



Working paper

# Understanding housing aspirations and choices in changing contexts

A mapping review

Dr Jenny Preece, University of Sheffield

21 March 2018

## Key messages:

- Research into aspirations and choices has typically considered the relative importance of a range of factors in housing decisions, for example the role of life course events in decisions to move house or change tenure.
- Terms such as choices, preferences, expectations, aspirations and decisions, are often used interchangeably and lack clarity; they may therefore refer to a range of behaviours.
- We do not have a good understanding of the role housing expectations may play in shaping aspirations.
- A range of research has highlighted the role of socio-cultural factors such as identity, emotion, social norms and cultural dispositions in guiding people's views about housing.
- A key area for contemporary research is to explain the extent to which changing housing market contexts, particularly in relation to wider affordability, are restricting the range of housing options that are open to different groups, at different points in the life course.

# Executive summary

1. The key focus for the theme is to understand the extent to which housing choices, aspirations and expectations are being reconfigured in the contemporary housing system. This theme is multi-disciplinary and incorporates a large range of sub-themes. Systematic searching of the research literature yielded 340 publications, which were coded. Data were extracted for 84 publications, which were rated as strongly relating to the theme.

2. A number of sub-themes were developed through engagement with the literature, organised under three broad headings:

- a) Aspirations and choices – what are the factors that define and influence housing choices, or lack of choices?
- b) Factors guiding aspirations – what underpins aspirations?
- c) Housing system change – how do changes in wider housing systems impact on aspirations and choices?

3. Aspirations and choices: Studies have typically considered the relative importance of a range of factors in housing decisions, for example there is general consensus that common life course events play a significant role in decisions to move house. There is a strong relationship between life course and tenure, with research focusing on tenure transitions, particularly who moves into homeownership, under what conditions, and at which points in the life course or pathway.

4. The relative importance of place-based factors, from the practical attributes of places to more socio-emotional considerations such as attachment to place, have also been important areas of research. These are seen as being balanced against other considerations, such as the characteristics of a dwelling. There is recognition that housing choices are nevertheless influenced by a number of constraints, from affordability to discrimination. Given the high priority of tenure transitions in housing choice literature, issues around who has access to homeownership and the experiences of those with financial constraint, have been important areas of consideration.

5. It is notable that many of the terms used in the research literature – such as choices, preferences, expectations, aspirations, and decisions – lack conceptual clarity and may therefore refer to a range of behaviours.

6. Key areas for future research include: the motivations for the housing choices of young adults, for example whether house-sharing is a lifestyle choice or a coping strategy; understanding how people view different tenure options (including more working-class groups) and whether perceptions are changing; and understanding how people respond to 'constrained preferences'.

7. Factors guiding aspirations: A range of research has highlighted the role of socio-cultural factors such as identity, emotion, social norms and cultural dispositions in guiding people's views about housing. This literature also moves beyond the narrow consideration of financial resources to draw out the role of different capitals in structuring people's relationships with housing.

8. One of the consequences of the lack of conceptual definition noted above is that we do not have a good understanding of the role the housing expectations may play in shaping aspirations.

9. Themes of security and stability are highlighted as being particularly important elements in the construction of a sense of home. This relates to tenure, as it is generally perceived that homeownership affords a greater sense of security in comparison to private renting. However, given changing tenure profile, research must explore perceptions of different tenures in-depth.

10. An emerging area of research focuses on the role of housing in the construction of individual identity. For example, delays to independent household formation may impact on identity-construction for young people. However, emerging research in this area has been more weighted towards understanding more middle-class households.

11. Key areas for future research include: understanding the mechanisms by which aspirations and choices are formed; exploring the extent of the gaps between what people want from housing and what they believe they can achieve; understanding the values people associate with different tenures and how this relates to conceptualisations of home; understanding the relationship between housing and identity-construction for different groups.

12. Housing system change: a key issue for contemporary research is to explain the extent to which changing housing market contexts, particularly in relation to wider affordability issues, is restricting the range of housing options that have historically been open to different groups, at different points in the life course. Given the strong spatial component to housing markets, perceptions of the local context may be important in structuring perceptions of choices. This

may lead to a disjuncture between local context and wider societal norms around housing. Given the increasing prominence of the private rented sector, more research is needed to understand people's experiences of the sector, particularly those on lower incomes.

13. Labour market changes are a crucial part of people's relationship with housing, from practical issues such as lending criteria, to the impact of precarious employment on ontological security.

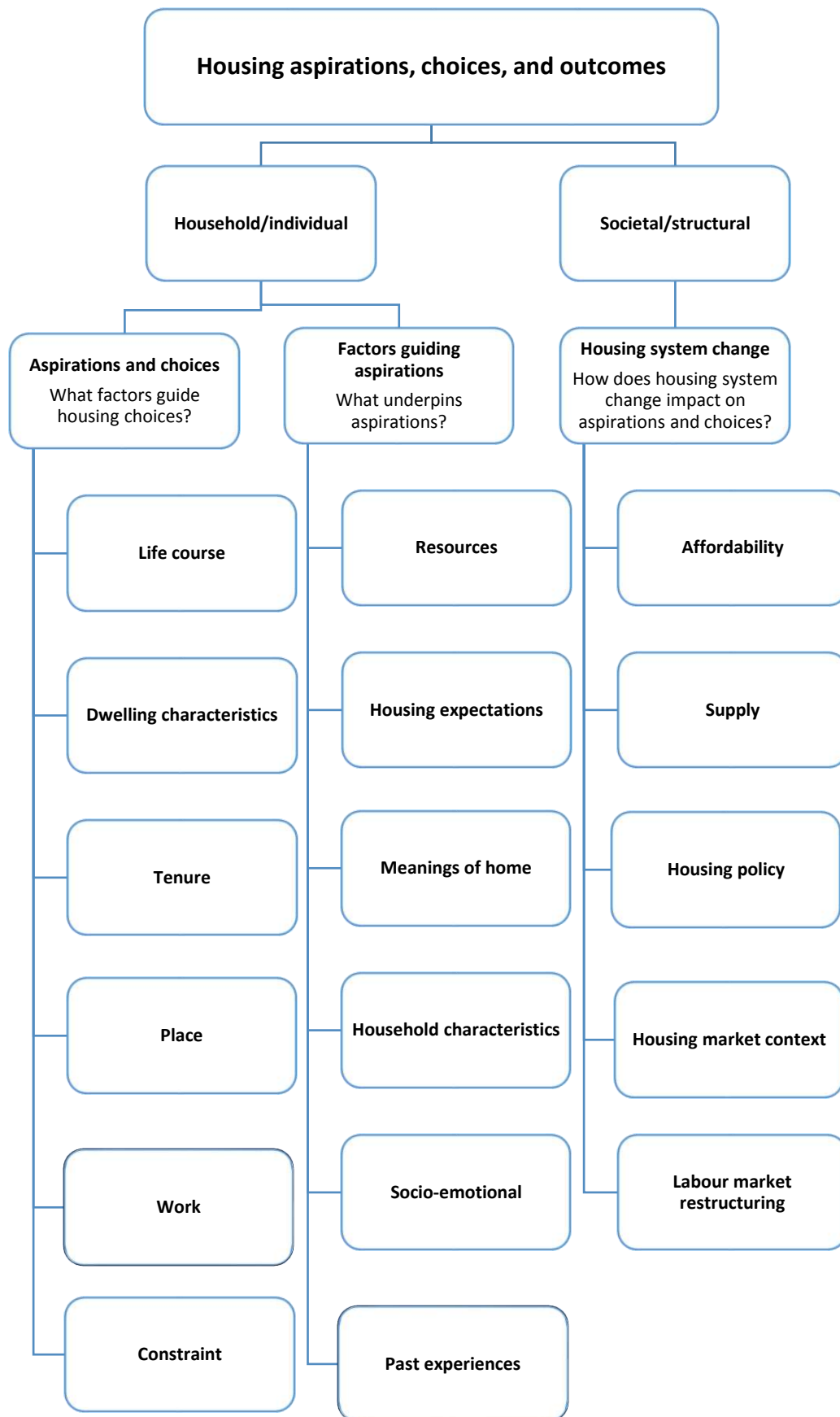
14. Key areas for future research include: exploring the sociological implications of changing housing market contexts, particularly whether changing access to housing is shaping the things to which people aspire; understanding experiences of the private rented sector; and exploring the relationship between contemporary labour market, and housing market experiences.

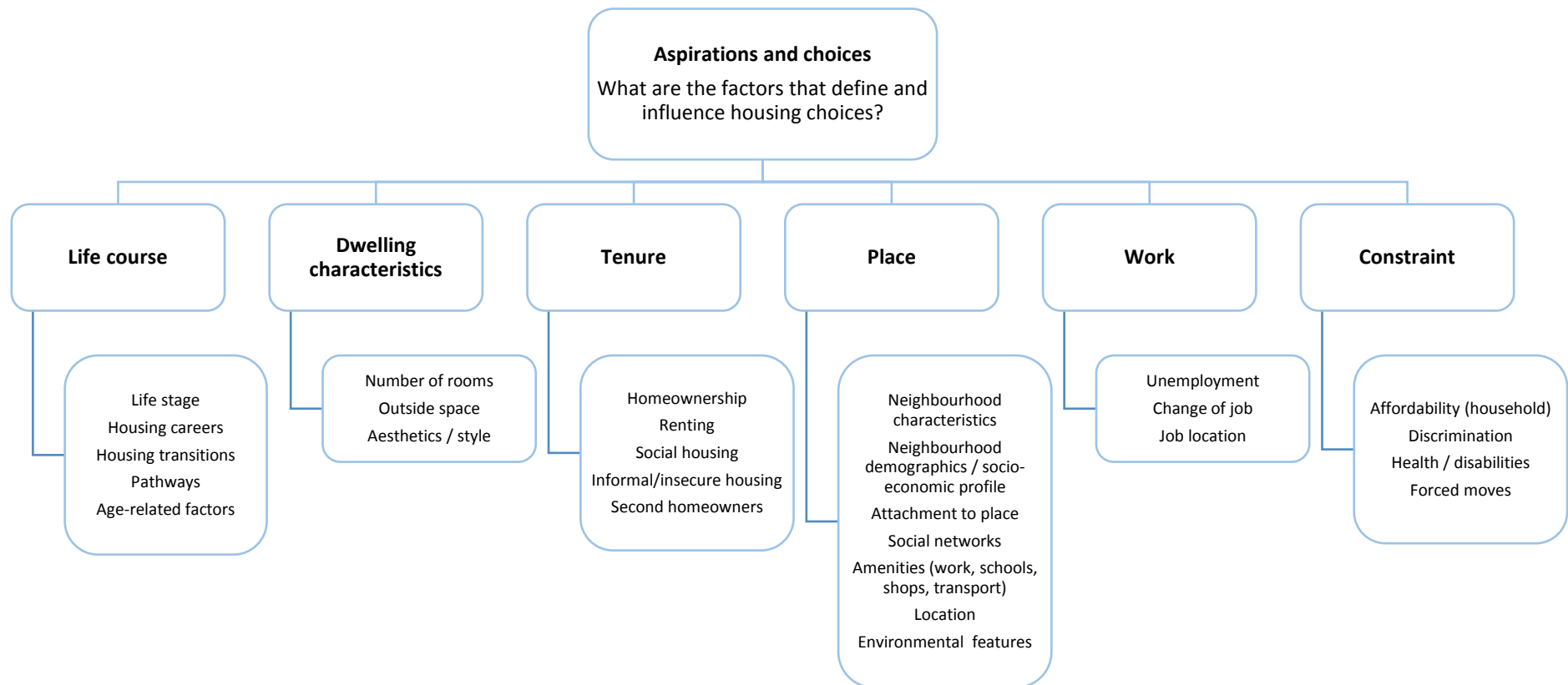
# Mapping approach

The key focus for the theme is to understand the extent to which housing choices, aspirations and expectations are being reconfigured in the contemporary housing system. This theme is multi-disciplinary and incorporates a large range of sub-themes, which are substantive areas of literature in their own right. Comprehensively mapping the research that has been undertaken within this theme is therefore challenging. The detailed approach to searching the research literature is set out in Appendix 1. This involved systematically searching two citation indices (Web of Science and Scopus), conducting more focused additional thematic searches within one database, hand searching key journals, and following the references and citations of research articles which were central to the focus of the theme. Although the searching process has been systematic, there will undoubtedly be omissions from the results presented here, as the returned results are dependent on arbitrary, but replicable, search processes.

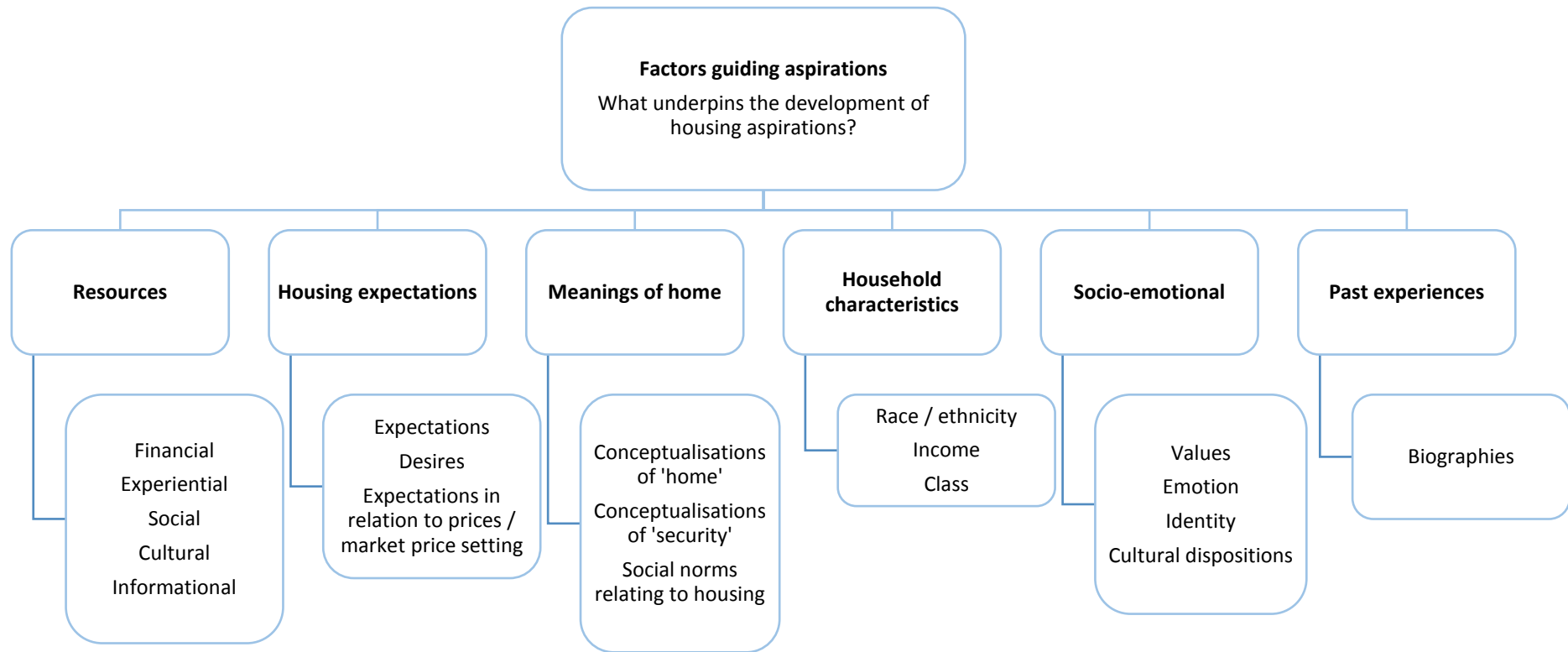
The sub-themes discussed in this report were developed through engagement with the literature. As such it is shaped by the literature that has been returned through the searching strategy, and there are a number of areas of silence which should be highlighted at the outset. For example, there has only been a limited amount of research returned around social housing, the tenure preferences of working-class groups, and BME housing preferences. This speaks to questions of whose preferences are explored, as well as the framing of research in relation to issues of housing aspirations and expectations. Whilst to some extent these may be genuine gaps in the contemporary literature, and reflect the dominance of other areas of research, there are also issues of terminology to consider. Much of the literature written around residential mobility is framed in terms of housing choices, aspirations and preferences. Therefore, not surprisingly, literature written within the residential mobility tradition is heavily represented in the report. This literature is action-oriented, focused on mobility, and the factors that drive particular housing outcomes. However, it is less concerned with housing aspirations in general (in terms of what people want or need from housing) than with the reasons for aspiring to move to a specific dwelling or location. There is also a lack of clarity around much of the terminology used, therefore it is difficult to draw clear lines around 'choices', 'preferences', 'aspirations', and 'expectations', and to distinguish different processes. This will be discussed in more detail in the body of the report.

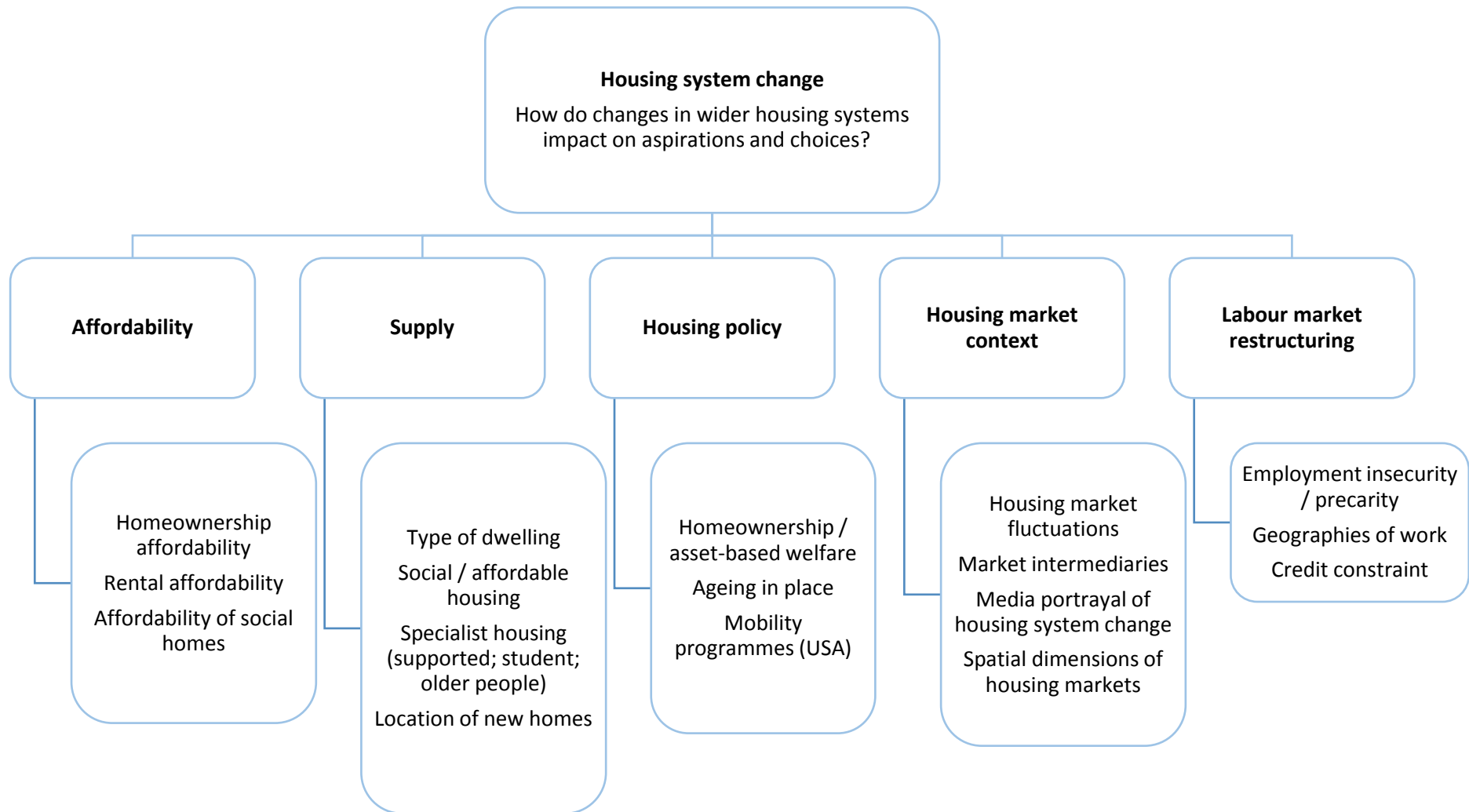
Bearing in mind this context, each publication was coded to a series of sub-themes, which were further refined through the coding process. The 'maps' below set out the sub-themes and key areas of research that fall under each of the categories.











# Overview of the mapping

In total, 340 publications were coded by sub-theme. A range of data were extracted for all publications including:

- Research question
- Method
- Country of focus

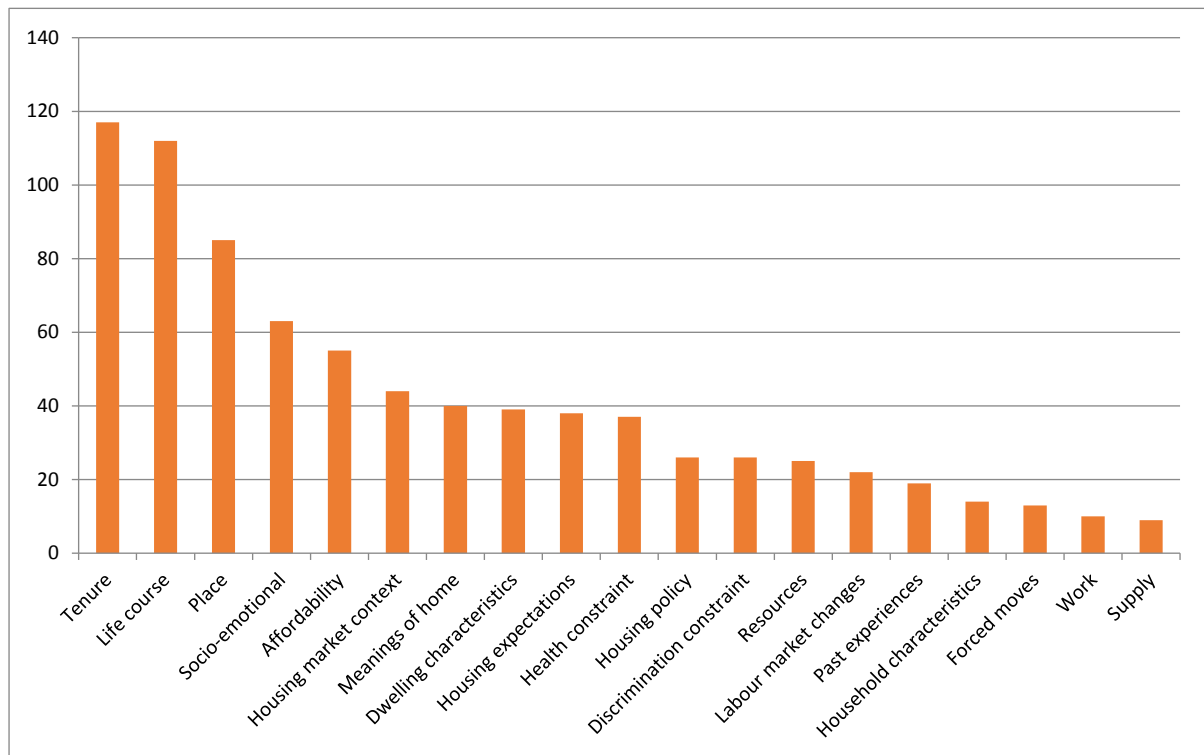
In addition, all publications were given a star rating to reflect relevance to the theme, with 1\* denoting a marginal topic, and 4\* denoting a strong focus on central questions for the theme. Additional data were extracted for publications with a 3\* or 4\* rating (a total of 84 publications), including:

- Sample characteristics
- Number of participants
- Headline findings
- Areas for further research

This is presented in an annotated bibliography. These publications underpin the subsequent narrative presented in this report, although a number of additional publications from the broader mapping review will be used to illustrate areas that have been the focus of research activities under the sub-themes, but which are slightly outside the central focus of the theme.

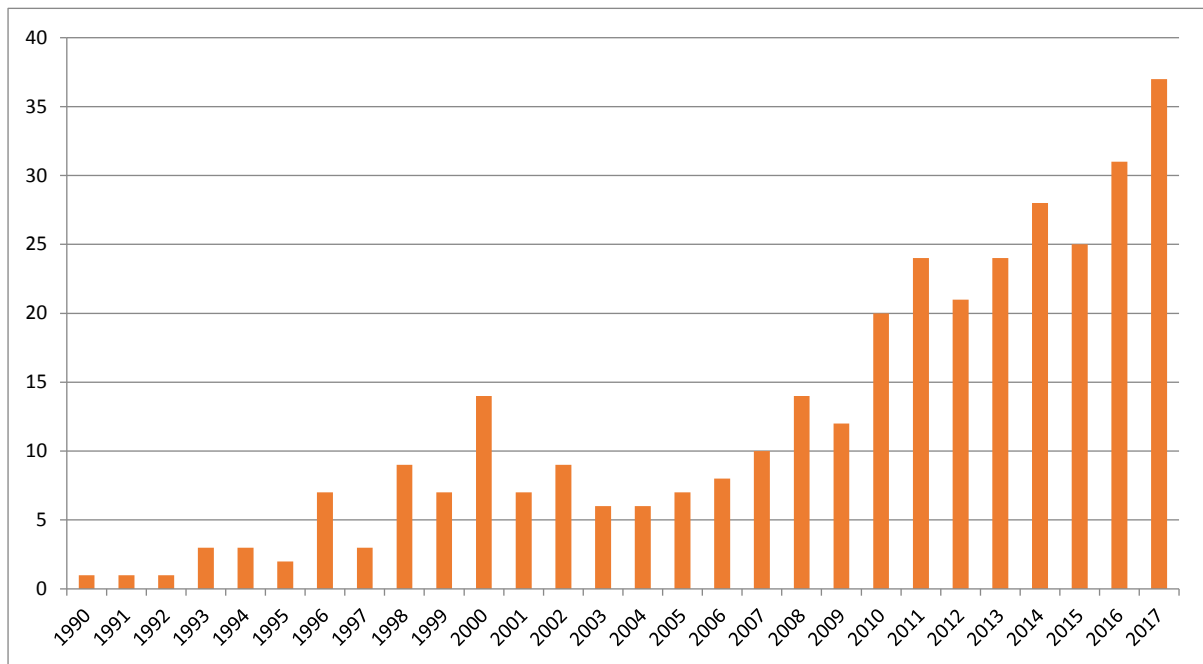
Considering the complete set of 340 publications coded for the mapping review, a small number of sub-themes clearly dominate the literature. Issues around tenure and the life course (including pathways, age-related and demographic transitions) are numerically dominant, with around one-third of publications including a focus on one or both of these areas. Indeed, there is a strong interaction between these sub-themes, with around one-third of these publications strongly focusing on issues of the life course and tenure. Place-related variables were also considered by a high number of publications, although the place sub-theme encompassed a diverse range of issues, from neighbourhood characteristics to attachment to place. Almost two-thirds of publications focusing on labour market changes also focused on the housing market context, considering the interaction of these areas.

**Figure 1: Primary focus of publications by sub-theme**



There is also a clear dominance of research published in the last eight years, as demonstrated by Figure 2. However, it is important to contextualise this figure in two ways. Firstly, the volume of publications generally has increased over time; more people are publishing research articles across many topics. Secondly, the main focus of the theme is on understanding changes that have become evident in the last ten years, even if the roots of these changes may be longer. Consequently there is a bias in the selection of publications, as the phenomena of interest have been a feature of research in more recent years.

**Figure 2: Number of publications by year of publication**



The following sections present a narrative discussion of the sub-themes in more detail. Key research outputs are highlighted, particularly those that have advanced our understandings of these thematic areas. Gaps in the research literature, around which new research could complement existing research knowledge are also highlighted where relevant, concluding with a series of research questions.

The substantial sections discussing each sub-theme are clustered under household/individual factors, and societal/structural factors. Whilst this is convenient for the organisation of the research literature, there is considerable interaction and overlap between these areas. In practice almost all of the research discussed here considers the interaction and relative importance of a number of sub-themes, for example the role of life course transitions on tenure choices. In addition, this review has not sought to consider some of the wider impacts that housing choices may have on areas such as gentrification, work, and the growth or decline of places, primarily because these are significant areas of literature in their own right, although some are a feature of the literature discussed below.

# Aspirations and choices – what are the factors that define and influence housing choices, or lack of choices?

There has been a considerable amount of research looking at the factors that influence housing choices, focusing on individual and household decisions. Typically, these studies consider the relative importance of a range of factors in the housing decisions that people have made (their stated reasons for making a particular move), or that they expect to make (state preference for future housing). Whilst accepting that there are many variations to individual life paths, there is general consensus that common demographic or life course events are significant factors influencing housing decisions (Clark and Huang, 2003; Coulter and Scott, 2015; Kley and Mulder, 2010).

Lack of choice, or constraint, is most commonly understood as the interplay of household characteristics and the wider housing system. Particularly in the American context, structural constraints have often been considered through the lens of racial discrimination (Ross and Turner, 2005). More generally, financial constraint is one of the most prominent areas of interest. However, in life course approaches financial constraint is generally seen as a function of household characteristics such as income (related to age and occupation), with little discussion of the ways in which this interacts with wider housing systems. This is largely because of the nature of data utilised, which often focuses on the specific moving decisions of households without contextual information. In light of perceived changes in housing systems, and increased affordability constraint, studies have begun to include a greater focus on the interplay of household characteristics and system-wide contexts (Bramley, 2016; Clapham et al, 2014; Dewilde and De Decker, 2016).

It is notable that many of the terms used in the research literature lack conceptual clarity. Housing choices, preferences, aspirations, expectations, and decisions are frequently used terms but they are often used without precise definitions and sometimes interchangeably. Overall, choices and decisions are perhaps more likely to refer to past behaviour, whilst aspirations and preferences are more likely to be used in relation to anticipated future behaviour. Housing expectations is scarcely used, and where it is, applies more to financial expectations and price setting in markets. Coulter et al (2011) highlight this lack of conceptual clarity, noting that desires and expectations about future mobility are formed in different ways by individuals, and therefore have different implications for mobility. For the many studies utilising panel surveys and other large scale secondary data, advancement in this area is

hampered by the nature of the questions which, as Clark and Lisowski (2017) note, do not explore the differences between desires and expectations. Similarly, in much of mainstream economics there is a lack of accounting for the ways in which preferences and aspirations are developed within specific social environments (Marsh and Gibb, 2011).

## Life course

There is a large literature broadly clustering around housing transitions related to life course events such as marriage, children, education, leaving home and retirement or older age. Although they have been categorised here as life course approaches, other relevant terms include: life stage, life cycle, transitions (youth, retirees, older people), and pathways. Age is a relevant concept in these studies in so far as it serves as a proxy for these key events. Research under this theme typically seeks to understand how common life and/or demographic events impact on housing needs and satisfaction, thus influencing the likelihood of residential mobility aspirations or behaviour (Bonvalet and Ogg, 2008; Clark and Huang, 2003; Feijten and van Ham, 2010; Hansen and Gottschalk, 2006; Kley and Mulder, 2010; Kramer and Pfaffenbach, 2016; Smetcoren et al, 2017). Increasingly in recent years, studies have considered how the broader socio-economic context may be changing long-established housing transitions, in particular around young people's household formation, housing careers, and tenure transitions (Arundel and Ronald, 2016; Coulter et al, 2016; Minguéz, 2016; Stone et al, 2014; Tomaszewski et al, 2017).

Many studies use life course, life cycle or life stage terminology. A smaller set of studies have used pathways approaches (Arundel and Ronald, 2016; Bramley, 2016; Clapham et al, 2014; Cole et al, 2016; Druta and Ronald, 2017; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015; Koppe, 2017; Tomaszewski et al, 2017). These are similar in that they are also concerned with housing transitions over time and consider key events in household/individual biographies, but the pathways approach has a greater focus on the context in which housing decisions are made. In embedding housing choices within structural contexts, pathways approaches highlight context and contingency in a more direct way than some life course approaches.

There is a strong relationship in the research literature between the life course and tenure. Much research has focused on tenure transitions, particularly who moves into homeownership, under what conditions, and at which points in the life course (Druta and Ronald, 2017). Research on life course and tenure factors has been overwhelmingly quantitative, typically large scale analyses of survey data and regression modelling (Clark and Huang, 2003; Clark and Lisowski, 2017; Feijten and van Ham, 2010; Hansen and Gottschalk,

2006; Kley and Mulder, 2010; Smetcoren et al, 2017; Stone et al, 2014). Therefore, the existing evidence provides a more robust understanding of the factors that are of importance in guiding housing choices than it does around why those factors are important.

In the contemporary context, Arundel and Ronald (2016) argue that research is needed that focuses on motivations for the housing choices of young adults, for example whether house-sharing is undertaken as a lifestyle choice or an economic coping strategy in response to structural changes (see Kenyon and Heath, 2001; Roberts, 2013). There is some qualitative work emerging in this area, considering the housing aspirations of younger people (Bruce and Kelly, 2013), however Tomaszewski et al (2017) argue that further qualitative research is needed to explore the meanings that young people give to their housing transitions and how they make housing decisions in the context of broader affordability issues.

## Tenure

The primary focus of research around tenure is on transitions into homeownership, and to a lesser extent transitions out of homeownership in older age (Kramer and Pfaffenbach, 2016). Specific issues include who enters – and who faces barriers to – homeownership and the factors associated with tenure transition, for example life course changes such as marriage (Fisher and Gervais, 2011).

The focus of research is beginning to shift from understanding housing transitions in older age (Smetcoren et al, 2017), for example from homeownership into housing specifically aimed at provision for older people, to the challenges young people face in moving into homeownership (Bruce and Kelly, 2013). Some studies have highlighted the role of credit constraint and more financialised housing systems (Lennartz et al, 2016). There has been comparatively less research directly around the composition of, and experiences of, the private rented sector (see Hulse and Yates, 2017), particularly in light of the growth of this population in the UK and other countries such as Australia. Other research has utilised secondary data (Bone, 2014), landlord perceptions (Cole et al, 2016), and the perceptions of homeowners on renters (Cheshire et al, 2010). Housing policy and the promotion of asset-based welfare is also being recognised as a factor in housing transitions (Power, 2017).

There is also emerging recognition that traditional tenure categories may need to be broadened to more effectively represent different experiences within homeownership and renting (Hulse and McPherson, 2014). For example, there are a range of experiences among



second homeowners, including those who live between two homes, residing in a rented property but letting out another property that they own.

We do not yet have a good understanding of how people view different tenure options at different points in their lives, what different tenures mean to people (see, for example Rowlands and Gurney, 2000), whether perceptions may be changing, and – if they are changing – whether this is a long-term shift or a temporary response to short-term housing market fluctuations. For example, Andersen (2011) explored tenure preferences at different points in the life course, but noted that stated preferences do not take into account the extent to which preferences can be realised. People with the same underlying preferences may therefore give different responses depending on their response to how realistically they could be achieved. Understanding how people respond to ‘constrained preferences’ in relation to tenure choices is an emerging area of research that requires additional qualitative exploration in order to broaden understandings of how and why people adapt their preferences in the face of market, and other, circumstances (De Groot et al, 2013).

There is a lack of understanding of how housing market changes may have impacted on people’s aspirations in relation to tenure. Analysis using panel data captures change over time, but does not often set household changes within the context of broader economic shifts, which may impact on household decisions and aspirations over the longer term. There is also relatively little research into areas such as the values associated with homeownership (see, for example, Andersson et al., 2007), and how perceptions of tenures may be changing in the contemporary housing system. This is an emerging area (Aramburu, 2015; Colic-Peisker and Johnson, 2010; Colic-Peisker and Johnson, 2012; Crawford and McKee, 2017; Hoolachan et al, 2017; McKee, Moore et al, 2017)

It is notable that this review has drawn in very little research focused on social housing as a tenure. It may be that this is a result of the searching strategy, however there seems to be a particular lack of research into perceptions of social housing and preferences for social housing or homeownership (see, for example, Forrest and Murie, 1990; Rowlands and Gurney, 2000; Wiesel and Pawson, 2015).

In addition, there is a need to understand the role of tenure in housing inequalities, not only in terms of the intergenerational transmission of advantage through gifts and loans from parents to children (Andrew, 2011; Spilerman and Wolff, 2012), parental tenure and resources (Coulter, 2016), and changing welfare regimes (McKee, 2012), but also the ways in which inequalities are generated within cohorts (Coulter, 2017). There is a lack of attention to working

class tenure preferences and aspirations (see, for example, Roberts 2013). Alongside the broadening of tenure categories, there is also a need to 'decentre' tenure by exploring issues such as housing affordability, conditions, security and dwelling suitability within tenure groups (Coulter, 2017), highlighting variations in experiences of different tenures. For example, there is some recognition of the experiences of more marginal homeowners (Koppe, 2017; Munro, 2000).

## Place

The relative importance of place-based factors and dwelling characteristics has attracted considerable attention, although the focus of research varies somewhat by country. In the American context there has been a concern to understand the role of urban segregation, race and the racial composition of neighbourhoods in housing decisions (Sermons, 2000; Trudeau, 2006). Also in the American context, there are a number of studies related to neighbourhood characteristics and housing policy, specifically housing mobility programmes that sought to facilitate the movement of low-income, often black or minority households, from high-poverty neighbourhoods to areas with lower levels of disadvantage (for example Graves, 2016; Basolo and Yerena, 2017).

In Western European contexts, research has sought to understand neighbourhood characteristics as push/pull factors in housing choices, impacting on levels of (dis)satisfaction. Particular attention has focused on the socio-economic profile of places, and the extent to which households may be trapped, fleeing, or choosing to remain in areas with higher levels of disadvantage (Andersen, 2008; Posthumus et al, 2013). Understanding why people live in relatively disadvantaged areas links to the concept of attachment to place and the social connections that people have in their neighbourhoods (Andersen, 2008), since social networks can be an important dimension of place attachment. Others have highlighted that feeling a sense of belonging in a neighbourhood and similarity to one's neighbours also has a close association with preferring to stay in a place (Clark and Coulter, 2015).

The more practical attributes of places have also been highlighted as an important factor in household decisions. Amenities such as schools, employment, shops and transport may have particular relevance for certain types of household. The relative importance of different amenities is linked to stages in the life course, for example those with young children emphasising the value of being close to family and child-friendly neighbourhoods, and those in employment emphasising work-opportunities (Niedomysl, 2008).

Not only is place relevant in terms of individual and household housing decisions, it is also important to consider geographies more widely, since spatial variation is a key feature of housing markets (Hoolachan et al, 2017; Hulse and Yates, 2017; McKee, Hoolachan et al, 2017; Power, 2017).

## Dwelling characteristics

Dwelling characteristics, for example the type of property, number of bedrooms, and access to outside space are often considered in conjunction with a range of other factors in housing decisions, with research focusing on explaining the relative importance of the characteristics of the home versus, for example, the neighbourhood. Clark and Huang (2003) noted the importance of age, tenure and housing-space requirements (in terms of rooms) in predicting moves in Britain. In this context, life course triggers such as the birth of a child can be significant in part because they may lead to a change in room requirements. Conversely, changes to the size of households among older cohorts may lead to the consideration of downsizing, although actual mobility may be constrained by the availability of appropriate dwellings (Hansen and Gottschalk, 2006). Strong preferences for detached homes with gardens were found by Andersen (2011) in the Danish context.

The specific design elements of housing and aesthetic factors have been considered to a lesser extent in relation to aspirations and preferences, generally through smaller scale or experimental studies identifying preferences for particular housing styles. Kintrea (2007) noted variations in the desirability of certain types of housing stock, for example pre-1914 terraced housing and high-rise flats, although housing market pressures in some areas can compensate for changing preferences.

A sub-section of research has sought to understand the housing preferences of specific groups, for example people with mental health needs or those with learning disabilities living in supported housing environments (McGlaughlin et al, 2004; Piat et al, 2008). This recognises that vulnerable populations have various housing preferences and may require particular forms of housing that are not being met by housing policy. Student preferences in relation to dwelling characteristics (single versus shared housing) have also been explored (Nijenstein et al, 2015).

## Work

Although also considered in research framed by life course and pathways perspectives, and the attributes of places, the impact of job changes, unemployment, and job location on housing choices and aspirations has been an important component of a number of studies (Andersen, 2011; Boheim and Taylor, 2002; Kley and Mulder, 2010). The interplay between work, home and commuting has also been a focused area of research, highlighting the balance that working households may try to achieve in these areas (Korsu, 2012). The role of labour markets more widely will be considered in later sections, and is a particularly relevant area in relation to contemporary research into housing preferences.

## Constraint

Housing choices are influenced by a number of constraints. Whilst later sections will consider the broader housing system context, research has particularly drawn out issues of affordability (in terms of household income), discrimination, and housing moves that are constrained, forced, or originate from lack of choice, for example in the case of declining health.

Housing affordability has received considerable attention (Dewilde and De Decker, 2016; Bone and O'Reilly, 2010). Although affordability involves the interplay of individual/household characteristics and the housing market context, in terms of house sale or rental prices, in many studies affordability constraint is considered largely from the household perspective in relation to income. This is because of the nature of the data used to model housing decisions, which covers wide geographical areas, and is less able to incorporate variation in local housing market contexts.

Given the high priority of tenure transitions in the housing choice literature, issues around who has access to homeownership and the experiences of low-income households has received some attention (Clapham et al, 2014; Dewilde and De Decker, 2016; Lersch and Dewilde, 2015). Issues of institutional lending and credit constraints have also been addressed, although on a more limited scale (Andrew, 2011; Fisher and Gervais, 2011), as has financial support from parents (Druta and Ronald, 2017).

There has been less attention on affordability and rental, as opposed to entry into homeownership, and understanding variation in the private rented sector (see, for example, Hulse and Yates, 2017). Research is starting to address financialisation more broadly, and the impact on different income and tenure groups (Arundel and Doling, 2017; Dewilde and De Decker, 2016; Lennartz et al, 2016). Similarly the experiences of marginal homeowners, who

are experiencing affordability constraints and/or negative equity have received relatively little attention (Forrest and Kennett, 1996; Koppe, 2017).

Discrimination constraint has also been considered in a range of contexts, particularly America, Canada and the UK, in relation to newly arrived immigrants and established black and minority ethnic groups. This literature highlights practices such as estate and letting agents withholding properties and being refused accommodation by landlords (Ross and Turner, 2005).

In relation to life course literatures, a number of studies have considered the factors associated with older people moving home, or situations in which they would foresee themselves moving into other accommodation. Declining health is a common feature, suggesting that moves in older age may be forced by an inability to remain in an existing dwelling (Baumker et al, 2012; Smetcoren et al, 2017), although it is important to consider the societal context, as advanced and subsidised or free home-care services may facilitate ageing in place (Hansen and Gottschalk, 2006).

## Factors guiding aspirations – what underpins aspirations?

Although much research has been carried out into the housing preferences people have, and the choices they have made, it is also important to understand where these aspirations, preferences and choices come from. Stages in the life course and demographic/household factors are of clear importance (for example, having children may lead to different needs relating to bedroom size). However, there are also a range of factors underpinning choices that are more difficult to represent through survey and other modelling approaches.

A range of research has highlighted socio-cultural factors, such as identity (Benson and Jackson, 2017; Bruce and Kelly, 2013; Power, 2017), emotion (Christie et al, 2008), and cultural dispositions (Boterman, 2012; Rowlands and Gurney, 2000) in guiding people's views about housing. Others have explored different conceptualisations of home (Darab et al, 2017; Hoolachan et al, 2017), and the social norms that structure people's relationships with housing choices (Andersson et al, 2007; Crawford and McKee, 2016; McKee, Moore et al, 2017), shaping the choices that seem open to different people at different times.

As has already been highlighted, there is a lack of conceptual distinction around housing aspirations, expectations, preferences and choices. In particular, the potential relationship

between housing expectations (taken here to mean the things that people think it is possible to achieve) and housing aspirations (what people want or desire to achieve as a housing outcome) is only emerging as an area of investigation (see, for example, Crawford and McKee, 2016; Crawford and McKee, 2017; Jansen, 2014; McKee, Moore et al, 2017).

## Resources

The role of resources in housing choices and aspirations has primarily been considered as a financial issue, as discussed in earlier sections relating to affordability constraining the choices that households make. There has been comparatively less research exploring the broader resources that structure people's relationships with housing, in terms of social, informational, cultural and experiential resources. The emerging research in this area has focused on middle-class experiences, linking forms of capital to housing choices and identity-construction (Boterman, 2012; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015).

A few studies have considered issues such as the role of family support in facilitating homeownership among young people leaving the family home. The intergenerational transmission of housing advantage – whether through financial support, or social and cultural capital, providing knowledge of how to navigate the housing field – is an increasingly relevant research area (Holdsworth, 2004; Spilerman and Wolff, 2012).

A set of research particularly focused on the experiences of newly arrived immigrants has highlighted the challenges that these groups face in negotiating unfamiliar housing systems (Brown, 2017; Nielsen et al, 2015). In addition to understanding discrimination, these studies foreground the importance of knowledge and experience of housing systems, which are resources gleaned from time spent in a familiar environment. Lack of resources therefore structures the actions and choices that households make.

## Housing expectations

As noted above, there is a lack of conceptual distinction in relation to housing aspirations and expectations. For example, housing expectations may refer to price expectations and market behaviour in economics-oriented research (Thanos and White, 2014), to the intentions a household has to make a specific move (Clark and Lisowski, 2017), or to what households anticipate achieving through their long term housing careers (Colic-Peisker and Johnson, 2012; Munro and Madigan, 1998). Coulter et al (2011) are among the few to attempt to distinguish moving desires and expectations, empirically investigating the extent to which they are distinct pre-move thoughts. They argue that these are formed and realised in different

ways, and therefore that future studies need to be more precise in the use of terms and the ways in which they are linked to empirical material.

One of the consequences of the lack of conceptual definition is that we do not have a good understanding of the role that housing expectations may play in shaping aspirations. This is an important emerging area of research and is particularly relevant in the contemporary housing context (Crawford and McKee, 2016). It is also crucial to understand how housing aspirations are formed, as there is a lack of sociologically oriented research in this area (see Doling and Ford, 1996; Rowlands and Gurney, 2000).

Recent research into changing housing aspirations has considered the impact of decreasing housing affordability and shifting housing market contexts on housing choices, particularly in relation to tenure (Colic-Peisker and Johnson, 2012; Jones, 2016; McKee, Moore et al, 2017; Tomaszewski et al, 2017). However, the mechanism by which aspirations and choices are impacted is not clearly delineated. This could be particularly important in understanding gaps between what people want from housing (aspirations) and what they believe they can achieve (expectations) (see, for example, Crawford and McKee, 2016; or for the gap between housing stock and aspirations, see Kintrea, 2007), since aspirations may be more stable than expectations. Questions are also being asked about the drivers of changes to housing aspiration and expectations, particularly in relation to the tenure transitions of younger people, with some research highlighting the long-term nature of changing attitudes, rather than something that has been triggered by short-term housing market fluctuations and credit constraints (Arundel and Doling, 2017; Jones, 2016).

Recent literature has focused on the relationship between housing expectations, tenure transitions, and housing market contexts of decreasing affordability, particularly in relation to younger people. However, there has been greater attention to the experiences of more middle class young people, for whom the expectation of homeownership has been perceived to be higher (Benson and Jackson, 2017; Druta and Ronald, 2017; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015), and on generational issues rather than potential distinctions within generations (Arundel and Ronald, 2016; Bruce and Kelly, 2013; Lennartz et al, 2016; McKee, 2012). Less is known about the specific expectations of more working class groups (see Aramburu, 2015; Roberts, 2013), although class has been an important feature of some analyses (Crawford and McKee, 2016). This is an emerging area of research, particularly in terms of intra-generational differences in housing expectations and aspirations. Although Colic-Peisker and Johnson (2012) included middle class and 'disadvantaged' groups, the latter is perhaps less reflective of more working class households generally as all were adults who had left state

care in the previous five years. It is possible that these individuals, as a result of their different housing pathways, could have different conceptualisations of home, as well as multiple vulnerabilities, compared to those who were not care-leavers.

Research into expectations has generally focused on tenure, particularly in the contemporary climate of lack of affordability. A sub-set of literature on housing expectations has explored the expectations older people have of 'ageing in place' in their existing home versus moving into more specialised housing for older people (Baumker et al, 2012; Power, 2017; Severinsen et al, 2016).

Little research has considered the nature of expectations in relation to housing characteristics, in particular whether expectations and aspirations may be shaped by the housing stock that exists in a given market (Kintrea, 2007). Understanding perceptions of the desirability of different types of housing, not just in terms of tenure but also in terms of dwelling characteristics, is one gap in the research literature.

## Meanings of home

Different conceptualisations of 'home' will likely give rise to different housing preferences and aspirations. Themes of security and stability are highlighted in the research literature as being particularly important elements in constructing a sense of home (Baumker et al, 2012; Bone, 2014; Colic-Peisker and Johnson, 2010; Darab et al, 2017), although this varies in cross-cultural contexts (Andersson et al, 2007). In general, it is perceived that homeownership affords a greater sense of security in comparison to private renting. However, given changes to tenure profiles in the UK, it would seem instructive to explore in-depth the perceptions that different individuals and households have in relation to different tenure options. For example, homeowners who are in a more precarious financial position may not view homeownership as offering security (Koppe, 2017; Munro, 2000).

It is crucial to unpack the perceptions that underpin expressions of tenure preferences. Although it is apparent that strong preferences exist for homeownership, we do not have a clear understanding of what that tenure is actually seen as conferring. A more in-depth understanding has the potential to highlight factors that could play an important role in other tenure forms, for example, if security is a crucial element in conceptualisations of home, in what ways could security be enhanced in the private rented sector? There is less research into how people in the private rented sector create a sense of home (Bone, 2014; Hoolachan et al, 2017), as the focus has been much more around homeowners or those expecting to



move into homeownership. The broader societal context also influences the meanings that people attach to particular conceptualisations of home. The promotion of homeownership as the norm, through the cultural context but also government policy, has an important impact on aspirations (Jones, 2016; Kennett et al, 2013; McKee, 2012; Power, 2017).

In relation to households from different socio-cultural backgrounds, for example new immigrants, studies have sought to understand the conceptualisation of home in a new country, particularly considering the connections that remain to countries of origin (Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen, 2012; Kuuire et al, 2016).

Research has also explored meanings of home among populations living in specialist housing or facing insecure housing experiences, such as those experiencing homelessness (Brueckner et al, 2011; May, 2000), people with mental health issues accessing supported housing (Alaazi et al, 2015), and HMO tenants (Barratt and Green, 2017). In relation to older people, research has considered the ways in which emotional investment in their existing home may discourage moves in later life (Severinsen et al, 2016).

## Household characteristics

As well as social norms more generally, research has also addressed the role of specific traits in influencing individual and household aspirations. In the American context, the role of race and ethnicity in housing location decisions has received attention (Trudeau, 2006), particularly in the context of mobility programmes designed to move low-income households out of disadvantaged areas (Briggs et al, 2010; Reid, 2013). Income and class-factors have also been drawn out in some research (Dewilde and De Decker, 2016), particularly around the neighbourhood choices of low-income households (Basolo and Yerena, 2017; Briggs et al, 2010), and in relation to middle-class trajectories to places with particular profiles (Bacque et al, 2014; Benson and Jackson, 2017). For a number of these studies, the core issue under consideration is the extent to which groups self-segregate into places with others 'like them', or which are perceived to match their identity. This is balanced against the comparative role of constraints such as affordability and discrimination.

## Socio-emotional

A number of empirical studies have sought to draw out the social, cultural, and emotional underpinnings of housing aspirations, preferences, and behaviours. By its nature, this research tends to be more qualitative and smaller scale. Studies highlighting the role of emotions in housing markets and household decisions challenge utility-maximisation and

rational choice models, arguing that the economy is in part constructed by the emotionally-driven behaviour of market-actors. The role of emotional factors has been a feature of a small number of studies exploring the role of estate agents as market-intermediaries (Wallace, 2008), as well as prospective purchasers (Besbris, 2016; Christie et al, 2008).

Similarly, understanding the values that underpin housing aspirations and choices is an under-researched area (Andersson et al, 2007). There is a particular gap in research into the values associated with renting; existing literature (Cheshire et al, 2010) could be advanced by considering the perceptions of renters themselves. Exploring values relates to more sociological understandings of the cultural dispositions that structure social action. Crawford and McKee (2016), for example, highlight the long-running nature of dispositions towards housing, which may increasingly be mismatched to the objective realities of realising these aspirations in the contemporary housing and labour market context.

One section of research draws on the relationship between racial and ethnic cultural identities, and housing or neighbourhood choices. This research largely explores the role of ethnic preferences in locational decisions and the relationship between self-segregation on the one hand, and forms of constraint on the other (Dhalmann, 2013; Ibraimovic and Hess, 2017; Skifter Andersen, 2015; Skovgaard Nielsen, 2017; Trudeau, 2006).

An emerging area of research focuses on the role of housing in the construction of individual identities. The changing context of housing affordability and housing policies, thought to be contributing to delayed transitions to independent household formation (through delayed home-leaving, the 'boomerang generation', and extended house-sharing), may also impact on identity-construction for young people, although the focus of research has been weighted towards understanding more middle-class households (Benson and Jackson, 2017; Bruce and Kelly, 2013; Cheshire et al, 2010; Colic-Peisker and Johnson, 2012; Hulse and McPherson, 2014). In part, this is likely because of the dominance of understanding homeownership. However, the result is that there is a comparative lack of research exploring the role of housing in working-class identity construction, particularly in the context of changing employment and housing systems.

Finally, there has also been little research into the role of identities in the housing decisions of older people, with Power (2017) drawing on the concept of 'ideal ageing identities' to explore the active consumption of housing and homeownership among older people in Australia.

## Past experiences

Whilst a large amount of the residential mobility and housing choice literature focuses on the immediate circumstances surrounding a move or potential move, by asking household about the reasons for mobility, other studies have argued that a longer-term understanding is required to fully appreciate the factors associated with housing decisions (Blaauboer, 2011; Winstanley et al, 2002). This research highlights the enduring role of past experiences in guiding decision-making processes, and the ways in which past action can direct housing pathways by closing off some avenues and opening up others; this is also a feature of housing pathways approaches discussed earlier (Clark, 2009; Forrest and Murie, 1990; Severinsen, 2013).

As with the housing choice literature generally, these studies are a mixture of small-scale, in-depth research drawing out housing biographies, and large-scale surveys seeking to identify relationships between variables across populations. For example, the association between childhood housing experiences and later locational choices has been examined using panel survey data (Blaauboer, 2011), whilst other studies have used narrative approaches to understand changing preferences over time (Winstanley et al, 2002).

## Housing system change – how do changes in wider housing systems impact on aspirations and choices?

Although for the purposes of mapping the literature, research has been divided into different categories, it is important to note that much of the literature cuts across several distinct areas, drawing out the relative importance of a range of variables. A smaller proportion of studies have considered the role of structural or societal factors on individual and household decisions. Whilst in some cases this provides context to household decisions (Benson and Jackson, 2017; Clapham et al, 2014), in others these structural factors, rather than individual housing decisions, make up the central analytical focus of the research (Arundel and Doling, 2017; Crawford and McKee, 2017).

Affordability is relevant both on a household level (in terms of income influencing specific housing decisions), and a societal level (in structuring the housing choices that are open more broadly). A key issue for contemporary research is to explain the extent to which changing housing market contexts, particularly in relation to affordability, is restricting the range of

housing options that have historically been open to different groups, at particular points in the life course (Bruce and Kelly, 2013; Dewilde and De Decker, 2016; Druta and Ronald, 2017; Hulse and Yates, 2017; Bone and O'Reilly, 2010). There are additional challenges in identifying the underlying causes of any changes (i.e. short-term housing market shock, or long-term housing and labour market transition) (Arundel and Doling, 2017; Jones, 2016), and the broader sociological implications (i.e. whether perceived changes in the likelihood of achieving a particular housing outcome impact on what people aspire to).

However, it is important to recognise that the housing market context does not operate in isolation. A number of studies have recognised the central role of labour market factors in structuring housing market choices (Arundel and Doling, 2017; Lersch and Dewilde, 2015; McKee, Hoolachan et al, 2017). From practical issues of lending criteria (Andrew, 2011; Lennartz et al, 2016), to the impact of precarious housing and employment on ontological security (Hoolachan et al, 2017), contemporary labour market factors are a significant structural influence on people's housing market experiences.

Housing policy can have a strong, direct influence on housing choices – in particular a there are a number of studies reporting on the outcome of mobility programmes in America, which are designed to encourage the movement of low-income households (Graves, 2016; Basolo and Yerena, 2017). In addition to these direct programmes, research has also considered the influence of policies that encourage ageing in place, and the promotion of asset-based welfare more widely (McKee, 2012; Power, 2017).

Although housing supply has a clear relevance in structuring housing outcomes, there is less apparent literature on the role that the supply of particular dwellings in particular places may have in structuring individual/household aspirations and choices (see, for example, Hulse and Yates, 2017; Kintrea, 2007).

## Affordability

Broader trends in affordability have generally been considered in terms of rising house prices impacting on tenure transitions, particularly in relation to younger households locked out of homeownership and low-income homeowners who are in a more marginal position (Bone and O'Reilly, 2010; Dewilde and De Decker, 2016; Druta and Ronald, 2017; Hoolachan et al, 2017; Hulse and Yates, 2017;).

The relationship between aspirations, expectations and perceptions of affordability in the housing market more generally is an emerging research area that has considerable

importance in contemporary housing systems (Bruce and Kelly, 2013). The costs of private renting have also been considered (Cole et al, 2016; Dewilde and De Decker, 2016; Hulse and Yates, 2017), although the experiences of those in the private rented sector and the composition of the private rented sector remains a relatively under-researched area when compared to homeownership. Wiesel and Pawson (2015) argue that lack of affordability and security in the private rented sector are key factors in low levels of exit from social housing in Australia. However, there is little research around the affordability of social housing or 'affordable' housing products, and this is an apparent gap in the mapping review. This is particularly relevant to the English social housing context, with changes to rent setting and the reform of housing benefit potentially challenging affordability. It may be that this research has not been captured due to the search terms used, and this requires further investigation.

Research across different housing market contexts suggests that the financialisation of housing systems is a significant factor in affordability, with low-income owners and low-income private renters experiencing deteriorating affordability in comparison to their middle-income counterparts (Dewilde and De Decker, 2016).

The interaction between affordability issues and supply of homes is strong and can be considered in relation to a range of specific issues, for example the supply of homes for older people (both specialist but also private homes that are appropriate for promoting ageing in place) may be exceeded by demand, leading to affordability constraints for competing households (Hansen and Gottschalk, 2006; Power, 2017). However, fluctuating house prices and crises of affordability have led leading economists and modellers of housing choice decisions to ask whether new models of housing market behaviour are required to make sense of these shifts (Clark, 2011).

## Supply

There is little evidence around the relationship between supply and housing aspirations and choices. A limited number of studies consider issues such as the extent to which developers and investors are meeting the needs of older people for particular forms of housing (Van Wezemaal and Gilroy, 2007). Hulse and Yates (2017) focus on understanding the Australian private rental sector, arguing that growth in supply has been focused on mid-market rent properties, with the result that lower-rent stock shifts into outer areas that are further from jobs and transport, adding a further spatial dimension to inequalities. However, this does not extend to understandings of how supply issues may re-shape aspirations. Similarly econometric modelling of availability constraints suggests the importance of issues such as supply

constraints and understanding the extent to which households may switch to a 'second best' alternative (De Palma and Rouwendal, 1996), but more work is needed to understand the nature of these decisions.

## Housing policy

In the American context, housing mobility programmes, typically providing vouchers to subsidise households to move from high-poverty neighbourhoods to mixed areas, have been assessed in terms of their stated objectives (Graves, 2016; Basolo and Yerena, 2017).

Policies in relation to housing for older people have also been considered, in a cross-national context. This enables policy differences to be explored, for example in the Netherlands policies historically encouraging older people to move into specialist homes contrasts with other countries such as Germany, which have emphasised ageing in place with care provided by relatives (Alders et al, 2015). Others have emphasised the role of government in promoting asset-based welfare (Kennett et al, 2013) and 'active ageing', dependent on homeownership and the production of older people as active consumers of housing (Power, 2017).

More generally, policies fostering homeownership as the housing norm in countries such as the UK have interacted with social, economic and demographic shifts, with long-term consequences for housing systems (McKee, 2012). Policies supporting the decline of social housing and the increasing role of the private rented sector in the UK (Jones, 2016) have also been emphasised as having widespread consequences, including psycho-social impacts (Bone, 2014), although this is an area which requires further empirical research.

## Housing market context

The housing market context, including market fluctuations and people's responses to these changes, is crucial to understanding contemporary experiences. There is considerable interaction with issues of affordability, tenure, and life course transitions. Attempts have been made to understand how these structural changes affect people's housing choices and aspirations, situating typologies of housing experiences within different economic epochs (Crawford and McKee, 2017).

Housing system changes are altering how housing preferences are studied. Crawford and McKee (2017) argue that it is important to understand the objective reality of the broader macro-economic environment and not to overly focus on idealised preferences which may not be realisable. De Groot et al (2013) express a different interpretation, noting that individuals

adjust their tenure preferences to the perceived possibility of moving to an owner-occupied or a rental home, and therefore that housing tenure preferences cannot be viewed as 'pure' preferences that indicate what individuals truly desire. Further research is needed to explore the extent to which preferences are 'idealised' desires, or expressions of realistic and realisable aims that have been pre-adapted to the conditions in which they are formed.

The rise of forms of semi-dependent living, for example parental co-residence and shared-living, is an important feature of the contemporary housing market context (Arundel and Ronald, 2016). The impact of these forms of living arrangements on identity is an area for further exploration. Delayed household formation has been examined through modelling (Laeven and Popov, 2017; Lee and Painter, 2013) and the use of a range of secondary data in specific contexts (Minguez, 2016). Stone et al (2014) specifically analysed the extent of 'boomeranging' back to the parental home in Britain, analysing panel survey data and finding that although overall returning home was a relatively rare event, there were links to an uncertain labour market context.

The impact of housing market context on household behaviour, expectations, and aspirations is difficult to delineate. There is a strong spatial component to housing markets which it is important to capture, and perceptions of the local context are likely to be an important element in structuring choices and perceptions; there may be a disjuncture between the local context and wider societal norms around housing. Of particular concern in understanding the contemporary context is the relative role of significant short term events (such as the global financial crisis) versus longer term transitions that were underway long before the crisis (such as increasing house sale prices). A small number of studies have started to explore the potential impact of changing experiences of housing on the aspirations of young people (Arundel and Ronald, 2016; Clapham et al, 2014; Crawford and McKee, 2016; Crawford and McKee, 2017; Jansen, 2014; Tomaszewski et al, 2017). Whilst there has been a greater focus on the experiences of middle class households that would have been expected to move into homeownership in a more accessible housing market, there have also been some attempts to understand the experiences of more disadvantaged young people (Colic-Peisker and Johnson, 2012).

In comparison to the experiences of homeowners or aspiring homeowners, there has been less research into experiences within the private rented sector (Clapham et al, 2014; Coulter, 2017; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015; Hoolachan et al, 2017; McKee, Moore et al, 2017), particularly in relation to those on low-incomes, despite the growth of this tenure (Cole et al, 2016).

There has been little research into the role that media portrayals of housing system change may play in the construction of household aspirations and choices. The limited research that has been done to-date has focused on the role of news in creating housing market bubbles or shocks, modelling potential influences (Kanik and Xiao, 2014; McCollough and Karani, 2014).

## Labour market restructuring

Housing market behaviour is bound up with parallel changes in labour markets, particularly in terms of insecurity and low-wage growth. The long-term impact of the decline of employment security on homeownership is an important area of research (Arundel and Doling, 2017; Doling and Ford, 1996; McKee, Hoolachan et al, 2017; Lersch and Dewilde, 2015). Additional research is required to unpack the experiences and strategies of those experiencing labour market changes, and the relationship this has with housing choices and aspirations.

In line with considering the longer-term decline in homeownership, Doling and Ford (1996) assessed changes in social attitudes in Britain in the downturn of the late 1980s and early 1990s. There is considerable benefit to revisiting this work in light of current debates, particularly in linking changing attitudes to homeownership with the changing nature of work in Britain, which has continued to intensify as a trend. Incorporating a qualitative dimension to understand the relationship between changing experiences of employment towards greater insecurity and housing choices and aspirations would be a valuable addition. However, Munro (2000) argues that existing owner-occupiers do not necessarily make housing market decisions in relation to their employment insecurity, suggesting that it is important to take into account individual perceptions of insecurity and attitudes to risk.

## Key areas for future research

### 1. Housing transitions and the pathways of young people

- To what extent are contemporary changes in housing markets resulting in delays to common life course transitions?
- What meanings do young people ascribe to their housing transitions? To what extent is house-sharing among young people a lifestyle choice versus an economic coping strategy?
- What intra-generational distinctions are being made in the contemporary housing market context? How are inequalities generated within cohorts as well as across generations?



- What role do intergenerational transfers of wealth play in the housing transitions of young people?

## 2. Housing, identity and ontological security

- What role does housing play in the shaping of working-class identities? What are the impacts of changing employment and housing systems?
- In the context asset-based welfare, what role does housing play in the identity-construction of older people?

## 3. Understanding the formation and meaning of housing aspirations and expectations

- Are housing aspirations and expectations distinct sociological concepts?
- What factors underpin the formation of housing aspirations and expectations?
- To what extent are housing aspirations 'idealised' desires, or expressions of realistic and realisable aims that have been pre-adapted to the conditions in which they are formed?
- How does the available housing stock shape housing expectations and aspirations in different local housing market contexts?
- What is the relationship between changing experiences of employment towards greater insecurity and people's housing aspirations and expectations?
- What role do media portrayals of housing system change play in the construction of household aspirations and choices?

## 4. Understanding contemporary tenure experiences and preferences

- How relevant is tenure as a lens through which to view housing decisions?
- How do people respond to constrained preferences in relation to tenure choices? Under what circumstances do people adapt their preferences?
- Are social attitudes to homeownership changing? What is the relationship between attitudes to different tenure forms and the changing nature of work?
- What attitudes do people have to different tenure forms at different points in their lives? Are there classed differences in relation to tenure preferences? What values or attributes do people identify different tenures as providing?

- What are the experiences of those living in the private rented sector? What are the psycho-social impacts of living in the private rented sector?
- How do people create a sense of home in the private rented sector?
- What attitudes do people hold towards social or affordable housing?
- How is the concept of 'affordability' in social housing changing as a result of broader housing market shifts and the diversification of 'affordable' housing products?

## Conclusion

This mapping report has considered a broad range of multi-disciplinary research literature in order to map the field of research around housing choices, preferences, aspirations, and expectations. Given the terms of interest, the literature is dominated by studies considering residential mobility and the choices households make around specific moves, either in the past or planned for the future. The focus is therefore on action and movement, rather than necessarily exploring how preferences are formed and why certain choices are made. There is much less exploration of contemporary understandings of areas such as housing need, what people aspire to in housing generally (rather than in relation to a specific move), and whether housing markets are delivering the homes that people desire.

The ways in which people experience housing are not only formed in the moment in which housing choices and decisions are enacted, but are guided by long-standing dispositions and past experiences. Furthermore, housing is not a field that exists in isolation, but is related to other areas of life. Therefore, research needs to pay attention not only to the factors which underpin the formation of housing aspirations, expectations and choices, but also interactions with other fields. Of foremost importance in the contemporary context are labour market experiences. The ways in which people experience housing systems may be significantly influenced by changing employment markets, not only in terms of practical issues such as access to credit, but in relation to broader considerations such as the role that stable, secure housing may play in counterbalancing insecurity in other areas of life.

Choices are always bound by constraints, of which the most commonly discussed is affordability. There is recognition that the contemporary housing market context poses significant challenges to the establishment of new households, with issues of affordability at the forefront of debates. Concerns around the housing transitions of younger people and inter-generational distinctions are prominent. However, there is also recognition that some groups have experienced long-standing disadvantages in housing markets as a result of

discrimination, deviation from dominant societal norms around housing, and low-incomes. In particular, understanding the experiences of those who face challenges not only in accessing homeownership, but also in accessing affordable private rented housing, and genuinely affordable social housing, must be a priority research area.

## References

Alaazi, D. A., Masuda, J. R., Evans, J. & Distasio, J. (2015) Therapeutic landscapes of home: Exploring Indigenous peoples' experiences of a Housing First intervention in Winnipeg. *Social Science & Medicine*, 147, 30-37.

Alders, P., Costa-Font, J., de Klerk, M. & Frank, R. (2015) What is the impact of policy differences on nursing home utilization? The cases of Germany and the Netherlands. *Health Policy*, 119(6), 814-820.

Andersen, H. S. (2008) Why do residents want to leave deprived neighbourhoods? The importance of residents' subjective evaluations of their neighbourhood and its reputation. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 23(2), 79-101.

Andersen, H. S. (2011) Motives for Tenure Choice during the Life Cycle: The Importance of Non-Economic Factors and Other Housing Preferences. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 28(2), 183-207.

Andersson, E., Naumanen, P., Ruonavaara, H. & Turner, B. (2007) Housing, socio-economic security and risks. A qualitative comparison of household attitudes in Finland and Sweden. *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 7(2), 151-172.

Andrew, M. (2011) The Changing Route to Owner-occupation: The Impact of Borrowing Constraints on Young Adult Homeownership Transitions in Britain in the 1990s. *Urban Studies*, 49(8), 1659-1678.

Aramburu, M. (2015) Rental as A Taste of Freedom: The Decline of Home Ownership amongst Working-class Youth in Spain during Times of Crisis. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(6), 1172-1190.

Arundel, R. & Doling, J. (2017) The end of mass homeownership? Changes in labour markets and housing tenure opportunities across Europe. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*.

Arundel, R. & Ronald, R. (2016) Parental co-residence, shared living and emerging adulthood in Europe: semi-dependent housing across welfare regime and housing system contexts. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 19(7), 885-905.

Bacque, M. H., Charmes, E. & Vermeersch, S. (2014) The Middle Class 'at Home among the Poor' - How Social Mix is Lived in Parisian Suburbs: Between Local Attachment and Metropolitan Practices. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), 1211-1233.

Barratt, C. & Green, G. (2017) Making a House in Multiple Occupation a Home: Using Visual Ethnography to Explore Issues of Identity and Well-Being in the Experience of Creating a Home Amongst HMO Tenants. *Sociological Research Online*, 22(1).

Basolo, V. & Yerena, A. (2017) Residential mobility of low-income, subsidized households: a synthesis of explanatory frameworks. *Housing Studies*, 32(6), 841-862.

Baumker, T., Callaghan, L., Darton, R., Holder, J., Netten, A. & Towers, A. M. (2012) Deciding to move into extra care housing: residents' views. *Ageing & Society*, 32, 1215-1245.

Benson, M. & Jackson, E. (2017) Making the middle classes on shifting ground? Residential status, performativity and middle-class subjectivities in contemporary London. *British Journal of Sociology*, 68(2), 215-233.

Besbris, M. (2016) Romancing the home: Emotions and the interactional creation of demand in the housing market. *Socio-Economic Review*, 14(3), 461-482.

Blaauboer, M. (2011) The Impact of Childhood Experiences and Family Members Outside the Household on Residential Environment Choices. *Urban Studies*, 48(8), 1635-1650.

Boheim, R. & Taylor, M. P. (2002) Tied down or room to move? Investigating the relationships between housing tenure, employment status and residential mobility in Britain. *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 49(4), 369-392.

Bone, J. (2014) Neoliberal Nomads: Housing Insecurity and the Revival of Private Renting in the UK. *Sociological Research Online*.

Bone, J. & O'Reilly, K. (2010) No place called home: the causes and social consequences of the UK housing 'bubble', 61(2), 231-255.

Bonvalet, C. & Ogg, J. (2008) The housing situation and residential strategies of older people in France. *Ageing & Society*, 28, 753-777.

Boterman, W. R. (2012) Deconstructing Coincidence: How Middle-Class Households use Various Forms of Capital to Find a Home. *Housing Theory & Society*, 29(3), 321-338.

Bramley, G. (2016) Housing need outcomes in England through changing times: demographic, market and policy drivers of change. *Housing Studies*, 31(3), 243-268.

Briggs, X. D., Comey, J. & Weismann, G. (2010) Struggling to stay out of high-poverty neighborhoods: housing choice and locations in moving to opportunity's first decade. *Housing Policy Debate*, 20(3), 383-427.

Brown, N. R. (2017) Housing Experiences of Recent Immigrants to Canada's Small Cities: the Case of North Bay, Ontario. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 18(3), 719-747.

Bruce, M. & Kelly, S. (2013) Expectations, Identity and Affordability: The Housing Dreams of Australia's Generation Y. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 30(4), 416-432.

Brueckner, M., Green, M. & Siggers, S. (2011) The Trappings of Home: Young Homeless People's Transitions Towards Independent Living. *Housing Studies*, 26(1), 1-16.

Cheshire, L., Walters, P. & Rosenblatt, T. (2010) The Politics of Housing Consumption: Renters as Flawed Consumers on a Master Planned Estate. *Urban Studies*, 47(12), 2597-2614.

Christie, H., Smith, S. J. & Munro, M. (2008) The emotional economy of housing. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(10), 2296-2312.

Clapham, D., Mackie, P., Orford, S., Thomas, I. & Buckley, K. (2014) The housing pathways of young people in the UK. *Environment and planning A*, 46(8), 2016-2031.

Clark, A. (2009) Moving through deprived neighbourhoods. *Population, Space and Place*, 15(6), 523-533.

Clark, W. A. V. (2011) Prices, expectations and the changing housing market: a commentary and discussion. *Housing, theory and society*, 28(3), 262-275.

Clark, W. A. V. & Coulter, R. (2015) Who wants to move? The role of neighbourhood change. *Environment and Planning A*, 47(12), 2683-2709.

- Clark, W. A. V. & Huang, Y. (2003) The life course and residential mobility in British housing markets. *Environment and planning A*, 35(2), 323-339.
- Clark, W. A. V. & Lisowski, W. (2017) Decisions to move and decisions to stay: life course events and mobility outcomes. *Housing Studies*, 32(5), 547-565.
- Cole, I., Powell, R. & Sanderson, E. (2016) Putting the Squeeze on 'Generation Rent': Housing Benefit Claimants in the Private Rented Sector - Transitions, Marginality and Stigmatisation. *Sociological Research Online*, 21(2).
- Colic-Peisker, V. & Johnson, G. (2012) Liquid Life, Solid Homes: Young People, Class and Homeownership in Australia. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 46(4), 728-743.
- Colic-Peisker, V. & Johnson, G. (2010) Security and Anxiety of Homeownership: Perceptions of Middle-class Australians at Different Stages of their Housing Careers. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 27(4), 351-371.
- Cooke, A., Smith, D. & Booth, A. (2012) Beyond PICO: The SPIDER Tool for Qualitative Evidence Synthesis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 22(10), 1435-1443.
- Coulter, R. (2016) Parental background and housing outcomes in young adulthood. *Housing Studies*, 1-23.
- Coulter, R. (2017) Social Disparities in Private Renting Amongst Young Families in England and Wales, 2001-2011. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 34(3), 297-322.
- Coulter, R., Ham, M. v. & Findlay, A. M. (2016) Re-thinking residential mobility. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(3), 352-374.
- Coulter, R. & Scott, J. C. P. S. P. R. (2015) What Motivates Residential Mobility? Re-examining Self-Reported Reasons for Desiring and Making Residential Moves. *Population, Space and Place*, 21(4), 354-371.
- Coulter, R., van Ham, M. & Feijten, P. (2011) A longitudinal analysis of moving desires, expectations and actual moving behaviour. *Environment and Planning A*, 43(11), 2742-2760.
- Crawford, J. & McKee, K. (2016) Hysteresis: Understanding the Housing Aspirations Gap. *Sociology*, 0038038516661263.

Crawford, J. & McKee, K. (2017) Privileging the “Objective”: Understanding the State’s Role in Shaping Housing Aspirations. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 1-19.

Darab, S., Hartman, Y. & Holdsworth, L. (2017) What women want: single older women and their housing preferences. *Housing Studies*, 1-19.

de Groot, C., Manting, D. & Mulder, C. H. (2013) Longitudinal analysis of the formation and realisation of preferences to move into homeownership in the Netherlands. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 28(3), 469-488.

De Palma, A. & Rouwendal, J. (1996) Availability constraints in the housing market. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 5(2), 105-132.

Dewilde, C. & De Decker, P. (2016) Changing Inequalities in Housing Outcomes across Western Europe. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 33(2), 121-161.

Dhalmann, H. (2013) Explaining Ethnic Residential Preferences—The Case of Somalis and Russians in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. *Housing Studies*, 28(3), 389-408.

Doling, J. & Ford, J. (1996) The new homeownership: The impact of labour market developments on attitudes toward owning your own home. *Environment and Planning A*, 28(1), 157-172.

Druta, O. & Ronald, R. (2017) Young Adults' Pathways into Homeownership and the Negotiation of Intra-Family Support: A Home, the Ideal Gift. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 51(4), 783-799.

Feijten, P. & van Ham, M. (2010) The Impact of Splitting Up and Divorce on Housing Careers in the UK. *Housing Studies*, 25(4), 483-507.

Fisher, J. D. M. & Gervais, M. (2011) WHY HAS HOME OWNERSHIP FALLEN AMONG THE YOUNG?\*. *International Economic Review*, 52(3), 883-912.

Forrest, R. & Kennett, T. (1996) Coping strategies, housing careers and households with negative equity. *Journal of Social Policy*, 25, 369-394.

Forrest, R. & Murie, A. (1990) A dissatisfied state? Consumer preferences and council housing in Britain. *Urban studies*, 27(5), 617-635.

- Gram-Hanssen, K. & Bech-Danielsen, C. (2012) Creating a new home. Somali, Iraqi and Turkish immigrants and their homes in Danish social housing. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 27(1), 89-103.
- Graves, E. (2016) Rooms for Improvement: A Qualitative Metasynthesis of the Housing Choice Voucher Program. *Housing Policy Debate*, 26(2), 346-361.
- Hansen, E. B. & Gottschalk, G. (2006) What makes older people consider moving house and what makes them move? *Housing, theory and society*, 23(1), 34-54.
- Hochstenbach, C. & Boterman, W. R. (2015) Navigating the field of housing: housing pathways of young people in Amsterdam. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 30(2), 257-274.
- Holdsworth, C. (2004) Family support during the transition out of the parental home in Britain, Spain and Norway. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 38(5), 909-926.
- Hoolachan, J., McKee, K., Moore, T. & Soaita, A. M. (2017) 'Generation rent' and the ability to 'settle down': economic and geographical variation in young people's housing transitions. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 20(1), 63-78.
- Hulse, K. & McPherson, A. (2014) Exploring Dual Housing Tenure Status as a Household Response to Demographic, Social and Economic Change. *Housing Studies*, 29(8), 1028-1044.
- Hulse, K. & Yates, J. (2017) A private rental sector paradox: unpacking the effects of urban restructuring on housing market dynamics. *Housing Studies*, 32(3), 253-270.
- Ibraimovic, T. & Hess, S. (2017) A latent class model of residential choice behaviour and ethnic segregation preferences. *Housing Studies*, 1-21.
- Jansen, S. J. T. (2014) Why is Housing Always Satisfactory? A Study into the Impact of Cognitive Restructuring and Future Perspectives on Housing Appreciation. *Social Indicators Research*, 116(2), 353-371.
- Jones, C. (2016) The credit crunch: short-term UK housing market correction or long-term tipping point? *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 16(1), 70-90.



- Kanik, B. & Xiao, W. (2014) News, housing boom-bust cycles, and monetary policy. *International Journal of Central Banking*, 10(4), 249-298.
- Kennett, P., Forrest, R. & Marsh, A. (2013) The Global Economic Crisis and the Reshaping of Housing Opportunities. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 30(1), 10-28.
- Kenyon, E. & Heath, S. (2001) Choosing this life: Narratives of choice amongst house sharers. *Housing Studies*, 16(5), 619-635.
- Kintrea, K. (2007) Housing aspirations and obsolescence: Understanding the relationship. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 22(4), 321-338.
- Kley, S. A. & Mulder, C. H. (2010) Considering, planning, and realizing migration in early adulthood. The influence of life-course events and perceived opportunities on leaving the city in Germany. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 25(1), 73-94.
- Koppe, S. (2017) Britain's new housing precariat: housing wealth pathways out of homeownership. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 17(2), 177-200.
- Korsu, E. (2012) Tolerance to commuting in urban household location choice: evidence from the Paris metropolitan area. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(8), 1951-1968.
- Kramer, C. & Pfaffenbach, C. (2016) Should I stay or should I go? Housing preferences upon retirement in Germany. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 31(2), 239-256.
- Kuire, V. Z., Arku, G., Luginaah, I., Buzzelli, M. & Abada, T. (2016) Obligations and Expectations: Perceived Relationship between Transnational Housing Investment and Housing Consumption Decisions among Ghanaian Immigrants in Canada. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 33(4), 445-468.
- Laeven, L. & Popov, A. (2017) Waking Up from the American Dream: On the Experience of Young Americans during the Housing Boom of the 2000s. *Journal of Money Credit and Banking*, 49(5), 861-895.
- Lee, K. O. & Painter, G. (2013) What happens to household formation in a recession? *Journal of Urban Economics*, 76(Supplement C), 93-109.
- Lennartz, C., Arundel, R. & Ronald, R. C. P. S. P. R. (2016) Younger Adults and Homeownership in Europe Through the Global Financial Crisis, 22(8), 823-835.

- Lersch, P. M. & Dewilde, C. (2015) Employment Insecurity and First-Time Homeownership: Evidence from Twenty-Two European Countries. *Environment and Planning A*, 47(3), 607-624.
- Marsh, A. & Gibb, K. (2011) Uncertainty, expectations and behavioural aspects of housing market choices. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 28(3), 215-235.
- May, J. (2000) Of nomads and vagrants: Single homelessness and narratives of home as place. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18(6), 737-759.
- McCollough, J. & Karani, K. (2014) The Media's Role in Influencing Perceptions of Housing Values and the Resulting Impact on the Macroeconomy. *Economic Affairs*, 34(1), 68-77.
- McGlaughlin, A., Gorfin, L. & Saul, C. (2004) Enabling adults with learning disabilities to articulate their housing needs. *British Journal of Social Work*, 34(5), 709-726.
- McKee, K. (2012) Young People, Homeownership and Future Welfare. *Housing Studies*, 27(6), 853-862.
- McKee, K., Hoolachan, J. E. & Moore, T. (2017a) The Precarity of Young People's Housing Experiences in a Rural Context. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 133(2), 115-129.
- McKee, K., Moore, T., Soaita, A. & Crawford, J. (2017b) 'Generation Rent' and The Fallacy of Choice, 41(2), 318-333.
- Minguez, A. M. (2016) Economic crisis and the new housing transitions of young people in Spain. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 16(2), 165-183.
- Munro, M. (2000) Labour-market insecurity and risk in the owner-occupied housing market. *Environment and Planning A*, 32(8), 1375-1389.
- Munro, M. & Madigan, R. (1998) Housing strategies in an uncertain market. *Sociological Review*, 46(4), 714-734.
- Niedomysl, T. (2008) Residential Preferences for Interregional Migration in Sweden: Demographic, Socioeconomic, and Geographical Determinants. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(5), 1109-1131.

Nielsen, R. S., Holmqvist, E., Dhalmann, H. & Soholt, S. (2015) The Interaction of Local Context and Cultural Background: Somalis' Perceived Possibilities in Nordic Capitals' Housing Markets. *Housing Studies*, 30(3), 433-452.

Nijenstein, S., Haans, A., Kemperman, A. & Borgers, A. W. J. (2015) Beyond demographics: human value orientation as a predictor of heterogeneity in student housing preferences. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 30(2), 199-217.

Piat, M., Lesage, A., Boyer, R., Dorvil, H., Couture, A., Grenier, G. & Bloom, D. (2008) Housing for persons with serious mental illness: Consumer and service provider preferences. *Psychiatric Services*, 59(9), 1011-1017.

Posthumus, H., Bolt, G. & van Kempen, R. (2013) Why do Displaced Residents Move to Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods? *Housing Studies*, 28(2), 272-293.

Power, E. R. (2017) Housing, home ownership and the governance of ageing. *Geographical Journal*, 183(3), 233-246.

Reid, M. (2013) Public housing and gender: Contextualizing the "We Call These Projects Home" report. *Cities*, 35, 335-341.

Roberts, S. (2013) Youth Studies. Housing Transitions and the 'Missing Middle: Time for a Rethink? *Sociological Research Online*, 18(3).

Ross, S. L. & Turner, M. A. (2005) Housing discrimination in metropolitan America: explaining changes between 1989 and 2000. *Social Problems*, 52(2), 152-180.

Rowlands, R. & Gurney, C. M. (2000) Young Peoples? Perceptions of Housing Tenure: A Case Study in the Socialization of Tenure Prejudice. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 17(3), 121-130.

Sermons, M. W. (2000) Influence of race on household residential utility. *Geographical Analysis*, 32(3), 225-246.

Severinsen, C., Breheny, M. & Stephens, C. (2016) Ageing in Unsuitable Places. *Housing Studies*, 31(6), 714-728.

Severinsen, C. A. (2013) Housing Pathways of Camping Ground Residents in New Zealand. *Housing Studies*, 28(1), 74-94.

Skifter Andersen, H. (2015) Explanations for Special Neighbourhood Preferences among Ethnic Minorities. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 32(2), 196-217.

Skovgaard Nielsen, R. (2017) The Potentials of a Strong Social Housing Sector: The Case of Turks and Somalis in the Copenhagen Housing Market. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 34(4), 458-476.

Smetcoren, A. S., De Donder, L., Dury, S., De Witte, N., Kardol, T. & Verte, D. (2017) Refining the push and pull framework: identifying inequalities in residential relocation among older adults. *Ageing & Society*, 37(1), 90-112.

Spilerman, S. & Wolff, F. C. (2012) Parental wealth and resource transfers: How they matter in France for home ownership and living standards. *Social Science Research*, 41(2), 207-223.

Stone, J., Berrington, A. & Falkingham, J. (2014) Gender, Turning Points, and Boomerangs: Returning Home in Young Adulthood in Great Britain. *Demography*, 51(1), 257-276.

Thanos, S. & White, M. (2014) Expectation Adjustment in the Housing Market: Insights from the Scottish Auction System. *Housing Studies*, 29(3), 339-361.

Tomaszewski, W., Smith, J. F., Parsell, C., Tranter, B., Laughland-Booy, J. & Skrbis, Z. (2017) Young, anchored and free? Examining the dynamics of early housing pathways in Australia. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 20(7), 904-926.

Trudeau, D. (2006) The persistence of segregation in Buffalo, New York: Comer vs. Cisneros and geographies of relocation decisions among low-income black households. *Urban Geography*, 27(1), 20-44.

Van Wezemael, J. E. & Gilroy, R. (2007) The significance of demographic change in the Swiss approach to private rented housing: A potential for ageing in place? *Housing Studies*, 22(4), 597-614.

Wallace, A. (2008) Knowing the market? Understanding and performing York's housing. *Housing Studies*, 23(2), 253-270.

Wiesel, I. & Pawson, H. (2015) Why do tenants leave social housing? Exploring residential and social mobility at the lowest rungs of Australia's socioeconomic ladder. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 50(4), 397-417.

Winstanley, A., Thorns, D. C. & Perkins, H. V. (2002) Moving house, creating home: Exploring residential mobility. *Housing Studies*, 17(6), 813-832.

# Appendix 1

## Mapping search strategy

An initial set of sub-themes were developed. As abstract screening took place these were refined further, with some new themes added as a result of engagement with the research literature (such as labour market changes, force moves), and some themes being clustered together under more expansive sub-themes (such as socio-emotional factors).

In defining the scope of the mapping review, a number of exclusions were made. Only English-language literature, limited to Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand contexts would be included. We did not consider some of the wider impacts that housing choices may have on areas such as gentrification, work, and the growth or decline of places, primarily because these are significant areas of literature in their own right. Literature from 1990 to 2017 was included in the search, limited to articles in peer-reviewed journals.

A search protocol was developed using the SPIDER tool (Cooke et al, 2012). Although the tool was designed for search strategies in relation to qualitative evidence synthesis, the mapping review encompassed qualitative, mixed, quantitative, and theoretical approaches. In addition, outside the health sciences, for which this tool was originally developed, there is much less consistency in the structuring of abstracts. This means that the research design is often not specified in the title, abstract or keywords, meaning that this would likely limit the number of studies that could be found during the initial searches. The tool was therefore adapted for the purposes of the mapping review. Although a comprehensive list of research designs and types was prepared to be written into a search protocol, this was removed as the mapping review was not focused on the selection of any specific research type or methodological approach, and it was clear from an initial review that many abstracts did not mention the research design. The table below highlights the way in which the key search areas were conceptualised.

---

**Table 1: SPIDER search strategy**

---

<b>Sample</b>	Young	Rent(ers)	Owner(s)	Public
	Old	Homeowner(s)	Household(s)	Women
	People	Individual(s)	Population(s)	Men
	Adult(s)			
<b>Phenomenon of Interest</b>	House(s)	Choice(s)	Preference(s)	Strategy(ies)
	Home	Aspiration(s)	Expectation(s)	Decision(s)
<b>Design</b>	All			
<b>Evaluation</b>	Belief(s)	Understand(ings)	Motivation(s)	Attitude(s)
	Feel(ings)	Perception(s)	View(s)	Experience(s)
	Desire(s)	Behaviour(s)	Opinion(s)	
<b>Research type</b>	All			

---

## First stage search strategy

Initial scoping suggested the need to specify some search terms in the title of publications, as initial results were in the tens of thousands. A number of exclusions were also applied to the search, excluding the terms food, cooking, water, insurance, portfolio and energy from the title of returned publications.

Searches were conducted in two bibliographic databases: Scopus and Web of Science. In both databases searches were conducted for the dimensions specified in Table 1.

Web of Science returned 2,889 citations. Scopus returned 1,462 citations. 4,350 citations were exported into Endnote. Once duplicates were removed, 3,842 citations remained. A manual check revealed a number of additional duplicates, which were not picked up automatically due to inconsistencies in spellings of author names or publication titles. Following removal, 3,652 citations remained for title screening.

Following title screening to identify publications that met the thematic focus of the mapping review, 666 citations remained for abstract screening.

Following abstract screening, 261 thematically relevant references remained.

## Second stage search strategy

---

In order to counterbalance the impact of restricting the initial searches by specifying dimensions of housing or home in the title of the publications, a second stage of targeted searching was conducted to supplement the initial search. These topic searches (in the title, abstract or keywords of the publication) combined each sub-topic with terms for aspirations or expectations, and dimensions of housing or home. Searches were conducted within Web of Science, and were limited to the first 50 returns ranked by relevance and by newness.

Following title screening, an additional 33 references were included.

### Third stage search strategy

It was recognised at the outset that mapping the literature for a diverse theme would be difficult through bibliographic database searches alone. It was apparent that some important and highly relevant publications were not returned in database searches despite meeting the search criteria. One reason may be that these publications were too recent and had not yet been indexed, for example they appeared as ‘online first’ publications ahead of print publication. Hand searching key journals and tracing the references and citations of key papers supplemented bibliographic database searches. Journal hand-searching was limited to the top five journals which had returned the most articles through the initial search stages, and limited to consideration of the first 50 citations by relevance.

In total, hand-searching resulted in the addition of 64 references.

When added together, the multi-phase search strategy resulted in 358 references. When working through the database a number of additional exclusions were made, in line with the following reasons.

**Table 2: Additional exclusions**

Full publications not available	7
Non-English language publication (abstract only)	4
Outside country scope	3
Report, not peer-reviewed publication	2
Journalistic/ opinion piece	1
Outside date range	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>



The final sample for coding and analysis in the mapping review was 340.

**Table 3: Search results**

First stage				Second stage	Third stage
Initial search	Combined and duplicates removed	Following title screening	Following abstract screening	Web of Science sub-theme search	Hand-searching journals and publications
Web of Science 2,889	3,652	666	261	33	64
Scopus 1,462					
Total from first stage					
Total from second stage					
Total from third stage					
Meets exclusion criteria					18
<b>Final included sample</b>					<b>340</b>

## Grey literature

Given the diverse nature of the theme, systematic searching of the grey literature was challenging. In order to supplement the main academic literature, a number of targeted Google Scholar searches were undertaken. However, it is not possible to construct searches in the same way as, for example, topic search functions in citation indices. Keyword searches search the full text of a publication, resulting in many more returns.

Google Scholar searches were undertaken for each sub-theme combined with housing, and were limited to PDF file types. This restriction was included to remove some of the academic literature from the search return, since peer-reviewed publications had already been systematically searched. It is expected that most grey literature are available as PDF publications. Because of the high volumes of returns for Google Scholar searches, screening was limited to the first 40 publications returned by relevance. A total of 32 reports were included in the mapping review as a result, providing an illustration of some of the key publications in this area.

**housingevidence.ac.uk**

Twitter: @housingevidence



**University of Glasgow**

3rd Floor, The Olympia Building, 2-16 Orr Street, Bridgeton Cross, Glasgow G40 2QH

**The UK Collaborative Centre for Housing Evidence is a consortium of ten universities and three non-academic partners, as follows:** University of Glasgow, University of Sheffield, University of Reading, University of Cardiff, Heriot-Watt University, University of Bristol, Ulster University, University of Adelaide, Sheffield Hallam University, St Andrews University, Chartered Institute of Housing, Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, Royal Town Planning Institute.