Well-being, young people and 'home'

Veronica Coatham
and
Suzanne Lazarus

Well-being, young people and 'home'

Veronica Coatham
Head of Division of Housing and Community Studies, School of Social Sciences,
Birmingham City University

and

Suzanne Lazarus
Senior Lecturer, Division of Housing and Community Studies,
School of Social Sciences, Birmingham City University

CONTENTS

Abstract

Well-being is a complex multi-dimensional issue and is difficult to define and measure. This paper focuses on the social well-being from the perspectives of young people from chaotic backgrounds as they move into independent living for the first time with a registered provider (housing association). It explores their expectations, needs and aspirations and how these are mediated by becoming tenants of a housing association. The paper draws from primary research undertaken by the authors into the reasons why young people were more dissatisfied with the services provided by the housing association than other tenant segments. The association has since made a number of changes to their policies and procedures as a result of the greater understanding gained of individual motivations and how young people interact with the organisation.

Key words: Young people, aspirations, housing, service improvement, support

Well-being, young people and 'home'

Veronica Coatham and Suzanne Lazarus

Division of Housing and Community Studies, School of Social Sciences, Birmingham City University, City North Campus, Birmingham, B42 2SU.
E-mail: veronica.coatham@bcu.ac.uk; Suzanne@suzannelazarus.com

Context

Research into the housing needs of young people has tended to concentrate on their ability to access independent housing. More recently a range of studies has been published addressing the need for a wider range of and more flexible housing options for this group as home ownership becomes more difficult to access (Quilgars*et al.*, 2008;ECOTEC, 2009; Clapham*et al.*, 2010). This interest has tended to focus upon young people's housing aspirations in a range of socio-economic contexts, and has highlighted changes in expectations particularly around owner-occupation resulting in more demands being placed upon rented options in the public and private sectors and the development of more flexible options (Heath, 2008; ECOTEC, 2009; Clapham *et al.*, 2010).

Other areas of research are either group-specificor issue related such as care leavers, BME groups, disability, class, drug users, ex-offenders, LGBs, or travellers. Whilst highlighting that young people are not a homogenous group and that age, gender, ethnicity and other factors are likely to affect patterns of choice and need, these studies often donot address softer indicators and how social identities might affect individual housing choice and,more specifically, the transitory nature of young people.

Research of young people's housing pathways by Ford *et al.* (2002) and Rugg (2010) concluded that movement between tenures was rare, highlighting how the capacity for human agency to make choices and to impose those choices on the world is often constrained by wider structural constraints such as those operating within housing markets. Their research identified five pathways – chaotic, unplanned, constrained, student and planned, suggesting that consideration should be given to how motivations, aspirations and expectations function as drivers for young people. This is particularly relevant when the issue of how radically perceptions, behaviours and social relations change as young peopleprogress from child to adolescent to developing adult and to adult is considered (Downes*et al.*, 2002). Research is providing greater insight into how these factors impact upon young people's relationships with housing markets. For example, the work of Cole *et al.* (2005), into patterns of mobility and the consequences of frequent moving, found that the under 35s tended to move more frequently than other age groups, and that "mobility and vulnerability appear to beintimately linked in a mutually reinforcing relationship" (p. 24). Their research identified two groups of young people:

- those who chose to move in response to external factors – planned movers
- those who have no alternative but to move – unplanned movers.

Cole *et al.* (2005) commented that, whilst more flexible housing options may benefit the first category, they may not be sufficient to mitigatethe difficulties faced by the second.More recent research by Rugg(2010) suggests that these pathways may no longer be applicable as young people increasingly find themselves facing new opportunities and challenges in implementing housing choices. Referring to Clark (1982), Cole *et al.*(2005) also observe

that the reasons why young people choose not to move, or 'stay put', may be a consequence of less tangible, softer indicators to do with quality of life, being part of a community, feeling safe and so on.This echoes some of the findings from a study by the University of Glasgow (Kintrea *et al.*, 2008) who concluded that "territoriality should be considered significant when designing policies and programmes relating to the social exclusion of young people, community safety and neighbourhoods".These factors correlate with the findings of the present authors where young people cited factors to do with family, friends, belonging, warmth and safetyas being key indicators in determining whether they moved on or 'stayed put'.

For many young people the transition to independent living may typically involve returning to the parental home particularly in times of difficulty or crisis (Fitzpatrick, 1999).This opportunity is, however, not open to all; and, as Heath (2008) identifies, the way in which young people are able to respond to such events is dependent upon the resources and support available to them (see also ECOTEC, 2009).It is at this time that young people without access to support and resources may come into contact with statutory and third-sector agencies;however,what is not so clear are the factors which may influence their acceptance of these services. It is at this point where less is known about how their individual social identities impact upon both access to, and engagement with, the agencies providing support and advice. Having greater knowledge of the motivations, aspirations and expectations of young people at this stage in the housing process would be highly beneficial to service providers inknowing how to target scarce resources more effectively. Some insights can be gleaned from research into the non-traditionalbehaviours of young people seeking legal advice concerning housing issues; for example Kenrick (2007) identifiedthat "their advice-seeking behaviour may not conform to established patterns"(p. 3). Yet a report for the Social Exclusion Unit (ODPM, 2004) found that housing and homelessness were the two key reasons why young people made contact with support services.

So who needs to change: young people, service providers or policy makers? The evidence indicates that young people will engage with statutory and third-sector providers on their terms, especially where they have come from chaotic or disadvantaged backgrounds (Quilgars*et al.*, 2008). Moreover,research indicates that these transactions are likely to be complex. For example, ECOTEC (2008) found that young people often felt negatively stereotyped by staff operating as 'gatekeepers' (see also Lipsky, 1980) in organisations providing housing support. Theseperceptions influenced their responses in ways which reinforced these attitudes and perceptions which, in turn, impacted upon their housing choices and future trajectories. Similarly Murie (1997) suggested that people make decisions on their housing based on a number of reasons other than financial, including "the way decisions are made in the household [soft indicators and social identity] … and the role of gatekeepers or urban managers'(pp. 256-7). The research undertaken by Cole *et al.* (2005) of frequent movers also identified a lack of "confidence, skills, and motivation to engage with service providers, as well as difficulties in forging the trusting relationships necessary for positive service engagement" (p. 58). More recently, Quilgars*et al.* (2008) argue that it is for policy makers and service providers to be more flexible; not just in providing more housing options, but also in providing more responsive support.

Once young people have negotiated their way through the institutional and structural barriers and accessed independent housing, there is the issue of managing and sustaining a tenancy (in the case of social housing, the focus of this paper). The life skills associated with managing a tenancy are many (crossing financial, house maintenance and other domestic responsibilities) and require a range of skills and competences, which young people from deprived backgrounds may lack. Heath (2008) also found that the highest level of rent arrears amongst young people is to be found in the social rented sector, which in part may account for the disproportionately high rate of abandonments within the sector. The perceived inflexibility and availability of the sector in providing more alternative forms of

accommodation and facilitating opportunities to move onto other properties (in the case of expanding families,onto larger properties)may also lead to increased levels of abandonments as young people feel trapped by the situation in which they find themselves (Clapham *et al.*, 2010).

Perceptions of 'gatekeepers' and how they relate to young people can further complicate the situation(Pawson *et al.*, 2001).For example, a study by Holmes (2008) found that housing options officers in housing departments assumed that young people would not take up the offer of supported lodgings in preference to "self containment or the opportunity to live in a community of young people";whereas "many young people welcome the non-institutional environment" and "someone being there".If this is a widespread view amongst all housing options staff,it may well follow that not all housing and support options are fully exploredforevery individual.

Access to housing has been just one of the policy concerns of the previous Labour government; on a broader policy front there have been a range of policy initiatives to combat the social and economic exclusion of young people. Proposed solutions have tended to address the limitations of the group, especially the lack of skills and knowledge, which are seen to hinder young people's ability to take up employment and training opportunities (Johnston *et* al, 2000).The hard, measurable outcomes of previous Labour government policies and initiatives such as 'Supporting People', 'Every Child Matters', 'Welfare Reform'and 'Housing Reform'all reflectedan emphasis of providing "housing services and options which help and encourage people towards greater economic independence and social mobility – matching responsibility with opportunity so that they can realise their potential and best meet their own housing aspirations in the future" (Office of the Leader of the House of Commons, 2008).

Arguably, in order to achieve these objectives it is just as important to examine the impact of soft indicators and the role of the gatekeepers (Lipsky, 1980) in influencing housing options for young people. It is difficult to deconstruct the diverse emotional, practical, personal and experiential elements of housing opportunities;but this does not make it less important to do so. This paper now examines the way in which a group of young people who are about to, or have recently, become tenants of a housing association interpret and realise the term 'home.'It explores their experiences of establishing themselves as independent householders and the difficulties they face; their motivations, aspirations and coping strategies.

A model for examining human motivation is Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Chapman 2001-4) reproduced in Figure 1. Maslow's hierarchy shows how human beings are motivated by meeting a range of needs. At the base of the triangle are lower-order needs to do with physical and emotional well-being. Maslow argues that it is only when these needs are met can progression take place towards achieving higher-order needs. On the other hand, if lower-order needs are removed, than replacing these takes priority over achieving higher-order needs.Whilst Maslow's methodology has been criticised, it is acknowledged that people's motivations and behaviours are very complex and it has become commonly understood that peoples' motivations at any time will comprise a mix of all of the motivational drivers (Chapman,2001-4). Nevertheless, the model presents a useful analogy for the views expressed by the young people in this research.
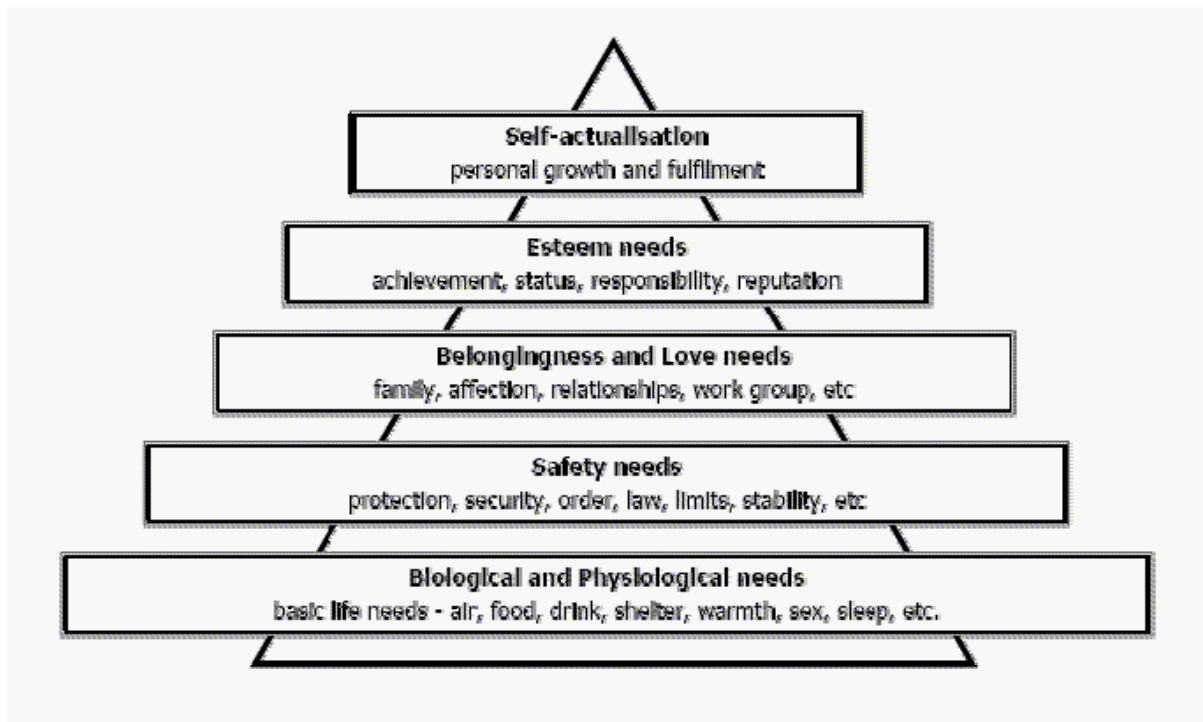
Self-actualisation
personal growth and fulfilment

Esteem needs
achievement, status, responsibility, reputation

Belongingness and Love needs
family, affection, relationships, work group, etc

Safety needs
protection, security, order, law, limits, stability, etc

Biological and Physiological needs
basic life needs - air, food, drink, shelter, warmth, sex, sleep, etc.

Figure 1. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (reproduced from Chapman, 2001-4).

Research methodology

A survey commissioned by the Whitefriars Housing Association in 2007had found that young people were more disproportionately dissatisfied with services than other customer segments (M-E-L Research, 2007). The organisation wanted to know the reasons for this dissatisfaction; hence it invited the authors to work with them to find out why.Whitefriars is based in Coventry(West Midlands) and is now part of the West Mercia Housing Group. The research adopted a qualitative methodological approach, focus groups,to elicit responses from both young people and staff as to what they perceived to be the reasons for this dissatisfaction. In total three focus groups were held with young people and two with staff over a period of three weeks. The size of the focus groups varied but overall twenty young people and thirteen members of staff, drawn from different parts of the organisation who were regularly in contact with young people, participated. The discussions were taped, with the respondents' agreement that these recordings would be confidential, but the length and poor quality of the recordings meant that they could not be used. Instead notes taken at the focus groups were used to inform the write-up of the discussions and the analysis of key findings.

Adopting a focus group methodology enabled issues and perceptions to be explored in greater depth than a questionnaire would allow (Denscombe, 1998) although it was recognised that focus groups have their own set of problems (Scott, 2011). The young people were identified by the Customer Services Team at Whitefriars and a small financial incentive and refreshments were offeredto potential participants, funded and managed by Whitefriars; this separation of activities helped to establish the independence of the research team in the participants' eyes. Gray (2009) indicates that is becoming more acceptable to offer monetary incentives to respondents and that they can be more effective than the use of gifts in improving response rates and securing active participation.In the case of young people on low and limited incomes, a small payment was felt to be an appropriate incentive.

In producing a moderator guide for the focus groups for the first stage of the research (Coatham *et al*., 2008)the definition of services was taken to be the full range of housing services associated with managing homes for rent, including letting property, collecting rent, undertaking repairs and dealing with anti-social behaviour. At Whitefriars' request added to this list of services were those that could be classified as personal to an individual service user, such as tenancy support and advice on budgeting as the organisation wanted more detailed information on how it might need to tailor services or develop new services in response to young people's needs and aspirations for housing and housing-related support.

Some aspects of the research findings concerning young people's perceptions on service quality have been published elsewhere (Coatham*et al*., 2011); the qualitative data contained within this paper have been drawn from the initial internal reports and re-analysed to focus on perceptions of the home, satisfaction with service provision, and factors affecting young people's ability to sustain tenancies.

In addition to externally-generated data, Whitefriars also had a range of internally-produced data available which showed that the turnover of property was higher among young people than other customer segments. For the organisation this led to concerns about potential high losses of rental revenue and consequent high property reletting costs. There was also some evidence to show that the organisation had had very little contact with these young people prior to the tenancy being abandoned, and there were few indications of any problems being raised (Heath 2008; Clapham *et al*., 2010). As an organisation committed to both providing housing for people in need as well as improving the customer experience, this situation led to concerns for the well-being of the young people it encountered and the difficulties being experienced by some in sustaining tenancieson limited incomes.

To access a property owned and managed by a social housing organisation, applicants have to demonstrate high levels of housing need to make them eligible for housing, and a wide range of pertinent circumstances were represented by the young people participating in the focus groups.In terms of their housing careers they were all at different stages, with some living in a hostel, some having just been rehoused and others sustaining their tenancy for up to 3 years. They included individuals becoming homeless as a result of family breakdown, leaving the care system or youth offending centre, or being a refugee; some participants were living temporarily in a hostel.Some of the young people were in relationships and had children or were pregnant; and some were on their own. Most mentioned their family and schooling having been being disrupted, and many talked of having no support from family and friends. Although some were holding down jobs, they were the exception; most of the participants had little work experience and limited access to training opportunities. A few had experience of the criminal justice system. In terms of the classification developed by Ford *et al*. (2002) and Coles *et al*. (2005), individuals displayed characteristics placing them in the 'unplanned movers' or 'chaotic' categories.

None of the young people participating in the focus groups had any previous experience of interactive customer feedback events; and several participants were unruly and undisciplined in the groups, requiring a highly responsive, participative and assertive approach by the authors. Gibson (2007) and Bagnolia and Clark (2010) comment that in undertaking research with young people one should not always to expect them to conform to conventional interviewing conventions. For example, it was not possible to determine at the outset who would be attending, how many would be attending and how many would still be present at the end of the discussion.

Whilst there were limitations with the execution of the research methodology, the research did elicit some useful information for the organisation in terms of what was important to young people and how this was significant. The authors also took the opportunity to obtain

some broader contextual information from the young people concerning their more general aspirations and perceptions.

What did the young people tell us?

We began the focus groups by asking the young people to tell us what it was like to get a place of their own. They said they were very excited and used words such as 'free', 'relieved' and 'happy' to express how they felt; although concerns were also expressed and words including 'anxious' and 'a bit worried' were also used to describe their initial feelings. Becoming independent and having a place of their own was seen as both being stressful and 'all or nothing'. Moreover there was appreciation of the constraints under which Whitefriars as an organisation worked, including a steadily decreasing property portfolio and lack of financial resources to increase or invest in remaining stock:

> "There is a lot of people to deal with and the government have changed things. You don't get houses now. It's not Whitefriars' fault it's the government. Blame the government."

> "They [Whitefriars] do what they can'."

On the other hand, whilst there was a shared view that private renting offered more choice of properties and areas, this form of renting was seen as being less secure, more expensive and providing a poorer service in terms of support and customer service, such as repairs. Whitefriars is part of a Choice Based Letting system operated by Coventry City Council, which allows interested people to bid for properties; the applicant with the highest number of needs points 'wins' the property. Participants felt there was no real choice as "there just aren't enough places", and most with young children had ended up accepting property which was unsuitable for their needs, for example on the second or third floor of a low-rise block of flats with no lifts or in unsuitable areas away from support networks. Some participants on their own were living in bedsit accommodation which they did not see as being a long-term solution. Ground-floor accommodation was also seen as problematic in terms of personal safety. Most said they wanted to move to be nearer family or other support networks. Young people with children expressed aspirations for a house, although in reality they knew that this was unlikely.

The external environment in which their homes were located was also cited as an important factor in their perceptions of their personal safety. The young people said that they would like to have more information about the local neighbourhood in which properties were located – many said they would prefer to live amongst mixed-age communities, although it was recognised that their lifestyles may be seen to be incompatible with those of older people. The key concerns about local environments were to do with safety and the dominant gang operating in the area, on which they wanted more information.

The types and forms of support received by the young people when moving into their homes varied – there was no consistent pattern. Some said that family and friends had provided this support, others talked about the help from their social workers and the Whitefriars Independent Living Team, but a sizeable number said that they had received no help. Those with social workers and support workers commented on how they valued their input, which ranged from sorting things out like utilities and pre-payment meters to obtaining furniture and other home essentials. The paperwork required at 'sign up' (taking up the tenancy) was seen as being 'overwhelming'. However, there was a reasonable consensus that Whitefriars staff were very helpful in providing advice on forms to complete, how to communicate with the utilities and how to set up rent payments; although this help was perceived to fade away once problems emerged with the property.

The issues that typically most concerned the young people were their ability to turn the property they had been allocated into a 'homely' environment which was clean, warm and welcoming with a good standard of decoration. They did not expect everything to be done for them, but they had expected that the property would be in a good condition and 'ready' for them to 'make their own'.This view accords with the motivations expressed within Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. However, most participants said that in order to achieve this there were many obstacles to overcome for which they were ill-prepared,including

- Removing rubbish left by the previous tenants, or tradesman undertaking pre-tenancy repairs
- Arranging for necessary repairs to be carried out so that they could move in
- Cleaning the flat throughout
- Getting boilers and other forms of heating repaired so that the utilities could be connected
- Having repairs to plasterwork carried out before they could strip the walls of existing wallpaper and redecorate
- Acquiring white goods and basic forms of furniture.

Most of the properties owned by Whitefriars were built in the 1950s/1960s and are in need of significant refurbishment. Whilst they meet contemporary standards relating to the provision of heating, thermal efficiency and insulation, many other problems were encountered; typically

- the properties being stripped of floor coverings such as carpets and laminate floorings due to health and safety and on-going landlord concerns
- mould growth and condensation due to inadequate ventilation
- insufficient and overly expensive heating,meaning that properties were not fully heated due to limited financial resources
- not knowing 'how to' do things such as basic repairs
- not being prepared for what it costs to run a home on a tight small budget
- putting up with anti-social behaviour.

The above examples were cited by young people as preventing them from making the places they had been allocated'homely'. Increasing debt, being cold, mould growth, problems with neighbours, being victimised for being 'an outsider' and difficulties with getting repairs done were all mentioned as reasons for wanting to leave the property and move on to other accommodation.One of the overriding considerations for participants was securing a home in a good area:

"You get nice houses in bad areas and bad houses in good areas. I would start with a bad house in a good area and repair it".

Once in the property, the issue causing greatest concern for young people was the repairs service. Issues included repairs which were priorities for them not being carried out quickly (eg faulty communal aerials, broken fences), appointments not being kept by tradesman or completed satisfactorily. Young people's perceptions of the lettings process and the repairs service were the focus of the second stage for the research (Coatham *et* al., 2009) and the key findings are included in Coatham *et al.*,2011).

From an economic perspective, although some of the participants were working, low wages were seen as a deterrent to pursuing employment options. Participants spoke of being "stuck in thesystem", but had ambition to better themselves; for example by going on to study at college or secure further training.The financial implications of this were seen as a

constraint to these aspirations. Several were working in a voluntary capacity, for example, supporting people who were drug addicts, and people who had mental health problems. One participant suggested that Whitefriars provide opportunities where they could work more closely with the organisation on service improvements, which would enable them to develop their own skills and experiences at the same time. Suggestions were made around ground maintenance and gardening or 'job shadowing' staff in the office.

There was some interest expressed in short training programmes addressing life skills such as decorating, simple repairs, budgeting and how to access benefits and grants.A suggestion was also made that staff would benefit from more training in customer service so that they didnot apparently jump to the wrong conclusions and could perhaps better appreciate the difficult circumstancesfacing young people.

Our observations

Whilst initially the tangible rewards for participation were appreciated,ie payment, refreshments and 'a goody bag', other motivators seemed to become more important as the focus groups progressed. We began to observe a change in the way in which the young people engaged with the research process when we compared their behaviours at the start and at the end of the individual focus groups, and then again if they went onto the second stage of the enquiry. In addition,when gathering before the start of the focus groups many of the young participants made comments which indicated that they were very sceptical and ambivalent towards Whitefriars and the reasons for commissioning the research. However, by the end of the sessions most were actively engaged in the discussions;indicating that the experience had produced some positive impact on their perceptions of, and relationships with the organisation. Throughout the focus group discussions we noted that young people were able to challenge some of the negative stereotypes they felt were held of them. For example,some of the respondents cited examples of where they had made complaints in the past and nothing had happened; others commented on how their feelings of powerlessness had changed through engaging with the process, as they saw that the organisation was serious in securing their feedback and that their views were valued. Most indicated that they had 'enjoyed' the participation process and that they would like the opportunity to engage with other similar types of activities. Indeed, several young people continued their involvement with Whitefriars as the organisation moved towards more digital forms of engaging service users including virtual focus groups.

Implications for improving service delivery

The motivations expressed by young people in this paper accord strongly with Maslow's hierarchy (Figure 1). Their motivations centred upon their being able to meet basic human and safety needs as found on the bottom two levels of the hierarchy – securing a home in a safe environment to achieve basic life biological and physiological needs. However, some displayed more ambitious motivations and saw their home as a place where relationships could be developed, identities expressed and self-esteem realised. What is of interest in using Maslow's model is that it highlights the ambitious nature of human beings: for example, when a basic need has been met (eg 'shelter') it is then that the focus may turn towards fulfilling higher-order needs. However, expectations can also be disappointed if this is not facilitated by, for example, the 'shelter' or home that has been have secured. On the other hand, some people may achieve self-actualisation despite experiencing some form of deprivation; individual motivation and personal context need to be taken into account. Moreover, it can be difficult to establish where in the 'hierarchy' an individual is at any point in time. By exploring young peoples' ambitions and aspirations for the future the research helps to provide greater insight for service providers into the perceptions of young people.

Together with the findings of other research commissioned into gaining better insight on customer requirements, and analysing other internally generated data over the last 2 years since our original research was completed,Whitefriars has made a significant number of changes to its policies and procedures, designed to improve customer service. In doing so,it has acknowledged the impact of more qualitative, softer, outcomes; not just on customer satisfaction but also on the well-being of the customers. The organisation has also undergone significant internal changes as a result of joining a larger group structure; this too has impacted upon customer service improvements.

One of the main learning points emerging from our research was that young people are more likely to walk away from problems and disappear when things don't go their way or when they lose control of a situation. This situation does not sit happily with the managerialist and performance culture currently pervading the public sector. And in the case of social housing providers needing to develop robust business plans founded on secure financial projections, the task becomes even more difficult when up to 25% of the tenants are young people who are not likely to stay in their tenancies for long periods of time. However, insights in young people's behaviourscan enable more responsive service design and delivery policies to be developed in order to support vulnerable young people in sustaining their tenancies when faced with challenging periods of housing transition.

Yet maximising the full benefit of any research findings, as with any improvement processes, takes effective, committed and willing leadership and an innovative use of scarce resources. In opening up organisational policies and practices to scrutiny Whitefriars demonstrated that it was willing to listen, learn, challenge and change internal practices in an attempt to change organisational cultures and provide more responsive customer services.Examples of service improvements include:

- The creation of new staffing posts targeted at getting a better understanding of customer profiles
- Training of staff groups to respond to a diverse range of customers and different needs
- A fundamental review of the repairs service
- Providing more information on properties and offering support to vulnerable people when making choices
- Providing life skills training to young people to enable them to make informed decisions about their housing
- Quality control measures to improve the standard of empty properties at the lettings stage
- Tailoring tenancy support to those who need it
- Exploring different ways of communicating with customers including setting up virtual focus groups on different parts of the service to secure feedback.

Findings from more recent customer feedback satisfaction surveys show no significant variations between the experience of young people and the rest of the Whitefriars customer base. Reality checks are regularly carried out with groups of young people with whom the customer services team is engaging in order to ensure that this is a representative picture.

Conclusions

The experience of this research indicates that both from a business and social point of view housing organisations should find out more about young people, their circumstance, social networks, motivations and values. Not only are they are a growing customer segment, but they also have different support needs to other customer segments, above and beyond shared customer expectations, requiring specific responses. Policy developments under New Labour made significant advances in finding out more about, and responding to, young people's needs, which has led to a better understanding of the interactions between policy development and implementation. It is recognised that the concept of housing-related support plays a key role in meeting the needs of young people, but the reduced investment in social housing, the cuts to the Supporting People budgets currently being made by local authorities, together with the Coalition Government's Welfare Benefit reforms are likely to have a detrimental impact upon young people's housing options (Clapham *et al.*, 2010). This will inevitability end up with agencies such as housing associations finding themselves increasingly being called upon to make decisions about how internal resources will be prioritised and which vulnerable groups will be supported.Young people may well lose out as they have limited power to effect changes in their circumstances.Improving the self-esteem, confidence, skills and, hence, social well-being of young people with chaotic lifestyles should however be a concern for society to enable them to achieve self-actualisationat an important transitional phase in their lives as they move into independent housing. However, the reality for many young people today is likely to be different, as the impact of economic cuts on housing providers and other public sector services begin to bite.

References

Bagnoli, A. and Clarke, A. (2010) 'Focus groups with young people: a participatory approach toresearch planning', *Journal of Youth Studies*, vol. 13, issue 1, pp. 101-119.

Chapman, A. (2001-4) *Maslow's hierarchy of needs* Available from: www.businessballs.com/ maslow.htm (Accessed 30 March 2011).

Clapham, D., Buckley, K., Mackie, P., Orford, S. and Stafford, I. (2011) *Young people and housing in 2020: identifying key drivers for change* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Clark, W. (1982) *Recentresearch on migration and mobility: areview and interpretation* University of California Press, Los Angeles.

Coatham, V., Dalton, P. and Lazarus, S. (2008)*Young people and their housing: perceptions and experiences of Whitefriars Housing Association*Unpublished Final Report of a BCU Service by Design Intervention.Birmingham City University, Birmingham.

Coatham, V., Dalton, P. and Lazarus, S. (2009) *Whitefriars Housing Association Repairs Service: perceptions and experiences of young people and staff* Unpublished Final Report of a BCU Service by Design Intervention: Stage 2. Birmingham City University, Birmingham.

Coatham, V., Dalton, P. and Lazarus, S. (2011)*Getting closer to young people: an example of how ahousing organisation has attempted to gain better insight into their behaviours and attitudes in order to improve user satisfaction and change organisational culture*Housing, Care and Support , Vol 14, Issue 2, pp.51-60.

Cole, I., Robinson, D., Champion, T., Reeve, K., Bennington, J., Coward, S., Goudie, R. and Hickman, P. (2005) *A review of the evidence base on frequent moving among disadvantaged groups: areport to the Social Exclusion Unit,* Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research*,* Sheffield Hallam University.

Denscombe, M. (2008) *Thegood research guide for small-scale social researchprojects* Oxford University Press, Buckingham.

Downes, R., Lee, S. and Taylor-Muhammad, F. (2002) *Listeningin colour: creating a meetingplace with young people*Youth Access andYoung People in Focus, Brighton

ECOTEC (2009) *Young people's housing transitions: a look at the housing issues facing young people when they move to independent living* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Fitzpatrick, S. (1999) *Pathways to independence: the experience of young homeless people*, Scottish Homes, Edinburgh.

Ford, J., Rugg, J. and Burrows, R. (2002) 'Conceptualising the contemporary role of housing in the transition to adult life in England',*Urban Studies*vol. 39 no. 13 pp. 2455-2467.

Gibson, F. (2007) 'Conducting focus groups with children and young people: strategies forsuccess', *Journal of Research in Nursing*, vol. 12 (September) pp. 473-483.

Gray, D., (2009) *Doing research in the real world,* Sage, Cornwall.

Heath, S. (2008) *Housing choices and issues for young people in the UK*Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Holmes, J. (2008) *Making a difference: supported lodgings as a housing option for young people*Department for Communities and Local Government, London.

Johnston, L., MacDonald, R., Mason, P., Ridley, L. and Webster, C. (2000) *The impact of social exclusion on young people moving into adulthood* The Policy Press, Bristol.

Kenrick, J. (2007*) Locked out: young people's housing and homelessness needs and the impact of good advice*Youth Access,London.

Kintrea, K., Bannister, J., Pickering, J., Reid, M. and Susuki, N. (2008)*Young people andterritoriality in British cities* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Lipsky, M. (1980) *Street-level bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services* Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

M-E-L Research (2007) *Whitefriars Customer Satisfaction Survey*, M-E-L Research, Unpublished report.

Murie, A. (1997) 'Placing housing in its social context', in Vestergaard, H. (ed.) *Housing in Europe,* StatensByggeforskningsinstitut,Horsholm.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004) *The impact of government policy on social exclusion among young people: a review of the literature for the Social Exclusion Unit*Social Exclusion Unit, London

Office of the Leader of the House of Commons (2008) *Preparing Britain for the future – the daft legislative programme, 2008-09*Stationery Office, Norwich.

Pawson, H., Third, H., Dudleston, A., Littlewood, M. and Tate, J. (2001) *Repeat homelessness in Scotland*Scottish Homes, Edinburgh

Quilgars, D., Johnson, S. and Pleace, N. (2008) *Review of youth homelessness in the UK* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

Rugg, J. (2010) *Young people and housing: a new policy agenda* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York

Scott, A. (2011) *Focussing in on focus groups: their efficacy and relevance as participative tools for land use policy,* Land Use Policy 28 (2011) 684–694

Whitefriars Housing (2010) *Welcome to Whitefriars,*www.whitefriarshousing.co.uk[accessed 17 July 2011]