

Housing and Health

Introduction

Historically, there has been recognised a direct relationship between substandard accommodation and poor health. The Industrial Revolution in Britain resulted in low standard working-class housing being built quickly to meet this increase in demand for workers. Over-crowded dwellings, inadequate sanitation and a proclivity to dispose of all forms of waste in cesspools, rivers and the street resulted in severe epidemics of many illnesses, predominantly those which are waterborne. In the preface of *Oliver Twist* (Dickens, 1839 [1994]), the author summarises the problem effectively by stating:

I am convinced that nothing effectual can be done for the elevation of the poor in England until their dwelling places are made decent and wholesome. This reform must proceed all other social reforms, without it those classes of the people which increase the fastest, must become so desperate and be made so miserable, as to bear within themselves the certain seeds of ruin to the whole community (Dickens, 1839).

Many of the most significant improvements in health have resulted from progression in public health reform, most notably clean water, sanitation, and reduced exposure to extreme cold associated with improved accommodation. However, the second half of the twentieth century has seen a decline in political interest in the issue of poor housing, despite overwhelming evidence of the health consequences of poor housing and increasing economic disparity among different social groups (Potvin, *et. al.*, 2002). While there has been a dramatic improvement in general health in industrial countries over the last century, some sections of society still live in poverty-stricken conditions, with indications that the divergence between rich and poor is increasing (Stanwell-Smith, 2003). Economically deprived communities frequently reside in inferior housing and unsanitary environments, and these conditions are directly associated with the common health problems reported in such populations. There currently exists a substantial body of research into the many relationships between housing and health status (Dunn, 2000). The majority of this research has focused on the connections between substandard and crowded housing conditions and incidence of injury, disease, and myriad physical ailments.

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Epidemiological studies have determined that certain contaminants in the residential environment, such as mould, dampness, and pest antigens, can cause or exacerbate a range of respiratory problems (Bornehag, *et. al.*, 2005), particularly among children and the elderly. Structural deficiencies, overcrowding, poor ventilation, inappropriate ambient temperatures and low-quality construction and maintenance have been directly linked to excessive incidences of infectious diseases, asthma,

respiratory infections, injuries and an overall shortening of lifespan. Exposure to environmental hazards, such as carbon monoxide, pesticides, inadequately maintained utilities, and tobacco smoke, tends to be greater within socially and economically deprived areas, and accounts for a number of serious health issues (Klitzman, *et. al.*, 2005).

The UK and Ireland have both a high rate of poverty and the worst birth weight in deprived areas compared to any other Western European country (Sandwell-Smith, 2003). The English House Condition Survey showed that 1,522,000 UK dwellings did not meet the required suitability standards (EHCS, 1996). For many already deprived communities, the only housing available is substandard. The World Health Organisation (WHO) recommends that, during cold weather, ambient room temperature should remain constant at 18-20°C (WHO, 2005), however, it is estimated that 40% of the UK population resides in temperatures below these guidelines. Similarly, the UK has 19% of cold, damp housing compared to the 9% recorded in Germany (EHCS, 1996). Despite some measure adopted by local governments, housing policy remains insufficient in many areas. For example, insulation of properties is recognised as a cost-effective intervention that could increase ambient room temperatures while decreasing fuel costs for poverty-stricken communities, however, the Warm Front scheme, which provides funding for insulation, is not available to pregnant women and young children. Despite repeated evidence of the effects of poor housing, and associated lack of heating, on public health interventions remain insufficient.

The population of Europe had expanded by approximately 2.5% between 1990 and 1998 (WHO), with growth more prevalent within the south. Eastern Europe is considered poorer, with increasing rates of unemployment (WHO, 2002). Comparatively, eastern Europe had proportionately higher incidences of injury, nutritional deficiencies, and cardiovascular and infectious diseases. Similarly, the EU nations have a lower proportion of large households and a high proportion of single person households; the resulting housing densities within the eastern countries can account for the higher rate of substandard health levels (WHO, 2002).

Affordable accommodation for poverty-stricken families is generally restricted to housing with inferior physical properties (Dunn, 2000), often in surroundings with socio-environmental problems detrimental to physical and psychological well-being. This housing tends to be concentrated in specific and discrete locations, resulting in a form of segregation for low-income communities, often with poor access to employment, leading to socially deprived neighbourhoods (Potvin, *et. al.*, 2002). Neighbourhoods that are unsafe, with limited access to essential goods and services and few opportunities for social integration, also pose health risks (Klitzman, *et. al.*, 2005), particularly for the poor, the elderly, and other vulnerable groups. Although technically affordable, accommodation for poorer families can be disproportionately expensive, and the payment of large rental or mortgage costs from already meagre finances can result in less disposable income for fuel, food and other basic necessities (EHCS, 1996). Obesity is a familiar health issue associated with poverty; a consequence of low incomes

and inexpensive inferior, high fat, high salt diets. Consequentially, it has been determined that people with serious health issues are far more likely to occupy the least health-promoting segments of the housing market, which may, in turn, exacerbate their health problems. A broad cross-section of the community is no longer provided for with regards to the social housing sector, and has become characterised by deprivation and social exclusion (Curtis, 2004). The owner-occupier sector has expanded, and now includes more people on low income than ever before (EHCS, 1996). The resulting increase in stress as a result of mortgage debt, arrears and repossession is a major public health issue, and one which is rarely addressed.

Low-income and poverty-stricken households tend to move residences more frequently than middle and upper income families. Numerous studies show negative associations between residential mobility and behavioural and cognitive problems, particularly in developing children (Dunn, 2000). In turn, inadequate housing may influence individuals' health and mental well-being by increasing their level of stress as they are affected by security and long-term stability (Curtis, 2004).

Children

Low quality housing distinctly affects the most vulnerable sections of society: children, the elderly, and the mentally and physically impaired. During physical and psychological development, children are more at risk; poor housing and living environments can lead to permanent health issues for the child. Crowded living conditions can result in easier transmission of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis (Curtis, 2004), and higher incidences of respiratory illness, such as bronchitis and asthma, particularly when residence is shared with smokers. Excessive noise can result in sleep deprivation, which in turn can affect growth and psychological well-being of children, and similarly, can have various negative psychological effects on adults and children alike, including irritability, aggression, depression and inability to concentrate, which is reported to contribute to family tensions and potentially violence.

The health and well-being of children are closely related to housing quality, suitability and affordability. Housing is a key component of both the physical and social environments in which children live, and it plays both a direct and indirect role in the achievement of positive development. Studies indicate that stable, safe and secure housing is vital to children's healthy development (Board of Science and Education, 2003). Faulty structure and inadequate heating, for example, can cause accidental injuries (English House Condition Survey (EHCS), 1996); fire is one of the leading causes of accidental death among children in developed countries. Factors affecting the health of children include the cost, quality, tenure and stability of the housing, along with the neighbourhood environment in which the child resides.

The elderly

Longevity of society in the developed world has increased over the past century. However, studies have established that lifespan is positively influenced by living in appropriate, affordable and safe housing of good quality. Housing is linked to many of the twelve determinants of an elderly person's health as identified by international health committees, including physical environment, social environment, lifestyle and health care, income and social status.

Poor housing contributes towards greater mortality rates among the elderly in winter, and greater incidences of avoidable accidents within the home and the local neighbourhood. High susceptibility to illnesses, particularly respiratory problems, associated with old age may be greatly exacerbated by inferior housing, and can result in a much higher hospital admission rate and mortality rate than seen in the same age group living in better quality accommodation.

Disabilities

Difficulties in accessing and maintaining housing can be acute for people with physical disabilities. Internationally, there are definite obstacles with regards to affordable housing deficiencies, and physically disabled individuals confront specific barriers in securing and retaining safe and suitable accommodation. By the 1970s, advances in medicine and technology began to prolong the lives of physically disabled adults, however, housing for these individuals was primarily limited to nursing homes; a problem which still exists. As a result of this shortage of appropriate housing, many of these people remain in long-term care facilities rather than living independently, regardless of their specific disability.

Homelessness

The relationship between homelessness and mental and physical health are irrefutable. Regardless of geography, homelessness is associated with higher incidences of accidental and non-accidental trauma, addictions, sexual assault, and a plethora of physical health conditions, including tuberculosis, skin infections and conditions, and poor blood circulation (Curtis, 2004). Rates of mental illness among the adult homeless population within the developed world are estimated at between 10 and 50 percent. In a relatively recent study conducted among the homeless male population of Toronto, Canada, mortality rates were significantly higher compared to other Toronto social groups. Mortality rates were established at eight times higher among men aged 18 to 24 years, four times higher among men aged 25 to 44 years, and twice as high among men aged 45 to 64 years (Hwang, 1999).

Countless studies have previously determined a specific connection between homelessness and severely diminished health levels among any given population (Hwang, 1999). Access to appropriate, affordable housing offers benefits beyond the basic necessity of shelter, including improved health and well-being, and reduced levels of mental health disorders.

Conclusion

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1948)

In the European Region, addressing inequities in health has been fundamental to the work of WHO and features prominently in the targets for 'health for all' (WHO, 2002). Despite these efforts, however, there is critical recognition that poverty itself is a distinct and serious problem. Poverty-stricken communities, regardless of geographic location, suffer from inadequate housing, a deficiency in remunerative employment and the insufficient means to guarantee a nutritious diet. Consequentially, poor health is predominant within low-income sections of society, and the location of affordable housing frequently results in marginalisation, social exclusion (Curtis, 2004) and the associative mental health issues.

Central and eastern European populations with transitional and often instable economies are particularly at risk as a result of social poverty and inferior public health, predominantly as a result of the inability to provide payment to new health care systems. Many subsections of society are high-risk with regards to poor housing and health, and numerous groups, including children, the elderly, people with mental illness, and displaced indigenous communities, such as Aboriginal peoples, rely on suitable housing to provide access to other forms of support and interventions with broader, positive individual and social effects (Curtis, 2004).

There is conclusive evidence that habitation in substandard housing environments and experience of poor socio-economic circumstances during childhood negatively influences health status in adulthood. Vulnerable groups, including the elderly, the very young and those suffering from long-term ill health, are at specific risk, particularly as they often have diminished immune systems and the greatest exposure to many specific hazards due to the lengthy periods that they spend indoors (Klitzman, et. al., 2005). Insufficient amenities, shared facilities and overcrowding are very much a concern with infectious disease, while damp and mould can cause various debilitating respiratory problems (Bornehag, et. al., 2005). However, the debate around housing and health tends to be concerned with discussion of the direct course from poor housing to health (Dunn, 2000). There is much less consideration of the indirect effects of poor housing upon health, such as social exclusion (Curtis, 2004) and depression, and psycho-social aetiologies of disease are frequently overlooked. However, in recent years socio-economic determinants of health have returned to policy debates and housing circumstances are, once again, identified as a critical influence upon public health (Board of Science and Education, 2003). Epidemiological studies have recently shifted focus towards a broader-ranging perspective with regard to poverty, health and quality of life, which presents the potential of enhanced understanding of the determinants of health status.

As with many health determinants, the quality of accommodation is directly related to income. Minimising the adverse effects of poor housing remains a major challenge. Health disparities are not reducing in the UK, and the worst health is experienced by the most socially and economically deprived (Stanwell-Smith, 2003). As in the nineteenth century, there is a profound need for concerted public health reform. Central to this must be improved living standards and prevention of ill health.

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