

Developers say squeezing more houses into available space makes them cheaper

Britain's new-build homes are the smallest in Western Europe are too small for family life, says a <u>new report</u> by the Royal Institute of British Architects (Riba). But what is living in a "shoebox house" like? And can small mean beautiful when it comes to your home?







## Size matters- what sort of design?

space (m2) USA – 2
Australia - 20
Denmark – 1
France – 1
Spain – S
Ireland – I
UK – i





## Tension between houses and people

#### INTRODUCTION

England has a severe housing shortage. There are fewer homes being built than the new households that are being formed each year.<sup>[1]</sup> This shortage affects every level of the housing market; millions of people are on social housing waiting lists,<sup>[2]</sup> the average age of a first-time buyer has increased to 37,<sup>[3]</sup> and there are reported problems in mortgage availability.<sup>[4]</sup>

It is clear that we need to build more homes and to tackle some of the systemic problems in the housing market. But in the rush to do so, we need to think about what we are building.

It is easy to think about housing in numbers, percentages, bricks and mortar. But we should not forget that housing is fundamentally about people.

Are our new homes meeting people's needs and if not why? What does the average consumer think about new build homes? How might the industry adapt to ensure they meet consumer demands?





### Housing, People and Places: Two decades of Advances in Housing Research

William A.V. Clark University of California Los Angeles

A presentation to The Housing Symposium, Royal Statistical Society London 10 December, 2013







- 1. Two decades of change ENHR and HS to GFC
- 2. Five Themes
- 3. The Economy and housing
- 4. People in houses the life course
- 5. Neighborhoods and residential sorting
- 6. Institutions
- 7. Housing design
- 8. The "take- away"









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### The (nearly) current state of play



David F. Clapham, William A. V. Clark and Kenneth Gibb

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# Housing as an integrated approach

Beyond Home Ownership



#### The context

#### **Housing and Society Series**

- Series Editor: **Ray Forrest**, City University of Hong Kong and University of Bristol
- This series aims to situate housing within its wider social, political and economic context at both national and international level. In doing so it will draw on the full range of social science disciplines and on mainstream debate on the nature of contemporary social change. The books are intended to appeal to an international academic audience as well as to practitioners and policymakers – to be theoretically informed and policy relevant.





# Two decades of change

- Neo-classical to behavioral economics
- Life cycles to the life course-people in houses
- Do neighborhoods matter- houses in places?
- Governments, institutions and cities
- Design and sustainability





# Housing and the Economy

- Housing market crises
- Uncertainty
- Complexity
- Information and search
- Preferences and beliefs



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## **Housing Bubbles**







# Regional variations in Price/income ratios

#### Los Angeles

#### Cleveland







#### The Operation of the Housing Market

#### Standard

 prices of goods (housing) and services are determined in a free price system

#### **Re-imagined**

- Uncertainty,
- Complexity,
- Information and beliefs,
- Search and decision making



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#### **Indexing Uncertainty**

#### **Index of Economic Policy Uncertainty**



Notes: Index of Policy-Related Economic Uncertainty composed of 4 series: monthly news articles containing uncertain or uncertainty, economic or economy, and policy relevant terms (scaled by the smoothed number of articles containing 'today'); the number of tax laws expiring in coming years, and a composite of interquartile ranges for quarterly forecasts of federal government expenditures and 1-year CPI from the Philadelphia Fed Survey of Forecasters. Weights: 1/2 Google News, 1/6 tax expirations, 1/6 CPI disagreement, 1/6 Federal expenditures disagreement after each index normalized to have a standarddeviation of 1. Google query run August 11, 2011, updated Sept 25. Index normalized to 100 mean before.





# Complexity

- Neo-classical models insufficient due to hidden complexity and non-linearity
- Market efficiency may be a special case, rather than the prevailing rule.
- Alternative framework is required to model discontinuities and imbalances in the housing markets.
- David Wyman, Elaine Worzala, Maury Seldin, (2013) "Hidden complexity in housing markets: a case for alternative models and techniques", International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis, Vol. 6: 383 404



#### Search and information

- Different groups of homebuyers have varying levels of information about the home buying process and housing market conditions and search costs
- Does it make a difference? Do different groups pay different prices for houses?
- Test for differences in house prices between first-time versus repeat buyers and between out-of- town versus in-town buyers.
- No significant differences using hedonic prices!! WHY
- Availability of information at an individual level by institutions, such as the multiple listing service. Institutions ameliorate asymmetrical information and costly search

Turnbull and Sirmans, (1993) Information, Search and House Prices Regional Science and Urban Economics 23 545-557



#### People in houses- the life course

- 1. Static vs. dynamic
- 2. Events and transitions
- 3. Demographic change and housing
- 4. A note on fertility



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### The life course







# The housing career



Housing and the Life Course





### People and tenure





#### Family composition

- Family composition is significantly different now from that at the end of the baby boom
- Family households now make up only half of all households in the United States
- There are numerically fewer households with children today than in 1960

	1960		2009	
Total Households	52.9 million		105.4 million	
Family Households	39.4 million	74.6%	55.8 million	52.9%
With Children	24.2 million	45.8%	23.4 million	22.2%



#### Aging

- It is the "silver century", the population over 65 in the US will more than double in a generation
- The population over 85 will nearly quadruple

Year	65+ years	85+ years	Total
1960	16.6	.9	179.3
1980	25.6	2.2	226.6
2000	35.0	4.2	281.4
2020	54.8	6.6	341.4
2040	81.3	14.2	405.7

 There is a 50% chance that if a 65 yr old married couple retires today that one of them (the woman probably) will live to 92 (US Census 2010)



# By mid century the over 65s will be 50% of Total population





#### The Health Care Crisis for the elderly

Alzheimer's boom As the baby boomers age, the number of elderly Americans with Alzheimer's is projected to reach 13.5 million by 2050. Assuming no breakthroughs in treatment, health care costs will continue to increase as well.





### Notes on Fertility

- A fertility crisis for Europe and the US?
- Historically high unemployment rates —50 percent plus among youths — in countries like Greece, Italy and Spain are discouraging young people from having children.
- EU data on live births in 31 European countries fell by 3.5 percent, between 2008 and 2011.
- Vacant houses in small towns
- In US declining numbers of families with children the childless city- the changing urban structure



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#### Changing Fertility in the US



Source: National Center for Health Statistics



### Age at first birth to women age 20-45

	1999	2009
Race White	25.2	25.5
Hispanic	23.4	23.9
Black	23.1	22.8
Education BA	28.0	27.7
Some College	24.7	24.2
High School or less	23.0	22.6
Tenure Own	25.1	25.7
Rent	23.2	22.6
City 100,000 plus	25.5	25.4
50,000-100,000	24.4	25.0
Non-metro	24.1	24.4





### Sorting and Selection-Houses in Places

- Neighborhoods as clusters of houses
- Reflections in advertising
- The sorting process
- Do neighborhoods matter?
- Does moving improve your opportunities?



#### Neighborhoods as places

- Places are different- but on a continuum
- Neighborhood conceptions are both positive (Beverly Hills, Faubourg St. Honore) and negative– (wrong side of the tracks, lower east side, dog town, pole town) – stigmatization
- Choices are attempts to match preferences to places





















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#### 07 Money & Brains

The residents of Money & Brains seem to have it all: high incomes, advanced degrees and sophisticated tastes to match their credentials. Many of these citydwellers, predominantly white with a high concentration of Asian Americans, are married couples with few children who live in fashionable homes on small, manicured lots.

#### Social Group: Urban Uptown

2005 Statistics:	Demographics Traits:		
US Households: 2,265,564 (2.04%) Madian UK Instance: (502,579	Ethnic Diversity:	High Asian	
Median HH Income: \$82,570	Family Types:	Mix	
Lifestyle Traits	Age Ranges:	45+	
<ol> <li>Shop at Nordstrom</li> <li>Support the arts</li> </ol>	Education Levels:	College Grad+	
3. Read Business Week	Employment Levels:	Professional	
4. Listen to all-news radio	Housing Types:	Homeowners	
5. Drive a Jaguar	Urbanicity:	Urban	
	Income:	Upscale	
	Income Producing Assets:	not available	-
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#### 51 Shotguns & Pickups

The segment known as Shotguns & Pickups came by its moniker honestly: it scores near the top of all lifestyles for owning hunting rifles and pickup trucks. These Americans tend to be young, working-class couples with large families -more than half have two or more kids- living in small homes and manufactured housing. Nearly a third of residents live in mobile homes, more than anywhere else in the nation.

#### Lifestage Group: Mainstream Families

2005 Statistics:	Demographics Traits:		
US Households: 1,761,715 (1.59%)	Ethnic Diversity:	White, AmInd	
Median HH Income: \$40,722	Family Types:	Families	
Lifestyle Traits	Age Ranges:	25-44	
<ol> <li>Go hunting with a gun</li> <li>Buy hard rock music</li> </ol>	Education Levels:	High School	
3. Read Field & Stream	Employment Levels:	Blue-Collar, Farm	
4. Watch Daytona 500	Housing Types:	Homeowners	
5. Drive a Ford F-super duty	Urbanicity:	Rural	
	Income:	Lower Middle	
	Income Producing Assets:	not available	
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# The sorting matrix

#### Table 6.1: Origin-destination flows by deprivation at origin (%)

England

Origin	Destination decile										
decile	Least	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Most	Total
Least	31.1	15.8	12.2	10.1	8.2	7.3	5.9	4.5	3.0	1.9	100
2	16.0	22.4	12.9	11.2	9.6	8.4	7.1	5.7	4.1	2.6	100
3	11.9	12.7	20.7	11.7	10.7	9.6	8.1	6.6	4.9	3.2	100
4	9.5	10.9	11.6	19.9	11.5	10.4	9.3	7.5	5.6	3.7	100
5	7.4	9.3	10.3	11.2	19.4	11.6	10.6	9.0	6.8	4.4	100
6	6.2	7.8	8.6	9.8	11.0	19.7	12.1	10.8	8.3	5.6	100
7	4.7	6.1	7.4	8.2	9.9	11.6	20.9	12.8	10.8	7.6	100
8	3.3	4.7	5.8	6.8	8.4	10.3	12.8	22.6	14.2	11.1	100
9	2.2	3.4	4.3	5.2	6.6	8.4	11.4	15.0	26.7	16.7	100
Most	1.2	1.9	2.7	3.2	4.3	5.7	8.0	11.8	17.2	44.0	100
Total	8.8	9.0	9.3	9.4	9.8	10.3	10.8	11.0	10.7	11.0	100



# Neighborhoods and residential sorting

- The question is how areas neighborhoods end up with such different compositions
- The answer residential sorting (see Clark and Morrison, Bailey and Livingston (*Residential sorting, neighbourhood effects and social mobility: evidence from a large scale survey*)
- But what are the processes which "sorts" people into neighborhoods?




#### What Influences Sorting

#### 1. Budget Constraints

Massey/Denton – income does not explain social patterns Clark /Quillian non- poor ethnics choose white (better) neighborhoods

#### 2. Preferences and patterns

Fossett – strong evidence of weak preferences Charles/ Farley own race choices are result of white hostility

#### 3. Structure and mobility

Emerson et al Whites avoid ethnic neighborhoods Clark/ St John /others Whites avoid crime and problem neighborhoods





#### **Resource Differences**



SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU





#### Preferences







## **Preference Outcomes**







## Neighborhood effects- the debate?

- 1. They (neighborhood effects) may be mostly an area outcome ( of sorting) not an area affect;
- 2. If neighborhood effects exist, they are probably small, may be dependent upon your definition of neighborhood, and difficult to detect;
- 3. Analysis of outlier neighborhoods may be more useful (e.g, poor neighborhoods with good health OR wealthy neighborhoods with poor health).





# Institutions and Housing (1)

- Problems of theorizing
  - Individual market good
  - Public (non-market) good
  - State intervention from large (Netherlands) to small, if at all (US)





# Institutions and Housing (2)

- What institutions
  - private
  - public (national vs local)
- What role in housing
  - Large corporations vs single build
  - Regulation (building and safety) vs control (enforcement)
- With what ideologies?





## Institutions and Housing (3)

- Political ideologies
  - Class and structural theories
  - Bourdieu and social class
  - Marx and the tension between capital and labor
- Cultural belief systems
  - Property owning democracies
  - Asset based welfare
  - Social housing and cooperatives



#### Institutional-Structural issues in housing (1)

- The housing divide younger households who can become owners with parental input and those who do not have family resources who will be renters (does this matter?)
- Inertia in the housing stock will delay adaptation- big (not so old) houses will require retro-fitting to apartments or demolition
- Local government budgets for housing (in the US) are under stress and housing support is being reduced which in turn further stresses households in the early housing careers





### Structural Issues (2)

- Communities and governments poorly equipped to deal with the changes needed to bring older households into equilibrium with housing structures and to deal with the needs for affordable housing – especially in North America
- How will communities and governments deal with the potential for a generation clash over housing and health care priorities



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# Housing Design – what sort of housing

- Size, shape and location
- Sustainability
- Energy efficiency (overlapping sustainability)





## **Design and Changing Tenures**







## Price vs. quality

Developers say squeezing more houses into available space makes them cheaper

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### Back to the City- what kind of city?

- The central city has been cited as the next destination for both the young and childless and the aging population – the childless city.
- But, while it makes good headlines, will older households give up space and they fear crime in the inner city.
- Is smart growth viable and sustainable?
- Central cities offer environments closer to the livable city concept (smart growth) than low density suburbs.
- More questions than answers.



### Universal design as a solution

- There is recognition of the need to re-invent housing for the (aging) population
- The concept of Universal Design has been introduced to create housing which will serve households across the life course
- Providing housing which will provide good quality residential experiences across the life course
- Will require substantial rethinking of building codes and land use planning rules over coming NIMBY
- See Housing our Ageing Population: Panel for Innovation (HAPPI)





## The "take away" – where are we?

- The housing economy still price.
- The life course family events "really" matter.
- Neighborhoods should matter but maybe don't.
- Governments changing course despite the hand wringing.
- Design slow change, overcoming inertia.