policies excluded all, except those who could afford the most expensive housing. Rogers concludes that there seem to be sufficient doubts and uncertainties about the concept for it to prove a very poor foundation on which to base a substantial element of welfare policy.
- 2.84 In terms of homelessness applications, 'local' has specific meaning. Decisions made by local authorities about local connection are determined by the legislation and the Code of Guidance that authorities must have regard to when discharging their homelessness duties.
- 2.85 Section 199 of the Housing Act 1996 states:  
*"A person has a local connection with the district of a local housing authority if he has a connection with it—*  
*a) because he is, or in the past was, normally resident there, and that residence is or was of his own choice;*  
*b) because he is employed there;*  
*c) because of family associations; or*  
*d) because of special circumstances".*
- 2.86 The Code of Guidance for Local Authorities on the Allocation of Accommodation and Homelessness produced by the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG,2003) and the more recently produced Homelessness Code of Guidance for Local Authorities produced by the Department for Communities and Local Government in England (DCLG, 2006) further define the length of residence required to establish a local connection by referring to the Procedures for Referrals of Homeless Applicants on the Grounds of Local Connection with Another Local Authority, an agreement developed by the Local Government Association (LGA) in England, the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) and the Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA). These procedures suggest that:  
*"a working definition of 'normal residence' (for homelessness applicants) should be residence for at least 6 months in the area during the previous 12 months, or for not less than 3 years during the previous 5 year period."*<sup>10</sup>
- 2.87 The procedures go onto state that:  
*"In Re Betts (1983) the House of Lords considered the application of the referral arrangements agreed between the local authority associations. Their Lordships decided that a rigid application of the arrangements would constitute a fetter on an authority's discretion. The agreement could be taken into account, and applied as a guideline, provided its application to each case is given individual consideration"*

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<sup>10</sup> Procedures for Referrals of Homeless Applicants on the Grounds of Local Connection with Another Local Authority, para 1.4, p.229, Homelessness Code of Guidance for Local Authorities (DCLG) 2006.

2.88 Part VI of the Housing Act 1996 (Section 167), as amended by the Homelessness Act 2002, requires local authorities when allocating housing to give reasonable preference to the following categories of persons (known as reasonable preference groups):

*(a) people who are homeless (within the meaning of Part 7);  
(b) people who are owed a duty by any local housing authority under section 190(2), 193(2) or 195(2) (or under section 65(2) or 68(2) of the Housing Act 1985) or who are occupying accommodation secured by any such authority under section 192(3);*

*(c) people occupying insanitary or overcrowded housing or otherwise living in unsatisfactory housing conditions;*

*(d) people who need to move on medical or welfare grounds; and  
(e) people who need to move to a particular locality in the district of the authority, where failure to meet that need would cause hardship (to themselves or to others).*

*The scheme may also be framed so as to give additional preference to particular descriptions of people within this subsection (being descriptions of people with urgent housing needs).*

(Section 16(3) Homelessness Act 2002)

2.89 Local authorities are able to take into account other factors when determining priorities between reasonable preference groups such as the persons financial resources, any behaviour which affects the suitability of the applicant to be a tenant, and a persons connection to the local authority area. This provides local authorities with the power to develop allocation schemes which incorporate a level of priority for applicants who have a local connection and are within one of the reasonable preference groups.

2.90 The issue of international migration and its impact on the allocation of social housing has been a subject of media scrutiny following the publication of an article in the Observer by former Government Minister Margaret Hodge MP. In the article Hodge (2007) suggested that greater preference should be given in the allocation of social housing to native born families in housing need, as opposed to recently arrived migrant households who are in equal housing need. This comment received strong support from some quarters, and strong opposition from others. The government responded by introducing plans to:

*“.....reform social housing allocation - enabling local authorities to give more priority to local people whose names have been on waiting lists for far too long.”*

(Right Honourable Gordon Brown MP, Statement to the House of Commons on Building Britain's Future. 29<sup>th</sup> June 2009<sup>11</sup>)

- 2.91 The Westminster Government has recently produced draft statutory guidance for local authorities in England on the allocation of social housing Communities and Local Government (2009). The draft guidance, if fully implemented, will place an expectation on local authorities to:
- work with local communities to raise awareness of how social housing is allocated and involve them in the development of social housing allocation schemes;
  - produce information which is easy to access and understand about the allocation scheme;
  - provide advice to applicants about procedures for making an allocation and how applicants are prioritised under the allocation scheme;
  - publish information about lettings.
- 2.92 The guidance, which takes account of the recent House of Lords decision in *Ahmad*<sup>12</sup>, re-iterates the fact that local authorities can use local connection to prioritise between applicants with a similar level of need (using local connection as a policy priority), provided that the scheme continues to meet the reasonable preference requirements in Section 167 of Part VI of the Housing Act 1996.

## Conclusions

- 2.93 The following are the main conclusions that can be drawn from the findings of the review of literature:
- there has been a substantial increase in international migration to the UK in recent years, for employment- and education-related reasons. There was a rapid increase in the numbers of in-migrants from the A8 Accession States from 2004 on but this would appear to be reducing;
  - international migrants' entitlement and therefore access to social housing is restricted, and their impact on the housing market tends to be greatest in the private rented sector;
  - the life cycle stage of households is the critical determinant of regional migration. Younger households tend to move to urban areas, older households tend to move from urban and suburban areas to rural areas;
  - the changing nature of the economy and the geography of employment, environmental factors, improved transportation networks,

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page19847>

<sup>12</sup> R (Ahmad) v Newham London Borough Council [2009] UKHL 14; [2009] WLR (D) 78

people retiring at an earlier age and 'cheaper house prices' in rural areas have helped create a counterurbanisation trend;

- regional migrants are more likely to be:
  - in employment;
  - moving out of employment (retiring);
  - higher up the occupational hierarchy;
- the changing nature of the economy has reduced opportunities for people in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations to move from region to region;
- whilst evidence about the propensity of unemployed people to move from region to region is unclear, people who are long term unemployed are less likely to move;
- regional migration by owner occupiers is affected by house price differentials in the areas of origin and destination. The volume of migratory flows from urban to rural areas is closely related to the stage in the economic cycle and the house price differential between urban and rural areas. In times of recession migration from urban to rural areas decreases, as it does when house price differentials are at their lowest;
- the occupation of social housing appears to be a barrier to movement;
- private sector tenants are less constrained in terms of distance moves than other groups;
- in-migration to rural Wales has helped maintain the area's population, but masks the loss of younger households;
- older adult households moving across local authority boundaries are likely to be moving from relatively affluent suburban areas of origin to more rural locations. They are likely to be downsizing from more expensive to cheaper housing and are unlikely to access the social housing sector;
- households who have moved across local authority boundaries and have accessed private rented housing in seaside towns, are likely to form a significant proportion of demand for social housing in the local authority areas concerned;
- the process of 'globalisation' has significantly changed rural communities and the meaning of 'place'. The 'global' countryside is an

arena for conflicts over the use of rural space. Rural housing is one area where the 'local' comes into conflict with the 'global';

- the limited supply of affordable housing in rural Wales is seen to be at the heart of the conflict between the 'local' and the 'global';
- in-migration to rural Wales has associated language and culture implications;
- policies that favour 'local people' in the allocation of social housing in rural areas are regarded as having serious flaws, both conceptually and in their operation.

### **3 Context: the 'six counties'**

#### **Introduction**

- 3.1 This part of the report will provide context to the research by providing background information about the 'six counties' of Anglesey; Ceredigion; Conwy; Denbighshire; Flintshire, and Gwynedd. This will be in the form of a number of sections.
- 3.2 The first section will provide background information about each of the 'six counties', drawing on information from the 2001 Census, employment and economic activity data drawn from official sources, and data from the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2008 (WIMD 2008).
- 3.3 The second section will provide information about migration to the 'six counties'. It will examine central government data on international migration and consider the housing circumstances of international migrants. It will also consider regional migratory flows, drawing on data from the Patient Register Data Service (PRDS).
- 3.4 The third section will examine data on the actions taken by the 'six counties' in the three years of relevance to the study, in terms of homelessness and the allocation of housing.

#### **Background information**

- 3.5 This section provides a brief description of each of the 'six counties' in terms of:
- location and geographical characteristics;
  - population;
  - relative deprivation;
  - housing stock;
  - preference given to households with a local connection in the county's allocation scheme.
- 3.6 Key statistics on the population of the 'six counties' are contained in Appendix 2. In the paragraphs below, where possible, comparisons are made between individual local authorities and the all-Wales average. In other cases, where the all-Wales figure is not available, comparison is made with the other local authorities in the 'six counties' area.

#### **Anglesey**

- 3.7 The Isle of Anglesey is situated off the north-west coast of Wales, separated from the mainland by the Menai Straits. Anglesey contains four main towns - the historic town of Beaumaris on the south-east coast of the

- island, the town of Holyhead on Holy Island off the north-west coast of the island (which is one of the UK's main ferry port for travel across the Irish Sea), the county town of Llangefni in the centre of Anglesey, and the town of Amlwch on the North East corner of the island.
- 3.8 At the time of the 2001 Census, Anglesey had a population of 66,829, living in 28,356 households. The population was estimated to have grown to 69,000 by mid 2007.
  - 3.9 57.6% of the county's population was of working age in 2007, the second lowest rate in the 'six counties' area, suggesting that the area has a high proportion of retirees in the population.
  - 3.10 The area is predominantly rural, with a greater proportion of employees working in the tourism and agricultural sectors than the all-Wales figure. However, the county also has a greater proportion of employees working in the manufacturing sector than the all-Wales figure.
  - 3.11 In 2008 the median average weekly take home pay of all full time workers resident in the county was slightly higher than the Wales median average. Anglesey contained 44 Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs), 2 of which (Llangefni and Holyhead) were amongst the 10% most deprived in Wales.
  - 3.12 At the time of the 2001 Census the county had slightly fewer households living in owner occupied housing, and a slightly larger private rented sector, when compared with the all-Wales figure.
  - 3.13 Anglesey County Council has a stock of 3,800 dwellings, and has access to a proportion of lettings made to the housing association dwellings in the county. The council operates a joint waiting list with Cymdeithas Tai Eryri (who have 410 properties in the county), Clwyd Alyn Housing Association (100 properties), North Wales Housing Association (36 properties). Wales and West Housing Association also own a limited number of homes in the county.
  - 3.14 The council's allocation scheme is a needs-based points scheme which provides local connection points. Applicants who live in the county receive 3 points for each year of their residency (up to a maximum of 30 points). Applicants who do not live in the county, but who have immediate family members who have lived in the county for 5 years, receive 10 points. Applicants who have lived in the county for 6 of the last 12 months receive 1 point. In addition, applicants who currently live or work in the parish that they wish to be rehoused in can receive an additional 10 points (2 points for each year of residency or employment). An applicant with more than 100 points is considered to have a high level of priority.

## **Ceredigion**

- 3.15 Ceredigion is located in West Wales on Cardigan Bay, bordered by Powys to the east, Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire to the south, and Gwynedd to the north. The principal towns in the county are the University towns of Aberystwyth and Lampeter, the coastal towns of Aberaeron and Cardigan, and the inland town of Llandyssul.
- 3.16 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had a population of 74,941 living in 30,972 households. The population was estimated to have increased to approximately 77,800 by 2007.
- 3.17 The working age population in the county had a low rate of economic activity when compared with the all-Wales figure, and a substantially lower proportion of the working-age population are in receipt of key out of work benefits than the other counties in the 'six counties' area.
- 3.18 The area is predominantly rural, and this is reflected in the patterns of employment in the county. 8.6% of the working age population work in the agricultural sector (the highest proportion across the 'six counties' area), 13.4% work in the tourism sector, and only 5.5% work in the manufacturing sector.
- 3.19 The county has a low wage economy. The median average weekly take home pay of all full time workers resident in the county in 2008 was £370.10, the lowest in the 'six county' area. However, despite the low wage economy none of the 47 LSOAs in Ceredigion were amongst the 10% most deprived in Wales.
- 3.20 The county has a significantly smaller proportion of households living in the social rented sector when compared with the all-Wales figure (the joint lowest in the 'six counties' area), and the greatest proportion of households living in the private rented sector in the 'six counties' area.
- 3.21 Ceredigion County Council has a stock of 2,260 dwellings<sup>13</sup>, and has access to a proportion of lettings made to the 1,400 housing association dwellings in the county. The main housing association partner is Cymdeithas Tai Cantref, with Mid Wales and Wales and West Housing Associations owning a limited number of homes in the county.
- 3.22 In 2004 the council established a Common Housing Register in partnership with Cymdeithas Tai Cantref. This is in effect a shared waiting list, meaning that Tai Cantref no longer maintains a waiting list, drawing all of its potential tenants from the Common Housing Register. The council's allocation scheme is a needs-based points scheme which provides local

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<sup>13</sup> In November 2008, the tenants of Ceredigion County Council voted in favour of transferring their homes to the newly established housing association Tai Ceredigion. The transfer is expected to take place in the autumn of 2009.

connection points only to applicants who are in housing need. Applicants who have lived in the county for three years at the time of their application receive 20 points, and a further 10 points if they wish to be rehoused in the community that they are currently living in. Applicants who have been employed within Ceredigion for a period of 12 months receive 15 points. Applicants with family associations in Ceredigion receive 5 points. An applicant with more than 90 points is considered to have a high level of priority.

### **Conwy**

- 3.23 Conwy is situated on the coast of North Wales and incorporates the valley of the Afon Conwy. The county is bordered to the west and south by Gwynedd, to the east by Denbighshire. The principal towns in the county are the coastal resorts of Llandudno, Conwy, Colwyn Bay and Abergelge, and the inland towns of Llanrwst and Betts y Coed. The area is predominantly rural, but contains significant urban development along the coastal strip, north of the A55. Approximately 80% of the population live in the main towns along the northern coastal strip, and just 4% live within the Sonwdonia National Park, which comprises 35% of the county's area.
- 3.24 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had a population of 109,596 living in 48,062 households. By 2007, the population of the area was estimated to have increased to approximately 111,700.
- 3.25 A significantly lower proportion of the county's population is of working age (55.5%) than the all-Wales figure (60.3%), and this is the lowest rate in the 'six counties' area. The county has a slightly higher rate of economic activity in its working age population (77.5%) than the national rate. 14.4% of the working age population are in receipt of key out of work benefits, the second highest rate in the 'six counties' area.
- 3.26 In terms of employment 17.2% of employees resident in Conwy work in the tourism sector, 4.2% in the manufacturing sector and 3.1% in the agricultural sector.
- 3.27 In 2008 the median average weekly take home pay of all full time workers resident in Conwy was £437.40, which was more than £10 higher than the Welsh median average. Despite its high wage economy, of the county's 71 LSOAs, four (in Abergelge, Colwyn Bay and Llandudno) are amongst the 10% most deprived LSOAs in Wales. 6% of LSOAs in the county are amongst the 10% most deprived LSOAs (the second highest rate of multiple deprivation in the 'six counties' area).
- 3.28 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had an owner occupied sector which was slightly greater than the all-Wales figures, the proportion of social housing tenants was the joint lowest in the 'six counties', and the

proportion of private rented tenants was the second highest in the 'six counties' area.

- 3.29 Conwy County Borough Council transferred its housing stock to Cartrefi Conwy in September 2008. Cartrefi Conwy owns 3,792 homes. Other registered social landlords in the area are North Wales Housing Association (which owns 1,277 homes), Cymdeithas Tai Clwyd (274 homes), Clwyd Alyn Housing Association (368 homes), and Wales and West Housing Association (228 homes).
- 3.30 The council's allocation scheme is a needs-based points scheme which includes points for applicants with a local connection. Applicants who currently live in the county area are awarded 1 point per year for up to 10 years. Those with over 10 years' residence are awarded an additional 5 points, making a maximum of 15 points. In addition, a maximum of 5 local community points are awarded to those currently living or employed in the community which is their first choice (again 1 point per year). An applicant with more than 80 points is considered to have a high level of priority. Cartrefi Conwy operates a very similar allocation scheme.

### **Denbighshire**

- 3.31 Denbighshire is situated on the coast of North Wales and is bordered to the west by Conwy and Gwynedd, to the east by Flintshire and Wrexham and to the south by Powys. The county's principal towns are the coastal towns of Rhyl and Prestatyn, and the inland towns of St.Asaph, Denbigh, Ruthin, Llangollen, Corwen and Rhuddlan. The area is predominantly rural, but with significant urban development along the coastal strip, north of the A55.
- 3.32 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had a population of 93,065 living in 39,892 households. The county's population was estimated to have grown to approximately 97,800 by 2007.
- 3.33 Only 57.7% of the population is of working age, suggesting that, like Conwy and Anglesey, the area has a high proportion of older retired households. 14.9% of the working age population are in receipt of key out of work benefits, the highest rate across the 'six counties' area, but still lower than the all-Wales figure of 15.6%.
- 3.34 84% of resident employees are employed within the service sector, which includes 10.5% who are employed in the tourism industry. 10.1% of the population are employed in the manufacturing sector, and only 3.6% are employed in agriculture.
- 3.35 In 2008 the median average weekly take home pay of full time workers resident in Denbighshire was £392.00, significantly lower than the Welsh

- median average. Denbighshire has the highest rate of multiple deprivation in the 'six counties' area. Of the 58 LSOAs in the county, 6 (10%) are in the 10% most deprived LSOAs in Wales. All 6 are located in Rhyl. 3 of these are amongst the 5 most multiply deprived LSOAs in Wales.
- 3.36 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had an owner occupier sector comparable in size to the all-Wales figure, a smaller proportion of social housing tenants, and a greater proportion of private rented tenants.
- 3.37 Denbighshire County Council is the largest social landlord in the county, owning 3,470 homes. The main social landlords owning homes in the County are Clwyd Alyn Housing Association (961 homes) and Cymdeithas Tai Clwyd (702 homes). Wales and West, North Wales and First Choice Housing Associations and Tai Hafan also own homes in the county.
- 3.38 The council's allocation scheme is a needs-based points scheme which also provides local connection points. Applicants who have lived or worked in the county receive 1 point for each year of their residency or employment (up to a maximum of 15points). In addition applicants can receive 1 point for each year of their residency or employment in the community that they wish to be rehoused in (up to a maximum of 5 points). An applicant with more than 30 points is considered to have a high level of priority.

### **Flintshire**

- 3.39 Flintshire is located in the North East of Wales, along the Dee estuary. The county is bordered to the west by Denbighshire, to the south by Wrexham and to the east by Chester and the Wirral. The county's main towns are Mold, Flint, Holywell, Connah's Quay, and Queensferry.
- 3.40 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had a population of 148,594 living in 60,539 households, which is estimated to have grown to approximately 150,500 by 2007.
- 3.41 61.3% of the county's population were of working age, and the economic activity rate of people of employment age was 82%, the highest rate of economic activity in the 'six counties' area, and substantially higher than the all-Wales rate. Of the working age population, only 11.1% were in receipt of key out of work benefits.
- 3.42 In terms of employment, the area shows a greater reliance on manufacturing than the other areas within the 'six counties' (with 33.9% of employees being employed in the manufacturing sector), a lesser reliance on the tourism sector (with only 6.6% employed in this sector), and the lowest rate of employment in the agricultural sector (1.5%).

- 3.43 In 2008 the median average weekly take home pay of full time workers was £440.90, the highest rate in the 'six counties', and significantly greater than the Wales median average. Of the 92 LSOAs in Flintshire 5 were in the 10% most deprived in Wales. These are located in Holywell, Shotton, Connahs Quay and Mold.
- 3.44 At the time of the 2001 Census, the area had the greatest proportion of households living in owner occupiers housing (75.8%) and the smallest proportion of households living in the private rented sector (6.5%) in the 'six counties' area.
- 3.45 Flintshire County Council is the largest social landlord in the county, owning 7,000 homes. Other social landlords owning homes in the county include Clwyd Alyn Housing Association (which owns 1,537 homes), Wales and West Housing Association (714 homes), and Cymdeithas Tai Clwyd (85 homes).
- 3.46 The council's current allocation scheme was introduced in May 2008, and is a needs-based points scheme which includes points for local connection. Points are awarded for current residence in the County Borough, 1 point per year up to a maximum of 10 points. Points are also awarded for previous residence of over 5 years, with 1 point for 5 years' previous residence, and a point for each year over that, up to a maximum of 10 points. An applicant with 90 points is considered to have a high level of priority.

### **Gwynedd**

- 3.47 Gwynedd is situated in the North West of Wales around Cardigan Bay and Caernarfon Bay, and is bordered to the south by Ceredigion, to the north by Conwy and to the east by Denbighshire and Powys. The principal settlements are the university city of Bangor, the coastal towns of Caernarfon, Pwllhelli, and Porthmadog, and the inland towns of Dolgellau and Blaenau Ffestiniog.
- 3.48 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had a population of 116,843 living in 49,237 households. This was estimated to have grown to approximately 118,400 by 2007.
- 3.49 The area is predominantly rural, and this is reflected in the pattern of employment in the county. 4.7% of the working age population work in the agricultural sector, 14.1% work in the tourism sector, and only 8.3% work in the manufacturing sector.
- 3.50 In 2008 the median average weekly take home pay of full time workers resident in Gwynedd was £389.90, the second lowest in the 'six counties' area, and significantly lower than the Welsh median average. 3 of the 75

LSOAs in Gwynedd were in the 10% most deprived LSOAs in Wales. These are located in Bangor and Caernarfon.

- 3.51 At the time of the 2001 Census, the county had the lowest rate of owner occupancy (66.6%) and the highest proportion of households renting from a social landlord (18.3%) in the 'six counties' area. In addition, the area had a substantial private rented sector.
- 3.52 Gwynedd County Council has a stock of 6,375 dwellings<sup>14</sup>, and has access to a proportion of lettings made to the 2,061 housing association dwellings in the county. The main housing association partners are Cymdeithas Tai Eryri and North Wales Housing Association, with Cymdeithas Tai Clwyd and Wales and West owning fewer homes in the County.
- 3.53 In May 2007 the council launched a revised version of its allocation scheme. The new scheme, which is a needs-based points scheme, removed the requirement to have lived in the county for two years to be placed on the waiting list, and reduced the number of points awarded to households with a local connection. Applicants who have been awarded reasonable preference points are now awarded 1 point for each year of residency in the county, up to a maximum of 20 points, and 1 point for each year of residence in the community council area that they wish to be housed in, up to a maximum of 5 points. Applicants who have not been awarded reasonable preference points may also be awarded the same level of points for local connection, and, in practice, all such applicants are awarded such points. An applicant with over 50 points is considered to have a high level of priority.

### **International Migration**

- 3.54 The impact of international immigration in the 'six counties' has been limited. Table 2 shows international migratory flows into and out of each local authority over the period 2003-04 to 2006-07. Over this period the 'six counties' gained an estimated 1,200 persons as a result of international migration. Only Ceredigion showed a consistently positive number of international migrants moving into the area. In contrast, Anglesey showed no growth in three of the four years, and a net loss in 2004-05.

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<sup>14</sup> In March 2009 the tenants of Gwynedd Council voted in favour of transferring their homes to the newly established housing association, Gwynedd Community Homes. The transfer of the housing stock is expected to take place in the spring of 2010.

**Table 2. Net international migration rate 2003-04 to 2006-07 in the 'six counties'**

Source Registrar General's Mid Year Population estimates

Local Authority	Net gain/loss of population due to international migration							
	2003/04		2004/05		2005/06		2006/07	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Isle of Anglesey	100	100	100	200	100	100	200	200
Gwynedd	300	300	300	300	400	200	600	400
Conwy	200	300	200	400	200	200	400	300
Denbighshire	200	200	200	300	200	200	400	200
Flintshire	200	300	200	300	300	200	400	300
Ceredigion	400	200	400	300	500	200	800	400
<b>Total</b>	<b>1400</b>	<b>1400</b>	<b>1400</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1100</b>	<b>2800</b>	<b>1800</b>

- 3.55 Table 3 shows the number of NINOs issued to workers from overseas resident in each of the 'six counties', over the period 2002-03 to 2007-08. This shows that the number of NINOs allocated to overseas workers had started to grow prior to the entry of the A8 states into the EU in May 2004. Since that time there has been a marked growth, reaching a peak of 3,280 foreign worker registered in 2005-06. Gwynedd and Flintshire show the greatest number of foreign workers, and Anglesey the least.

**Table 3. NINOs allocated to foreign workers between 2002-03 to 2007-08 in the 'six counties'** Source Department of Work and Pensions

Local Authority	NINOs allocated to overseas workers					
	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08
Isle of Anglesey		100	150	230	170	160
Gwynedd	220	300	490	740	620	700
Conwy	140	230	360	560	480	400
Denbighshire	140	230	270	520	440	250
Flintshire	140	140	270	740	730	650
Ceredigion	160	250	350	490	410	550
<b>Total</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>1250</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>3280</b>	<b>2850</b>	<b>2710</b>

- 3.56 Table 4 shows the areas of the world that foreign workers registering for NINOs originated from in the financial years 2005-06 to 2007-08. In total over the three year period, 8,800 foreign workers who were resident in the area registered for NINOs. Just under 75% originated from mainland Europe, with 61% from A2 and A8 states. The next largest area of origin was Asia and the Middle East, where 17% of foreign workers originated from. Just under 50% of the total registrations in the 'six counties' area were in Flintshire and Gwynedd.

**Table 4. World Area of Origin of foreign workers(thousands) applying for NINo's in the 'six counties' between 2005-06 to 2007-08** Source Department of Work and Pensions

Local Authority	World Area of Origin							
	European Union	EU Accession States	Other European	Africa	Asia and Middle East	The Americas	Australasia and Oceania	Unknown
Isle of Anglesey	70	330	30	30	80	20	10	-
Gwynedd	290	1030	30	80	520	70	40	-
Conwy	170	850	60	50	220	30	40	-
Denbighshire	70	720	50	60	260	50	30	-
Flintshire	110	1700	50	50	150	30	30	-
Ceredigion	20	780	40	70	30	60	20	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>730</b>	<b>5410</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>1260</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>0</b>

3.57 Table 5 shows the total number of Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) approvals for nationals from the A8 Accession states in the period May 2004 to the end of 2008 who registered with employers based in each of the 'six counties'. 43% of all WRS initial approvals were for workers whose place of work was in Flintshire.

**Table 5. Worker Registration Scheme approvals in the 'six counties' in the period May 2004 to December 2008** Source LGA <http://www.lga.gov.uk/lga/core/page.do?pageId=1095223>

Local Authority	Number of A8 workers registered in each local authority area
Isle of Anglesey	180
Gwynedd	760
Conwy	690
Denbighshire	500
Flintshire	1,935
Ceredigion	420
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,485</b>

3.58 Table 6 shows the nationality of WRS workers registered during the period May 2004 and December 2008 whose place of work was within the 'six counties' area. 73% of workers moving into the 'six counties' from A8 accession states originated from Poland. This matches the findings from the IPS in 2006.

**Table 6. Nationality of Worker Registration Scheme Approvals in the 'six counties' in the period May 2004 to December 2008** Source LGA

<http://www.lga.gov.uk/lga/core/page.do?pageId=1095223>

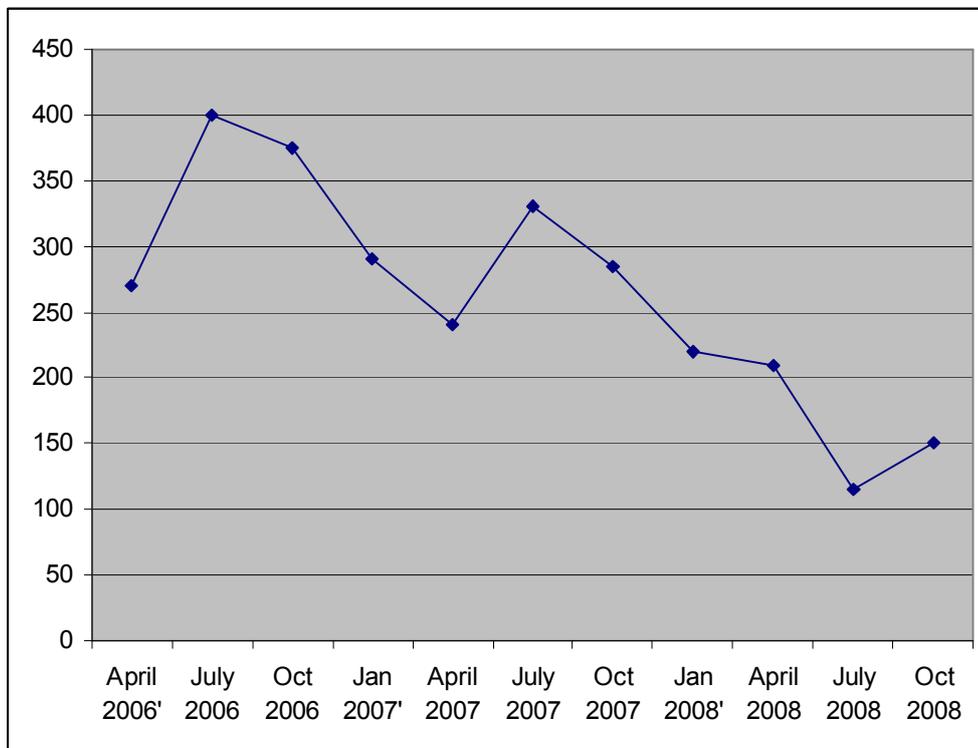
Nationality of WRS workers	Number of WRS workers
Czech Republic	125
Estonia	40
Hungary	105
Latvia	100
Lithuania	295
Poland	3,270
Slovakia	500
Slovenia	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,435</b>

3.59 55% of WRS registrations in the 'six counties' area were engaged in the hospitality and catering, and administration, business and managerial, services sectors.

3.60 Shipley (2008), using data from the WRS and NINo applications, shows that there has been a reduction in the number of migrant workers entering Wales since July 2007. Figure 3 shows the reduction in WRS registrations in the 'six counties' area.

**Figure 3. Workers Registration Scheme registrations in the 'six counties' area by quarter in the period April 2006 to December 2008**

Source LGA <http://www.lga.gov.uk/lga/core/page.do?pageId=1095223>



- 3.61 Little is known about the housing circumstances of international migrants to the 'six counties' area. Data may be collected by local authorities on the nationality of applicants for housing, but this has not been developed into a dataset that could be drawn upon in this research project. No research has been undertaken by local authorities in relation to international migrants living in the owner occupied or private rented sectors.
- 3.62 Woods and Watkin (2008) undertook research into the circumstances, experiences and conditions faced by Central and Eastern European migrant workers in rural Wales. They analysed data from the WRS and from a questionnaire survey undertaken amongst migrant workers in four localities. One of these localities (Conwy) was exclusively located in one of the 'six counties' and one covered the northern Carmarthenshire / southern Ceredigion area.
- 3.63 Across their whole sample they found that:
- 90% of migrant workers from A8 accession states were earning between £4.50 and £5.99 an hour;
  - 50% of migrant workers rented from a private landlord and a third were accommodated by their employer;
  - 15% of migrant workers stated that they had experienced difficulties with the quality of their accommodation, and 40% stated that their accommodation was worse than their previous accommodation in their home country.
- 3.64 In the two localities in their sample which are within the scope of this present study:
- the majority of migrant workers were employed in the hospitality and catering sector;
  - there was a stark difference in living arrangements. In northern Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion 60% of migrant worker lived in private rented accommodation, whereas in Conwy 80% of migrant workers lived in accommodation provided by their employers.

### **Regional migration**

- 3.65 In considering regional migratory flows into and out of the 'six counties' we rely on one principle source of official data, the Patient Register Data Service (PRDS) compiled by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). By obtaining a download from each patient register, and by combining all the patient register extracts together, ONS can create a total register for the whole of England and Wales.
- 3.66 Migration estimates are based on patients moving and changing their doctor as they change address. A migrant in the PRDS is defined as a person who, between one year and the next, changes their area of

residence. Comparing records in one year with those of the previous year by linking an NHS number enables identification of people who change their postcode. Data is rounded to the nearest 10.

- 3.67 The accuracy of NHS based data depends on patients re-registering with a new doctor when they change residence, or informing their current GP of any change of residential address. It is known that re-registration patterns vary by sex and age group, with males less likely to register than females, and young adults less likely to register than middle aged and older people.
- 3.68 Table 7 shows, for each of the 'six counties', the net migratory gain or loss from other local authority areas in England and Wales in the period June 2004 to the end of June 2007. Over this period there was a net migratory gain in the 'six counties' area of 6,300 persons. The two counties of Denbighshire and Conwy accounted for 63% of this migratory gain.

**Table 7. Net migration gain/loss from local authority areas in England and Wales in each of the 'six counties' between June 2004 and June 2007** *Source PRDS*

Local Authority	Net migration gain / loss from other local authorities in England & Wales		
	2005	2006	2007
Isle of Anglesey	500	200	200
Gwynedd	200	400	0
Conwy	400	600	800
Denbighshire	700	600	900
Flintshire	100	-200	100
Ceredigion	400	100	300

- 3.69 Figures 1 to 12 in Appendix 3 show migratory flows into and out of each of the 'six counties' from regions in England and Wales. Table 1 in Appendix 3 shows the migratory gain or loss in each of the 'six counties' in respect of each of the regions of England and Wales. The data is briefly described below.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.70 Anglesey

- 1 The greatest number of regional migrants to Anglesey originated from:
  - North Wales (2360 persons);
  - the North West of England (1650 persons);
  - the West Midlands (450 persons).
- 2 The greatest number of migrants from Anglesey moved to:
  - North Wales (2,090 persons);
  - the North West of England (1,330 persons);
  - the West Midlands (280 persons).

<sup>15</sup> The data used in this section should be treated as indicative only as the figures are based on summing data which was originally rounded to the nearest 10 by ONS.

- 3 Anglesey gained 900 persons as a result of migration to and from the regions of England and Wales.
- 4 Anglesey experienced the greatest net gains of population from the following regions:
  - the North West of England (320 persons);
  - North Wales (270 persons);
  - the West Midlands (170 persons).
- 5 Anglesey experienced the greatest net losses of population to the following regions:
  - Mid & West Wales (70 persons)
  - South West England (50 persons)
  - South Wales West (30 persons)

### 3.71 Ceredigion

- 1 The greatest number of regional migrants to Ceredigion originated from:
  - Mid and West Wales (2,790 persons);
  - the West Midlands (2,680 persons);
  - the South East of England (1,790 persons).
- 2 The greatest number of migrants from Ceredigion moved to:
  - Mid and West Wales (2820 persons);
  - the West Midlands (1,980 persons);
  - the South East of England (1520 persons).
- 3 Ceredigion gained 800 persons as a result of migration to and from the regions of England and Wales.
- 4 Ceredigion experienced the greatest net gains of population from the following regions:
  - the West Midlands (700 persons);
  - the South East of England (270 persons);
  - the East Midlands (130 persons);
  - South East Wales (130 persons).
- 5 Ceredigion experienced the greatest net losses of population to the following regions:
  - South Wales Central (270 persons)
  - North West England (120 persons)
  - London (70 persons)

### 3.72 Conwy

- 1 The greatest number of regional migrants to Conwy originated from:

- North Wales (4,360 persons);
  - the North West of England (3,890 persons);
  - the West Midlands (1,290 persons).
- 2 The greatest number of migrants from Conwy moved to:
    - North Wales (4,200 persons);
    - the North West of England (2,850 persons);
    - the West Midlands (840 persons).
  - 3 Conwy gained 1,800 persons as a result of migration to and from the regions of England and Wales.
  - 4 Conwy experienced the greatest net gains from the following regions:
    - the North West of England (1,040 persons);
    - the West Midlands (450 persons);
    - London (190 persons).
  - 5 Conwy experienced the greatest net losses of population to the following regions:
    - South West England (120 persons)
    - North East England (80 persons)
    - South Wales Central (70 persons)

### 3.73 Denbighshire

- 1 The greatest number of regional migrants to Denbighshire originated from:
  - North Wales (5,140 persons);
  - the North West of England (3,620 persons);
  - the West Midlands (1,190 persons).
- 2 The greatest number of migrants from Denbighshire moved to:
  - North Wales (4,470 persons);
  - the North West of England (2,640 persons);
  - the West Midlands (890 persons).
- 3 Denbighshire gained 2,200 persons as a result of migration to and from the regions of England and Wales.
- 4 Denbighshire experienced the greatest net gains in population from the following regions:
  - the North West of England (980 persons);
  - North Wales (670 persons);
  - the West Midlands (200 persons).
- 5 Denbighshire experienced the greatest net losses in population from the following regions

- North East England (50 persons)
- South Wales Central (60 persons)
- South Wales West (40 persons)
- East Midlands (40 persons)

### 3.74 **Flintshire**

- 1 The greatest number of regional migrants to Flintshire originated from:
  - the North West of England (5,860 persons);
  - North Wales (3,220 persons);
  - the West Midlands (700 persons).
  
- 2 The greatest number of migrants from Flintshire moved to:
  - the North West of England (4,860 persons);
  - North Wales (3,220 persons);
  - the West Midlands (680 persons).
  
- 3 The population of Flintshire remained unchanged as a result of migration to and from the area during the period.
  
- 4 Flintshire experienced the greatest net gains in population from the following regions:
  - the North West of England (1,000 persons);
  - London (100 persons);
  - the South East of England (50 persons).
  
- 5 Flintshire experienced the greatest net losses in population to the following regions:
  - North Wales (720 persons)
  - South West England (150 persons)
  - East Midlands (120 persons)

### 3.75 **Gwynedd**

- 1 The greatest number of regional migrants to Gwynedd originated from:
  - North Wales (2,750 persons);
  - the North West of England (2,560 persons);
  - the West Midlands (2,140 persons).
  
- 2 The greatest number of migrants from Gwynedd moved to:
  - North Wales (3,360 persons);
  - the North West of England (2,560 persons);
  - the West Midlands (1,590 persons).
  
- 3 Gwynedd gained 600 persons as a result of migration to and from the regions of England and Wales.

- 4 Gwynedd experienced the greatest net gains in population from the following regions:
  - the West Midlands (550 persons);
  - the South East of England (250 persons);
  - London (240 persons).
  
- 5 Gwynedd experienced the greatest net losses in population to the following regions:
  - North Wales (640 persons)
  - South Wales Central 160 persons)
  - South West England (130 persons)
  
- 3.76 Analysis of the data shows that, whilst the largest flows are between adjacent local authority areas, local authorities in North Wales have migratory relationships with local authority areas in the North West of England (the Merseyside and Greater Manchester area) and the West Midlands, whereas Ceredigion's relationship would appear to be more with South Wales, the West Midlands, South East England and South West England.
  
- 3.77 In total over the period June 2004 to end of June 2007, the 'six counties' area showed net migratory gains and losses from the following regions:
  - North West England (+3430 persons);
  - the West Midlands (+2190 persons);
  - the South East of England (+1020 persons);
  - London (+540 persons);
  - South Wales Central (-550 persons)
  - South West England (-410 persons).
  
- 3.78 The regional migration data would tend to support the premise put forward by Green (1992) that the 'six counties' are part of the out-migration hinterland of the Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and South East England metropolitan areas.
  
- 3.79 Table 8 shows the net migratory gain by age group in each of the 'six counties' over the period 2004 to 2007. This shows the loss of young people aged 15-29, and the substantial growth in the number of people aged 45-64. It is also notable that the greatest net migratory gains have been experienced by the two local authorities with the greatest number of 'seaside towns' - Denbighshire (Prestatyn and Rhyl) and Conwy (Colwyn Bay and Llandudno).

**Table 8. Net migratory gain/loss in the 'six counties' by age group in the period 2004-2007** Source PRDS

Local Authority	Net migratory gain by age group 2005-2007					
	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-64	65+	Total
Isle of Anglesey	250	-270	260	490	20	<b>750</b>
Gwynedd	30	-50	-10	660	-250	<b>380</b>
Conwy	460	-760	590	1,240	150	<b>1,680</b>
Denbighshire	400	-70	550	1,080	310	<b>2,270</b>
Flintshire	160	-660	300	0	-80	<b>-280</b>
Ceredigion	410	-420	130	730	-90	<b>760</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,710</b>	<b>-2,230</b>	<b>1,820</b>	<b>4,200</b>	<b>60</b>	

### Housing need, homelessness and lettings

- 3.80 There is limited data available on housing needs in the 'six counties' area. The JRF Commission on Rural Housing in Wales (2008) identified the net annual shortfall of affordable housing in rural Wales. Their findings are shown in Table 9. Flintshire was not included in the JRF study, so the table has been extended to incorporate data on Flintshire taken from Fordham Research (2005). However, the data in the table cannot be considered reliable because of the different methodologies adopted by local authorities to calculate the net annual shortfall in affordable housing, and the different timing of the studies makes comparisons difficult.

**Table 9. Net annual shortfall of affordable housing in the 'six counties'**

Sources JRF (2008) and Fordham Research Ltd (2005)

Local Authority	Year assessment undertaken	Net annual shortfall of affordable housing
Anglesey	2001	311
Ceredigion	2004	274
Conwy	2002	209
Denbighshire	2003	645
Flintshire	2005	808
Gwynedd	2002	314

- 3.81 Homelessness data can provide a picture of the extent of housing need in a locality, and lettings activity shows a local authority's ability to meet social housing need in its area through the letting of homes in its own stock or through the nomination of households to a housing association partner. Homelessness and lettings activity in the 'six counties' during the period 2005-06 to 2007-08 are shown in Figures 1 to 6 and Tables 1 to 5 in Appendix 4, using data drawn from the each local authority's self completed WHO12 return, available on the Data Unit Wales website.
- 3.82 In terms of homelessness, over the period 2005-06 to 2007-08 there has been:

- a small downward trend in the number of homelessness enquiries in the 'six counties' area, including a significant drop in enquiries in 2006 - 07;
  - a downward trend in homelessness enquiries in four of the 'six counties', the exceptions being Flintshire and Gwynedd;
  - a continuous downward trend in the number of homelessness decisions made by each of the 'six counties';
  - a continuous downward trend in the number of households found to be homeless and eligible for assistance in the 'six counties';
  - a continuous downward trend in the number of households found to be homeless and eligible for assistance in five of the 'six counties', the exception being Anglesey.
- 3.83 In terms of lettings, over the period 2005-06 to 2007-08 there has been:
- a 2.8% drop in the total lettings available to local authorities in the 'six counties' area;
  - a 12.8% reduction in council house lettings in the 'six counties' area. Lettings of council homes fell across all of the 'six counties';
  - a 61.8% increase in the number of lettings made by housing associations following nomination by local authorities in the 'six counties' area. Four of the councils show an increase in the number of housing associations lettings following a nomination, but two show a reduction in lettings. Whilst some of these variations may be caused by changes in the number of housing association relets available in the period, some could be attributed to errors in recording nomination data.

## **Conclusions**

- 3.84 The following are the key themes emerging from this section of the report:
- the 'six counties' is not a homogeneous area. There are notable differences between each of the local authorities in the area, in terms of employment patterns, the age of the population and housing tenure profiles;
  - in terms of relative deprivation, each of the counties fares well compared with other Welsh local authorities. Multiple deprivation would appear to be mainly concentrated in the coastal towns in the area;
  - in five of the 'six counties' (Anglesey, Ceredigion, Conwy, Denbighshire and Gwynedd) the proportion of the population living in private rented accommodation is significantly greater than the Welsh average;

- despite significant growth in the numbers of migrant workers coming to the area, the overall number of migrants workers in the 'six counties' is small;
- Flintshire and Gwynedd would appear to be the two main destinations of international migrant workers within the 'six counties' area;
- migrant workers are unlikely to have accessed social housing within the 'six counties', but their presence in the private rented sector is likely to have had an impact on the housing markets of Flintshire and Gwynedd;
- between April 2005 and the end of March 2008 the 'six counties' area is estimated to have gained 6,300 persons as a result of in-migration. The net migratory gain conceals a loss of younger adults and an increase in the population of older adults;
- the 'six counties' would appear to be part of the migration hinterland of the North West of England, the West Midlands and the South East of England;
- the high rates of migratory gain experienced in recent years are associated with a prolonged period of economic and house price growth. The economic downturn and any downturn in house prices may reduce the inflow of migrants to the 'six counties';
- the rural nature of five of the 'six counties' and their coastal location is likely to attract migrants towards the end of their working careers and those who are already retired;
- the excellent transport connections along the north Wales coast (both road and rail) are likely to attract people in employment to the North Wales authorities, as they are able to commute to places of employment along the coast or in the North West of England. This is likely to include significant numbers of dual income households, who are unlikely to seek to access the social housing sector;
- the large number of seaside towns (ie. Prestatyn, Rhyl, Colwyn Bay, Llandudno, Caernarfon, Pwllheli and Aberystwyth) means that in five of the 'six counties' there is a large stock of private rented housing which provides a readily accessible source of housing for in-migrants. There is evidence from other areas of the UK to suggest that large numbers of residents of private rented sector homes in seaside towns are migrants from outside of the area, and that significant numbers were previously owner occupiers or social housing tenants;

- the number of homelessness enquiries received by the 'six counties' reduced in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08, as did the number of homelessness decisions made, and the number of households found to be homeless and eligible for assistance;
- the number of social housing lettings in the 'six counties' area has reduced over the period 2005-06 to 2007-08;
- the current legislative framework allows local authorities to take account of other factors, including local connection, when determining priorities between applicants within the reasonable and/or additional preference groups. The allocation schemes of five of the 'six counties', by providing a level of priority for all applicants with a local connection, rather than just for those who have received either reasonable or additional preference, are not framed within the spirit of the legislation currently in place.

## **4 Views of key local stakeholders**

### **Introduction**

- 4.1 This section of the report provides information on the views of key local stakeholders who were interviewed during the fieldwork stage in each of the 'six counties'.
- 4.2 In each of the six local authorities the following officers (or their equivalents) were interviewed:
- Head of Housing;
  - Homelessness/Allocations Manager;
  - Lettings Officer;
  - Homelessness Officer.
- Corporate Research Officers were interviewed wherever possible.
- 4.3 Attempts were made to engage with elected members in each of the 'six counties'. This was achieved in five of the 'six counties'. The engagement took the form of presentations to formal bodies such as Scrutiny or Overview Committees, or presentations to informal working groups of members.
- 4.4 Officers and members were asked to provide their views on a series of questions. Their anonymised responses are summarised below.

### **Stakeholders' views**

#### **How does the authority define 'local' in relation to homelessness and allocations?**

- 4.5 In each of the 'six counties', homelessness officers use the accepted definition of length of residence to establish a local connection, ie. residence in the area for at least 6 months during the previous 12 months, or for not less than 3 years during the previous 5 year period. Local connection can also be established through employment, and by having family living in the area.
- 4.6 For the allocation of social housing, all of the 'six counties' operate needs-based points lettings schemes which offer additional points to applicants who have a local connection. The most common approach is to award a number of points for each year that the applicant has lived in the local authority area (up to a maximum number of points). In four of the 'six counties' the authority also awards additional points (up to a maximum number of points) for the number of years the applicant has lived in the local community (defined as the electoral division or parish) that they want to be rehoused in.

- 4.7 In five of the authorities, any applicant with a local connection is awarded local connection points. In the other authority, local connection points are only added to an applicants' points total if they have received points for being in housing need. Depending on the relative weighting given to local connection and housing need points, this could mean that, in five of the 'six counties', applicants with a long-standing local connection but with low levels of housing need could receive more points than a recent migrant with a greater level of housing need. The total number of local connection points that could potentially be awarded, as a proportion of the number of points awarded to an applicant with high priority housing needs, varies between authorities from 11% to 66%.<sup>16</sup>
- 4.8 A small minority of officers in one council felt that the local connection provisions within the allocation scheme adopted by the local authority 'sailed close to the wind' in terms of its compliance with legislation. Three schemes have recently been the subject of criticism from the Public Service Ombudsman for Wales in relation to:
- the level of relative priority afforded to households who are homeless;
  - the level of points awarded to people with a local connection, as compared to points awarded for elements of housing need.
- 4.9 The Ombudsman also criticised one scheme in relation to a requirement to be resident in the locality for two years in order to join the waiting list. The local authority subsequently addressed these concerns by revising its allocation scheme.
- 4.10 Stakeholders were asked whether local connection was a component of other council policies. Local connection provisions were used almost exclusively to control access to housing services:
- in four of the 'six counties', officers said that a local connection policy was used to allocate affordable housing developed on Section 106 sites. Three authorities required such applicants to have resided in the locality for 5 years, and one authority for 10 years;
  - in one of the 'six counties', officers said that access to financial assistance from the local authority to repair and improve private sector housing was dependent on the applicant having lived in the locality for 10 years.
- Does the use of these definitions have the intended consequences?**
- 4.11 Most officers in the 'six counties' generally felt comfortable with the outcomes of definitions used.

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<sup>16</sup> The proportion of the total points received for a local connection of an applicants who has a high priority was established by calculating the maximum number of points an applicant can receive for a long standing local connection and establishing what proportion of the total points that an applicant who has a high priority, in each local authority, this represents.

- 4.12 They did, however, feel that there was a serious problem of public perception. Many referred to the perception that lettings went to ‘outsiders’ rather than ‘locals’, and felt that this was compounded by the shortage of social housing. They said that individual lettings can be very closely scrutinized, and that it may only take one or two lettings made to ‘non-local’ people to fuel the perception that this is a much wider issue. Some pointed out that many estates which had previously been entirely council-owned were now predominantly mixed tenure as a result of Right to Buy, and believed this added to the perception that migrants were living in social housing, when in fact many of the properties were now privately owned, and some were being privately let by the owners.
- 4.13 Officers from some counties identified unintended consequences of local connection policies, for example:
- some young people in one county are not able to achieve maximum local connection points despite having lived their whole life in the area;
  - recent homeless migrants who have been placed in temporary accommodation will generally stay there longer because of their lack of local connection points. This adds to the costs incurred by the local authority in providing temporary accommodation;
  - it can be difficult to find nominees for some housing association lettings where the lettings scheme requires that the nominee is required to come from the a particular parish or electoral division;<sup>17</sup>
  - some children attending school within one county lived just across the county boundary. If they were not considered for rehousing within the county, there was a danger their schooling could be disrupted.
- 4.14 Some members in the ‘six counties’ had different views from officers about the outcomes of definitions used:
- in one authority members said that the allocation scheme did not work. They felt that this was evidenced by the high proportion of recent migrants who secured housing in the area, and the difficulty that people who originated in the area have in securing affordable housing when they return to the area;
  - members in another authority were of the strong opinion that the definitions as currently used do not adequately support local people to be able to access housing;
  - in two of the ‘six counties’ a number of members felt that housing associations were more likely to allocate housing to people from outside of the area, particularly to people with ‘chaotic lifestyles’;
  - some members said that the complexity of a points based system made it difficult for them to explain to members of the public the outcomes of the lettings process, and why an applicant had been housed ahead of a family from the local community.

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<sup>17</sup> This slows the reletting process. Where no applicants can be found in the parish or electoral division within a certain period of time, the area is then extended to a wider area and eventually up to the local authority area.

- 4.15 Officers in a number of authorities believed that the perception that they housed 'outsiders' was largely caused by 'local parochialism'. For members of some authorities, those considered to be 'outsiders' were not necessarily recent migrants to the county, but people from the county (particularly those housed as homeless) who had been allocated property in a particular community with which they had no connection.
- 4.16 Both officers and elected members agreed that the critical issue was the supply of social and affordable housing, with insufficient affordable housing available for local households, who are generally priced out of the local housing market. This meant that the letting of social housing is subject to far greater scrutiny than would be the case if there was a sufficient supply of affordable housing.

**What level of demand does the authority experience from recent migrants<sup>18</sup>, and where do they originate from?**

- 4.17 Most authorities had little or no hard evidence of the level of demand from recent migrants or of their origin.
- 4.18 Estimates by officers of the level of demand generated by recent migrants varied considerably within the 'six counties'. Estimates of the proportion of homelessness applicants who were recent migrants ranged from 10% to 40%. Estimates of the proportion of recent migrant households on the waiting list for housing varied from 5% to 30%. Members' estimates of the level of demand generated by recent migrants were often significantly higher than officers' estimates.
- 4.19 Gwynedd Council (2008) found that the majority of house movers who purchased a home in the county in 2007-08 had moved from an address in Gwynedd. They found that the proportion of people moving into new homes who had a Gwynedd address (81.7%) was significantly higher than the proportion of people buying a second-hand home (57.7%), this variation they attributed to a number of factors such as local occupancy conditions in new developments and more local promotion of new developments. They also found that in the Snowdonia National Park area 57.2% of homes were purchased by people who originated outside of the county.
- 4.20 The three local authorities within the 'six counties' area with large Victorian seaside towns (Ceredigion, Conwy and Denbighshire) all estimated a higher level of demand from recent migrants than the other authorities.
- 4.21 One of these authorities described a "huge churn" of applicants for social housing with, every year, a large numbers of new applications received,

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<sup>18</sup> The term recent migrant was used to describe a person who has moved into and lived in the local authority area for less than 3 years.

and a large number of applications cancelled (mainly as a result of non-return of information following the annual waiting list check) . Officers expressed the belief that the majority of cancelled applications were from people living outside the county.

4.22 Two authorities reported that the number of homelessness enquiries tended to increase during the summer months, and officers expressed the belief that these extra enquiries were mainly from summer visitors from outside the county.

4.23 Most key stakeholders identified the areas of origin of recent migrants as:

- elsewhere in North Wales;
- the North West of England (Manchester and Merseyside); and
- the West Midlands.

#### **Do migrant households have particular characteristics?**

4.24 Stakeholders generally agreed that migrant households placing the most demands on the local authority were:

- women (often with dependent children) fleeing domestic violence;
- older people returning to the area to be closer to family members.

4.25 Stakeholders also said that migrant households included:

- people moving for work-related reasons;
- older people living in holiday accommodation (static caravans and chalets);
- older people wanting to move back to the area;
- single people;
- vulnerable people with multiple and complex needs;
- people fleeing violence (eg. witnesses to serious crime);
- those with a family connection to the area who see the area as a good place to bring up children;
- people who have been evicted by other councils.

4.26 The range of facilities sited within a local authority have an affect on the type of the households who approach the authority for assistance as homeless. For example, a number of the 'six counties' have more than one women's aid refuge located within the area, resulting in them receiving a higher proportion of applications from women originating from elsewhere in the UK who are fleeing domestic violence. Likewise, authorities with projects for people with substance misuse problems reported that they receive a greater proportion of applications from people with addiction issues.

4.27 One member suggested that migrants to the area could be divided into three broad groups:

- economic migrants – who move to work in the ‘six counties’. He suggested that these were often professionals who would either buy or rent privately, and who therefore would not access the social housing sector;
- older people – retiring to rural communities or coastal towns. Again he suggested that these generally purchased their homes, and did not tend to access the social housing sector;
- benefit dependent migrants –second- or third- generation unemployed, who have made the lifestyle choice to move from an urban area (in the North West of England or the West Midlands) to a seaside town, often moving into caravan parks or out-of-season holiday lets. He suggested that these generally had low levels of educational attainment and poor levels of health, but were more streetwise than the local community, and better able to manipulate the housing and benefits system to their own advantage. He suggested it was this later group that tended to gravitate towards the social housing system and compete with the local community for scarce social housing lettings.

**Which settlements do recent migrants tend to move to?**

- 4.28 In five of the ‘six counties’, stakeholders reported that recent migrants tended to gravitate to the main towns and, in areas where there was a significant tourism industry, to coastal or seaside towns.
- 4.29 In one county no particular pattern of migration was identified. People were thought to want either urban or rural areas.

**Do migrant households tend to stay in the settlement that they migrate to, or do they move within the county?**

- 4.30 Stakeholders said that, in general, recent migrants tended to stay in the settlements that they originally moved to on arrival in the area.
- 4.31 In one county it was reported that recent migrants had moved on rare occasions, where they had fled domestic violence and the perpetrator had established their location.

**What is the impact of migration on the allocation of social housing and on local residents who have applied for housing?**

- 4.32 There was a clear division between officers and elected members in terms of the views expressed about the impact of migration on the allocation of social housing and on local residents who have applied for housing.
- 4.33 Officers said that demand for housing from recent migrants increased the level of demand for a scarce resource, but that, generally, the impact of recent migrants was minimal.

- 4.34 A number of authorities had undertaken analysis of lettings to establish the level of demand from recent migrants, and their success in securing social housing. In each case it was demonstrated that, whilst recent migrants and applicants from outside of the area appeared on the housing register, they secured a very small proportion of lettings.
- 4.35 In one authority, officers said that migrants had had an impact on the provision of homelessness services, as cases involving people who originated outside the area involved more complex investigations, and made it far more difficult to achieve successful outcomes in respect of homelessness prevention.
- 4.36 Officers in only a few authorities referred to the impact of migration on issues beyond those of social housing. In two authorities, officers said that:
- as a high percentage of inward migrants move to the area to retire, they have a higher age profile, and this has long-term implications in terms of care;
  - inward migration impacts on allocation of school places, and has a churn effect on local schools.
- In one authority officers said that inward migration has implications for the Welsh language, if migrants are non Welsh speakers.
- 4.37 Elected members had greater concerns than officers about the impact of migration:
- many felt that recent migrants prevented local people from accessing housing;
  - one felt there was an impact on the ability of local people to transfer within social housing (eg. to obtain a larger house when their families grow);
  - in three of the 'six counties' members said that the presence of recent migrants had an impact on the Welsh language and Welsh culture (particularly in rural areas);
  - in three of the 'six counties' members also said that recent migrants who have problems (eg. ex-offenders and those with addiction issues) brought urban lifestyles into rural areas, which caused disruption to the local community.
- 4.38 In four authorities, it was apparent that the key issue for ward members was in-migration into their communities of households who originated from other communities within the same county, particularly those who had been accommodated as homeless.

**What has been the impact on the authority and on the allocation of social housing, of Parts VI and VII of the Housing Act 1996?**

- 4.39 Stakeholders reported a number of impacts on the authority caused by the introduction of Parts VI and VII of the Housing Act 1996.
- 4.40 The main impact identified was that the number of homelessness applications had increased, and this had resulted in more households being accommodated via the homelessness route.
- 4.41 Other impacts were reported as follows:
- one authority reported an impact on the level of controversy locally about the allocations scheme, which was now subject to greater scrutiny by elected members;
  - one authority reported more intense scrutiny not just by local members, but by unsuccessful applicants and advocate organisations;
  - one reported that a greater recognition had been created corporately of the council's homelessness responsibilities, and homelessness budgets had consequently increased;
  - another reported that the duties placed on homelessness staff had become more onerous (including more pressure on the team to evidence decisions), resulting in an increase in the bureaucracy associated with the provision of the homelessness service and the cost of providing that service;
  - one authority reported that the requirement to have an open housing register had increased the administrative burden placed on the authority because of the high number of applications they received from people who lived outside of the county. They reported that 27% of applicants on their housing register either lived outside the county or were recent migrants to the area, and considered that this represented a "huge administrative exercise for absolutely no outcome", as many of these applicants had little or no chance of being rehoused;
  - two authorities reported that they were required to revise their allocation schemes to comply with legislative requirements.

**What has been the impact on the authority and on the allocation of social housing, of the Priority Needs Order 2001?**

- 4.42 The Homeless Persons (Priority Needs)(Wales) Order 2001 extended priority need to the following groups:
- care leavers or persons at particular risk of sexual or financial exploitation, 18 years or over but under 21;
  - 16 or 17 year olds;
  - persons (without dependent children) fleeing domestic violence;
  - persons homeless after leaving the armed forces;
  - former prisoners homeless after being released from custody.
- 4.43 Stakeholders reported that this had had a number of impacts, including:

- an increase in temporary accommodation costs (and, initially, an increase in the use of bed and breakfast) as local authorities did not have accommodation in place to meet the needs of the additional vulnerable groups (in particular those leaving prison and 16 and 17 year olds);
- an increase in the number of homelessness applications, a high proportion of whom had chaotic lifestyles (including addiction issues), and the impact that such applicants had when accommodated in small communities;
- increasing costs to authorities of addressing the problems caused by the introduction of the Order, for example, the creation of new posts to meet additional demand for services, the development of additional policies and procedures, and increased partnership working with private sector landlords to provide accommodation for the greater number of single people who they now had a duty to accommodate;
- the creation of difficulties in allocating accommodation, because ward members did not want more vulnerable homeless households living in their communities;
- an increase in complaints from the public, particularly in respect of priority given to prison leavers. One authority reported a case of a person housed in this way who was subsequently evicted due to breach of an injunction to prevent six people visiting, where five of those six people were eventually rehoused themselves by this route. They said that, from a public perception viewpoint, repeat offenders were seen to be “given 3 or 4 chances at accommodation, whilst non-offenders sometimes do not even get one”;
- problems from a management perspective. One authority said that, although “many have a support package for the purpose of accessing accommodation, this often disintegrates once accommodation is let”;
- officers in one authority felt that there was pressure to place ex-offenders in accommodation too quickly, without allowing a long enough period to assess whether they were likely to re-offend, and suggested that a research project was needed on whether the Priority Needs Order had had a rehabilitative effect.

4.44 In terms of the impact of the Priority Needs Order 2001 on the allocation of housing, authorities reported an increase in the number of homelessness applications (particularly from single person households), and a corresponding increase in the number of acceptances. In authorities that have a reasonable supply of single person accommodation, this was reported to lead to housing management problems in certain areas. However, a number of stakeholders reported that the impact on the allocation of their authority’s housing stock was limited because they had so few single person units. Those authorities discharged their duty to single people by assisting them to secure private rented accommodation.

**What has been the impact on the authority and on the allocation of social housing, of the homelessness prevention agenda?**

- 4.45 Stakeholders reported that the homelessness prevention agenda had increased costs for the authorities in providing services that focus on homelessness prevention. However, this had had positive effects, in that:
- the number of homelessness applications and acceptances had decreased;
  - temporary accommodation costs had reduced;
  - better outcomes were being achieved for service users (especially as a result of far earlier intervention in potential homeless cases).
- 4.46 Stakeholders reported a number of other impacts:
- one authority noted that there had been an increase in understanding about the role of housing options service, and a change in the perception of the service from one which created problems for the authority to that of an advice agency;
  - two authorities said that the prevention agenda had prompted improved multi-agency working. One of these said that its Homelessness Forum was now “very important” in terms of prevention.
- 4.47 All stakeholders reported that the impact of the homelessness prevention agenda on the allocation of social housing had been to reduce the number of households housed as homeless.

**To what extent do people misrepresent their circumstances to gain access to social housing?**

- 4.48 In general, there was more a sense that people ‘used the system’ than that they misrepresented their circumstances. The majority of stakeholders said that there was little evidence to suggest that applicants for housing, either via the housing register or via the homelessness route, misrepresented their circumstances in order to gain access to social housing. One officer said that, whilst some households may overstate some aspects of their circumstances, an equal if not greater number of households probably understate the seriousness of their circumstances.
- 4.49 In general, officers felt that investigations undertaken in relation to homelessness and social housing applications were likely to identify most cases of misrepresentation. They cited a number of mechanisms in place to minimise the likelihood of misrepresentation, eg:
- requiring all homelessness applicants and applicants for social housing to provide proof of residence in order to receive residency points for allocation purposes (eg: birth certificates, work histories, doctors’ letters, benefits claims, bank letters, letters from local members);
  - checking of previous addresses
  - home-visiting all (or all higher-pointed) applicants for social housing;

- home-visiting by the Homelessness Prevention Officer (without prior notice) of homelessness applicants who claim they are being asked to leave by family/friends.

Officers in one authority said that the vast majority of home visits resulted in confirmation of information provided by applicants, and that hardly any resulted in information being queried.

4.50 At one authority, officers said that, although evidence of local connection was not always on files, in many instances they know or know of the clients they are dealing with, as the county is a small place. They said that, if there were doubts about local connection, they would seek written evidence (eg. from other authorities, the police, GPs, family members, banks). In the time they had been with the authority (which varied between 5 and 13 years), these officers there had not been any appeals about decisions on local connection.

4.51 Officers at another authority said that no checks on local connection were made until very recently, and that it could be very difficult for applicants to provide proof of historic local connection (eg. if they had lived in the area many years ago). They reported that only about one application per quarter is referred back to challenge decisions on local connection, although none had ever come to court.

4.52 However, a number of stakeholders believed that there was some misrepresentation:

- in one authority both officers and members suggested that some people knew how to use the system, and intentionally moved into poor quality accommodation as a means of improving their chances of securing social housing;
- officers in one authority said that, in the very few cases where people had misrepresented their circumstances, those cases have been in relation to:
  - people exaggerating their circumstances when they were fleeing non-domestic violence; and
  - young people (particularly pregnant women) who said that their parents were no longer prepared to house them.
- in three authorities, homelessness staff suggested that a significant proportion of homelessness applicants misrepresented their circumstances in order to gain access to housing. Estimates varied from around 25% to 50%. In two instances officers said that applicants overstated health and disability issues. Officers at the third authority said there was sometimes collusion with family members to suggest eviction, and collusion with private landlords to ensure that assured shorthold tenancies were not extended.

4.53 Members in one authority said that migrants were “clever in the methods they used to establish local connection”, for example:

- by citing a connection with “Aunty Jane from 20 years ago”;
- via the private sector, by initially moving into the private sector in the county, then accessing social housing on the basis that their private tenancy was unsuitable or ending.

4.54 However, the vast majority of stakeholders said that there was no evidence to suggest that recent migrants were more likely to misrepresent their circumstances than the indigenous population. In two local authorities staff reported that the indigenous population were more likely to misrepresent their circumstances. They said that, in a small number of cases, ward members had advised constituents to misrepresent their circumstances and approach the authority as homeless, as a means of improving their chances of securing housing.

4.55 Officers of one authority said, though, that it could be extremely difficult, labour intensive, time consuming and costly to check information on applicants from outside the county. For that reason, they believe there is a need for a change in the law to ensure that applicants can only present their case to their own local authority. Officers said that it is especially difficult to check on the reasons that out-of-county applicants provide for wanting to move to the area. They liaise with housing departments, police, and social and private landlords in applicants’ areas of origin, but say that agencies sometimes seem to “want to get people off their patch”.

**Are the definitions of ‘local connection’ used for homelessness and allocation purposes appropriate? If not, why, and how should they be changed?**

4.56 The majority of stakeholders felt that the “6 out of 12 months” definition of residency used in the homelessness framework was too short a period to constitute a local connection. Local authorities with large seaside towns reported that migrants moved into the area to take up occupation of out-of-season lets, and, when that let came to an end, were then able to establish a local connection in order to present as homeless. The coincidence of the 6 month residency definition with the 6 months of an assured shorthold tenancy was felt to create opportunities for many people to establish local connection. All stakeholders felt that this placed an additional burden on authorities, as they had a limited supply of social housing lets available.

4.57 In general, stakeholders felt that 12 months residency in an area was a more appropriate length of time to establish a local connection for homelessness purposes, although there were some views that it should be two years. Officers in one area felt that local authorities should be able to exercise their discretion in relation to a longer time period, so that shorter time periods could be accepted as appropriate.

- 4.58 Officers in one authority pointed out that local connection could be established through family members living in the area, even when the applicant was estranged from those family members. They did not think it was logical for a local connection to be established in such cases.
- 4.59 Most stakeholders felt that the definition of local connection used in their allocation policies was appropriate.
- 4.60 As reported earlier, there is an issue for some stakeholders regarding the interpretation of 'local', and whether that should apply to the local authority area, or to a particular community within that area. One local authority, however, has proposed removing local community points (for residence in the local community in which applicants are applying) because they believe these points have not produced the outcome intended. For example, applicants may have points in Village A (which has no social housing stock), but not in Village B three miles away (which has).

## **Conclusions**

- 4.61 The following are the key themes emerging from this section of the report:
- in discharging their homelessness duties, all of the local authorities in the 'six counties' area currently use the commonly accepted definition of length of residence to establish a local connection (ie. residence in the area for at least 6 months during the previous 12 months, or for not less than 3 years during the previous 5 year period);
  - all stakeholders agreed that 6 months residency used to establish local connection in homelessness assessments was too short, and most agreed it should be extended to 12 months;
  - the six authorities could, by adopting a blanket policy to establish local connection, be considered to be 'fettering their discretion' (see paragraph 2.87);
  - local connection provisions are a feature of the allocation schemes of each of the 'six counties', but the level of priority given to people with a local connection varies quite considerably;
  - officers felt that recent migrants had had little impact on the allocation of social housing, and that the local connection provisions within their allocation schemes had the intended consequences;
  - however, many elected members took a different view from officers, and felt that the impact of recent migrants had prevented local people

from accessing social housing, had an adverse impact on the Welsh language and culture; and had brought urban lifestyles to rural communities;

- the limited supply of affordable housing was considered by most stakeholders to be a greater issue than the effect of in-migration on the availability of social housing;
- officers felt that there was a serious problem of public perception. Many referred to the perception that lettings went to 'outsiders' rather than to 'locals';
- in a number of areas there were issues of 'local parochialism', where those considered to be 'outsiders' were not necessarily recent migrants to the county, but people from within the county who had been allocated property in a particular community with which they had no connection;
- demand for social housing from recent migrants varied significantly across the 'six counties', but was reported to be higher in the three counties that contain 'seaside towns';
- recent migrants tended to move to major towns, as opposed to rural communities, and to remain in these settlements;
- there is little evidence to suggest that applicants misrepresent their circumstances to gain access to social housing, and no evidence to suggest that recent migrants are more likely to do so than the indigenous population.

## **5 Homelessness in the 'six counties'**

### **Introduction**

- 5.1 This section of the report provides details of:
- the approach undertaken to collect information about the sample of homelessness cases reviewed in the study;
  - the scale of demand from recent migrants<sup>19</sup> for homelessness services in the 'six counties';
  - the outcomes for recent migrants in terms of homelessness;
  - the characteristics of homelessness applicants who were recent migrants, compared with local homelessness applicants.

### **Approach to fieldwork**

- 5.2 The fieldwork stage of the project involved the analysis of a randomly selected number of homelessness files from the financial years 2005-06, 2006-07 and 2007-08 from each of the local authorities in the 'six counties' area. The fieldwork was undertaken between February and June 2009.
- 5.3 The number of homelessness files randomly selected in each of the 'six counties' was determined by the need to ensure a statistically significant sample across the 'six counties'.
- 5.4 The sample was selected on the basis of the need to achieve 95% confidence plus or minus 8.5% across the 'six counties'. Of the total number of 8,201 homelessness decisions made in the 'six counties' area during the three years of the study's focus, the required sample size was 723.
- 5.5 The sample in each of the counties was determined on a pro rata basis by the number of decisions made in each county during the three years of the study's focus. Table 10 shows the total number of homelessness decisions made in each county in this period, the sample size that the researchers sought to achieve, and the number of files reviewed in each area.

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<sup>19</sup> The term 'recent migrant' is used to describe a person who has lived in the local authority area for 3 years or less.

**Table 10. Homelessness decisions in the six counties in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08 and the sample size required and achieved**

Local Authority	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	3 year total	Required sample size	Sample achieved
Isle of Anglesey	449	382	386	1177	120	149
Gwynedd	987	1216	1344	2207	125	125
Conwy	705	483	451	1445	122	122
Denbighshire	1127	764	957	1157	119	149
Flintshire	770	374	1182	1327	121	121
Ceredigion	886	972	486	888	116	124
<b>Total</b>				<b>8,201</b>	<b>723</b>	<b>790</b>

5.6 Prior to going on site, the researchers requested details from each of the local authorities in the form of an anonymised list of all households in the three years period who had approached the council as homeless, where a decision had been reached in respect of their entitlement to services. The researchers selected the appropriate number of cases using a random number generating programme. Council officers then ensured that the selected files were available for inspection during the fieldwork stage of the project. In two authorities, there were difficulties in accessing some of the selected files (due to archiving problems, etc.). In these cases, the researchers randomly selected replacement files from the relevant years.

- 5.7 When reviewing the files, the researchers established:
- the length of the applicant's connection to the county;
  - if they had no connection, the county that they originated from;
  - the household type of the applicant;
  - the age of the head of household;
  - the housing circumstances of the household at the time of their application;
  - whether the applicant was living in a seaside town at the time of their application;
  - if the applicant's connection to the county was less than 5 years, the number of moves made by the household in the previous 5 years;
  - the reasons for homelessness;
  - the decision reached by the local authority;
  - whether the applicant requested a review of the decision and, if so, the outcome of the review process, whether the applicant appealed against the decision, and the outcome of the appeal process;
  - whether the file contained evidence to support the decision reached;
  - whether the decision made by the officer investigating the case was signed off by a more senior officer;
  - whether the household was placed in temporary accommodation and, if so, the length of time spent in temporary accommodation;
  - the action taken by the local authority.

- 5.8 The ability of the researchers to collect all of the requisite information was dependent on the quality of the information gathered by the authority at the time the homelessness application was made, and the manner in which it was stored. In each of the 'six counties' it was apparent that, over the 3 years of the study (particularly during the last year), there had been major improvements in the collection of evidence to support decisions made. However, in some instances the researchers were unable to gather the requisite information. In the tables below, reference will be made to the population size that the information was drawn from.
- 5.9 Using laptop PCs, the researchers input the data directly into a Microsoft Office Access database, which was used to analyse the sample at both county and 'six counties' level.

### Homelessness data analysis

- 5.10 This section provides key findings from the analysis of homelessness data in the 'six counties' area during the period 2005-06 to 2007-08.

### Homelessness and recent migrants

- 5.11 Table 11 shows the homelessness applicants in each of the 'six counties' by the length of their connection with the local authority area. This shows that:
- within the 'six counties', 9.3% (varying in range between counties from 5.3% to 14.5%) of all homeless applicants had no connection with the local authority they made their application to
  - a further 19.4% (in a range from 10.7% to 24.1%) had lived for less than 3 years in the local authority area they made their application to
  - in total 28.7% (in a range from 18.1% to 34.2%) of homelessness applications in the 'six counties' were received from households who could be described as recent migrants (either having no connection with the county or having lived in the county for less than 3 years).

**Table 11. Homelessness applicants in each of the 'six counties' by length of connection to the local authority they presented to Population size**

Local Authority	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area
County 1	70.5	24.1	5.4
County 2	66.2	19.3	14.5
County 3	70.5	23.8	5.7
County 4	65.8	20.8	13.4
County 5	81.9	10.7	7.4
County 6	81.8	12.0	7.2
All	71.3	19.4	9.3

- 5.12 It is noticeable that the three local authorities that contain traditional ‘Victorian era seaside towns’ experienced the highest level of demand from homeless applicants who could be described as recent migrants.

**Areas of origin**

- 5.13 Table 12 shows, for homeless applicants who had no connection with the local authority they presented to, the regions they originated from. Just under a third originated from elsewhere in North Wales, and a further fifth originated from the North West of England. Only 2 applicants originated from outside of the UK.

**Table 12. Origins of homelessness applicants who had no connection to the local authority they presented to**

Region where applicant had a connection	Number
North Wales	14
North West England	11
South East England	6
West Midlands	5
North East England	3
South East Wales	2
South West Wales	2
East Midlands	2
East Anglia	2
Outside UK	2
London	1
South West England	1
Mid Wales	1
Scotland	1

**Household types**

- 5.14 Table 13 shows homeless applicants in the ‘six counties’ by household type and their length of connection to the local authority to whom they made their application. This shows that there were proportionally fewer single person households amongst recent migrants, and a greater proportion of households containing dependent children.

**Table 13. Homelessness applicants by household type and length of connection to the area. Population size 762**

Household type	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
Single person	51.9	48.6	40.8	52.2
Childless couple	5.3	12.2	7.0	6.9
Couples with dependent children	15.0	16.3	16.9	15.9
Lone parents with dependent children	27.2	22.3	33.7	27.9
Multi adult household	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.6
Other	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.1
Number of applicants in each group	543	148	71	762

### Age of the head of household

5.15 Table 14 shows the age of the head of household of all homeless applicants in the six counties by their length of connection to the area. This shows that:

- applicants who had lived in the county for more than 3 years included the highest percentage of those aged 16-17 and 45-64;
- those who had lived in the county for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of 30-44 year olds;
- those with no connection with the authority included the highest percentages of 18-29 year olds and those aged 65+.

**Table 14. Homelessness applicants by age of head of household and length of connection to the area. Population size 761**

Age of head of household	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
16 - 17	10.5	8.1	8.6	9.9
18 - 29	40.9	36.5	41.4	40.1
30 - 44	28.9	37.2	32.9	30.9
45 - 64	17.3	16.9	14.3	16.9
65+	2.4	1.4	2.9	2.2

**Housing circumstances at the time of homeless application**

5.16 Table 15 shows the housing circumstances of applicants in the ‘six counties’ at the time of their application, by their length of connection to the area. This shows that:

- applicants who had lived in the county for more than 3 years included the highest percentage of those living with immediate family members, and of those who were owner occupiers;
- those who had lived in the area for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of those who lived with friends, were private tenants or were roofless;
- those who had no connection with the local authority included the highest percentage of those living in bed and breakfast, caravan parks or in a local authority tenancies, and by far the highest percentage of those living in hostels and other forms of temporary accommodation.

**Table 15. Housing circumstances of homeless households at the time of their application, by length of connection to the area. Population size 757**

Housing Circumstances	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
Bed & Breakfast	3.5	2.0	5.7	3.3
Caravan Park	1.7	3.4	7.1	2.4
HM Forces	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
Hospital	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5
Hostel / Temporary accommodation (other than B&B)	5.5	8.2	30.0	8.6
Housing association tenancy	0.9	1.4	0.0	1.0
Living with Family	29.0	25.2	15.7	27.1
Living with Friends	10.7	12.9	11.4	11.0
Local authority care	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.3
Local Authority tenancy	2.8	0.0	4.3	2.5
Other	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4
Owner occupier	6.8	0.7	1.4	5.1
Prison	3.7	4.1	2.9	3.8
Private Rented	22.7	24.5	8.6	21.6
Roofless	7.6	13.6	8.6	8.9
Tied accommodation	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.3

**Seaside Towns**

- 5.17 The study sought to establish whether applicants was living in seaside towns at the time of their homelessness application. The following settlements were identified as seaside towns:
- Prestatyn
  - Rhyl
  - Colwyn Bay
  - Llandudno
  - Caernarfon
  - Pwllheli
  - Aberdovey
  - Barmouth
  - Borth
  - Aberystwyth.
- 5.18 Table 16 shows the proportion of applicants living in seaside towns, by the length of their connection to the area. This shows that there is very little difference between the three groups.

**Table 16. Homelessness applicants living in seaside towns at the time of their homelessness application, by length of connection to the area** Population size 752

Living in a seaside town at the time of application	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
Yes	29.0	29.5	29.6	29.1
No	71.0	70.5	70.4	70.9

- 5.19 In the three local authority areas that contain ‘Victorian era seaside towns’, the proportion of applicants who were living in seaside towns at the time of their application ranged from 29.5% to 60.2%.

**Number of addresses in the last 5 years**

- 5.20 282 applicants either had no connection with the local authority area or had lived in the local authority area for less than 5 years. Table 17 shows the number of addresses these applicants had in the five years prior to their homeless application, by the length of their connection to the area. However, in many instances the files reviewed did not contain comprehensive information about applicants’ previous addresses, so the figures shown for number of addressed must be taken as a minimum. The Table shows that multiple moves are common across all groups.

**Table 17. Number of addresses in the last 5 years of homelessness applicants who had lived in the local authority area for less than 5 years, by length of connection to the area. Population size 282**

Number of Addresses	% of applicants who had lived in the area for between 3 and 5 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
1	8.4	16.2	12.3	12.8
2	29.5	31.6	35.1	31.6
3	26.3	23.1	17.5	23.1
4	22.1	15.3	19.3	18.4
5	8.4	6.9	5.3	7.1
6	1.1	3.1	5.3	2.8
7	4.2	1.5	1.7	2.5
8	0	1.5	1.7	1.1
9	0	0.8	0	0.4
11	0	0	1.7	0.4

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

### Reasons for Homelessness

5.21 Table 18 shows the reasons for homelessness, by length of connection to the area. This shows that:

- applicants who had lived in the county for more than 3 years included the highest percentage of those who became homeless because parents were unwilling to accommodate them, non-violent relationship breakdown, and mortgage arrears;
- those who had lived in the county for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of those who became homeless because of the loss of private rented and tied accommodation, and because other relatives or friends were no longer willing to accommodate them;
- those who had no connection with the authority included the highest percentages of applicants citing domestic violence and racially motivated violence or harassment as reasons for presenting as homeless.

**Table 18. Reason for homelessness, by length of connection to the area. Population size 757**

Reasons for homelessness	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
Parent no longer willing to accommodate	21.9	20.4	5.7	19.9
Other relative or friend not willing to accommodate	12.8	14.3	10.0	12.8
Breakdown of relationship with partner - violent	5.0	4.8	30.0	7.3
Breakdown of relationship with partner - non violent	6.9	3.4	2.9	5.8
Racially motivated violence or harassment	1.1	0.7	4.3	1.3
Mortgage arrears	3.7	0.0	0.0	2.6
Rent arrears – local authority	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.5
Rent arrears – housing association	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6
Rent arrears – private rented	4.6	5.4	1.4	4.5
Loss of private rented & tied accommodation	8.0	11.6	7.1	8.6
Leaving institution or care	8.7	8.2	5.7	8.4
Other (emergency, abroad, rough sleeping, hostel)	26.1	31.3	32.9	27.8

### **Decisions made by the local authority**

5.22 Table 19 shows the decisions given to applicants who presented as homeless, by the length of their connection to the area This shows that:

- decisions taken on applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years included the highest percentages of those found to be ‘eligible, unintentionally homeless, in priority need and with a local connection’;
- those who had lived in the area for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of those found to be ‘ineligible for assistance’ and ‘intentionally homeless’;
- decisions taken on those with no connection to the area included the highest percentages found to be ‘not homeless’ and ‘homeless but not in priority need’.

**Table 19. Decision made in respect of homelessness applicants, by length of connection to the area. Population size 741**

Decision	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
Ineligible for assistance	0.0	2.1	1.5	0.5
Eligible, not homeless	21.1	20.7	26.2	21.5
Eligible, homeless – not in priority need	19.8	20.7	23.1	20.4
Eligible, intentionally homeless, priority need	14.1	15.9	10.8	13.8
Eligible unintentional homeless, priority need	44.6	38.6	27.7	42.2
Number of applicants in each group	531	145	65	741

5.23 74 (23.8%) of the 311 applicants found applicants found to be ‘eligible, unintentionally homeless, in priority need and with a local connection’ were recent migrants.

#### **Evidence to support decisions**

5.24 The study also sought to establish whether homelessness files contained evidence to support the decision reached in respect of:

- whether the applicant was eligible;
- whether the applicant was homelessness or threatened with homelessness;
- whether the applicant was in priority need;
- whether the applicant was homeless intentionally;
- whether the applicant had a local connection.

5.25 Results showed that:

- in 39.5% of files there was no evidence that the applicant was eligible to receive homelessness services;
- in 26.8% of files there was no evidence to support the decision reached in terms of homelessness or the threat of homelessness;
- in 30.9% of files there was no evidence to support the decision reached in terms of the applicant being in priority need;
- in 45.9% of files there was no evidence to support the decision reached in terms of whether the applicant was intentionally homeless;
- in 51.5% of files there was no evidence to support the decision reached in terms of the applicant’s connection to the local authority.

5.26 However, in all six authorities, practices in respect of evidence gathering had improved considerably in recent years, particularly in the last year. Files on more recent applicants were therefore very much better evidenced than files from the earlier years of the sample. Table 20 shows the gradual improvement in evidence gathering in the 'six counties' over the three years of the study.

**Table 20. The quality of evidence gathering over the years 2005-06 to 2007-08**

	2005-06		2006-07		2007-08	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
<b>Presence of evidence to support decisions</b>						
<b>Eligibility</b>	58.7%	41.3%	57.3%	42.7%	64.8%	35.2%
<b>Homelessness</b>	71.2%	28.8%	69.4%	30.6%	78.1%	21.9%
<b>Priority Need</b>	58.3%	41.7%	73.3%	26.7%	76%	24%
<b>Intentionality</b>	41.3%	58.7%	58.6%	41.4%	62.4%	37.6%
<b>Local Connection</b>	40.2%	59.8%	51.7%	48.3%	54%	46%
<b>Decision signed off by Senior Officer</b>	13.3%	86.7%	9.5%	90.5%	13.9%	86.1%

### Reviews and appeals

5.27 Information was also recorded on:

- whether the applicant sought a review of the local authority's decision;
- if so, the outcome of that review;
- whether the applicant, following the completion of the review process, appealed against the review decision;
- if so, the outcome of that appeal.

5.28 In total, 40 applicants requested a review of the local authority's decision. Table 21 shows the outcome of the review process, by length of connection to the local authority area. This shows that recent migrants were more successful at getting the original decision overturned than applicants who had a longer established connection to the area.

**Table 21. Applicants requesting a review of the decision made in respect of homelessness, by length of connection to the area.**

Decision	No. of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	No. of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	No. of applicants who had no connection to the area	No. of all applicants
<b>Applicants requesting a review</b>	28	8	4	40
<b>Original decision overturned on review</b>	8	4	2	14
<b>Original decision upheld on review</b>	20	4	2	26

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

5.29 Only one applicant, who had no connection to the area, sought to appeal against the decision following the conclusion of the review process. In this

case the appeal decision was to uphold the original decision made by the local authority.

**Sign-off**

5.30 In addition, the study sought to establish whether decisions taken on homelessness had been signed off by a senior officer. In 87.6% of cases there was no evidence on file to suggest that this had been done. Table 20 shows that there has been a small improvement in the proportion of decisions signed off by a senior officer over the three years of the study, but there remains a substantial need for improvement.

**Time spent in temporary accommodation**

5.31 The researchers sought to establish the length of time applicants spent in temporary accommodation provided by the local authority. However, in many instances the files reviewed did not contain information on whether the household had been placed in temporary accommodation or not, or of the dates of entry into, and exit from, temporary accommodation. In total, files showed that 278 applicants had been placed in temporary accommodation, but this must be taken as a minimum number.

5.32 Table 22 shows information available from the files on the length of time applicants spent in temporary accommodation provided by the local authority, by their length of connection to the area. This shows that:

- applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years included the highest percentages of households who had spent 5-26 weeks in temporary accommodation;
- those who had no connection with the authority included the highest percentage of households who had spent less than 5 weeks, and over 27 weeks, in temporary accommodation.

**Table 22. Length of time homelessness households spent in temporary accommodation provided by the authority, by length of connection to the area.**  
Population size 278

Time spent in temporary accommodation	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
Less than 5 weeks	36.8	45.3	54.2	38.8
5 - 12 weeks	34.3	34.0	20.8	33.2
13 - 26 weeks	19.4	13.2	8.3	17.8
27 - 52 weeks	5.0	3.8	12.5	5.9
More than 52 weeks	4.5	3.8	4.2	4.2

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

### Action taken by the local authority

5.33 Table 23 shows the action taken by the local authority in respect of homelessness applications, by their length of connection to the area. This shows that:

- applicants who had lived in the county for more than 3 years included the highest percentages of households for whom the authority had secured local authority or private accommodation, and of those who had been referred to local services, and where applicants were still in temporary accommodation;
- those who had lived in the county for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of households who had been provided with assistance to secure their own accommodation.
- those who had no connection with the authority included the highest percentage of those for whom the authority had secured housing association accommodation, of those who had been referred to another authority or provided with housing advice, and of those where no action had been taken.

**Table 23. Actions taken by local authorities in respect of homelessness applicants, by length of connection to the area. Population size 688**

Actions taken by local authorities	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area	% of all applicants
Housing association accommodation secured	7.2	7.4	7.8	7.3
Local authority accommodation secured	21.7	20.6	12.5	20.7
Private sector accommodation secured	6.4	4.4	4.7	5.9
Assistance provided to secure own accommodation	4.4	5.9	1.6	4.6
Referral to other agency	7.6	6.6	3.1	7.0
Referral to other local authority	0.4	0.0	10.9	1.3
Referral to Social Services	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.7
Still in temporary accommodation	2.2	0.0	0.0	1.5
Housing advice provided	45.0	47.8	51.6	47.3
No action	2.2	6.6	7.8	3.6

The size of the population in the above table is smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

## Conclusions

5.34 The following are the key conclusions emerging from this section of the report:

- a substantial proportion of homelessness applications made to the 'six counties' (28.7%) are from recent migrants. 9.3% of applicants had no connection with the area and a further 19.4% had lived in the area for less than 3 years;
- there were proportionally more households with dependent children and proportionally fewer single person households amongst homeless applicants who were recent migrants;
- local authority areas that contain 'Victorian era seaside towns' experience particularly high levels of applications from recent migrants;
- local authority areas which contain more than one domestic violence refuge receive a higher rate of applications from those with no connection to the area;
- of the 71 applicants with no connection to the area, 17 (23%) were found not to be homeless. This is a greater proportion than all of the other groups, suggesting that a small proportion of applicants overstate their circumstances. In 2 of the 'six counties' Officers stated that there was seasonal homeless activity related to people speculatively presenting themselves as homeless, as a means of securing a social housing tenancy in what is a more desirable area. Despite the small numbers this will however increase the pressure on homelessness teams in the two counties, which will have received a higher than normal level of cases to investigate which will include a proportion of cases from outside of the area, which are more problematic and time consuming to investigate.

## **6 Lettings in the 'six counties'**

### **Introduction**

- 6.1 This section of the report will provide details of:
- the approach undertaken to collect information about the sample of lettings cases reviewed in the study;
  - the scale of demand from recent migrants<sup>20</sup> for lettings in the 'six counties';
  - the outcomes for recent migrants in terms of lettings;
  - the characteristics of recent migrants who are let social housing, compared with successful local applicants.

### **Approach to fieldwork**

- 6.2 The fieldwork stage of the project involved the analysis of a randomly selected number of lettings files from the financial years 2005-06, 2006-07 and 2007-08 from each of the local authorities in the 'six counties' area. The fieldwork was undertaken between February and June 2009.
- 6.3 The number of lettings files randomly selected in each of the 'six counties' was determined by the need to sample a statistically significant sample across all 'six counties'.
- 6.4 The sample was selected on the basis of the need to achieve 95% confidence plus or minus 7.5% across the 'six counties'. Of the total number of 5,144 lettings made in the 'six counties' area (either directly by a local authority, or by a housing association as a result of a local authority nomination) during the three years of the study's focus, the required sample size was 889.
- 6.5 The sample in each of counties was determined on a pro rata basis by the number of lettings made in each county during the three years of the study's focus. Table 24 shows the total number of lettings made (either directly by a local authority, or by a housing association as a result of a local authority nomination) in each county in this period, the sample size that the researchers sought to achieve, and the number of files reviewed in each area.

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<sup>20</sup> The term 'recent migrant' is used to describe a person who has lived in the local authority area for 3 years or less.

**Table 24. Lettings in the six counties in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08 and the required sample size in each local authority.**

Local Authority	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	3 year total	Required sample size	Sample achieved
Isle of Anglesey	215	235	252	702	144	146
Gwynedd	341	348	349	1,038	154	165
Conwy	294	270	267	831	151	151
Denbighshire	228	206	246	680	141	141
Flintshire	436	558	346	1,340	158	159
Ceredigion	192	170	191	553	141	145
<b>Total</b>				<b>5,144</b>	<b>889</b>	<b>907</b>

- 6.6 Prior to going on site, the researchers requested details from each of the local authorities in the form of an anonymised list of all households in the three year period who had either housed directly by the local authority or housed by a housing association following a local authority nomination. The researchers selected the appropriate number of cases using a random number generating programme. Council Officers then ensured that the selected files were available for inspection during the fieldwork stage of the project. In two authorities, there were difficulties in accessing some of the selected files (due to archiving problems, etc.). In these cases, the researchers randomly selected replacement files from the relevant years. In one authority, it did not prove possible to access files for those who had been housed by a housing association following a local authority nomination.
- 6.7 When reviewing files, the researchers established:
- the length of the applicant's connection to the county;
  - if they had no connection, the county that they originated from;
  - the household type of the applicant;
  - the age of the head of household;
  - the housing circumstances of the household at the time of their application;
  - whether the applicant was living in a seaside town at the time of their application;
  - if the applicant's connection to the county was less than 5 years, the number of moves made in the previous 5 years;
  - the level of priority given to the applicant (high, medium or low);
  - the landlord who housed the applicant (local authority or housing association);
  - the house type let to the applicant;
  - the settlement type the applicant was housed in (seaside town, rural community or town).
- 6.8 The ability of the researchers to collect all of the required information was dependent on the quality of the information gathered by the authority at the time the application for housing was made, and the manner that it was stored. In some instances the researchers were unable to gather the

requisite information. In the tables below, reference will be made to the population size that the information was drawn from.

- 6.9 Using laptop PCs, the researchers input the data directly into a Microsoft Office Access database, which was used to analyse the sample at both county and 'six counties' level.

### Lettings data analysis

- 6.10 This section provides key findings from the analysis of lettings data in the 'six counties' area during the period 2005-06 to 2007-08.

### Lettings and recent migrants

- 6.11 Table 25 shows the new tenants in each of the 'six counties' by the length of connection to the local authority area that they were housed in. This shows that:
- within the 'six counties', 4.3% (varying in range between counties from 1.2% to 10.3%) of lettings were made to new tenants who had no connection with the area at the time of their application for housing
  - a further 6.4% (in a range from 4.2% to 9.0%) of lettings were made to new tenants who had lived in the area for less than 3 years at the time of their application for housing
  - in total 10.7% of lettings (in a range from 6.0% to 19.3%) were made to new tenants who could be described as recent migrants (either having no connection with the county or having lived in the county for less than three years at the time of their application for housing).

**Table 25. Lettings to recent migrants in each of the six counties in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08. Population size 907**

Local Authority	% of applicants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of applicants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of applicants who had no connection to the area
County 1	93.1	4.2	2.7
County 2	80.7	9.0	10.3
County 3	86.8	7.9	5.3
County 4	93.0	4.2	2.8
County 5	87.4	8.8	3.8
County 6	94.0	4.8	1.2
All	89.3	6.4	4.3

- 6.12 It is noticeable that two of the three local authorities that contain traditional 'Victorian era seaside towns' made the highest rate of lettings to new tenants who were recent migrants.

- 6.13 Unsurprisingly, those local authorities who attach a greater weighting to local connection in their allocation schemes make fewer lettings to recent migrants than those authorities who give local connection a lesser weighting.

### Areas of origin

- 6.14 Table 26 shows, for new tenants who had no connection with the county where they were accommodated, the regions they originated from. A significant proportion (42.8%) originated from elsewhere in North Wales

**Table 26. Origins of new tenants who had no connection to the local authority where they were rehoused**

Region where applicant had a connection	Number
North Wales	15
West Midlands	6
South East England	5
North West England	3
South West Wales	2
South East Wales	1
East Midlands	1
East Anglia	1
Scotland	1

### Household types

- 6.15 Table 27 shows the household types of new tenants in the 'six counties', by and the length of their connection with the area. This shows that there were proportionally more single person households amongst new tenants who were recent migrants, and proportionally more families with dependent children and childless couples amongst new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years.

**Table 27. New tenants by household type and length of connection to the area. Population size 882**

Household Type	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
Single person	43.9	52.5	76.9	46.2
Childless couple	14.7	11.9	7.7	14.2
Couple with dependent children	18.4	13.6	2.6	17.1
Lone parent with dependent children	22.0	22.1	12.8	21.5
Multi adult household	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.9

### Age of head of household

- 6.16 Table 28 shows the age of the head of household of all new tenants in the 'six counties' by the length of their connection to the area. This shows that:
- new tenants who had lived in the county for more than 3 years included the highest percentage of those aged under 30;
  - those who had lived in the county for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of those aged 30-44;
  - those with no connection to the county included the highest percentage of those aged 45 and over, including a substantially greater percentage of those aged over 65.

**Table 28. New tenants by age of head of household and length of connection to the area. Population size 882**

Age Head Household	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
16 - 17	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.6
18 - 29	30.0	23.7	2.6	28.2
30 - 44	22.1	27.1	17.9	22.0
45 - 64	22.7	23.7	30.8	23.1
65+	24.6	25.4	48.7	26.3

### Housing circumstances at the time of application for housing

- 6.17 Table 29 shows the housing circumstances of new tenants at the time of their application for housing, by their length of connection to the area. This shows that:
- applicants who had lived in the county for more than 3 years included the highest percentages of those who had been living with friends, who were owner occupiers, and who were private tenants;
  - those who had lived in the county for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of those who had been living in bed and breakfast, caravan parks, hostels or other temporary accommodation (other than bed and breakfast), or with family;
  - those with no connection to the county included the highest percentage of those who had been in hospital, housing association tenants, or roofless, and a substantially higher percentage of those who had been local authority tenants.

**Table 29. Housing circumstances of new tenants at the time of their housing application, by length of connection to the area. Population size 865**

Housing circumstances	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
Bed & breakfast	3.5	10.5	0.0	3.8
Caravan park	3.1	8.8	0.0	3.3
Hospital	0.7	0.0	2.6	0.7
Hostel/temporary accommodation (other than B&B)	7.5	22.8	15.4	9.2
Housing association tenancy	3.9	1.8	10.3	4.1
Living with family	26.4	28.1	5.1	25.1
Living with friends	3.3	1.8	0.0	2.9
Local authority care	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Local authority tenancy	11.1	7.0	30.8	11.6
Other	1.0	0.0	5.1	1.1
Owner occupier	8.5	1.8	7.7	8.6
Prison	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.1
Private rented	28.2	15.8	15.4	26.6
Roofless	2.1	1.8	5.1	2.1
Tied accommodation	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.6

### Seaside towns

- 6.18 The study sought to establish whether new tenants were living in seaside towns at the time of their application for accommodation. Table 30 shows the proportion of new tenants living in seaside towns, by the length of connection to the area. This shows that substantially fewer new tenants with no connection with the area were living in seaside towns at the time of their housing application compared to the other two groups.

**Table 30. New tenants living in seaside towns at the time of their application for accommodation, by length of connection to the area. Population size 876**

Living in a seaside town at the time of application	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
Yes	30.0	29.3	10.5	28.4
No	70.0	70.7	89.5	71.6

- 6.19 In the three local authorities that contain 'Victorian era seaside towns', the proportion of new tenants living in a seaside town at the time of their housing application ranged from 34.2% to 46.5%.

**Number of addresses in the last 5 years**

6.20 131 new tenants either had no connection with the local authority area or had lived in the local authority area for less than 5 years. Table 31 shows the number of addresses these new tenants had in the five years prior to their housing application, by the length of their connection to the area. However, in many instances the files reviewed did not contain comprehensive information about applicants' previous addresses, so the figures shown must be taken as a minimum. The Table shows that multiple moves were common across all groups.

**Table 31. Number of addresses in the last 5 years of new tenants who had lived in the local authority area for less than 5 years, by length of connection to the area, Population size 131**

Number of Addresses	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
1	41.9	38.9	52.9	43.5
2	20.9	29.6	26.5	26.0
3	20.9	16.6	0	13.7
4	13.9	9.3	11.8	11.5
5	2.3	0	8.8	3.1
6	0	1.8	0	0.8
7	0	1.8	0	0.8
11	0	1.8	0	0.8

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

**Priority afforded to new tenants**

6.21 In each of the 'six counties' the researchers sought the views of officers on the level of points that would suggest an applicant had a high, medium or low level of priority. Each new tenant was then placed in the appropriate band.

6.22 Table 32 shows about the level of priority afforded to new tenants, by the length of their connection to the area. This shows that a very substantial proportion of new tenants with no connection to the area secured their homes with a low level of priority.

**Table 32. Level of priority given to applicants for housing, by length of connection to the area. Population size 844**

Level of priority	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
High	31.1	36.0	13.5	30.3
Medium	43.9	40.0	16.2	42.1
Low	25.1	38.0	70.3	27.6

6.23 Table 33 shows the level of priority given to new tenants let accommodation in the three settlement types used in the study: seaside towns; rural communities and rural towns. This shows that a greater proportion of homes in seaside towns were let to new tenants who had a high priority when compared to lettings made in both rural communities and rural towns.

**Table 33. Level of priority given to new tenants housed in the three settlement types. Population size 841**

Level of Priority	% of new tenants let homes in seaside towns	% of new tenants let homes in rural communities	% of new tenants let homes in rural towns
High	43.3	25.7	23.7
Medium	28.7	45.1	50
Low	27.9	29.1	23.3

6.24 Table 34 shows the level of priority given to new tenants let accommodation in seaside towns, by the length of their connection with the area. This shows that a substantially greater proportion of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years were allocated housing with a high priority than recent migrants.

**Table 34. Level of priority given to new tenants let homes in seaside towns, by length of connection to the area. Population size 254**

Level of priority	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
High	49.8	35.3	20.0	43.3
Medium	33.2	23.5	10.0	28.7
Low	27.8	41.2	70.0	28.0

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

6.25 Table 35 shows the level of priority given to new tenants let accommodation in rural communities, by the length of their connection to the area. This shows that:

- a substantially greater proportion of new tenants who had lived in the area for less than 3 years were housed with high priority
- the overwhelming majority of new tenants who had no connection to the area were housed despite having a low priority.

**Table 35. Level of priority given to new tenants let homes in rural communities, by length of connection to the area. Population size 254**

Level of priority	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
High	25.2	42.9	11.1	25.7
Medium	47.7	35.7	0.0	45.1
Low	27.1	21.4	88.9	29.1

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

6.26 Table 36 shows the level of priority given to new tenants let accommodation in rural towns, by the length of their connection to the area. This shows that:

- substantial numbers of new tenants who had either lived in the area for more than 3 years or less than 3 years were housed with medium priority
- the majority of new tenants who had no connection with the area were housed with low priority.

**Table 36. Level of priority given to new tenants let homes in rural towns, by length of connection to the area. Population size 350**

Level of priority	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
High	24.4	24.0	11.1	23.7
Medium	51.8	44.0	27.8	50.0
Low	23.8	32.0	61.1	26.3

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

### Landlord letting accommodation

6.27 Table 37 shows lettings made by local authorities and housing associations, by the length of new tenants' connection with the area. This shows that there is little difference between the three groups.

**Table 37. Landlord letting accommodation, by the length of new tenants' connection to the area. Population size 883**

Type of Landlord	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
Housing association	8.5	6.8	7.7	8.4
Local authority	91.5	93.2	92.3	91.6

### Property type

6.28 Table 38 shows lettings made to different types of property, by the length of new tenants' connection with the area. This shows that:

- applicants who had lived in the county for more than 3 years included the highest percentage of those who were let houses;
- those who had lived in the county for less than 3 years included the highest percentage of those who were let bungalows, flats and maisonettes;
- those who had no connection with the county included the highest percentage of those who were let sheltered accommodation.

**Table 38. Type of accommodation let to new tenants, by the length of connection to the area. Population size 883**

Type of property	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
Bungalow	12.3	13.6	12.8	12.4
Flat	30.8	39.0	38.5	31.7
House	33.9	20.3	12.8	32.0
Maisonette	3.6	6.8	0.0	3.7
Sheltered accommodation	19.4	20.3	35.9	20.2

### Letting of 'difficult to let' properties

- 6.29 When the researchers recorded each letting, they attempted to establish whether the accommodation let was regarded as 'difficult to let' by the landlord. This was established by the researchers either identifying whether the property had been offered to substantial number of applicants and been refused, prior to being offered to the new tenant or whether the landlord had adopted a local lettings scheme to address low demand. It is likely that the figures shown below are likely to be an underestimate of the total number of 'difficult to let' properties let in the 'six counties' area in the period of the study.
- 6.30 Of the 907 lettings made in the 'six counties', 95 (10.5%) lettings were of 'difficult to let' properties. Table 39 shows the property types which were designated 'difficult to let' as a proportion of all lettings of that particular property type. This shows that:
- the majority of maisonettes let were let as difficult to let properties
  - a significant proportion of sheltered homes and flats were let as difficult to let

**Table 39. Lettings made to properties designated as difficult to let by property type. Population 95**

Type of property	% of properties let which had been designated as difficult to let
Bungalow	1.8
Flat	10.9
House	4.3
Maisonette	62.5
Sheltered accommodation	14.7

The size of the population in the above table is significantly smaller than that required to achieve the 95% confidence limit, and therefore this table is indicative only.

6.31 Table 40 shows the proportion of lettings of 'difficult to let' properties let to new tenants, by the length of their connection to the local authority area. This shows that:

- new tenants who were recent migrants were more likely to be let properties which were 'difficult to let' than new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years
- more than a quarter of the homes let to new tenants who had no connection to the area were 'difficult to let' properties.

**Table 40. Lettings of 'difficult to let' properties to new tenants by length of connection to the local authority area as a proportion of all properties let.**  
Population 907

	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for more than 3 years	% of new tenants who had lived in the area for 3 years or less	% of new tenants who had no connection to the area	% of all new tenants
Lettings of 'difficult to let' properties as a proportion of all lettings to the group	9.1	15.3	25.6	10.5

## Conclusions

6.34 The following are the key conclusions emerging from this section of the report:

- despite the fact that local authorities, particularly those which contain Victorian era seaside towns, experience high levels of demand for housing from recent migrants, only 1 in 10 lettings in the 'six counties' are made to recent migrants, and only 4.3% of lettings are made to those who have no connection with the area;
- a substantially greater proportion of new tenants who were recent migrants were single person households
- a substantially greater proportion of new tenants who had a longer established connection to the local authority area were families with dependent children
- local authorities who give greater weighting to local connection let fewer homes to recent migrants;
- a substantial proportion of the homes let to recent migrants (more than a third) were either in sheltered schemes or in other forms of accommodation designated for the use of older people (flats and bungalows);

- a substantial proportion of new tenants with no connection to the area were let homes with a low level of priority and more than a quarter were let 'difficult to let' homes. This would suggest that the letting of 'difficult to let' properties to recent migrants is tolerated within the 'six counties';
- stakeholders described public concern that family houses were let to 'outsiders'. However, of the 279 houses that were let in our sample, only 6% were let to recent migrants;

## 7 Conclusions

### Introduction

- 7.1 This section of the report connects the findings from the:
- literature review;
  - the context of the 'six counties';
  - the views of key local stakeholders;
  - the analysis of homelessness data; and
  - the analysis of lettings data;
- to develop a series of conclusions in relation to the impact of migration on housing actions of local authorities in the 'six counties' area.

### **Extent of migration to the 'six counties'**

- 7.2 Between April 2005 and the end of March 2008 the 'six counties' area was estimated to have gained 6,300 persons as a result of in-migration. This net migratory gain has helped to maintain the area's population, but has helped to conceal a loss of younger adults and an increase in the population of older adults.
- 7.3 There has been a substantial increase in international migration to the UK in recent years, but migrant workers have not come to the 'six counties' area in significant numbers, and their impact on the wider housing market would appear to be limited.
- 7.4 There was no evidence to suggest that migrant workers from outside of the UK were accessing social housing in the 'six counties' area.
- 7.5 Regional migration into rural Wales from urban England has been a constant feature over recent decades and has played a critical role in sustaining the population of rural Wales. As suggested by Green (1992) the 'six counties' area forms part of the migration hinterland of the Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and South East England metropolitan areas, and this is supported by the analysis of official data on regional migration.
- 7.6 The vast majority of in-migrating households will have moved from the affluent suburban parts of these metropolitan areas to downsize from more expensive to relatively cheaper owner occupied housing in rural communities. These groups will have an impact on demand for social housing by contributing to increasing house prices and pricing out local households in what are generally 'low wage' areas. They are unlikely to access the social housing sector initially, but many of them will be of retirement age, and some in time may seek sheltered or other elderly

accommodation later (for example when they become infirm, or lose their partners).

- 7.7 The volume of migratory flows from urban to rural areas is closely linked to the stage in the economic cycle and house price differentials between urban and rural areas. It is therefore likely that in this period of recession the rate of in-migration into the 'six counties' will reduce over the short to medium term. Any reduction in house prices in the 'six counties' area may reduce the number of households applying for social housing, as housing becomes more affordable, but may also make the area more attractive to 'urban downsizers'.
- 7.8 The extent of regional in-migration to the six counties' area is difficult to establish definitively. Official figures, particularly the Patient Register Data Service (PRDS) are not totally reliable, and are likely to be an underestimate of migration to the area particularly amongst certain groups of the population.
- 7.9 It is likely that the population of non-employed migrants in the 'six counties' and in particular in 'seaside towns' is significantly under-represented in official figures, because these towns contain a relatively large pool of private rented lets and holiday accommodation which non-employed people can easily access. It is likely that the population of non-employed recent migrants (as suggested by Beatty et al (2003), see paragraphs 2.62) form a significant proportion of local demand for social housing, either via the homelessness or waiting list routes.

### **Homelessness applications from recent migrants**

- 7.10 The number of homelessness enquiries received by the 'six counties' reduced in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08, as did the number of homelessness decisions made, and the number of households found to be homeless and eligible for assistance.
- 7.11 All local authorities receive homelessness applications from people who have no connection with the area, or who have lived in the area for a relatively short period of time. It is accepted that for certain applicants (e.g. those fleeing violence and harassment) the requirement to demonstrate a local connection is waived. 7% of homeless applicants across the 'six counties' were homeless as a result of domestic violence, 37% of whom had no connection with the local authority area that they made their homelessness application to. At the same time, applicants will have fled domestic violence in the 'six counties' area and presented as homeless to other local authorities.

- 7.12 However, recent migrants place significant demands on homelessness services in the 'six counties'. Across the 'six counties', 28.7% of homeless applications are from recent migrants, and recent migrants represent 22.8% of households that local authorities accept they have a full duty to accommodate. However, as no comparable study has been undertaken elsewhere in Wales or the UK, we cannot say whether this represents a greater or lesser demand when compared with other areas of the UK.
- 7.13 This level of demand is not evenly felt across the 'six counties'. The three authorities which contain large 'Victorian era seaside towns' experience a higher level of demand from homelessness applicants who are recent migrants, than other local authorities in the 'six counties'. In one area recent migrants represent just under a third of homeless applicants.
- 7.14 Officers charged with investigating and determining homelessness applications across the 'six counties' all followed guidance issued by the Welsh Assembly Government in discharging their responsibilities. In relation to local connection, all followed the accepted working definition of 'normal residence' for homelessness applicants, i.e. that they should be residence for at least 6 months in the area during the previous 12 months, or for not less than 3 years during the previous 5 year period.
- 7.15 All key stakeholders interviewed across the 'six counties' felt that 6 months residence was too short a period to determine a local connection. Because of the relatively large private rented sector in the 'six counties', and the availability of out of season holiday lets, it was suggested that it was relatively easy for someone to move into the area and, when that accommodation is no longer available for their occupation, to present as homeless and demonstrate a local connection. A majority view was that a minimum residence of 12 months should be required to demonstrate local connection.
- 7.16 Authorities, although they must take into account the guidance, do have some freedom to determine what constitutes 'normal residence'. It could be suggested that, by adopting a blanket policy to determine the local connection of homeless applicants, local authorities were 'fettering their discretion'.
- 7.17 In two of the three local authorities that contain 'Victorian era seaside towns', stakeholders suggested that they experienced a seasonal influx of homelessness applicants from outside the area. Many of these applicants are not found to be homeless, but are attempting to use the homelessness route to access social housing in what they perceive as a more desirable area. The analysis of homelessness files showed that this was a small but real issue, placing additional pressures on homelessness services in these local authorities.

## **Lettings to recent migrants**

- 7.18 The number of social housing lettings in the 'six counties' area has reduced by 2.8% over the period 2005-06 to 2007-08. The limited supply of affordable housing was considered by most stakeholders to be a greater issue than the effects of immigration on the availability of social housing.
- 7.19 All stakeholders agreed that there was a serious problem of public perception. Many referred to the perception that lettings went to 'outsiders' rather than 'locals', and felt that this was compounded by the shortage of social housing. They all agreed that the critical issue in the 'six counties' area was the limited supply of social housing lettings.
- 7.20 Whilst recent migrants represent a substantial demand on homelessness services in the 'six counties', they would appear to have less success in accessing social housing lettings in the area. Only 4.3% of lettings in the 'six counties' were made to applicants who had no connection to the area, and a further 6% of lettings were made to those who had lived in the area for 3 years or less.
- 7.21 Most authorities reported that family houses were in short supply, largely because of the depletion of stock as a consequence of purchases made under the 'Right to Buy'. Because of a high level of demand for family houses, there is great interest in local communities about who they are allocated to. Many estates which had previously been entirely council-owned were now predominantly mixed tenure, and stakeholders believed this added to the perception that migrants were living in social housing, when in fact many of the properties were now privately owned or privately rented. However, analysis of lettings data shows that only 6% of family houses were let to recent migrants.
- 7.22 Local connection provisions are a feature of the allocation schemes of each of the 'six counties' and play a key role in restricting access to housing for recent migrants, but the level of priority given to people with a local connection varies quite considerably. In some instances the weighting given to local connection potentially outweighed the weighting given to reasonable preference groups. In addition, the allocation schemes of five of the 'six counties', by providing a level of priority for all applicants with a local connection, rather than just for those who have received either reasonable or additional preference, are not framed within the spirit of the legislation currently in place.
- 7.23 Elected members in some authorities believed that housing associations played a key role in assisting in-migration, by accommodating greater numbers of people from outside of the area. However, data analysis

revealed that 9.5% of housing associations lettings were made to recent migrants, compared to 11.2% of local authority lettings to recent migrants.

### **The meaning of 'local'**

- 7.24 Officers felt that recent migrants have had little impact on the allocation of social housing. They felt that the local connection provisions within their allocation schemes had had the intended consequences, but that there was a serious problem of public perception, and concerns that 'lettings go to 'outsiders' rather than 'locals'. However, many elected members took a different view from officers, and felt that the impact of recent migrants had prevented local people from accessing social housing, had an adverse impact of Welsh language and culture, and had brought urban lifestyles to rural communities.
- 7.25 In the majority of authorities in the 'six counties', the word 'local' meant different things to different groups. To some (including many elected members and members of the public) 'local' means the particular community/town/village in which they live and work. To others (particularly local authority officers), and in statutory terms, it means the local authority administrative boundary.
- 7.26 For some people, therefore, an 'outsider' is someone from outside their own community/town/village, and this has probably contributed to the perception that lettings go to 'outsiders' rather than 'locals'.
- 7.27 A number of allocation schemes awarded points for residence in the local community, in addition to points for residence in the local authority area. However, this approach may not produce the outcome intended. For example, applicants may have 'community points' for their own village, but the village may have no suitable social housing, whilst a village a few miles away (for which they have no 'community points') may have housing suitable to their needs.

### **Tolerated and less-tolerated groups**

- 7.28 It would appear that local authorities and communities are more tolerant of some groups of 'outsiders' than others.
- 7.29 It is interesting to note that, despite stakeholders speaking about the shortage of social housing lets in the area, the difficulties that local authorities experienced meeting local housing needs, the problems caused by lettings made to recent migrants, and concerns about lettings

made to 'outsiders', it would appear that there is an institutional and/or community acceptance of lettings to certain categories of in-migrants.

- 7.30 In particular, there seems to be a greater tolerance of older recent migrant households. Many such households had no connection to the area where they were housed, and many would appear to have been adequately housed in other areas. More than a third of homes let to recent migrants were either in sheltered housing schemes or forms of accommodation designated for older people. The overwhelming majority of these homes were let to recent migrants with a low level of priority, suggesting that they are 'difficult to let', and therefore not meeting local housing needs. This suggests that authorities have chosen to resolve difficulties that they have in letting these homes by letting them to migrant households, rather than re-configuring them to meet the needs of local communities.
- 7.31 In most of the authorities, the only way someone with a limited local connection can secure social housing is by being allocated homelessness points. 'Outsider' versus 'local' tension can also be code for not wanting accommodation to be let to homeless households (whether from inside or outside the county). It would appear that homeless households are seen as bringing with them a range of associated problems (termed 'urban lifestyles') which can create difficulties for small local communities. Where there are, no doubt, some well publicised instances where this has been the case, there is no evidence as to whether this is a widespread problem.
- 7.32 Many officers suggested that the introduction of the Homeless Persons (Priority Needs)(Wales) Order 2001 (which extended priority need to a wider group of people including young people and prisoners homeless on release from prison) had caused difficulties. Some said they had no accommodation suitable for these groups, and that management difficulties had been caused when such groups were accommodated in general needs housing stock in the wider community. There appeared to be a particular problem with prisoners. Many may also have other problems such as substance misuse or mental illness. Many may re-offend, and have the opportunity to re-apply as homeless each time they are released. Such problems were reflected in the work of Humphreys and Stirling (2008) who recommended that the emphasis on homelessness as an access route to social housing for ex-offenders leaving prison should be reduced through improvements to services to prevent homelessness.

## **8 Recommendations**

### **Introduction**

- 8.1 This section sets out recommendations to a number of target audiences:
- the Welsh Assembly Government;
  - local authorities;
  - housing associations.

### **Welsh Assembly Government**

- 8.2 We recommend that the Welsh Assembly Government:
- publishes the revised code of guidance on allocations and homelessness as a matter of urgency;
  - ensures that the revised code of guidance replicates the proposals contained in 'Fair and Flexible'<sup>21</sup> to ensure that local authorities:
    - work with local communities to raise awareness of how social housing is allocated and involve them in the development of social housing allocation schemes;
    - produce information about the allocation scheme which is easy to access and understand;
    - provide advice to applicants about procedures for making an allocation and how applicants are prioritised under the allocation scheme;
    - publish information about lettings, including the length of new tenants' connections with the local authority area;
  - ensures that the guidance clearly sets out how local connection operates in the context of local authority allocation schemes;
  - ensures that the guidance provides greater clarity on what constitutes 'normal residence' in the context of homelessness decision making;
  - promotes and supports the provision of detailed training for homelessness officers (particularly in local authorities experiencing high levels of demand from recent migrants) on what constitutes a local connection;
  - considers using its powers to increase the definition of local connection from 6 months to 12 months, should further research show that the changes introduced in revised guidance have not had the desired effect.

### **Local Authorities**

- 8.3 Our recommendations to local authorities relate to three specific areas of activity:
- the strategic housing function;

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<sup>21</sup> The draft statutory guidance on social housing allocations for local authorities in England published by the Department of Communities and Local Government in July 2009

- the homelessness function;
- the allocations function.

8.4 In terms of their strategic housing role, we recommend that local authorities adopt a ‘whole housing market’ approach to address the lack of affordable housing. In particular we recommend that authorities should:

- adopt a strategic approach to the future of low demand accommodation (e.g. sheltered units) to maximise its use and ensure that it is configured to respond to housing need;
- increase the supply of affordable housing and ensure that it is affordable in perpetuity;
- improve access to good quality housing in the private rented sector through the development of social lettings schemes, the promotion of landlord accreditation schemes and the provision of financial incentives to private landlords to bring property up to a high standard;
- develop empty homes strategies to bring empty homes back into use in the private sector;
- ensure policies and practices are in place to maximise the use of existing social housing, including improving void turnaround times, and initiatives to release scarce forms of accommodation (eg. incentives to encourage release of under-occupied family homes, the provision of portable discounts to enable tenants occupying scarce housing types to move into owner-occupied housing).

8.5 In terms of their homelessness function, we recommend that local authorities should:

- allocate sufficient staffing resources, including supervisory management staff, to the homelessness function to ensure that the quality of decision making and recording continues to improve;
- provide staff involved in the homelessness decision making process with sufficient detailed training to ensure they are able to make well-informed and safe decisions;
- ensure that staff involved in the homelessness decision making process fully utilise their discretion to define ‘local connection’ when considering their statutory homelessness duty.

8.6 In terms of their allocations function, we recommend that local authorities:

- review their allocations policies to ensure that they comply with the existing legislative framework, and address areas of non-compliance as a matter of urgency;
- provide all applicants for housing with a simple guide to allocation of social housing in the area, explaining how landlords prioritise between different groups of applicants;
- work closely with housing association partners to ensure that appropriate nomination arrangements are in place and complied with, and that outcomes are monitored;

- consider establishing common housing registers with housing association partners, if these are not already in place;
- consider establishing common allocation schemes with partner housing associations, as a means of simplifying the allocations process for applicants;
- work with housing association partners to establish lettings outcomes for the area by recording the proportion of lettings made to:
  - households who had a long established connection with the area;
  - households who were recent migrants to the area;
  - households who had no connection to the area;
- publish the information about letting outcomes annually in an accessible and easy to understand format;
- take every opportunity to improve understanding within the local community of social housing allocation policies and outcomes.

## **Housing Associations**

- 8.7 We recommend that housing associations:
- review their allocations policies to ensure that they comply with the existing legislative and regulatory requirements, and address non-compliance as a matter of urgency;
  - work with local authorities to ensure that appropriate nomination arrangements are in place and complied with, and that outcomes are monitored;
  - consider working with local authorities to establish common housing registers and common allocation schemes, as a means of simplifying the allocations process for applicants;
  - work with local authority partners to record the proportion of lettings made in the area to:
    - households who had a long established connection with the area;
    - households who were recent migrants to the area;
    - households who had no connection to the area.

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## Appendix 2

### Key Population Statistics for the 'Six Counties'

	Anglesey	Ceredigion	Conwy	Denbighshire	Flintshire	Gwynedd	Wales
% of population of working age in 2007 <sup>22</sup>	57.6	61.3	55.4	57.7	61.3	58.7	60.3%
% of population of working age economically active 2007-08 <sup>23</sup>	74.8	69.3	77.5	75.1	82	75.4	75.8
% of population in receipt of key out or work benefits August 2008 <sup>24</sup>	14.2	10.2	14.4	14.9	11.0	12.0	15.6
% of working population employed in the service sector 2007 <sup>25</sup>	75.1	88.1	89.7	84%	59.3	86.1	79.4
% of the working population employed in the tourism sector 2007 <sup>26</sup>	10.3	13.4	17.2	10.5	6.6	14.1	8.8
% of working population employed in the manufacturing sector 2007 <sup>27</sup>	15.3	5.5	4.2	10.1	33.9	8.3	13.6
% of population employed in the agricultural sector 2001 <sup>28</sup>	3.8	8.6	3.1	3.6	1.5	4.7	2.4
Median average weekly take home pay of full time workers <sup>29</sup>	427.90	370.10	437.40	392.00	440.90	389.90	425.30
% of households living in owner occupied housing <sup>30</sup>	68	69.9	73.4	72.5	75.8	66.6	71.3
% of households living in a home rented from a social landlord <sup>31</sup>	16.9	11.9	11.9	13.2	16.5	18.3	17.9
% of households living in a home rented from a private landlord <sup>32</sup>	11.6	15.7	12.6	12.1	6.5	11.9	8.6

<sup>22</sup> Source ONS Mid Year Population Estimates

<sup>23</sup> Source ONS Annual Population Survey 2007-2008

<sup>24</sup> Source DWP benefit claimants – working age client group. Key out of work benefits consist of the following groups: job seekers, incapacity benefits, lone parents and others on income related benefits

<sup>25</sup> Source: ONS annual business inquiry employee analysis

<sup>26</sup> ibid

<sup>27</sup> ibid

<sup>28</sup> Source 2001 Census

<sup>29</sup> Source: ONS annual survey of hours and earnings - resident analysis

<sup>30</sup> Source 2001 Census

<sup>31</sup> ibid

<sup>32</sup> ibid

## Appendix 3

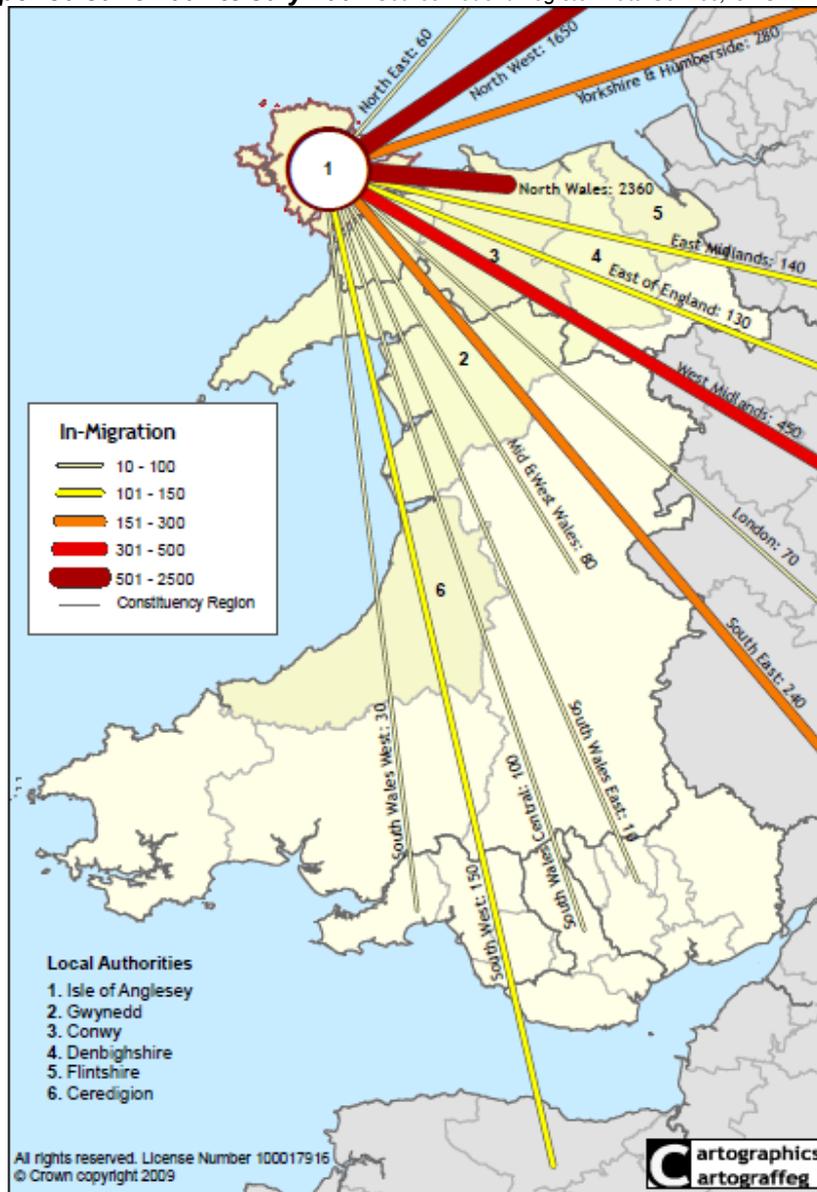
**Table 1. Net migratory gain/loss in each of the six counties from the regions of England and Wales over the period June 2004 to July 2007.**<sup>33</sup> *Source PRDS*

	NE England	NW England	Yorkshire & Humberside	E Midlands	W Midlands	East England	London	SE England	SW England	SE Wales	S Wales Central	S. Wales West	Mid & West Wales	N Wales
<b>Ceredigion</b>	10	-120	110	130	700	110	-70	270	0	130	-270	-30	-30	50
<b>Conwy</b>	-80	1040	50	110	450	130	190	120	-120	-30	-70	10	10	160
<b>Denbighshire</b>	-50	980	50	-40	300	110	80	210	40	10	-60	-40	50	670
<b>Flintshire</b>	-10	1000	-110	-120	20	30	100	50	-150	30	-10	-30	-60	-780
<b>Gwynedd</b>	30	210	10	130	550	50	240	250	-130	0	-160	-40	70	-640
<b>Isle of Anglesey</b>	10	320	40	0	170	10	0	120	-50	-20	20	-30	-70	270

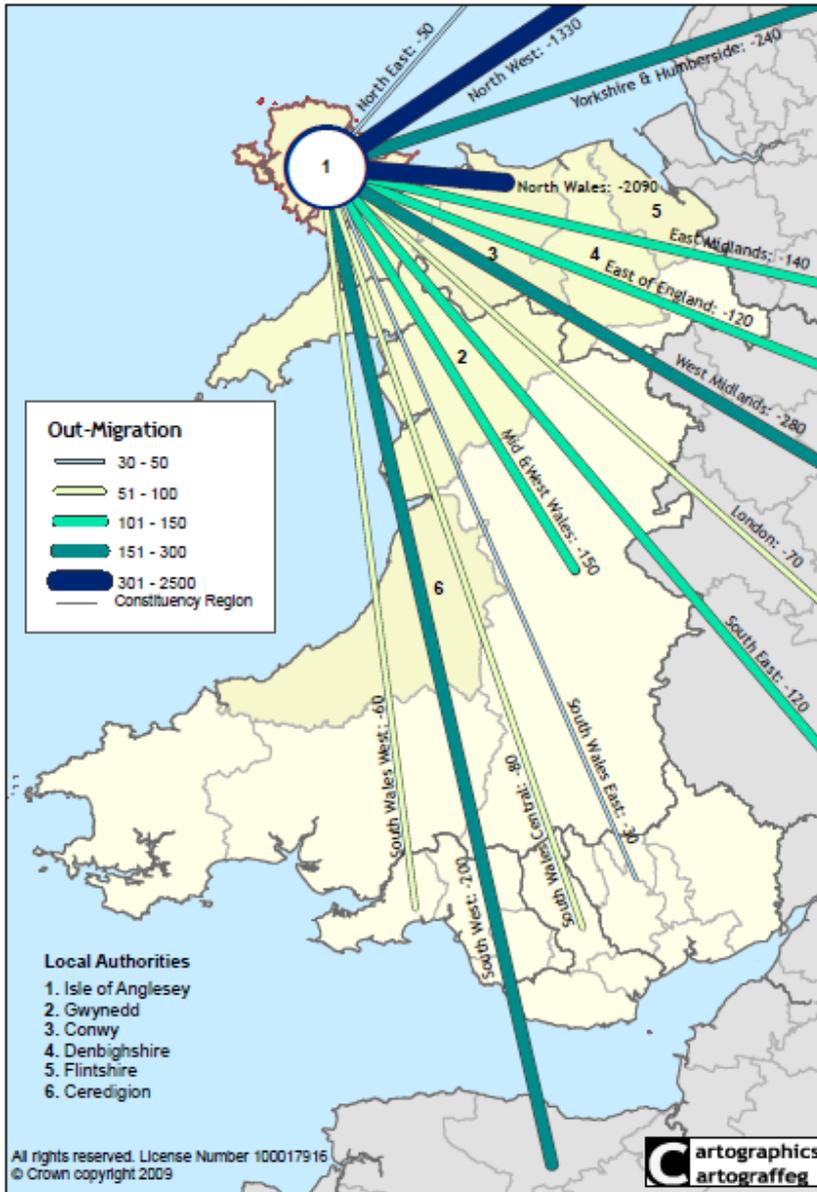
<sup>33</sup> The data used above should be treated as indicative only as the figures are based on summing data which was originally rounded by ONS

## Migratory flows to and from the 'six counties'

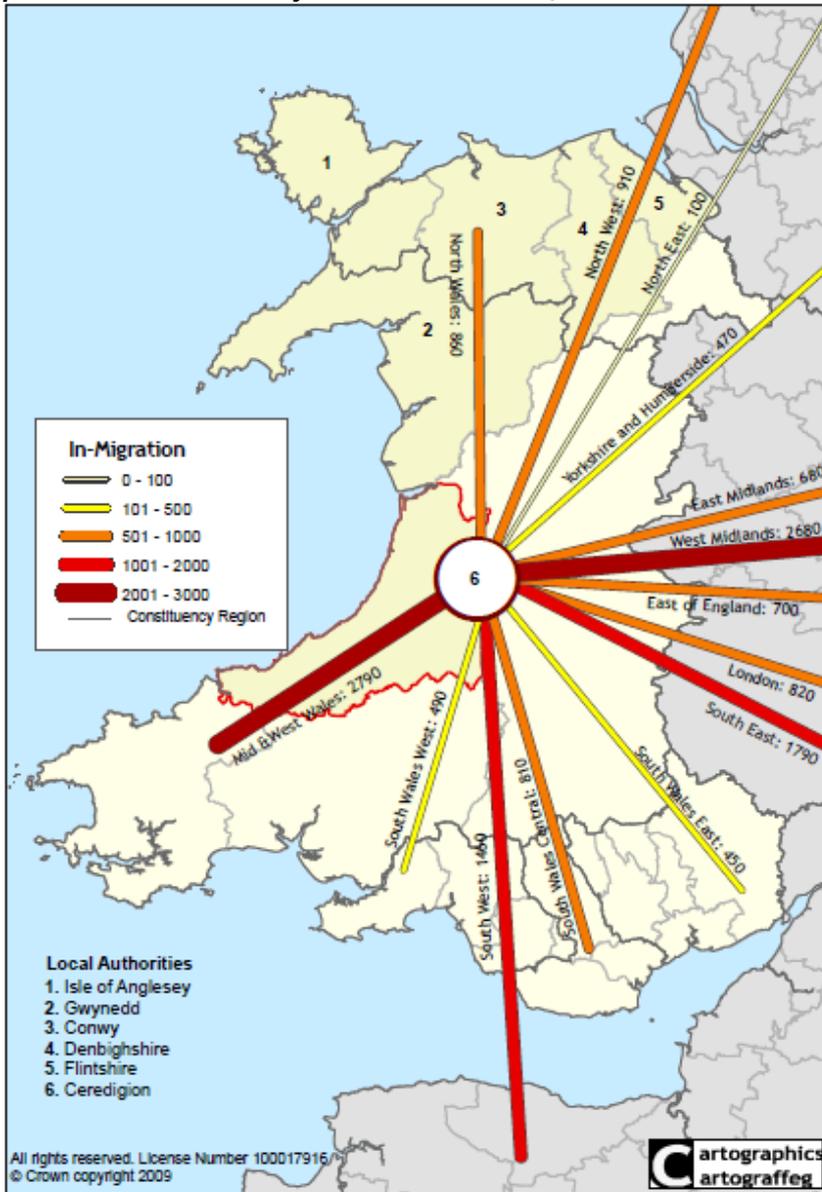
Figure 1. Migratory flows into Anglesey from the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007 Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



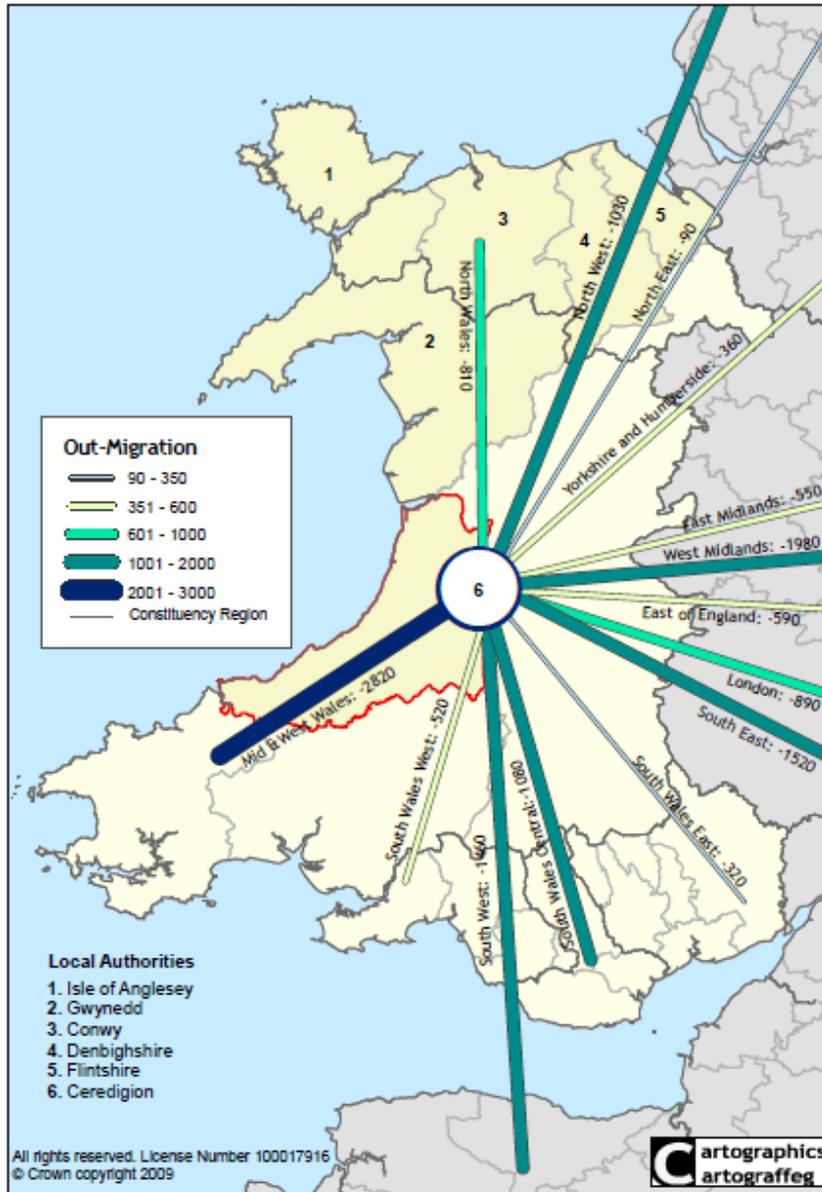
**Figure 2. Migratory flows out of Anglesey into the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



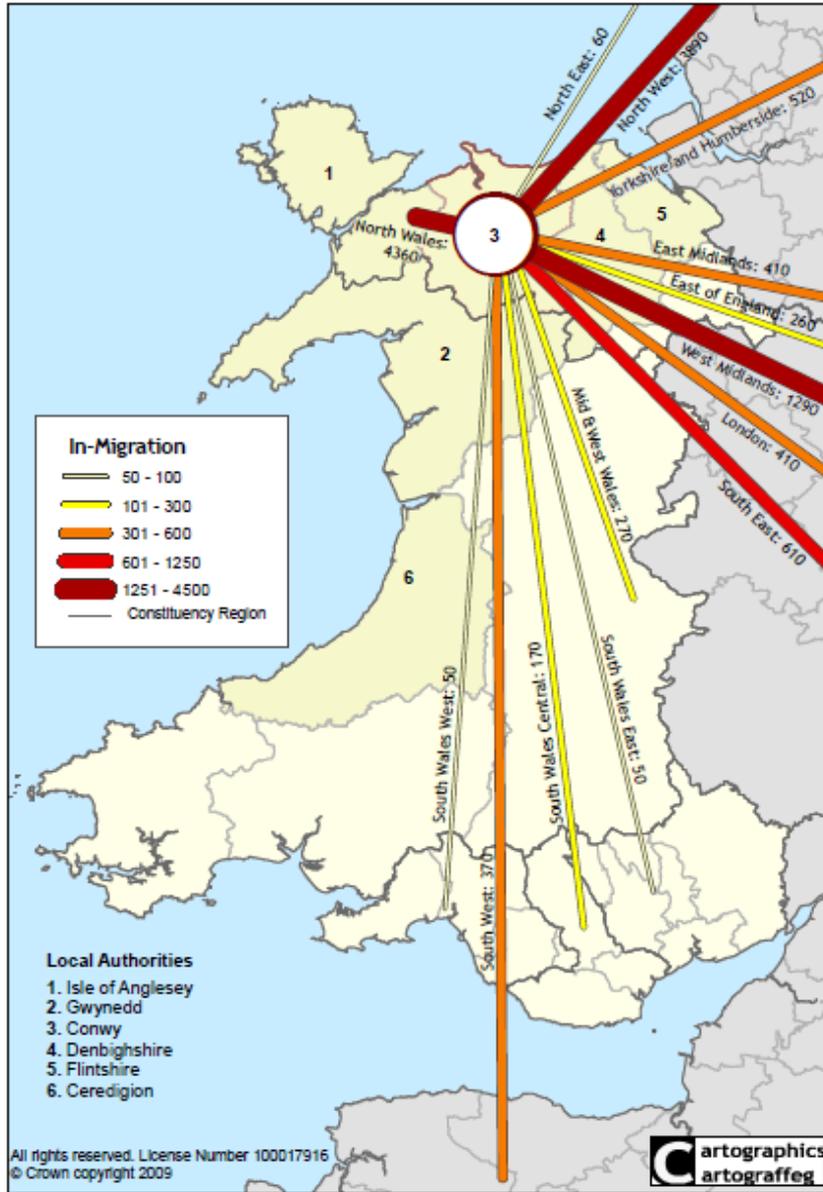
**Figure 3. Migratory flows into Ceredigion from the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



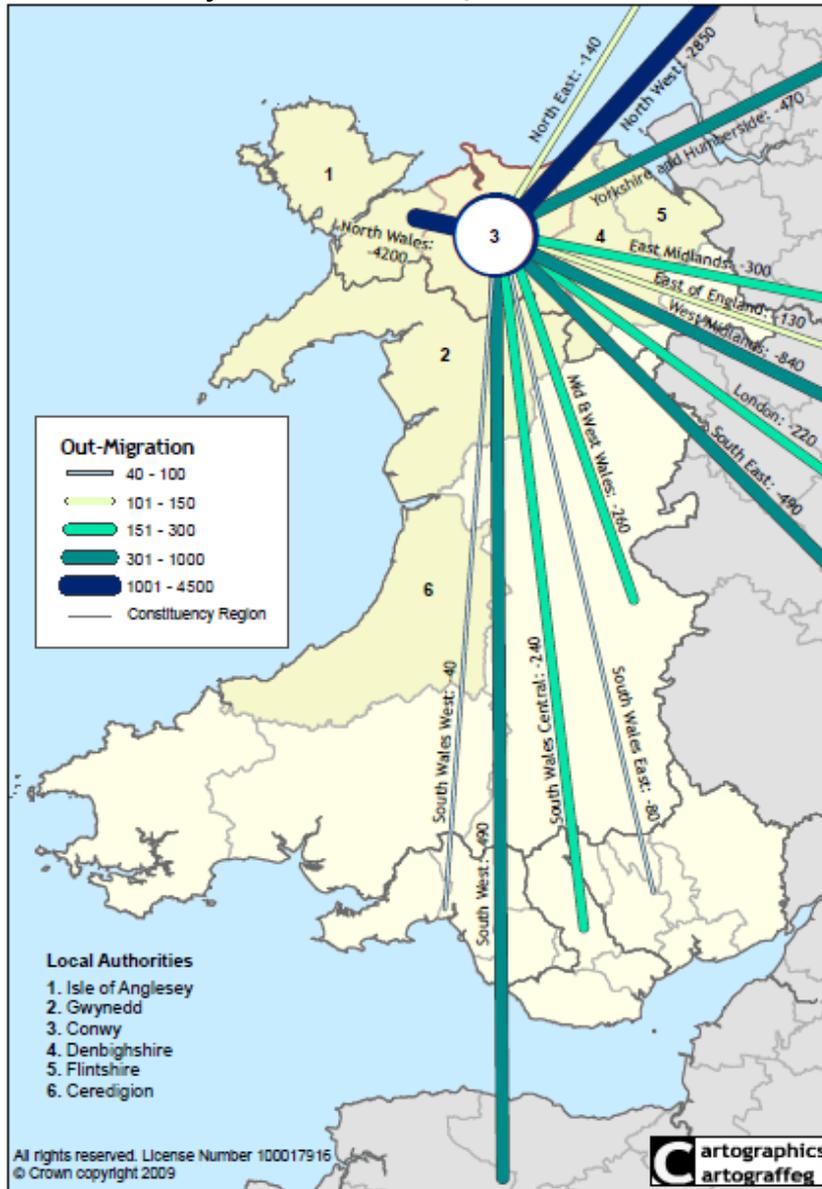
**Figure 4. Migratory flows out of Ceredigion into the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



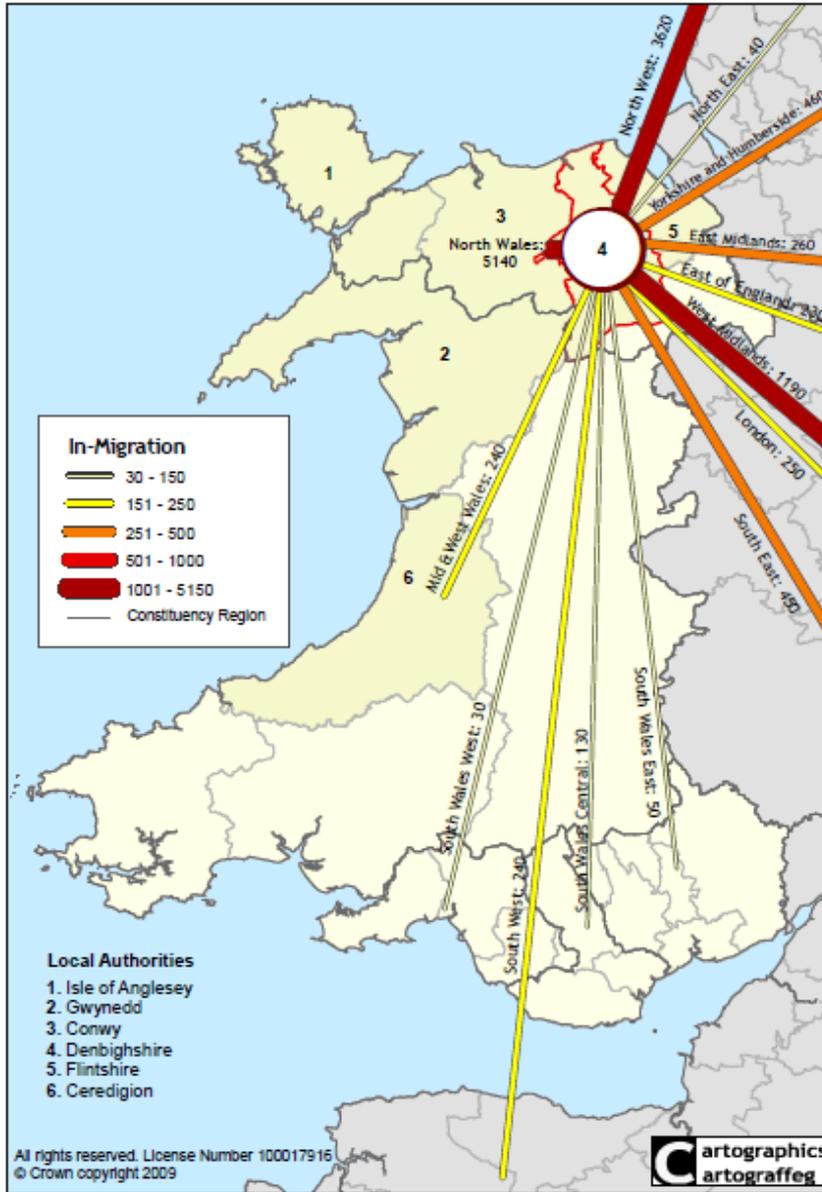
**Figure 5. Migratory flows into Conwy from the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



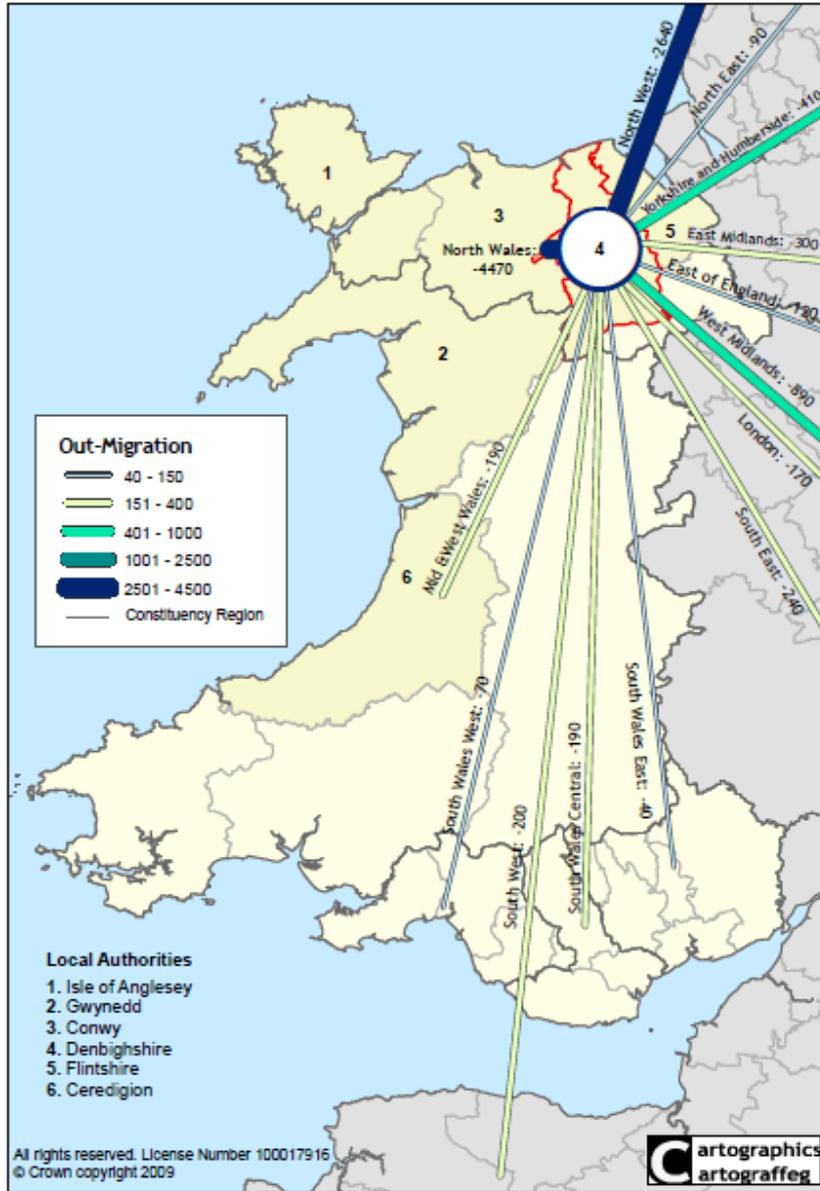
**Figure 6. Migratory flows out of Conwy into the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



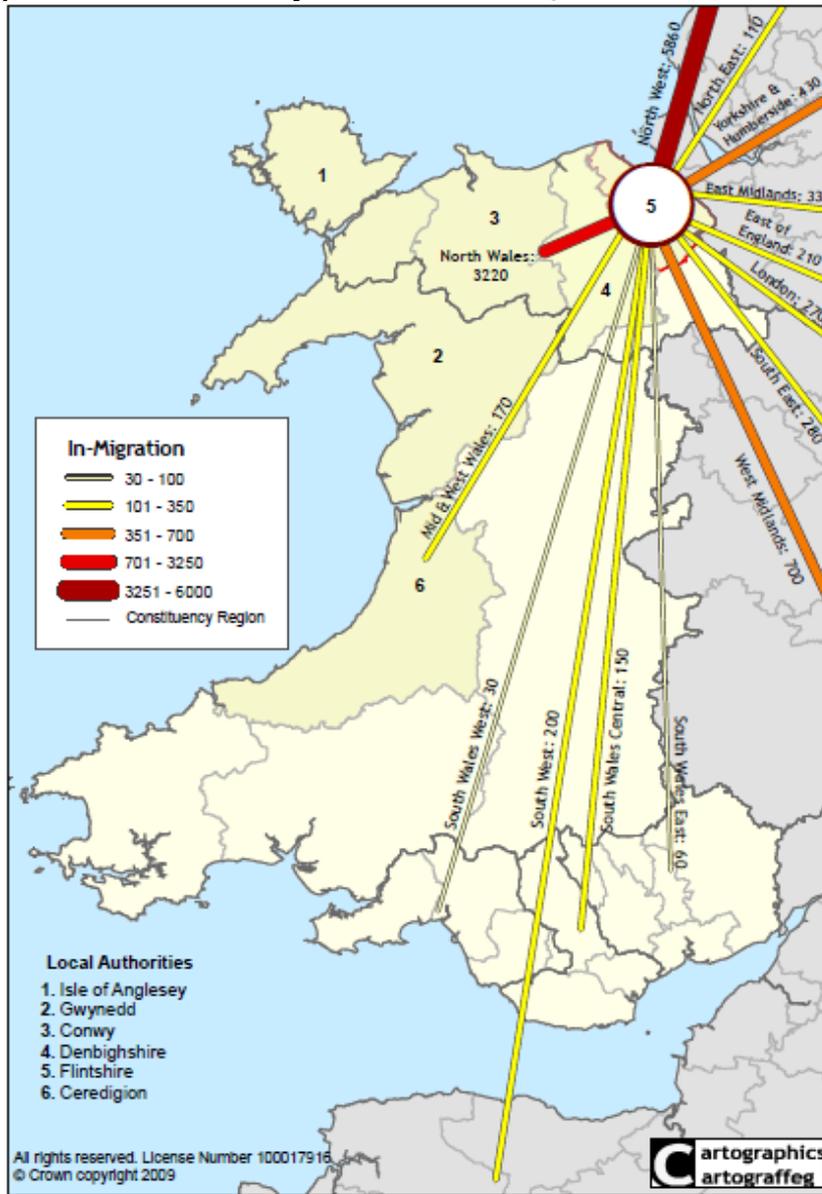
**Figure 7. Migratory flows into Denbighshire from the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



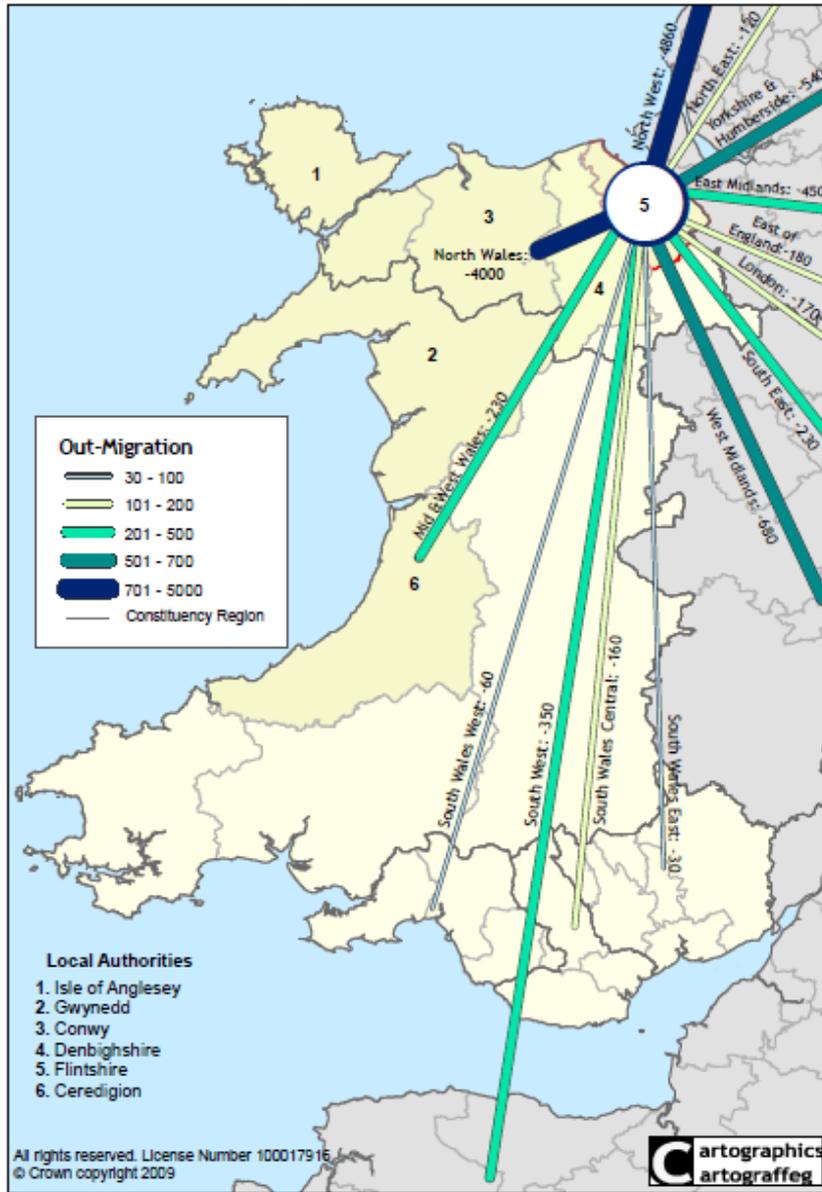
**Figure 8. Migratory flows out of Denbighshire into the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



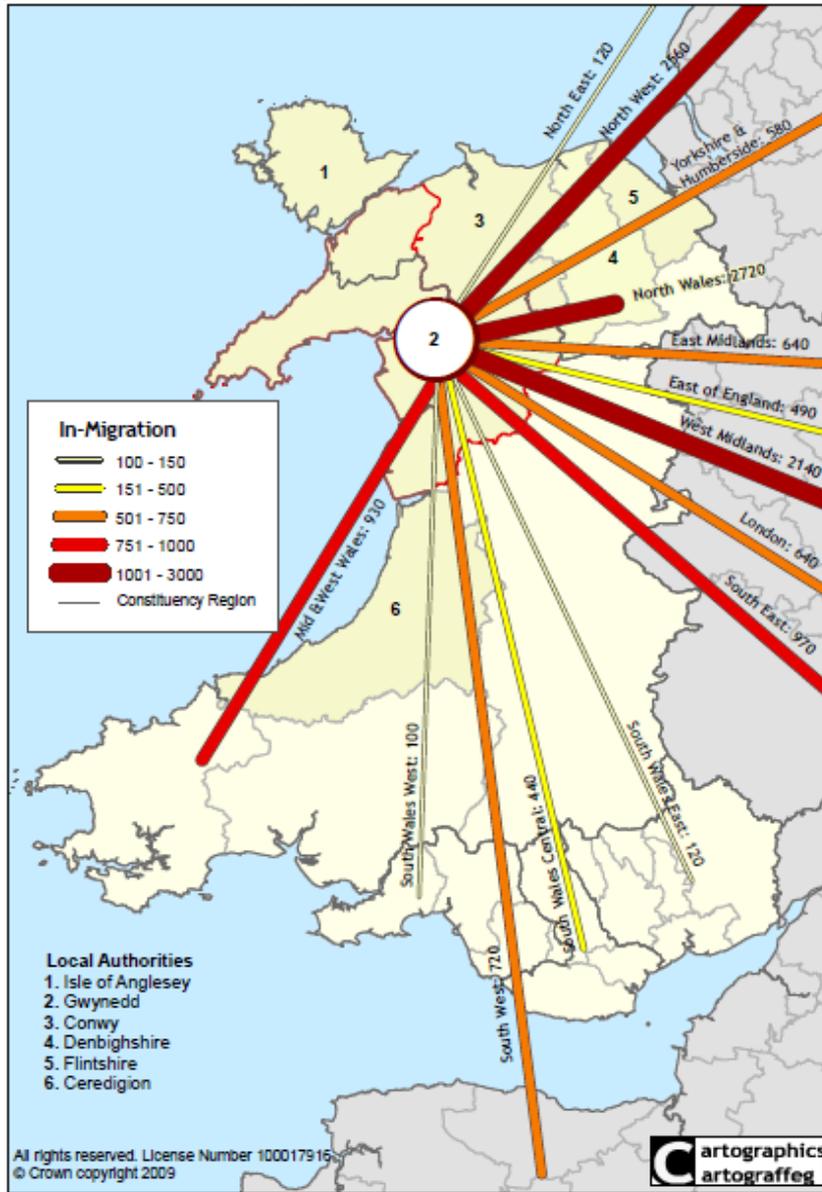
**Figure 9. Migratory flows into Flintshire from the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



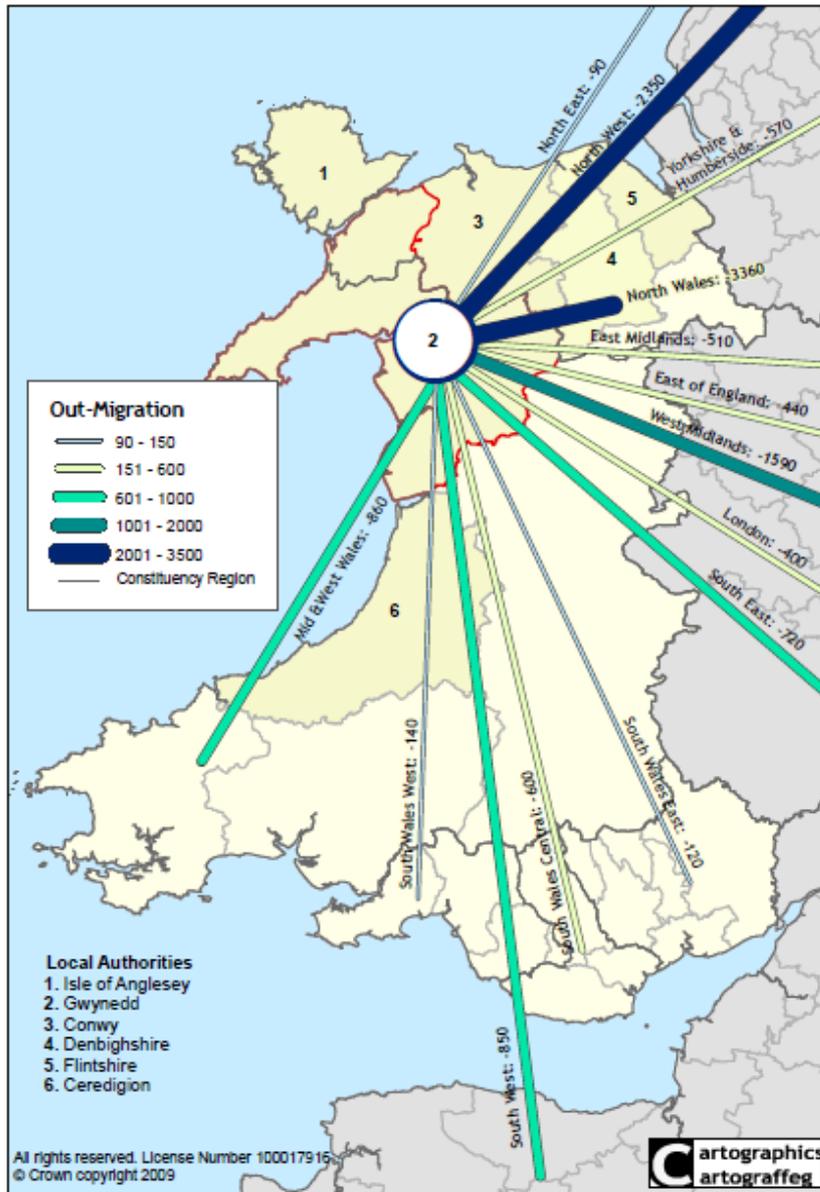
**Figure 10. Migratory flows out of Flintshire into the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



**Figure 11. Migratory flows into Gwynedd from the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS

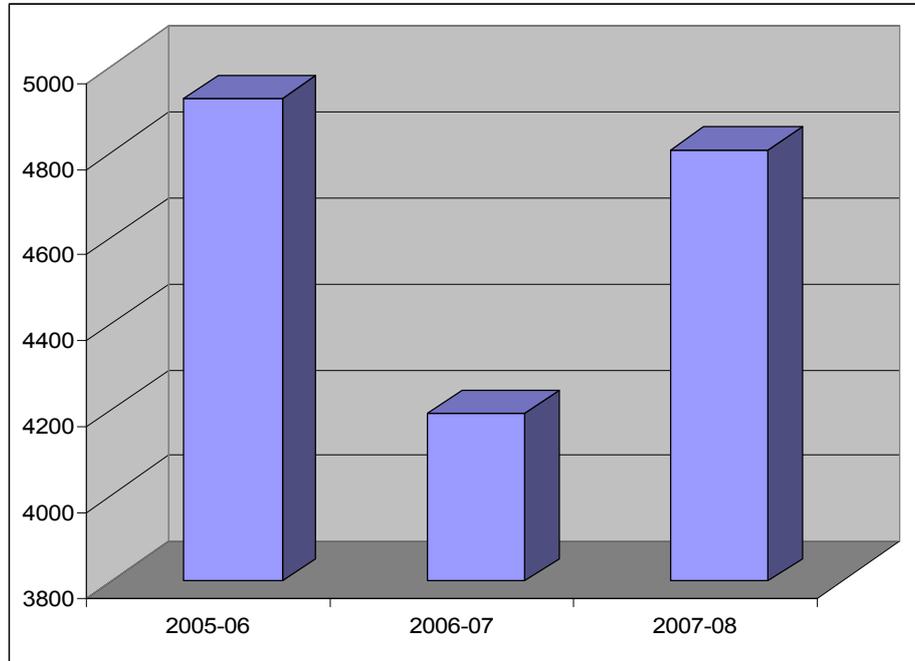


**Figure 12. Migratory flows out of Gwynedd into the regions of England and Wales in the period June 2004 to July 2007** Source Patient Register Data Service, ONS



## Homelessness and Lettings Activity in the 'Six Counties'

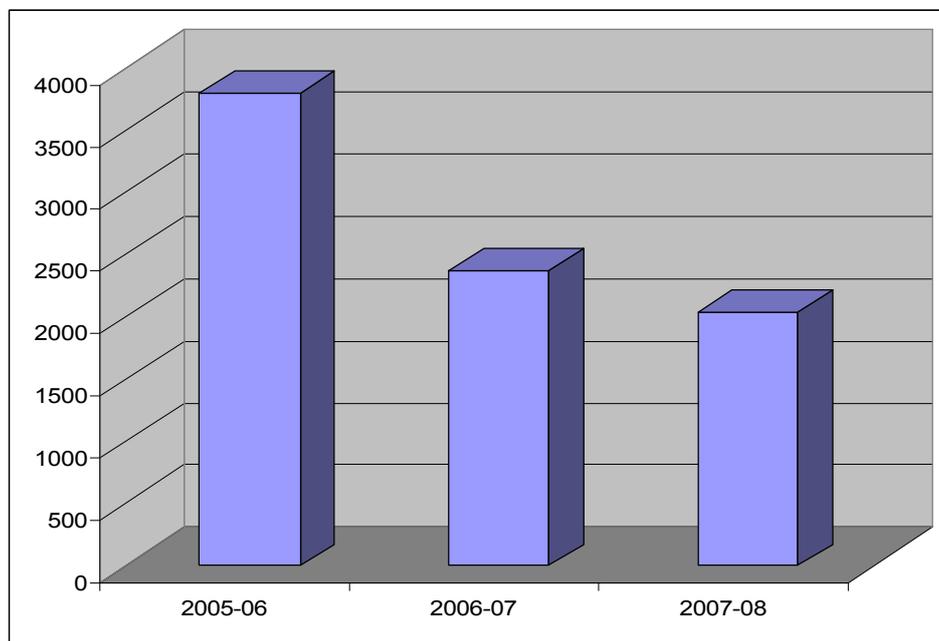
**Figure 1. Homelessness enquiries in the 'six counties' 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source *Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.*



**Table 1. Homelessness enquiries in each of the 'six counties' in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source *Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.*

Local Authority	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08
Isle of Anglesey	449	382	386
Gwynedd	987	1216	1344
Conwy	705	483	451
Denbighshire	1127	764	957
Flintshire	770	374	1182
Ceredigion	886	972	486

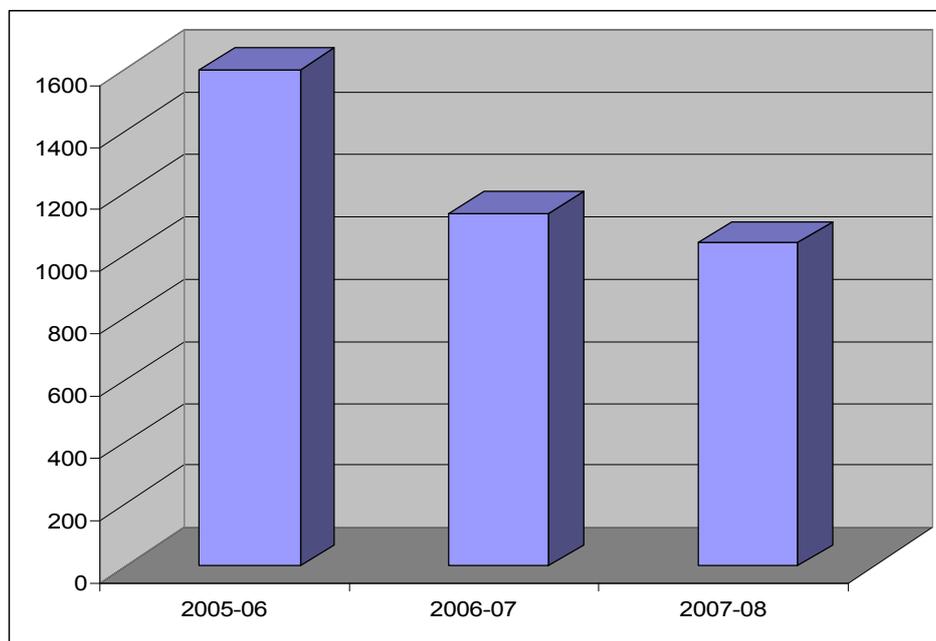
**Figure 2. Homelessness decisions in the 'six counties' 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.



**Table 2. Homelessness decisions made in each of the 'six counties' in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.

Local Authority	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08
Isle of Anglesey	421	367	389
Gwynedd	885	683	639
Conwy	646	414	385
Denbighshire	593	311	253
Flintshire	770	374	183
Ceredigion	482	220	186

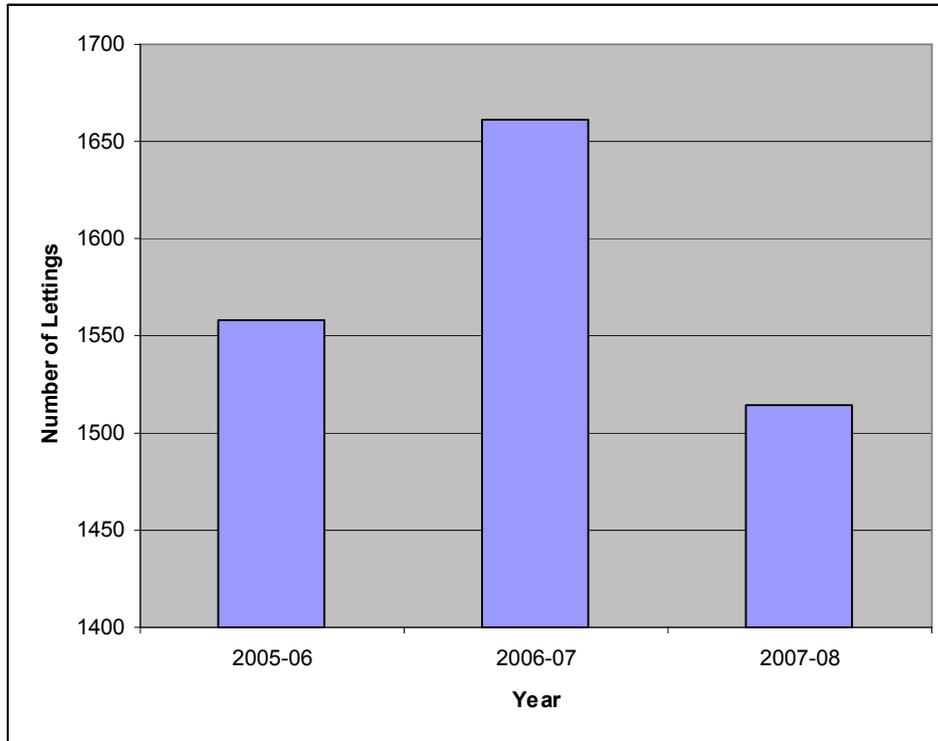
**Figure 3. Households found to be homeless and eligible for assistance in the 'six counties' 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.



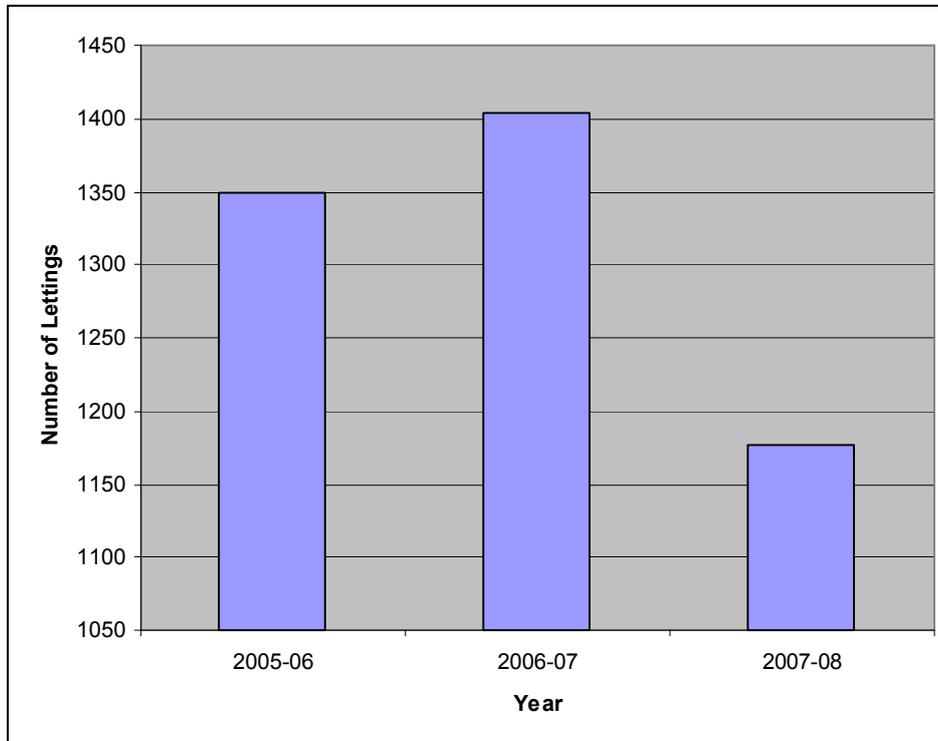
**Table 3. Households found to be homeless and eligible for assistance in each of the 'six counties' in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.

Local Authority	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08
Isle of Anglesey	149	155	213
Gwynedd	356	279	292
Conwy	350	212	177
Denbighshire	178	147	120
Flintshire	401	242	144
Ceredigion	162	101	93

**Figure 4. Social housing lettings available to the Councils in the 'six counties' 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source *Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.*



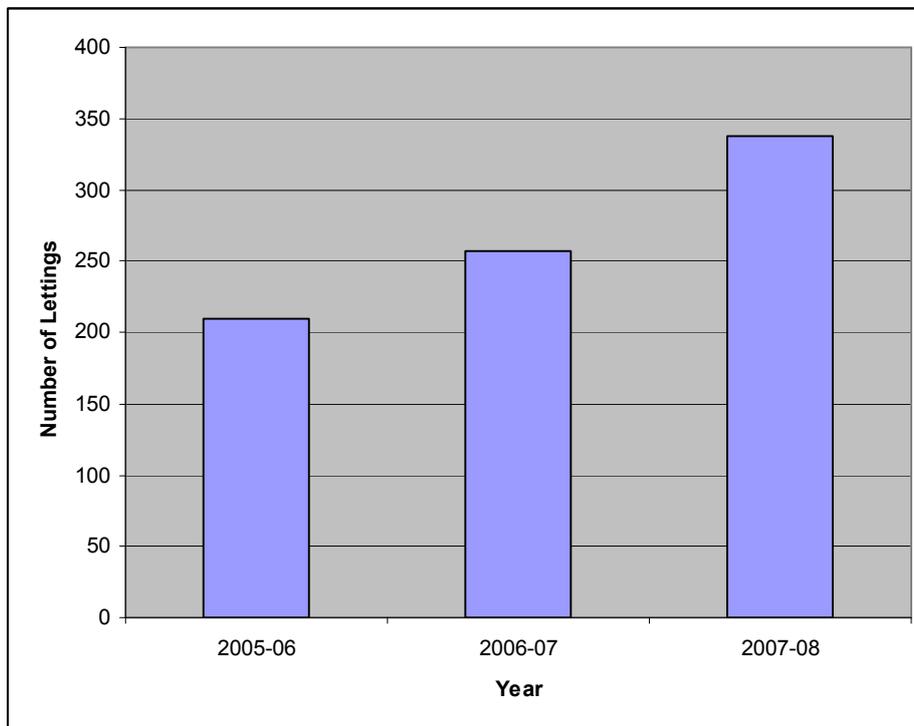
**Figure 5. Council house lettings in the 'six counties' 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source *Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.*



**Table 4. Council house lettings in each of the 'six counties' in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.

Local Authority	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08
Isle of Anglesey	194	194	197
Gwynedd	341	301	272
Conwy	237	222	216
Denbighshire	184	149	185
Flintshire	393	538	306
Ceredigion	148	126	137

**Figure 6. Housing association lettings following a nomination by one of the council's in the 'six counties' 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.



**Table 5. Housing Association lettings in each of the 'six counties' in the period 2005-06 to 2007-08.** Source Housing Management and Performance, Welsh Assembly Government.

Local Authority	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08
Isle of Anglesey	21	41	55
Gwynedd	0	47	77
Conwy	57	48	51
Denbighshire	44	57	61
Flintshire	43	20	40
Ceredigion	44	44	54