

Density  
and Urban  
Neighbourhoods  
in London

Detailed Report



Enterprise LSE  
**Cities**



# Density and Urban Neighbourhoods in London

Minerva LSE  
Research Group

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This Detailed Report, which contains the core research data for the study on Density and Urban Neighbourhoods in London, should be read as an appendix to the main Summary Report published in a separate volume.

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# Table of contents

## **Part A Greater London analysis**

Introduction	3
Residential density	4
Surface area analysis	10
Transport and mobility	16
Socio-economic analysis	28
Glossary and Bibliography	32

## **Part B Methodology and selection process**

Methodology	37
The 15 selected wards	40
Catalogue	52

## **Part C Socio-spatial analysis**

Introduction	131
Summary of key findings	143
Social analysis by area	153
Bibliography	215
Appendices	217
Spatial analysis	226

## **Part D Quantitative Survey**

Introduction	273
Summary of main findings	276
Quality of life	278
Lifestyle	290
Social and community dynamics	296
Attitudes towards density	299
The main trade-offs	303
Statistical analysis	307
Testing hypotheses	315
Statistical reliability	319
Questionnaire: Attitudes of urban density	320

## **Part E Literature review**

Urban sociology notes	341
Urban economics notes	343
Abstracts	345
Bibliography	367



Metropolitan analysis

Greater London analysis

Part A



## I Introduction

This appendix on residential density in Greater London serves as an introduction to the qualitative and quantitative research that was carried out in five neighbourhoods within Greater London. It provides quantitative information for all Greater London wards with a focus on residential density. Socio-economic variables related to residential density are presented as well, primarily based upon information provided by the 2001 Census.

The focal point of this appendix is a GIS-based analysis of socio-economic indicators at ward level. This has been supplemented by correlation studies between these indicators and residential density, including a Pearson's correlation analysis. The Pearson correlation coefficient measures the strength and direction of a linear relationship between the X and Y variables.

For the mapping of each indicator, an equal count representation of ten different ranges was selected. In this manner, the maps provide a high level of information about the distribution of each range. However, differences between each range can vary significantly and therefore tend to exaggerate the pattern of each indicator.

## 2 Residential density

### 2.1 Measures of residential densities

Densities based on the amount of people are used to characterise areas of different sizes, from the scale of a neighbourhood to that of a nation. At larger scales, the percentage of actual inhabited space decreases since large areas of non-residential land is included in the total area. Therefore, there is a tendency for densities to decrease as the area of investigation increases. For example, the Greater London Wards Average is 66 pers./ha; the Greater London Borough Average is 61 pers./ha; the Greater London is 46 pers./ha; whereas for England the average is 38 pers./ha. It is therefore misleading to compare density figures across different scales, indicated by using different units of measurement. The unit “persons per hectare” (pers./ha, called “residential density”) is used for areas up to the borough or local authority level and the unit “persons per square kilometre” (pers./km<sup>2</sup>, called “population density”) for metropolitan scales and above. The latter is often characterized as “town density” which is defined by the TCPA as “the overall gross residential density of an entire settlement or discrete urban area, with no part omitted” [TCPA. 2003]. This leads to the important differentiation between gross and net residential density which have to be distinguished for all scales.

The gross residential density is calculated by dividing the total number of people living in an area by the total surface area. Therefore, “gross residential densities also include certain nearby non-residential developments, in order to reflect the amount of services and amenities such as schools and parks that are needed to support the housing element” [TCPA. 2003].

The net residential density is calculated by dividing the total number of people living in an area by the total land area devoted to residential use. Depending on the scale, the residential land use area excludes the following: at the scale of the neighbourhood, it excludes all public space, such as roads, pavements, and public open space. At the scale of the borough and city the “inhabited surface” excludes major parks and open spaces only. “Net residential densities refer exclusively to the land covered by residential development, with any gardens and other spaces that are physically included in it, and usually half the width of any adjacent roads” [TCPA. 2003]. For the purpose of this study, any surface dedicated to roads, services and amenities was not included in the calculation of the net residential density.

## 2.2 Greater London town density and average gross population density of Greater London wards



Map 1:  
**Built-up area of Greater London**

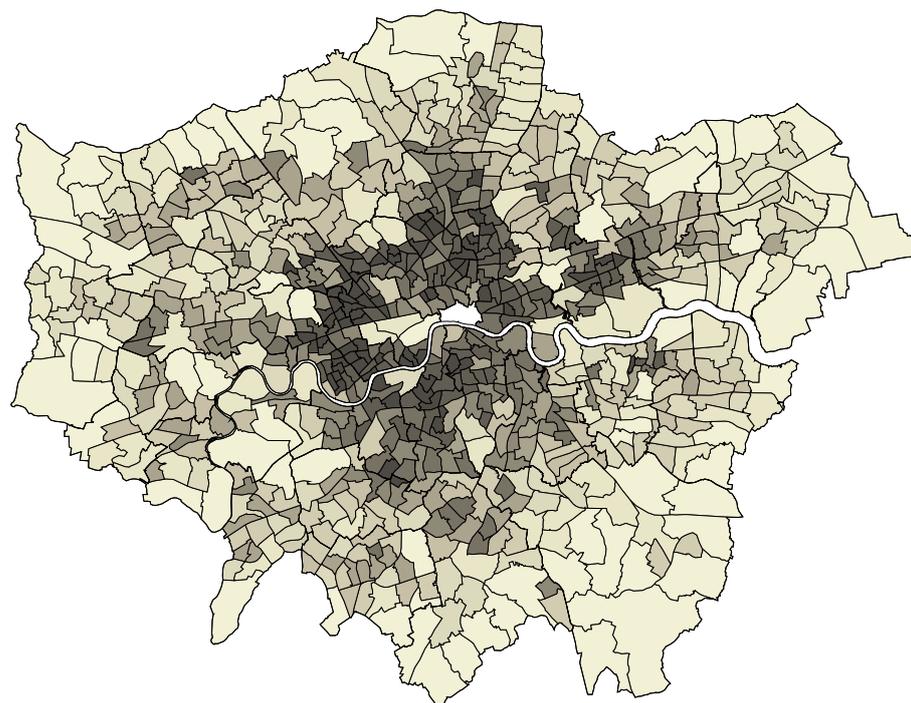
- Built-up area (1,068 km<sup>2</sup>)
- Major parks and open space (505 km<sup>2</sup>)

Map 1 illustrates the different land areas used to calculate the gross and the net town density for Greater London, as listed in Table 1. There is a significant difference between the *Greater London gross population density (town density)* of 4,559 pers./km<sup>2</sup> [46 pers./ha] and the *average gross population density of Greater London wards* of 66 pers./ha. This results from the variation in land area amongst wards, due to the fact that ward boundaries are determined by population count, not by area. As a result ward size, in land area terms, varies by factors as great as 100. (Ward populations, in comparison, vary by a factor of 8). Large wards with relatively low densities and high percentages of open space have a significant impact on calculating the *Greater London town density* because of their large area. This significance is reduced when calculating the *average gross population density of Greater London wards*. Here, the weight is the same as that of a small ward in the city centre with the same number of residents but a much higher density. Therefore the *average gross population density of Greater London wards* reflects much more accurately the degree of density as perceived by residents of the city.

Population of Greater London	7,172,091
Gross Population Density based on total Greater London area (1,573 km <sup>2</sup> )	4,559 pers./ km <sup>2</sup>
Net Population Density based on built area of Greater London (1,068 km <sup>2</sup> )	6,715 pers./ km <sup>2</sup>

Table 1:  
**Greater London key density statistics (2001 Census)**

### 2.3 Residential densities of Greater London wards

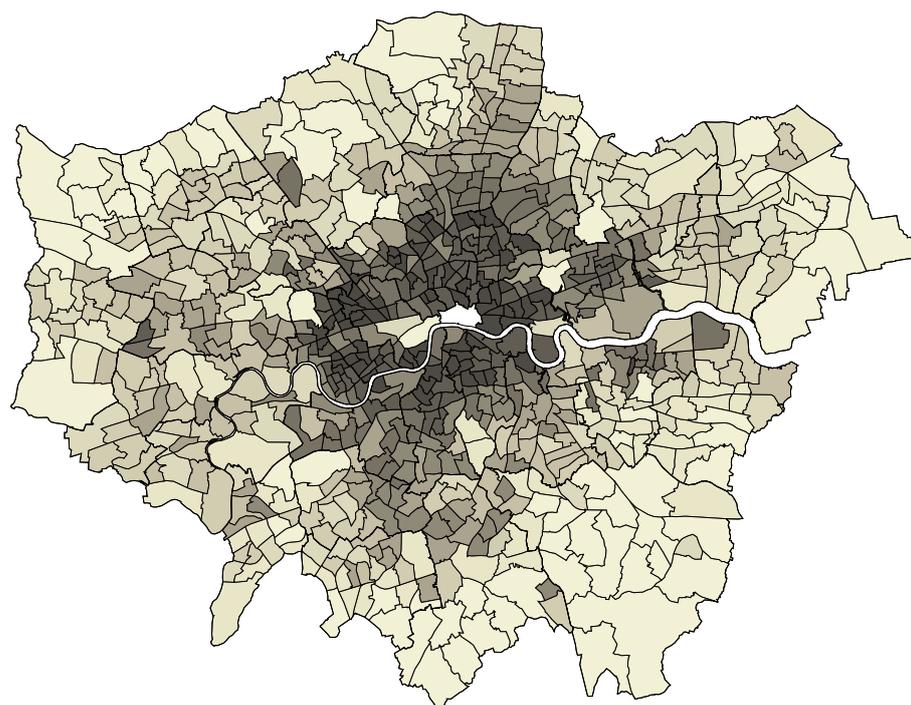


Map 2:  
**Gross residential  
density [pers./ha]**

Source: Oxford University 1998

■	134.6 to 256.8	(75)
■	105.2 to 134.6	(77)
■	85.7 to 105.2	(76)
■	73.7 to 85.7	(75)
■	62.2 to 73.7	(77)
■	53.2 to 62.2	(75)
■	45.3 to 53.2	(75)
■	36.9 to 45.3	(76)
■	26 to 36.9	(76)
■	1.4 to 26	(77)

Map 2 shows the gross residential density according to 1998 Greater London ward boundaries. The legend states in brackets the number of wards of each category. The highest densities, exceeding 100 pers./ha, can be found in a ring around Central London with clusters in Hammersmith and Fulham, north and south Westminster, Camden Town, Islington, Elephant and Castle, and Central Lambeth. Relatively low gross residential densities of about 30 pers./ha reflect the dominance in those areas of office and retail space, as well as the presence of major central parks.



Map 3:  
**Net residential  
density [pers./ha]**

Source: Oxford University 1998  
(population), ODPM 2003 (built area)

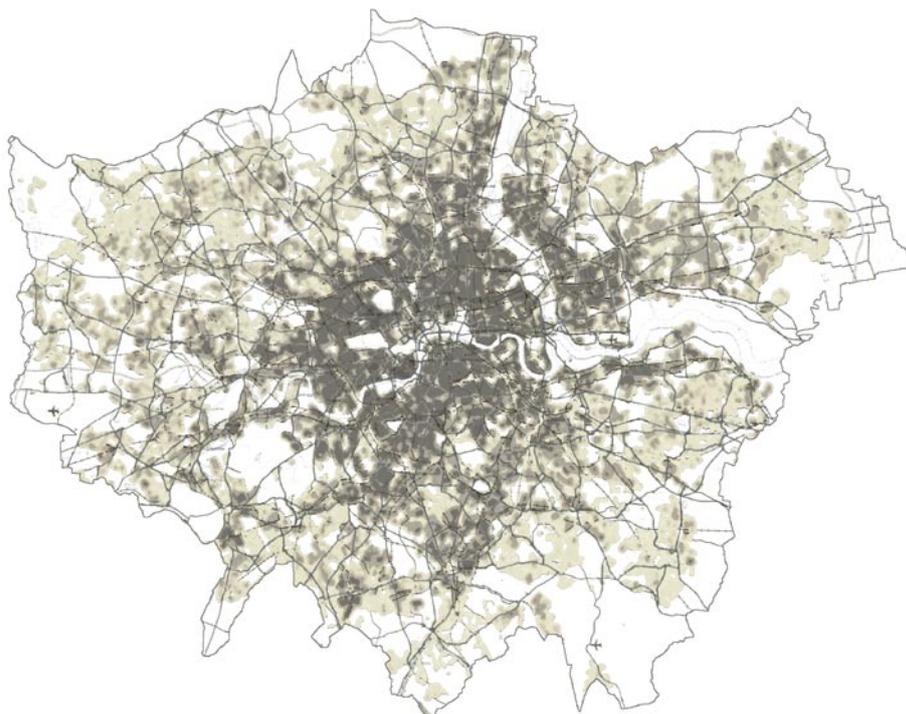
■	219.3 to 429.6	(77)
■	170.9 to 219.3	(77)
■	140.4 to 170.9	(76)
■	120.1 to 140.4	(76)
■	103.4 to 120.1	(73)
■	89.9 to 103.4	(75)
■	82 to 89.9	(77)
■	70.7 to 82	(77)
■	60.2 to 70.7	(74)
■	16.8 to 60.2	(77)

Further, six corridors of higher population density stretch into Outer London. These extend from 1) Tower Hamlets to Barking Town Centre, 2) from Islington to Enfield, 3) from Kilburn to Cricklewood, 4) from Westminster to Ealing, 5) from Lambeth to Croydon and 6) from Southwark to Bexley. Here gross density levels normally remain above 50 pers./ha whereas levels in areas between and along the outer fringe of Greater London drop to far below 20 pers./ha.

Comparing these results with those in Map 3, which shows the net residential density by ward, the overall pattern appears less scattered and more of the density changes are less abrupt. East London and Tower Hamlets, in particular, appear more dense due to the subtraction of land dedicated to parks and non-residential land uses. Still, the density corridors are visible, especially in the Islington to Enfield case. More generally, net density levels tend to vary more strongly with distance from the city centre.

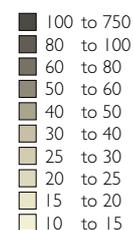
## 2.4 Residential density at post box level

The most precise representation of net density levels was prepared by the ODPM on the basis of Royal Mail address points (Map 4). Here, concentrations of residents are clearly shown, independent of non-residential land uses (parks, etc.). High density levels seem to reach much further into Central London, leaving out only major parks and the business centres of the City and parts of Westminster. The stark divide created by the Lea Valley, which was not visible in any of the other representations becomes even more obvious than the River Thames. The Lea Valley separates two areas of high density and creates a very low-density buffer with hardly any housing units at all. Finally, the higher density development corridors along major roads and railway lines are clearly shown, as are the six major corridors stretching into Outer London.

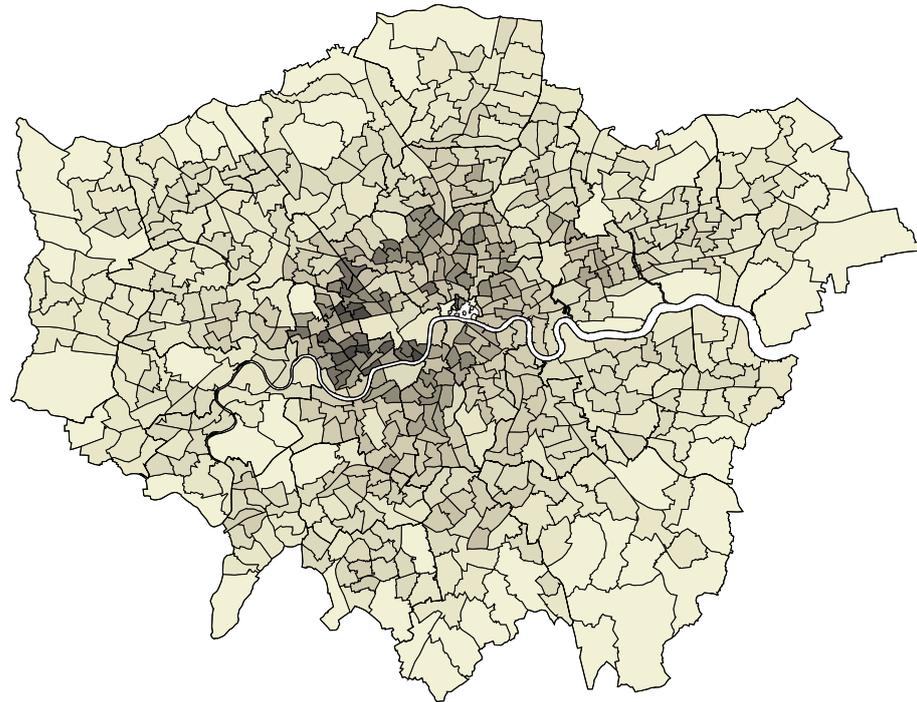


Map 4:  
**Net household density [hh/ha]  
based on  
Royal Mail address points**

Source: ODPM 2003



## 2.5 Dwelling density

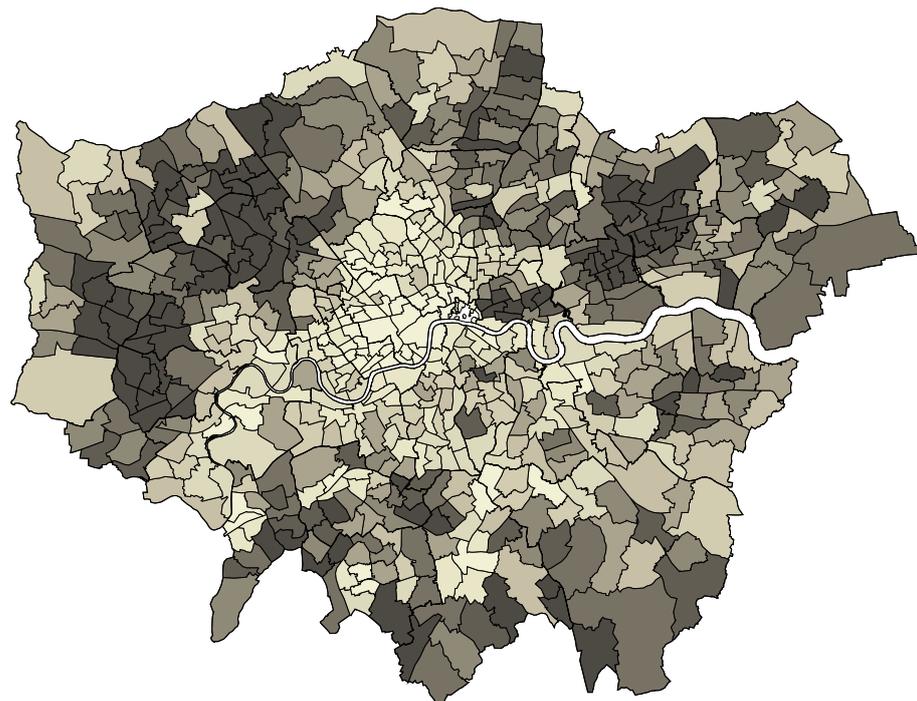


Map 5:  
**Dwelling Density [dw./ha]**

Source: Census 2001

100 to 150	(5)
80 to 100	(7)
70 to 80	(17)
60 to 70	(28)
50 to 60	(44)
40 to 50	(57)
30 to 40	(93)
20 to 30	(164)
10 to 20	(157)
0 to 10	(61)

Map 5 shows the gross dwelling density expressed as dwellings per hectare for each Greater London ward (2003 ward boundaries), and represented by categories of specific density levels. Again, a ring of higher density around Central London is visible. Map 6 shows the average household size for each ward. Higher rates of more than 2.4 persons prevail in Outer London, whereas in areas closer to the centre average household sizes decrease significantly, falling below 2 persons in some areas.

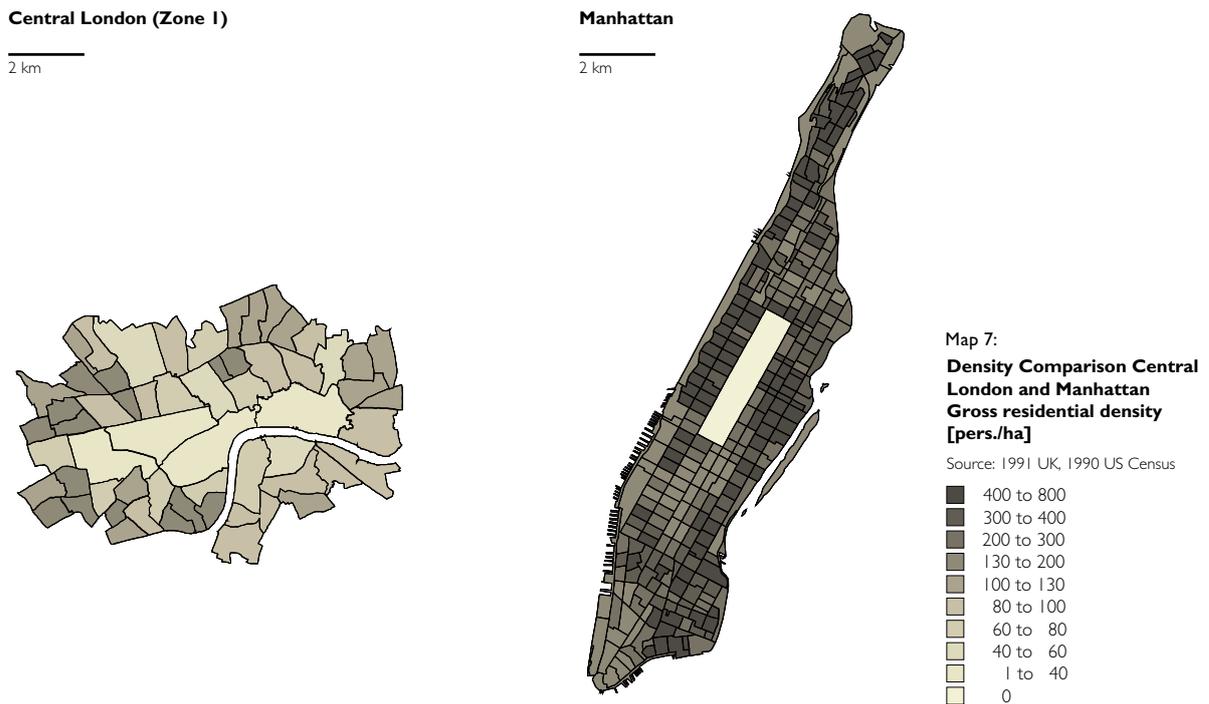


Map 6:  
**Household Size**

Source: Census 2001

2.59 to 3.59	(98)
2.53 to 2.59	(50)
2.46 to 2.53	(60)
2.41 to 2.46	(56)
2.35 to 2.41	(63)
2.3 to 2.35	(48)
2.25 to 2.3	(60)
2.16 to 2.25	(70)
2.03 to 2.16	(64)
1.28 to 2.03	(64)

## 2.6 Comparing residential density levels in Central London and Manhattan



	Central London	Manhattan
Area	51.6 km <sup>2</sup>	54 km <sup>2</sup>
Residents	422,000	1,537,000
Workplaces	1,398,000	2,060,000
Gross residential density	82 pers./ha	284 pers./ha

**Table 2:**  
**Key density statistics for Central London and Manhattan**

By world city standards, London neighbourhoods exhibit low residential density levels. Map 7 shows the great density difference between Central London and central New York City (Manhattan): the lowest density levels in Manhattan equate to the highest in London. Many areas in Manhattan possess population density levels far above 400 pers./ha, whereas areas of 200 pers./ha in Central London are among the densest. Table 2 further explores the town density of Manhattan and Central London, both areas of just above 50 km<sup>2</sup>. Central London shows a density of 82 pers./ha whereas Manhattan's density of 284 pers./ha is more than three times as high.

### 3 Surface area analysis

The following maps and figures were produced based on a study conducted by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister [ODPM. 01/08/2003] for the London metropolitan region, which included an analysis of different surface uses at ward level. Based on these data, ward level GIS maps for Greater London were produced and a correlation analysis with the residential density was conducted.

For each Greater London ward (1998 ward boundaries) the percentage of the following land use areas were made available:

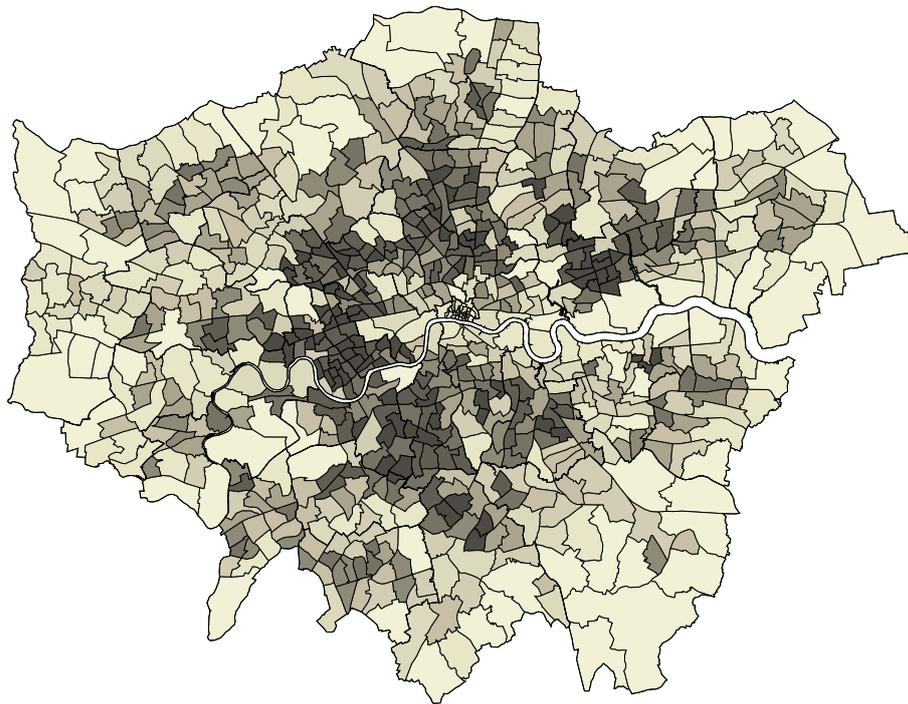
- Area for domestic buildings
- Area for non-domestic buildings
- Area for private gardens
- Area for public green space
- Area for roads

This classification is based on the Generalised Land Use Classification (GLUC) [ODPM. 01/03/2004] in which all buildings are classified as either domestic or non-domestic, based on the OS MasterMap. A building is classified as non-domestic if any of the following conditions are met:

- a) it is adjacent to an area of hard-standing which is more than 300 m<sup>2</sup>;
- b) it contains an address point with a business name; or
- c) it has an area greater than 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> and contains no address point.

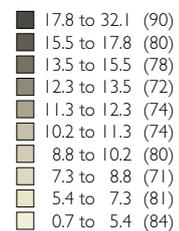
Given this methodology it is, unfortunately, possible that some school buildings, or parts thereof, for example, might be classed as domestic.

### 3.1 Percentage of area for domestic buildings



Map 8:  
**Percentage of area for domestic buildings [%]**

Source: ODPM 2003



Map 8 shows that areas with a high percentage of domestic buildings cluster in a U-shape around Central London, which opens towards the east and the Thames Gateway. In this “U”, up to 30% of the land is dedicated to domestic buildings, in contrast to less than 10% in outer areas of the city and along the Thames Gateway.

The percentage of surface for domestic buildings correlates strongly with gross residential density by a factor of 0.779 (Figure 1). This indicates that higher residential densities are achieved primarily through larger land areas dedicated to residential building coverage.

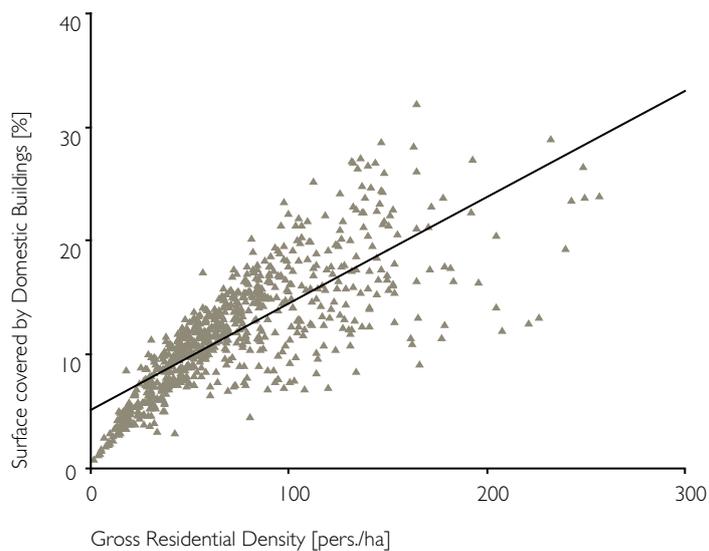
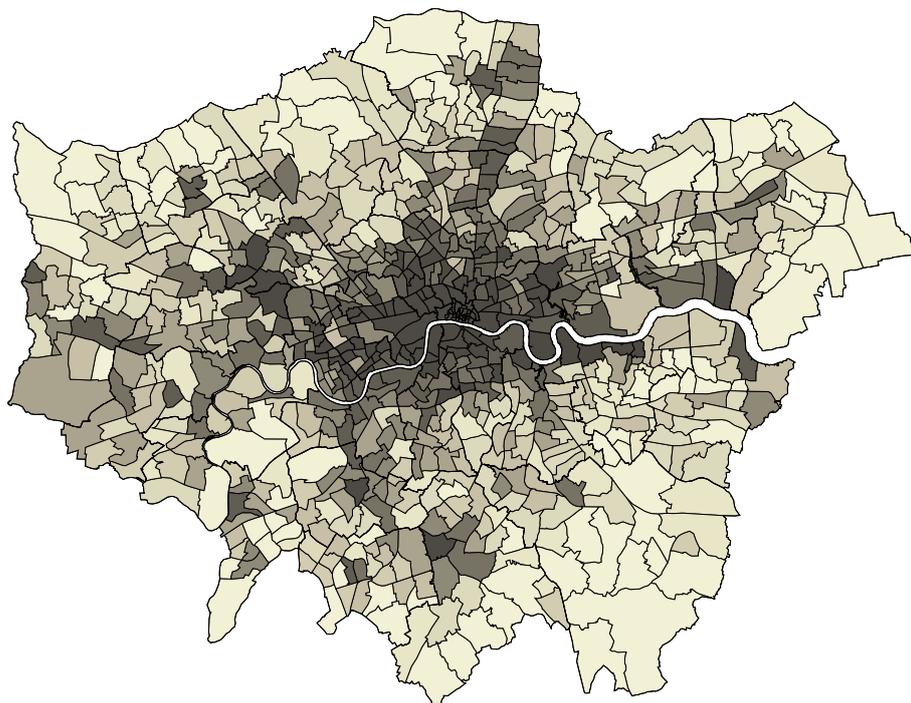


Figure 1:  
**Scatterplot of surface covered by domestic buildings and gross residential density**

Source: ODPM 2003

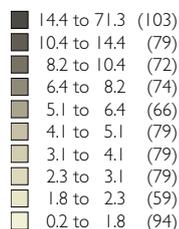
**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.799**

### 3.2 Percentage of area for non-domestic buildings



Map 9:  
**Percentage of area for non-domestic buildings [%]**

Source: ODPM 2003



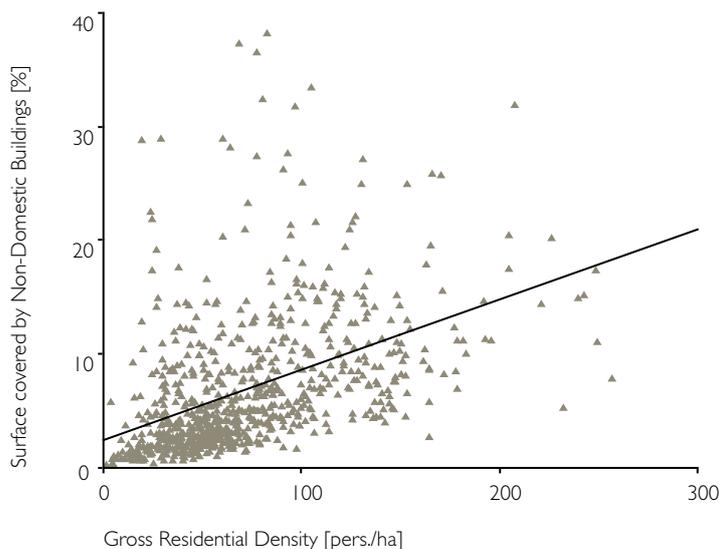
Central London, in relation to Greater London, possesses the highest percentages of surface area dedicated to non-domestic buildings (Map 9). However, similar patterns can be found eastwards along the Thames and in many Outer London town centres where non-residential buildings cover more than 10% of the ground.

Although not directly related to each other, the percentage of surface area covered by non-domestic buildings correlates with gross population density by a factor of 0.451 (Figure 2). This indicates the relevance of mixed-use neighbourhoods in the Greater London context.

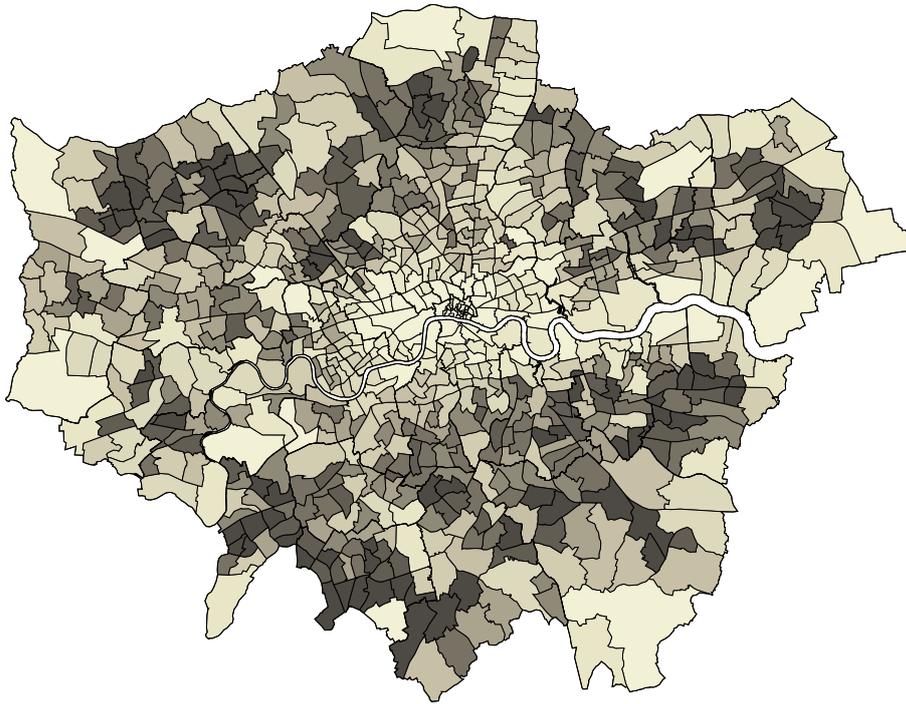
Figure 2:  
**Scatterplot of surface covered by non-domestic buildings and gross residential density**

Source: ODPM 2003

**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.451**

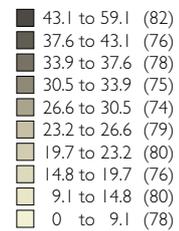


### 3.3 Percentage of area for gardens



Map 10:  
Percentage of area for gardens [%]

Source: ODPM 2003



In a similar way to the domestic buildings, but further from Central London, the higher percentages of surface area covered by gardens cluster in a U-shape that opens towards the Thames Gateway (Map 10). Around the fringe of Greater London percentages again decrease due to larger areas of open land.

The correlation between the percentage of garden space and gross population density is only -0.95 (Figure 3). However, for densities above 100 pers./ha, gardens do not cover more than 40% of the surface area, in contrast to some wards of approximately 40 pers./ha where gardens comprise up to 60% of the total area.

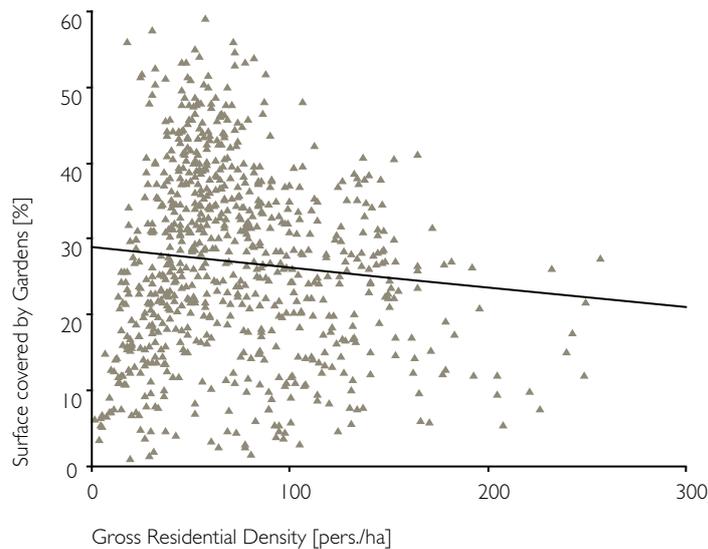
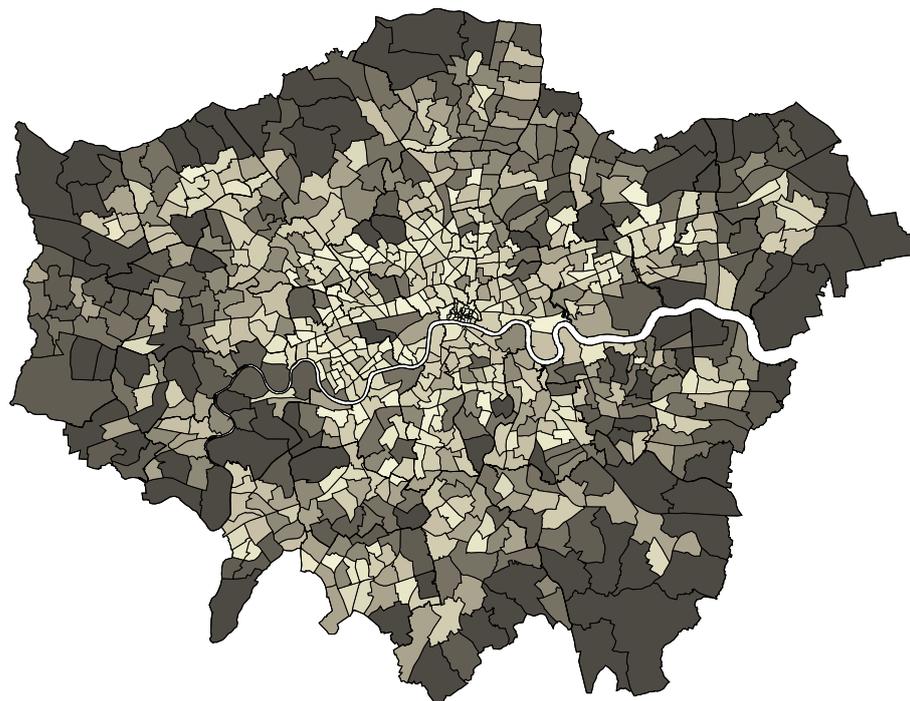


Figure 3:  
Scatterplot of surface covered by gardens and gross residential density

Source: ODPM 2003

Significant correlation  
Pearson's coefficient: -0.095

### 3.4 Percentage of area for green space



Map II:  
**Percentage of area  
for green space [%]**

Source: ODPM 2003

50.0 to 91.2	(83)
37.8 to 50.0	(79)
30.1 to 37.8	(75)
24.7 to 30.1	(79)
20.9 to 24.7	(77)
17.7 to 20.9	(77)
14.4 to 17.7	(80)
11.5 to 14.4	(74)
8.1 to 11.5	(76)
0.1 to 8.1	(82)

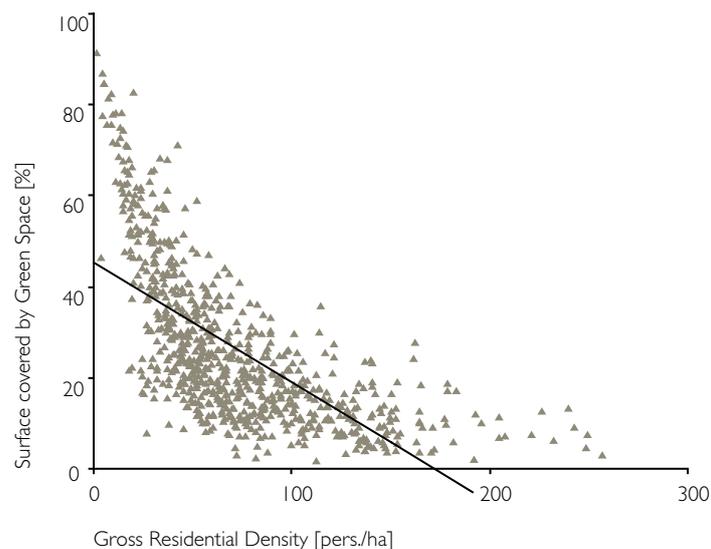
Map II illustrates how the level of green space increases with distance from the city centre. Whereas the core of the city tends to have levels of about 10% green space (major parks excepted), large wards located around the edge of Greater London quite often have more than 50% green space.

This also results in the strong negative correlation of -0.671 between the percentage of green space area and gross population density (Figure 4). For density levels above 100 pers./ha, green space ratios fall below 40%, whereas above 200 pers./ha these fall to below 20%.

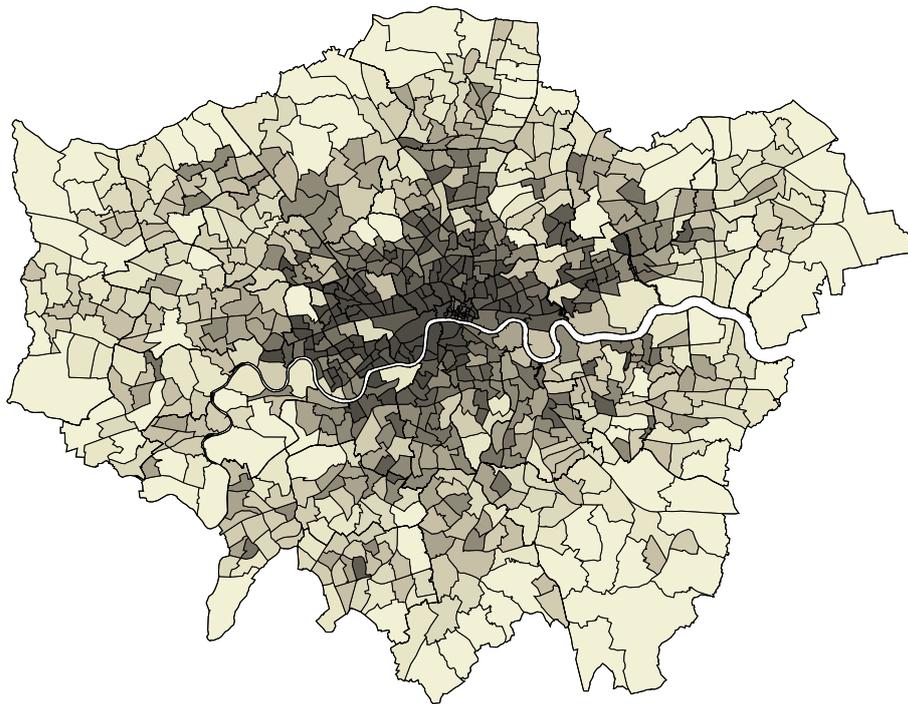
Figure 4:  
**Scatterplot of surface covered  
by green space and  
gross residential density**

Source: ODPM 2003

**Significant correlation  
Pearson's coefficient: -0.671**



### 3.5 Percentage of area for roads



Map 12:  
**Percentage of Area for Roads [%]**

Source: ODPM 2003

23.5 to 58.2	(103)
21.6 to 23.5	(70)
19.6 to 21.6	(70)
17.6 to 19.6	(77)
16.1 to 17.6	(74)
14.9 to 16.1	(82)
13.8 to 14.9	(69)
12.2 to 13.8	(75)
9.5 to 12.2	(80)
1.4 to 9.5	(84)

The highest percentages of road surface area (more than 20%) are concentrated in Central London. Map 12 also shows how road surface area decreases towards the city fringe in all directions. However, a scattering of higher road surface areas can be found in most town centres, both in Inner and Outer London. We conclude that area of road surface is directly linked to centres of activities.

Figure 5 indicates the strong correlation between road surface area and gross population density by a factor of 0.833. Densities above 100 pers./ha seem to require more than 10% of the surface for road infrastructure.

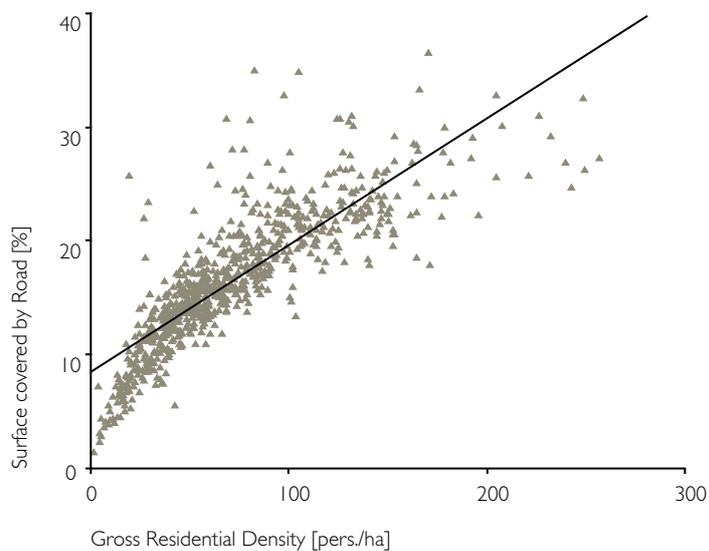


Figure 5:  
**Scatterplot of surface covered by roads and gross residential density**

Source: ODPM 2003

**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.833**

## 4 Transport and mobility

The UK Census 2001 provides two important ward-level figures to characterise transport and mobility patterns: “means of travel to work” and “number of cars or vans owned”. They are defined, respectively, by the Office for National Statistics as follows:

*“The means of travel used for the longest part, by distance, of the usual journey to work.”*

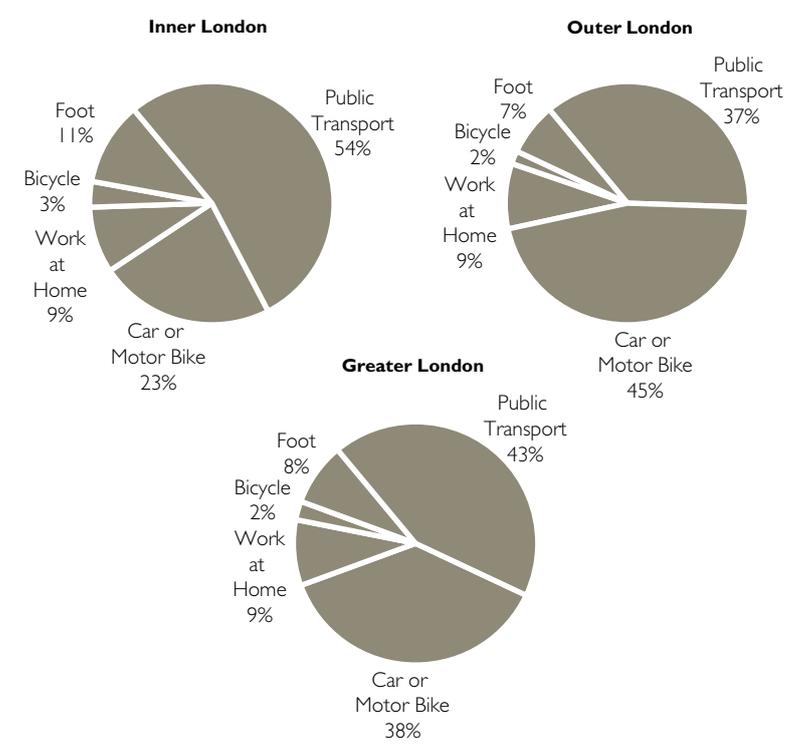
*“The number of cars or vans owned, or available for use, by one or more members of a household. It includes company cars and vans available for private use. The count of cars or vans in an area is based on details for private households only. Cars or vans used by residents of communal establishments are not counted. Households with 10 or more cars or vans are counted as having 10 cars or vans.” [ONS. 01/12/2003.]*

For the purposes of the analysis in this study, “public transport” is defined as Underground, metro, light rail or tram, train and bus, minibus or coach, and taxi. “Car or motorbike” is defined as driving a car or a van, passenger in a car or van, and motorcycle scooter or moped.

As a general overview of the means of travel to work data, Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the modal split for Greater, Inner and Outer London. For both Inner and Outer London the use of public transport (GL avg. 43%) and private car (GL avg. 38%) dominates. Working from home (GL avg. 9%) and walking (GL avg. 8%) are relevant but minor patterns, whereas biking (GL avg. 2%) appears to be an uncommon mode of transport.

**Figure 6:**  
**Modal Split to work for Greater London**  
Source: Census 2001

**Total people in employment**  
Inner London 1,253,781  
Outer London 2,065,353  
Greater London 3,319,134



When comparing patterns of Inner and Outer London, the following trends become clear. In Inner London, car trips constitute less than a quarter of all trips (IL avg. 23%) and more than 50% of all work trips use public transport (IL avg. 54%). In Outer London, car use dominates (OL avg. 45%), while public transport use is significantly lower (OL avg. 37%). Figure 7 details the differences in public transport use and shows that only trips by train play a more significant role in Outer than in Inner London. Walking and biking are more likely to happen in Inner London and only working from home occurs at a similar level in both zones of Greater London.

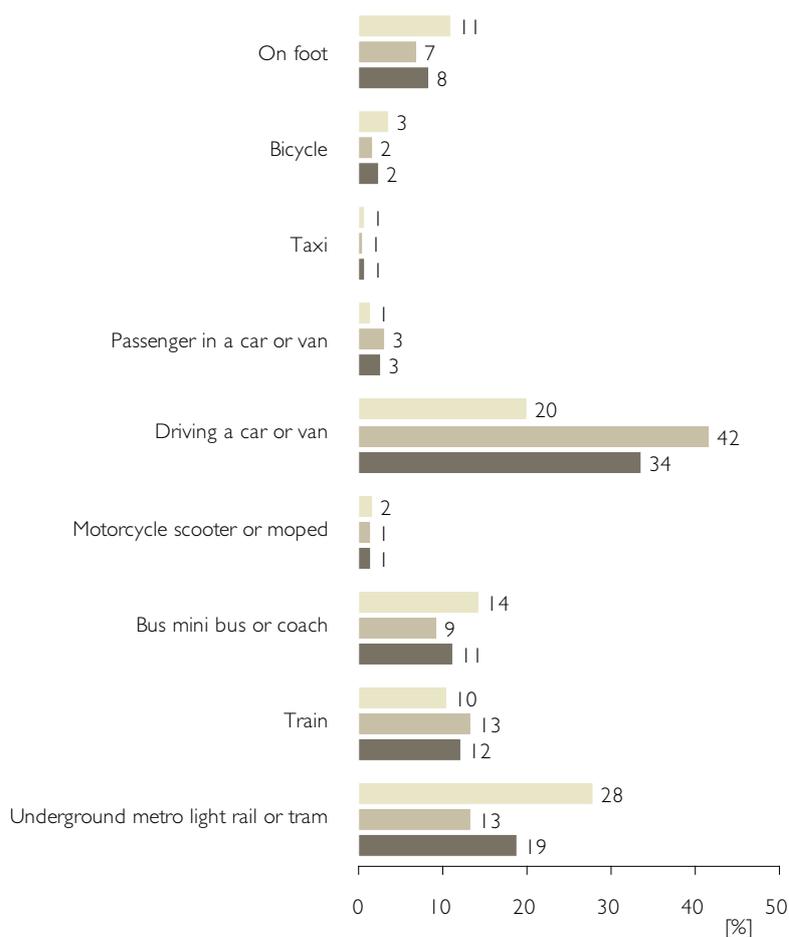


Figure 7:  
**Detailed Modal Split to work for Greater London**

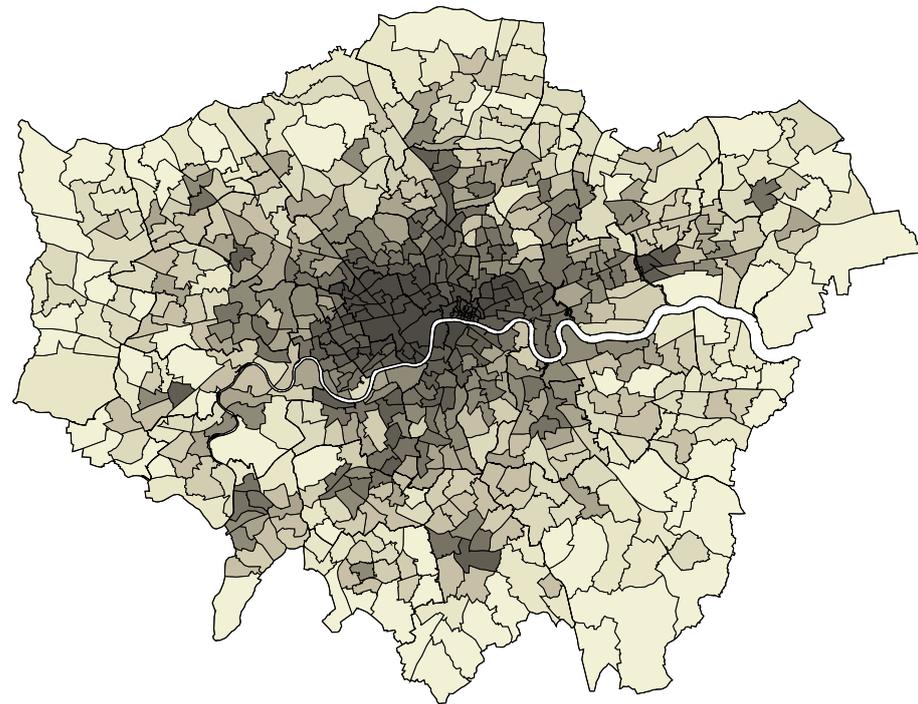
Source: Census 2001

**Total people in employment**  
**Inner London 1,253,781**  
**Outer London 2,065,353**  
**Greater London 3,319,134**

Inner London  
 Outer London  
 Greater London

The following subchapters describe in greater detail the geographical differences of mobility patterns for Greater London and explore correlations between mobility and residential density patterns.

#### 4.1 Public transport accessibility level



**Map 13:**  
**Public transport accessibility level [PTAL score]**

Source: Transport for London 2003

30.33 to 109.16	(64)
16.2 to 30.33	(66)
12.27 to 16.2	(65)
9.88 to 12.27	(65)
7.82 to 9.88	(65)
6.53 to 7.82	(64)
5.4 to 6.53	(65)
4.42 to 5.4	(63)
3.59 to 4.42	(67)
0.77 to 3.59	(65)

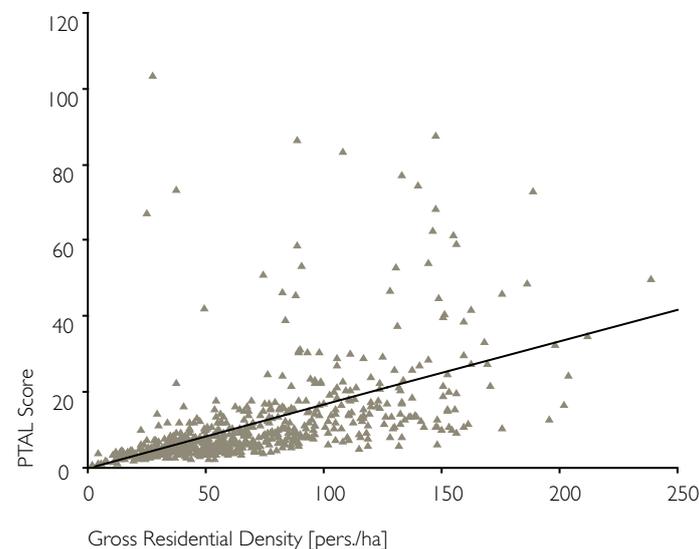
Public transport provision, expressed in Public Transport Accessibility Levels (PTALs) illustrates how the supply side influences passengers' modal choices, as measured on the basis of Greater London wards. PTALs and public transport trips to work correlate to a factor of 0.374. Map 13 shows the centrality of public transport provision with increasing levels from the city fringe to the city centre. Further, radial routes along public transport corridors and public transport nodes such as Barking, Croydon and Kingston Town Centre all indicate a higher level of public transport provision.

Figure 8 shows how PTAL scores are tied closely to gross residential density with a correlation factor of 0.520. Such a high correlation emphasises the degree of necessary interdependence between high residential density and public transport provision.

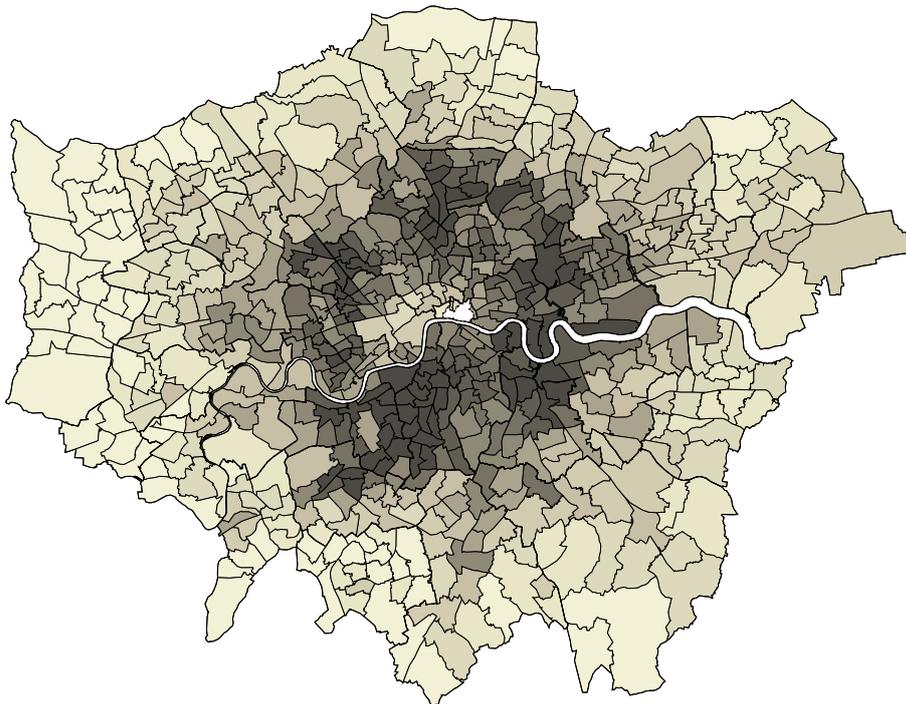
**Figure 8:**  
**Scatterplot of public transport accessibility levels (PTALs) and gross residential density**

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.520**

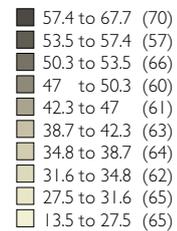


## 4.2 Travel to work by public transport



Map 14:  
Percentage of trips to work by public transport [%]

Source: Census 2001



Map 14 shows a ring of high public transport use of more than 50% around Central London with decreasing levels towards the boundary of Greater London, falling to less than 25%, and a similar decrease towards the centre with levels below 30%. Within this ring, Lambeth and Clapham, north Greenwich, the Docklands, west Newham, north Islington, and west Camden appear as pockets of extremely high public transport use, exceeding 57%. In the outer boroughs, levels remain higher along rail corridors with pockets of relatively high use in Croydon town centre and Kingston.

Map 14, with its ring around Central London resembles the map illustrating the gross residential density (Map 2). The correlation coefficient of 0.652 between public transport use and gross residential density is shown in Figure 9. Generally, the percentage of public transport trips remains above 40% at density levels of 100 pers./ha or more. At the same time, above this density level, the correlation appears to be no longer significant.

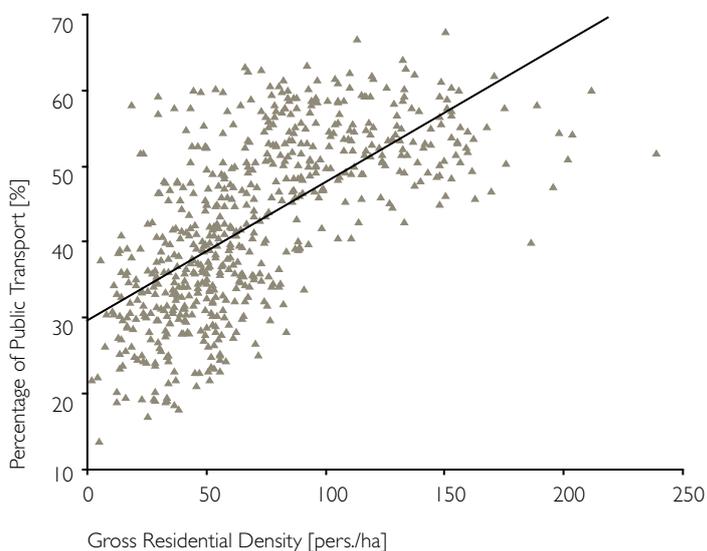
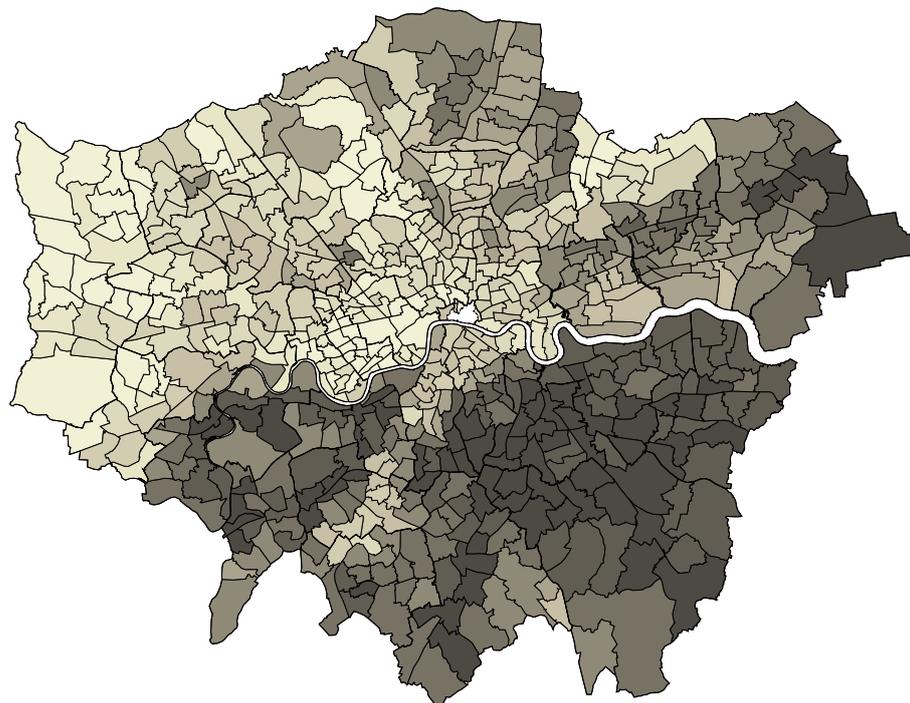


Figure 9:  
Scatterplot of trips to work by public transport and gross residential density

Source: Census 2001

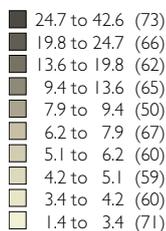
**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.652**

### 4.3 Travel to work by train



Map 15:  
**Percentage of trips to work  
by train [%]**

Source: Census 2001



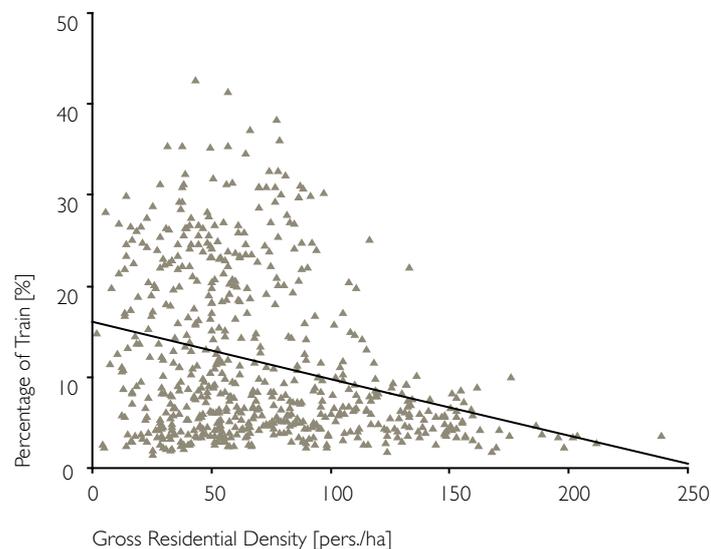
The levels of trips to work by train shown in Map 15, emphasise a London-typical pattern. The River Thames appears as a clear dividing line between areas of much less train commuting north of the river and those of higher levels (above 20%) to the south. In addition, increased commuting by train occurs in extreme northern and eastern areas of Greater London, as well as along radial corridors from these areas. The latter is a typical pattern of trips by train, which connect the city centre to outer, less dense areas. However, the clear division in train commuting patterns between areas to the north and to the south of the river is due to London's specific transport supply.

Figure 10 shows the negative correlation of train commuting and the gross residential density at -0.278. This emphasises a pattern opposite to all other public transport modes, where strong positive correlations prevail.

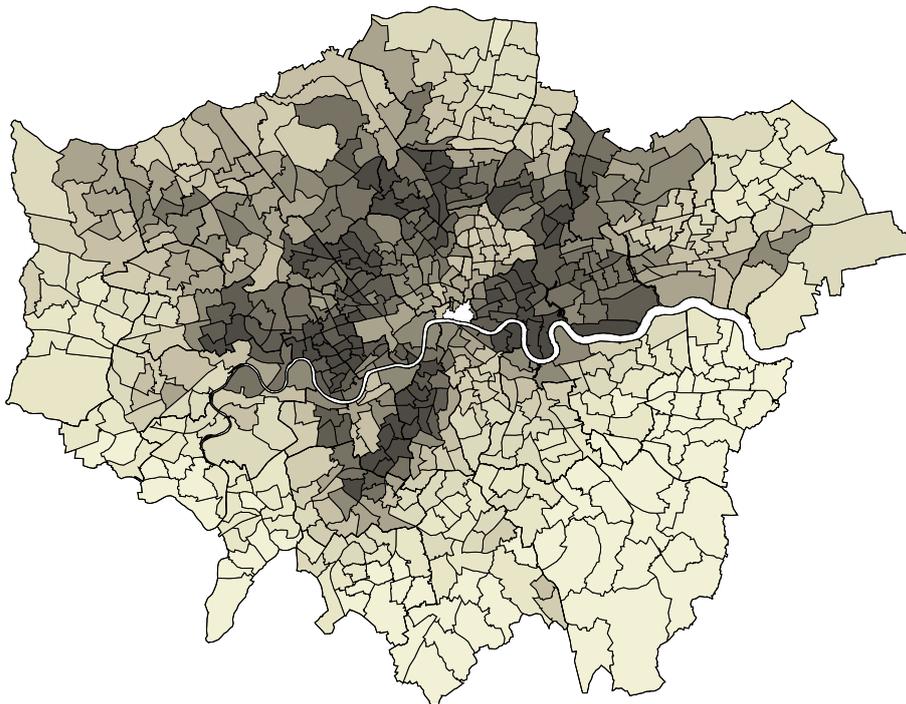
Figure 10:  
**Scatterplot of trips to work  
by train and  
gross residential density**

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation  
Pearson's coefficient: -0.287**

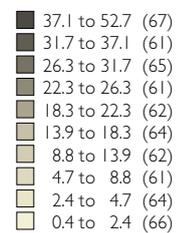


#### 4.4 Travel to work by underground, metro and light rail



Map 16:  
**Percentage of trips to work  
by underground, metro and  
light rail [%]**

Source: Census 2001



Map 16 shows the percentage of trips by underground, metro and light rail. The patterns essentially appear as the inverse to train commuting. Except for the Northern Line corridor south to Morden, underground trips remain low south of the Thames and concentrate along different underground and DLR lines north of the river.

The percentage of trips by underground, metro, and light rail correlates strongly with the gross residential density by a factor of 0.566, as shown in Figure 11. However, there are many Greater London wards with densities below 100 ha./pers and extremely high percentages of underground trips. This characterises a key role the underground plays in Greater London: linking areas of medium-level residential densities with business clusters such as Central London.

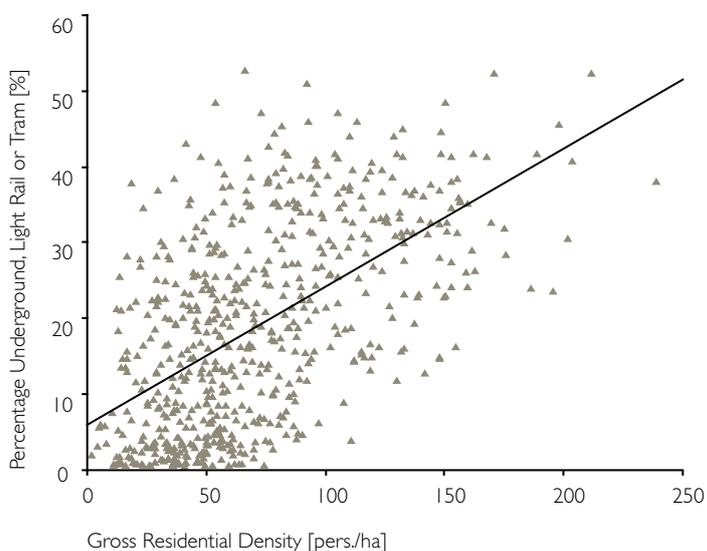
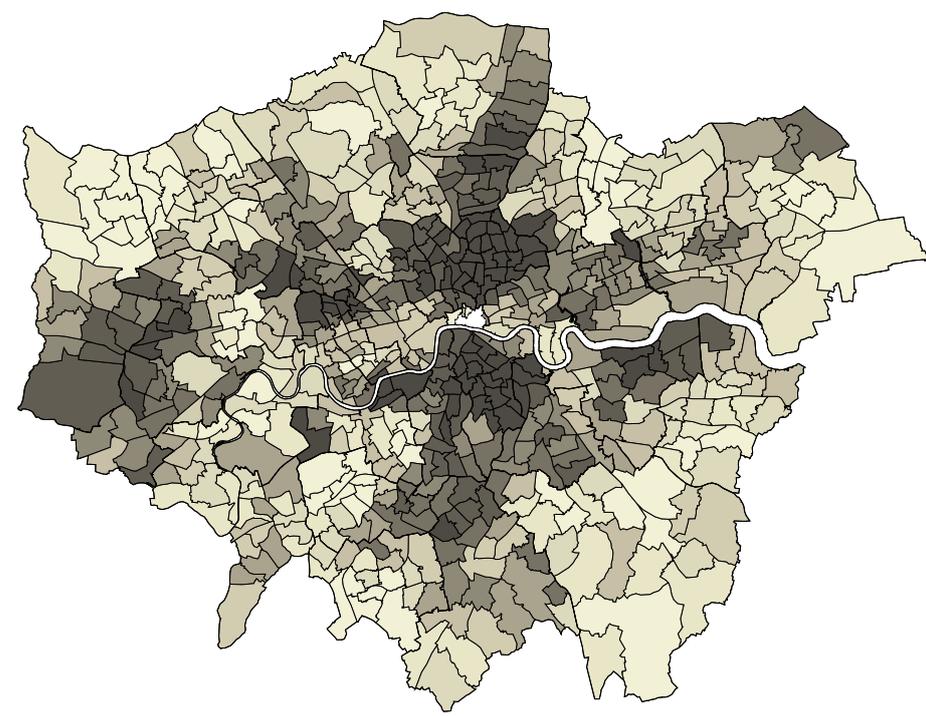


Figure 11:  
**Scatterplot of trips to work  
by underground or light rail  
and gross residential density**

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation  
Pearson's coefficient: 0.566**

### 4.5 Travel to work by bus, coach or minibus



**Map 17:**  
**Percentage of trips to work  
by bus [%]**

Source: Census 2001

- 17.7 to 36.8 (78)
- 14.9 to 17.7 (63)
- 12.5 to 14.9 (64)
- 11.2 to 12.5 (53)
- 10.2 to 11.2 (62)
- 8.9 to 10.2 (57)
- 7.8 to 8.9 (59)
- 6.6 to 7.8 (62)
- 5.4 to 6.6 (64)
- 2 to 5.4 (70)

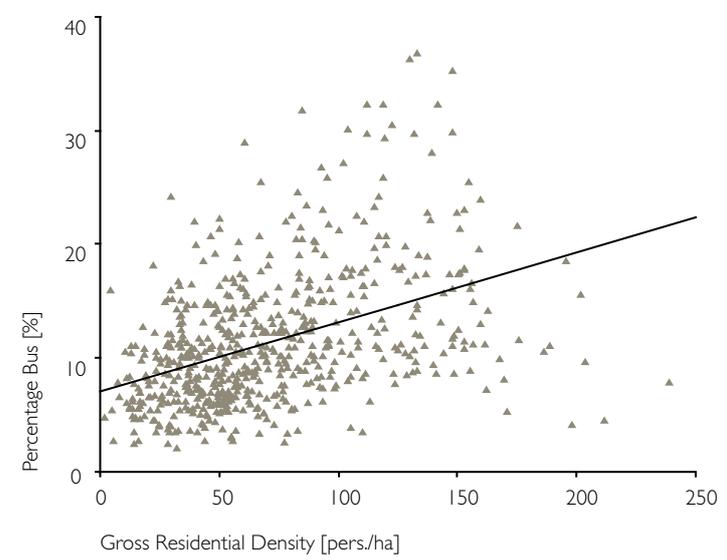
The distribution of bus use in Greater London as shown in Map 17 does not follow a clear pattern and varies significantly based on local issues. Bus commuting prevails in areas neglected by other means of public transport, such as large parts of Hackney and Southwark. Here, percentages of trips to work by bus reach levels above 20%. Additional pockets of high bus use include north Hammersmith and Fulham, north Kensington and Chelsea, parts of west London and Woolwich in Greenwich. Finally, two bus corridors are clearly legible: from Hackney to Enfield; and from Southwark to Croydon.

Although bus use is spatially more scattered, it still correlates significantly with the gross residential density by a factor of 0.421. Bus is the only public transport mode that does not dominate in areas of densities below 80 pers./ha (Figure 12).

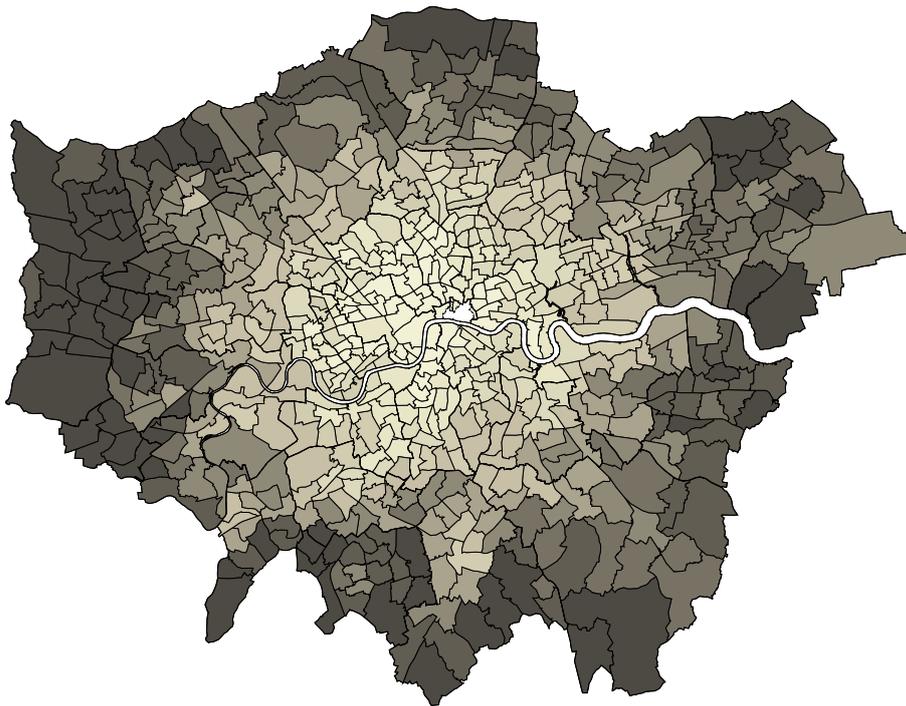
**Figure 12:**  
**Scatterplot of trips to work  
by bus and  
gross residential density**

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation  
Pearson's coefficient: 0.421**

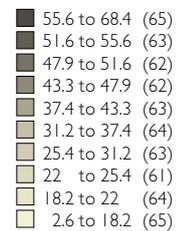


#### 4.6 Travel to work by car or motorbike



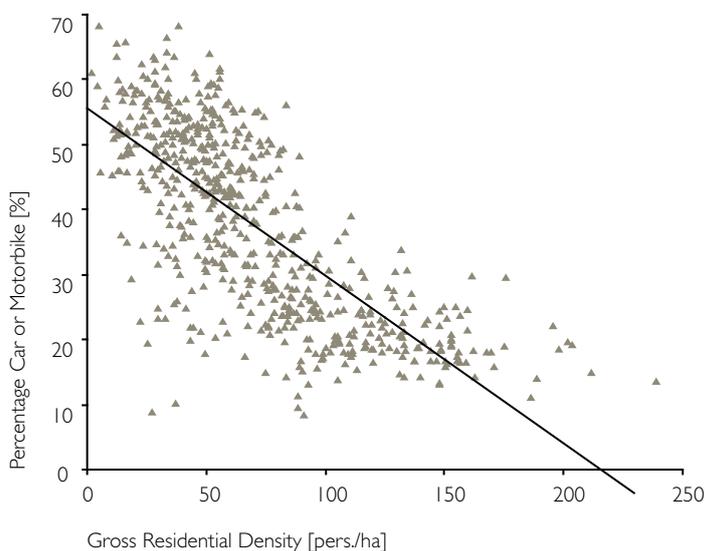
**Map 18:**  
**Percentage of trips to work by car or motorbike [%]**

Source: Census 2001



Map 18 illustrates a clear commuting pattern that is largely influenced by residential location relative to the city centre. Car use in Central London is below 18%, and, as expected, levels gradually rise in all directions with increasing distance from the core of the city. The extreme case occurs along the outer boundary of Greater London where car use is almost entirely above 50%. This symmetric map clearly illustrates London's centrality and its influence on mobility patterns.

A negative correlation factor of  $-0.725$  between car use and gross residential density (Figure 13) indicates the incompatibility and the lack of necessity of car use in areas with higher residential densities or with the opposite extreme, the necessity and compatibility of car use in areas with lower residential densities. From density levels above 100 pers./ha, car use in Greater London wards remains below 40% and drops to about 30% for density levels of more than 150 pers./ha.

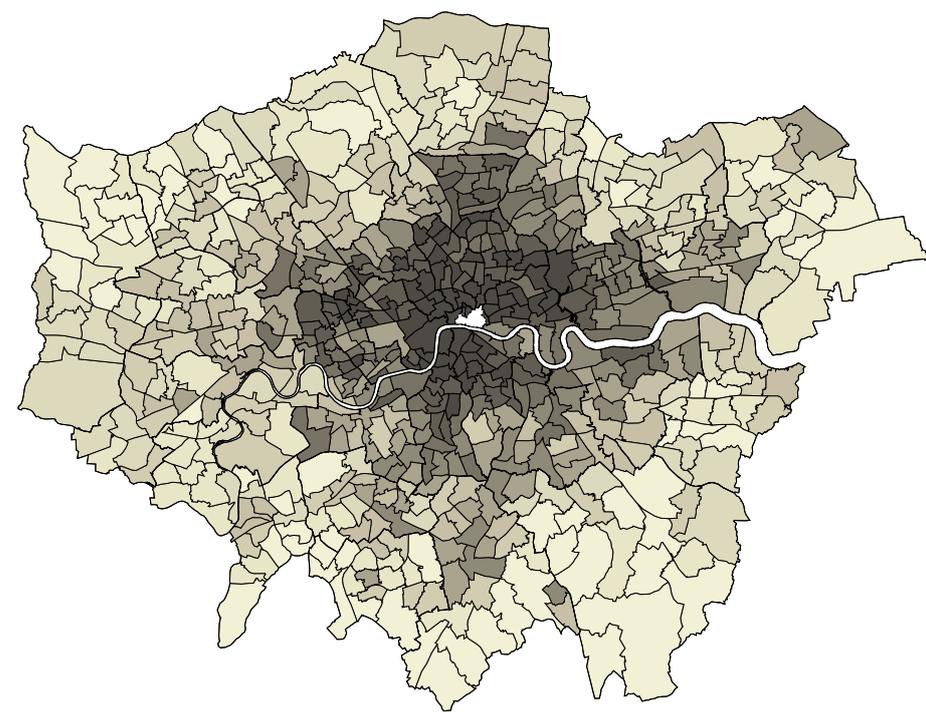


**Figure 13:**  
**Scatterplot of trips to work by car or motor bike and gross residential density**

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient:  $-0.725$**

### 4.7 Car free households



Map 19:  
**Percentage of  
car free households [%]**

Source: Census 2001

- 57.6 to 77.1 (67)
- 52.5 to 57.6 (63)
- 46.4 to 52.5 (61)
- 40.8 to 46.4 (61)
- 35.8 to 40.8 (61)
- 31.2 to 35.8 (65)
- 27.1 to 31.2 (62)
- 23 to 27.1 (65)
- 19.5 to 23 (62)
- 8.5 to 19.5 (66)

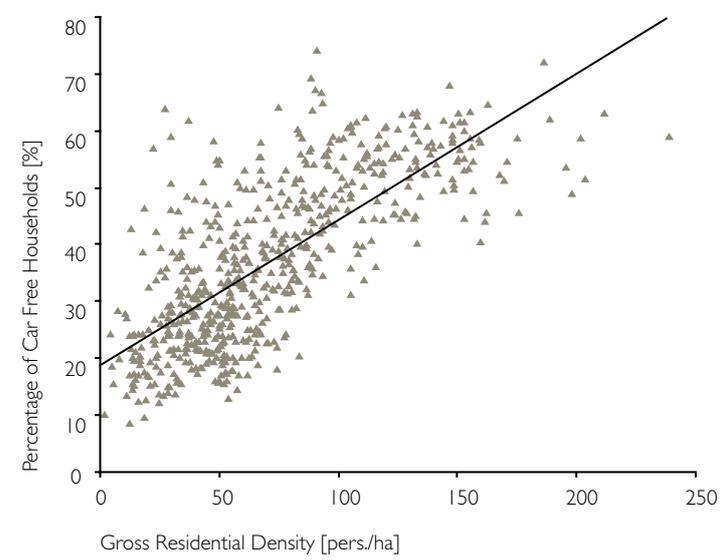
Similar to the correlation between public transport provision and public transport trip levels, car use correlates directly with car ownership. Map 19 shows the centrality of car-free households, which shows the reverse pattern of Map 18.

Car free households correlate strongly with gross residential density by a factor of 0.722 (Figure 14). At densities greater than 100 pers./ha the percentage of car-free households remains above 30%. Analysing the correlation between car ownership and car use yields a strong correlation factor of -0.877 for car free households. However, the percentage of public transport users in households that own cars, decreases with increasing density (-0.735). This might be an effect of households with school children in less dense areas or the desire of car owners in high-density areas to use their cars.

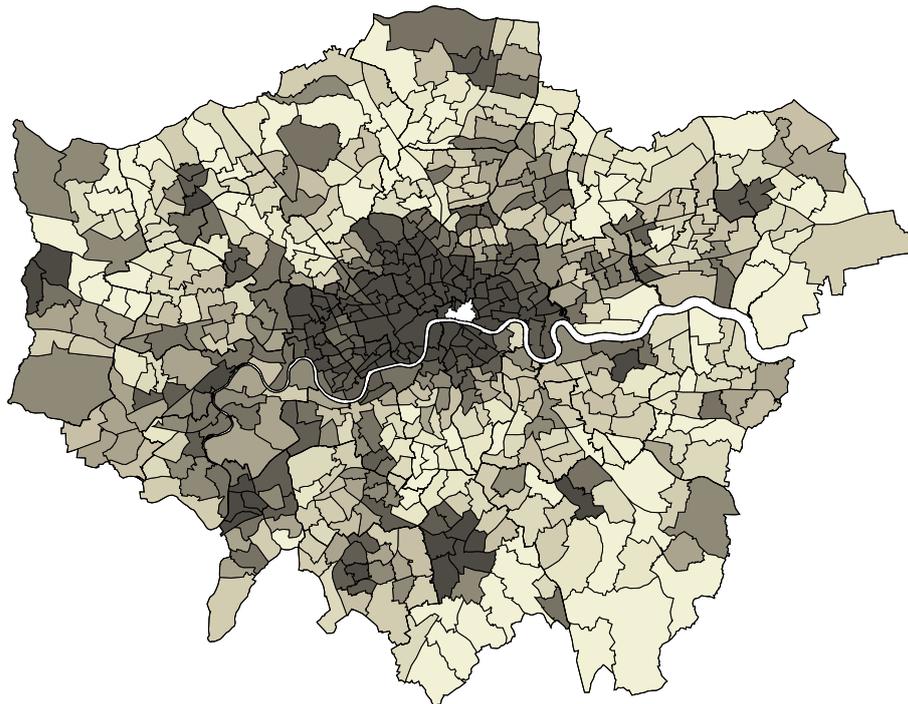
Figure 14:  
**Scatterplot of  
car free households  
and gross residential density**

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation  
Pearson's coefficient: 0.722**



#### 4.8 Travel to work on foot



Map 20:  
Percentage of trips to work by foot [%]

Source: Census 2001

11.7 to 67.6	(103)
9.7 to 11.7	(62)
8.4 to 9.7	(60)
7.8 to 8.4	(47)
7.2 to 7.8	(53)
6.7 to 7.2	(48)
5.9 to 6.7	(75)
5.4 to 5.9	(62)
4.8 to 5.4	(46)
3.1 to 4.8	(77)

High percentages of trips to work on foot occur in Central London, as shown in Map 20. Similar percentages occur in many other town centres of Inner and Outer London. Therefore the overall picture is more scattered and the frequency of walking commutes is not connected by particular transport corridors.

The percentage of trips to work on foot correlates with the gross residential density by a factor of 0.358 (Figure 15). This indicates that short walking distances from home to work, a requirement for high percentages of walking, prevail in high-density areas. High-density areas therefore tend to create proximity not only to other residents, but also to workplaces. To maintain an average of more than 10% of commuting trips on foot requires a gross residential density of 100 pers./ha or more.

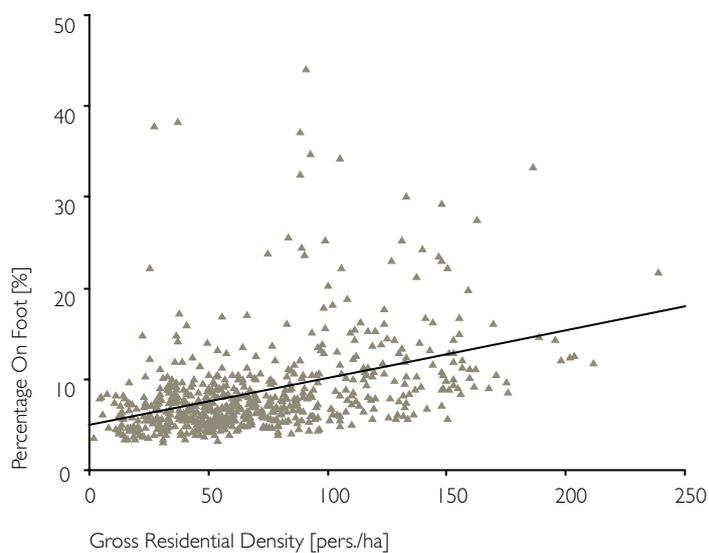
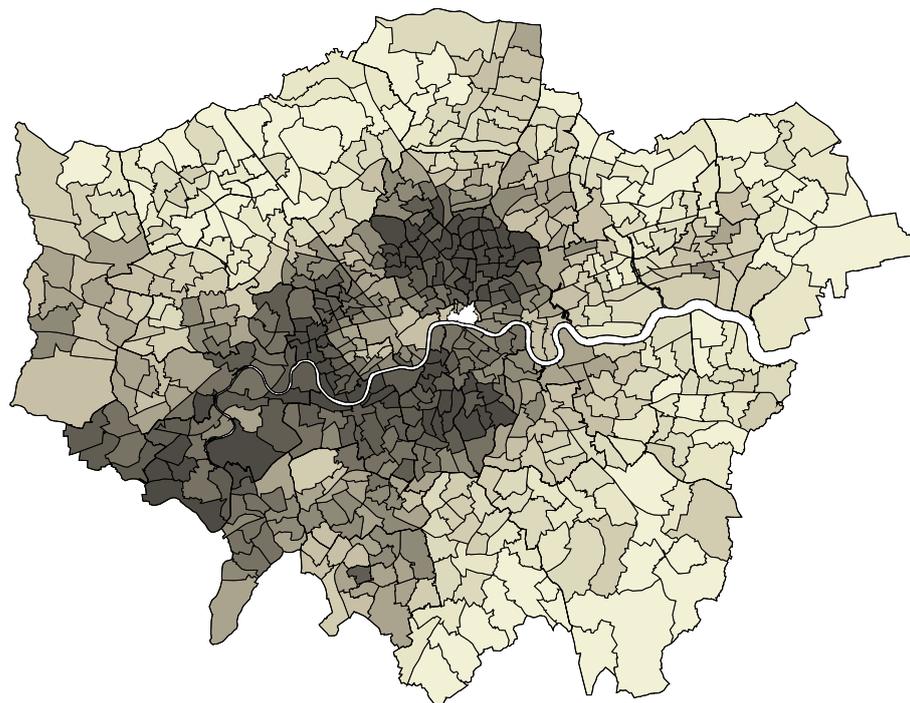


Figure 15:  
Scatterplot of trips to work on foot and gross residential density

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.358**

### 4.9 Travel to work by bike



Map 21:  
**Percentage of trips to work  
by bicycle [%]**

Source: Census 2001

- 4.49 to 8.85 (68)
- 3.65 to 4.49 (61)
- 2.96 to 3.65 (62)
- 2.37 to 2.96 (64)
- 1.97 to 2.37 (63)
- 1.59 to 1.97 (63)
- 1.24 to 1.59 (63)
- 1.02 to 1.24 (59)
- 0.81 to 1.02 (63)
- 0.36 to 0.81 (64)

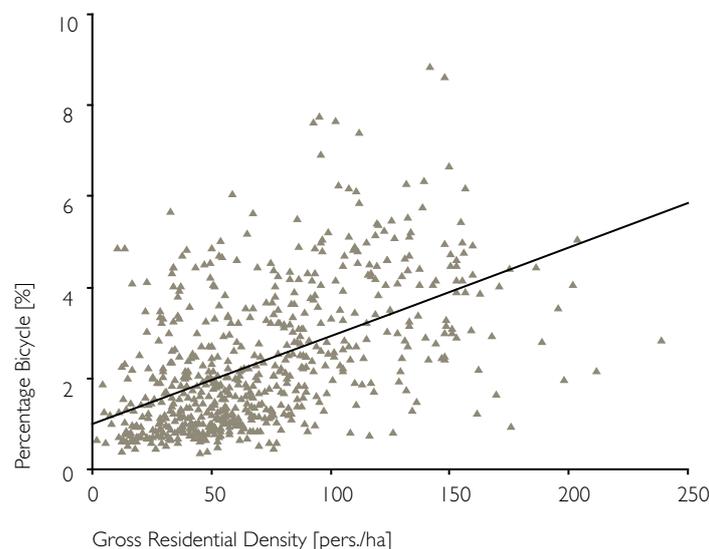
Map 21 shows that in Inner London commuting patterns by bike are similar to the ones by bus. In both cases, large areas of Southwark, and Lambeth as well as Hackney, Islington, and Camden have higher percentages of bike commuters. This correlates with the lack of public transport alternatives (other than bus), in combination with the proximity of these areas to Central London. Here, levels are well above 5%. However, distinct from commuting patterns by bus, higher percentages of bike commutes occur along the western part of the Thames all the way to Kingston. Quite possibly, these areas provide good cycling conditions along the river and adjacent parks and thus promote bike commutes.

With a correlation coefficient of 0.517, cycling is closely linked to the gross residential density (Figure 16). This ensures that trip lengths remain at levels acceptable for commuting and that the physical environment makes cycling attractive (e.g. routes through public parks). Cycling only comprises more than 6% of trips to work in areas of densities above 100 pers./ha.

Figure 16:  
**Scatterplot of trips to work  
by bicycle and  
gross residential density**

Source: Census 2001

**Significant correlation  
Pearson's coefficient: 0.517**



#### 4.10 Conclusion

Before drawing any conclusion from the analysis above it is important to emphasise that mobility patterns in Greater London neighbourhoods are significantly influenced by specific, and historic local circumstances. Recommendations for areas that are currently undergoing redevelopment have to be advanced very carefully and with an awareness of the difference between new and mature neighbourhoods.

The analysis above focuses on travel to work patterns in connection with only two other variables. One is the location of individual wards within Greater London, the other the gross residential density. For all relevant transport modes, both variables – location and density – create a clear and logical pattern which leads to a common sense conclusion: transport patterns in Greater London are directly dependent on location as well as on gross residential density.

Public transport emerges as the most complex and diverse mode. The analysis re-emphasised that public transport supply largely defines the demand and therefore areas of high bus, underground or train use by captive riders who might not have the choice to use other means of public transport.

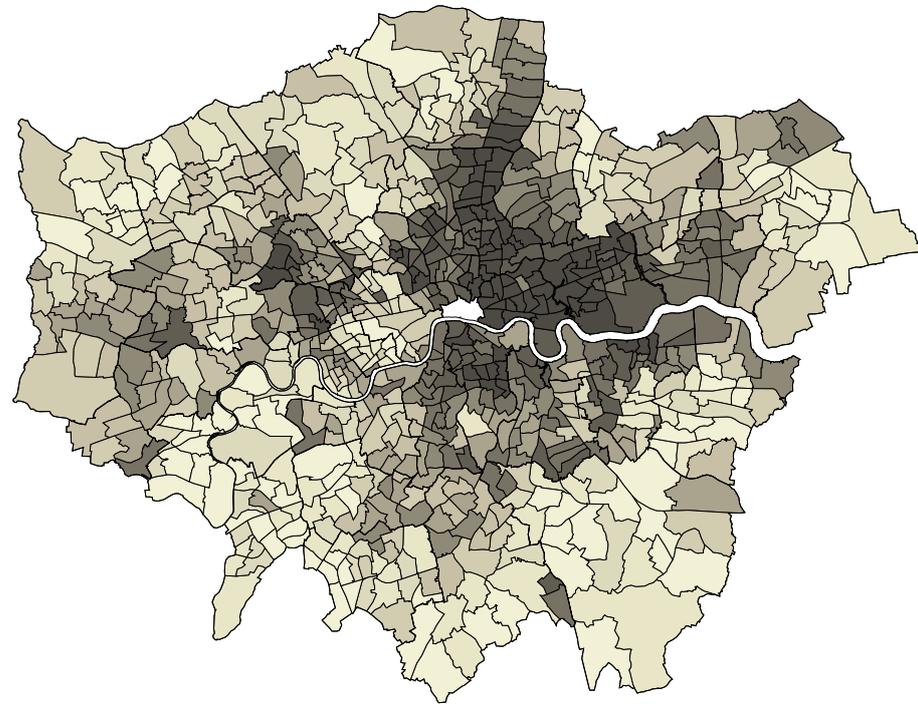
Whereas bus, light rail, and underground trips have a strong positive correlation with the gross residential density, train trips have a reverse pattern and are more dominant in less dense areas. However it can only be speculated whether, due to lower densities in areas of high rail use, additional driving to park and ride facilities is necessary before boarding the train. Extremely high percentages of bus trips (above 30%) in Greater London occur only in areas of gross residential densities of about 100 pers./ha or above. This represents a density level that was indicated by the Urban Task Force report as necessary to ensure viable bus service with bus stops at a distance of less than 500 m for 70% of the residential [Urban Task Force. 2000. p. 61].

More generally, public transport in Greater London appears to be linked to urban as well as to suburban density levels. However, only density levels of more than 100 pers./ha ensure that the percentage of trips to work via public transport remains above 40%.

Clearly, driving a car is the most density-averse transport mode and does not reach levels above 40% with densities of 100 pers./ha or above, whereas walking and biking profit from higher densities even more than does public transport. This re-emphasises the importance of the logic pair “density and proximity”, the latter being largely responsible for specific transport and mobility patterns.

## 5 Socio-economic analysis

### 5.1 Index of multiple deprivation



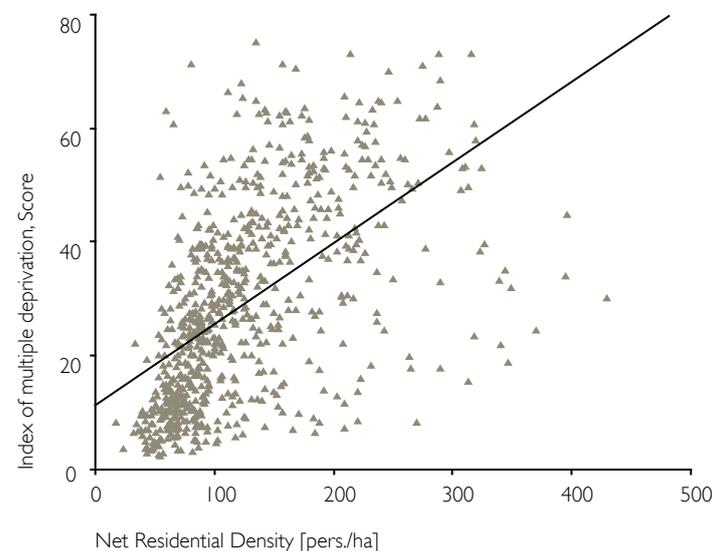
Map 22:  
**Index of multiple deprivation**  
Source: DETR 2000

53.3 to 75.1	(80)
44 to 53.3	(77)
38 to 44	(76)
32 to 38	(72)
26.4 to 32	(77)
22.2 to 26.4	(74)
16.1 to 22.2	(75)
11.8 to 16.1	(76)
8.1 to 11.8	(73)
2.2 to 8.1	(79)

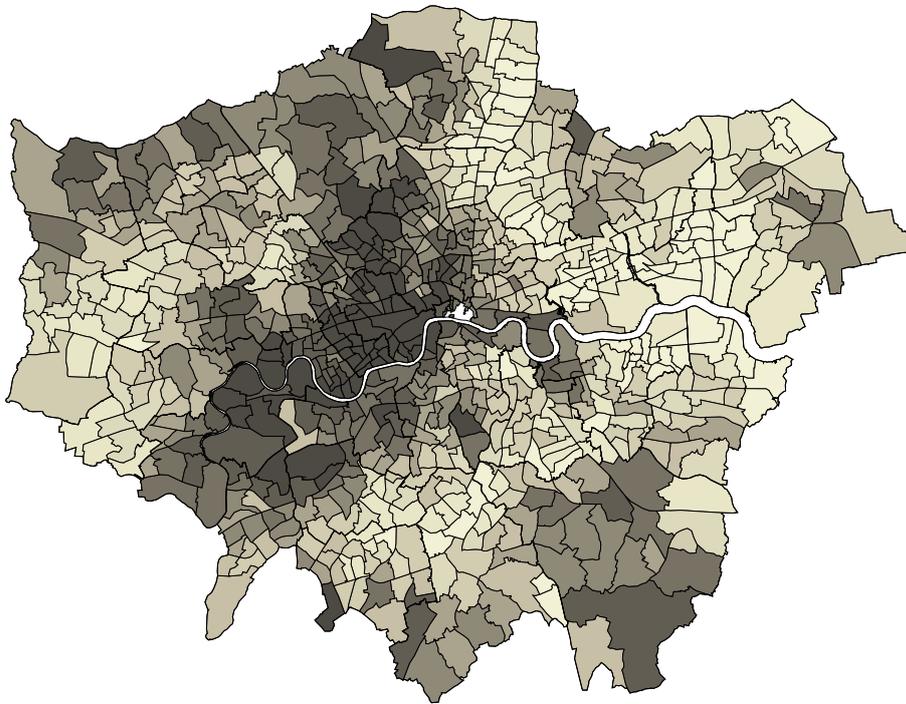
The most deprived wards in Greater London are located in east London. Map 22 shows clearly two major corridors of deprivation, one running from Tower Hamlets along the Thames to Barking and Dagenham, the other from Hackney to Enfield. In addition, clusters of deprivation such as the one in Southwark and others in West London become visible.

Figure 17 indicates a strong correlation of 0.554 between net residential density and deprivation. However, whereas the correlation is particularly prevalent in Outer London, the pattern is less obvious in Inner London.

Figure 17:  
**Scatterplot of index of multiple deprivation and net residential density**  
Source: DETR 2000, Oxford University 1998  
**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.554**



## 5.2 Price of housing



Map 23:  
**Average price of housing (£)**  
Source: Land Registry 2001

318,000 to 1,208,200	(78)
254,000 to 318,000	(76)
215,400 to 254,000	(75)
189,000 to 215,400	(76)
165,100 to 189,000	(77)
150,300 to 165,100	(76)
135,500 to 150,300	(77)
122,100 to 135,500	(77)
109,000 to 122,100	(75)
79,100 to 109,000	(79)

Map 23 shows the average price of housing and illustrates the high cost of housing in west London, particularly along the Thames and around Hampstead Heath. In contrast, east London appears to be almost entirely less expensive.

Since the price of housing is more focused on the immediate built environment, Figure 18 shows a positive correlation of 0.217 between housing price and net residential density. This seems to contradict the positive correlation between density and deprivation (Figure 17).

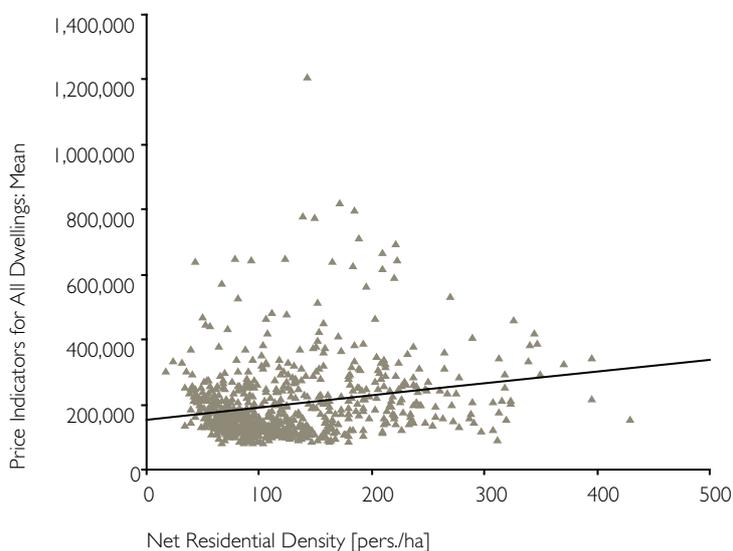
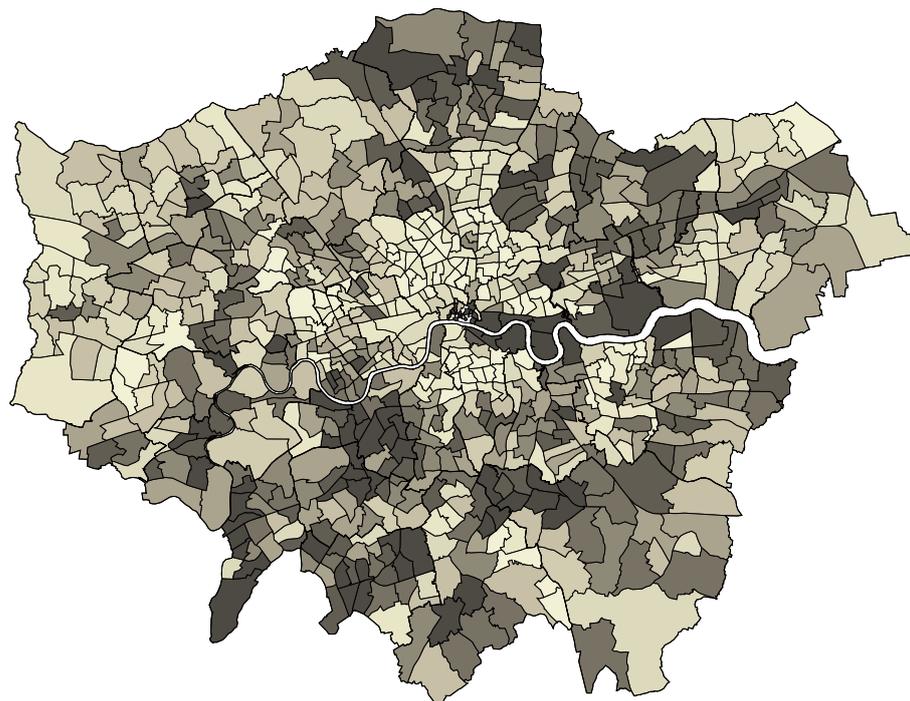


Figure 18:  
**Scatterplot of price for housing and net residential density**  
Source: Land Registry 2001, Oxford University 1998  
**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient: 0.217**

### 5.3 Transaction rate



Map 24:  
**Number of transactions per dwelling**

Source: Land Registry 2001 (Transactions), Valuation Office Agency 2001 (Dwellings)

0.0663 to 0.5	(87)
0.0604 to 0.0663	(78)
0.0557 to 0.0604	(71)
0.0524 to 0.0557	(77)
0.0498 to 0.0524	(75)
0.0464 to 0.0498	(79)
0.0429 to 0.0464	(74)
0.0377 to 0.0429	(72)
0.0298 to 0.0377	(81)
0.009 to 0.0298	(80)

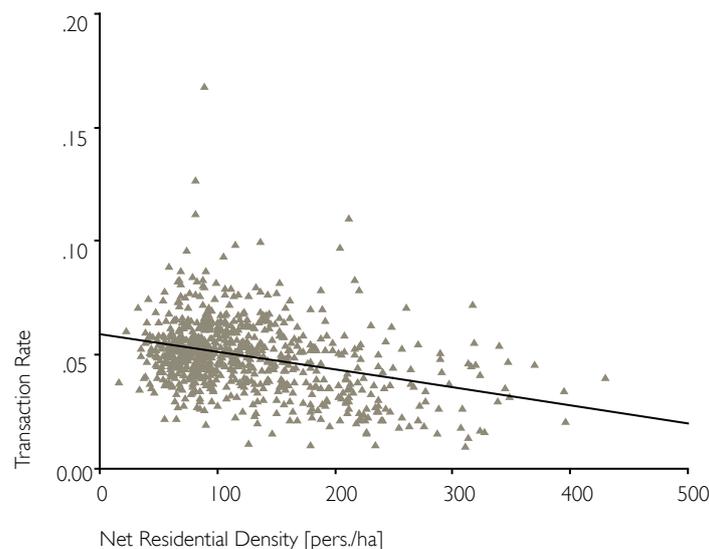
Map 24 shows the number of transactions per dwelling for each ward. Different from the housing prices, transaction rates are higher in east London and lower in more expensive parts of north and west London. Generally, transaction rates are more scattered and a clear pattern can not be interpreted except that rates seem to be higher in Outer than in Inner London.

The transaction rate correlates negatively by  $-0.119$  with the net residential density, showing that the less dense areas are more dynamic in the real estate market (Figure 19).

Figure 19:  
**Scatterplot of transaction rate and net residential density**

Source: Land Registry, Valuation Office Agency 2001, Oxford University 1998

**Significant correlation**  
**Pearson's coefficient:  $-0.119$**



## 5.4 Conclusion

The analysis of deprivation, housing price, and transaction rate in connection with residential density does not generate a clear pattern. Both deprivation and price of housing correlate positively with residential density. One explanation of this is that affluent residents can facilitate higher densities to their advantage and therefore are willing to pay higher housing prices, whereas poorer residents are living as “captive residents” in more deprived high density areas, not by choice but because they lack any alternative. The latter case, of impoverished high density areas, tends to be council housing and thus differs significantly in quality as compared with affluent high density areas such as Notting Hill or Belgravia.

## 6 Glossary and Bibliography

### 6.1 Glossary

CL	Central London
GL	Greater London
GLUC	Generalised Land Use Classification
IL	Inner London
ODPM	Office of Deputy Prime Minister
OL	Outer London
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Association

## 6.2 Bibliography

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Methodology and selection process

Part B

## Table of contents – Part B

1	Methodology	37
1.1	Approach	37
1.2	Scales of analysis	38
1.3	Unit of analysis	38
1.4	Selection criteria	38
1.5	Techniques	39
2	The 15 selected wards	40
2.1	The selection process	40
2.2	Selection 15 wards	41
2.3	Public transport accessibility	43
2.4	Local area maps and ward boundaries	46
2.5	Socio-demographic overview	48
2.6	Glossary	53
2.7	Bibliography	53

# I Methodology

## I.1 Approach

The methodological approach of this study is framed within LSE Cities' remit to combine urban design, planning, and research with the social sciences (particularly sociology and economics) in order to improve the design of the built environment and the quality of life in cities. This approach combines tools of spatial and socio-economic analysis with planning and design skills.

In the case of urban density, the multi-dimensional nature of the subject of study further necessitated the creation of appropriate methodologies. These methodologies would be used to better understand the links between the social and spatial aspects of high-density living; particularly important given the lack of existing research of this kind.

From our review of relevant literature and research, we understand that the study of urban density in Britain to date has been fairly fragmented in both conceptual and methodological terms. We can trace the first studies focusing on the "social" aspects of density to the 1970s, mainly in the field of environmental psychology and sociology (see Part E). These studies, as Krupat [1985] describes, examine "crowding" and its effects on city dwellers in two different traditions: (i) the experimental orientation of the laboratory, and (ii) the demographic-correlational field approach. Krupat considers the former tradition less relevant than field research to understanding urban crowding. As for the demographic studies, the author warns that their results are highly inconsistent. "For almost every researcher who claims a significant finding, there is another who has criticized his or her sampling methods, or statistical techniques." [Krupat 1985,102].

More recently, a number of studies on urban density as a planning tool have been produced in the United Kingdom, as a way to provide research-based insights for the implementation of the predominant "Compact City" approach in British urban policy [Urban Task Force Report, 1999]. These studies have mainly focused on examining the "success" factors of good examples of high-density housing schemes in England and other Northern European countries [amongst others, Cope, 2002; PRP Architects, 2002], while only a few have addressed the issue of residents' attitudes to higher-density [Tunstall, 2002, MORI, 2002].

Our research aimed to fill a gap left by recent studies in the UK. Firstly, we believe that urban density should be investigated not only at the level of self-contained housing schemes, but at different geographical scales, in order to understand linkages between neighbourhoods and the rest of the city. For this purpose, a multi-scale analysis is useful to reflect socio-demographic processes taking place London-wide as well as the micro-dynamics of urban communities. However, we also believe that residents' perceptions on urban density can be best understood by looking at them in connection to place, i.e., to these people's areas of residence.

## 1.2 Scales of analysis

### Metropolitan scale

In accordance with the aims above, the study is structured at two scales: a “metropolitan” scale and a “neighbourhood” scale. First, at a “metropolitan scale”, we looked at London-wide trends to establish the context by identifying the key variables which describe urban density in Greater London. Techniques used for this purpose included a GIS-based analysis, at ward level, of socio-economic indicators (derived from the national Census). This was supplemented by correlation studies between these indicators and residential density, including a Pearson’s correlation analysis. For the mapping of each indicator, an equal-count representation of ten different ranges was selected. In this manner, the maps provide a high level of information about the distribution of each range. In addition, a GIS model using Transport for London data was used to analyse the relative accessibility of each ward.

### Neighbourhood scale

Due to the observed shortcomings of recent research on residents’ attitudes to density in the UK, we realised that we needed to investigate the relevant issues and processes underlying the experience(s) of high-density living. For this purpose, we decided to conduct a case study of five “higher density” areas or neighbourhoods (i.e. with residential densities above the Greater London average). We then concentrated our research in these five wards, to learn in more detail about issues that emerged from the London-wide analysis.

## 1.3 Unit of analysis

While our conceptual unit of analysis was the neighbourhood, in practice we had to operate with the “ward” as a proxy for “neighbourhood”, as the former is the smallest geographical unit at which census data is available. Nonetheless, acknowledging the limitations of this arbitrary unit, we were flexible when analysing the features of the ward, by considering the main physical elements from the immediate surroundings of the wards, as well as within their bounds (i.e. open spaces, transport provision, relevant buildings, etc.) Similarly, the study’s selection of interviewees included residents and local actors from within each ward as well as from its fringes.

## 1.4 Selection criteria

As can be seen in section B.2, the criteria to select this smaller group of wards was based on a multi-stage filtration process, which controlled for density (by selecting only areas with residential densities above the Greater London average) and met the following conditions:

- Sample of mixed-use neighbourhoods with high residential proportion
- Distribution across London
- Range of building typologies
- Location outside central London (TfL Zone 1)

A last remark must be made about this research’s case study approach. As we aimed to explore the attributes of higher density areas in London, we chose to focus on a sample of these, excluding the use of a “control group” of lower density areas. This decision was justified, on the one hand, by the exploratory nature of the study (i.e. we

wanted to tease out the main issues and possible causal relationships related to high density living in these areas), and on the other hand, by the limited resources available for the intensive field work. At the time this decision was taken, a continuation study on lower density areas was considered a possibility, subject to future funding.

## 1.5 Techniques

The study draws on a wide range of research techniques, namely: analysis of socio-economic census data; neighbourhood-level mapping; semi-structured interviews with residents and key informants; and field observations. Additionally, MORI was commissioned to conduct a quantitative social survey on residents' attitudes to urban density in the five areas of study. Our aim, therefore, has been to achieve a thorough and multi-dimensional understanding of these areas in terms of what attributes linked to urban density make them more or less desirable places to live.

The techniques we employed were:

- *Spatial and accessibility analysis*  
The spatial analysis at ward level is based on land lines and data published by Ordnance Survey. The area of analysis is 5 km<sup>2</sup>, with the case study ward in the centre of each map. The raw data was organised into thematic layers to generate a series of drawings highlighting different spatial features (i.e. figure ground, green open space, etc.) Extensive field work was then necessary to gather information on the ground floor uses displayed in the use analysis maps. For the local transport accessibility maps, GIS technology was used to create linear- (bus routes) and point-feature- (tube/rail stations) buffers as indicators of walk bands.
- *Socio-economic analysis based on Census 2001.*
- *Qualitative research*  
71 Interviews with local key actors and representative residents, 12-14 per ward (see detailed description in Part C).
- *Quantitative survey (MORI)*  
1,917 responses, response rate of 24%, between 04 February and 12 March 2004 (see detailed description in Part D).

We used qualitative in-depth interviews with key local actors and representative residents in these areas to help us gain insight in to each of these places and communities. With the benefit of these insights, we were able to draw some hypotheses to be tested by the quantitative (MORI) survey in the five areas. In this regard, the qualitative interviews helped to shape the questions for the survey, to be specific, targeted and able to statistically generalise the findings. Lastly, we reassessed the quantitative survey results in light of the qualitative findings, so as to check consistency, test our hypotheses and elaborate our explanations for trends observed in the quantitative data.

## 2 The 15 selected wards

### 2.1 The selection process

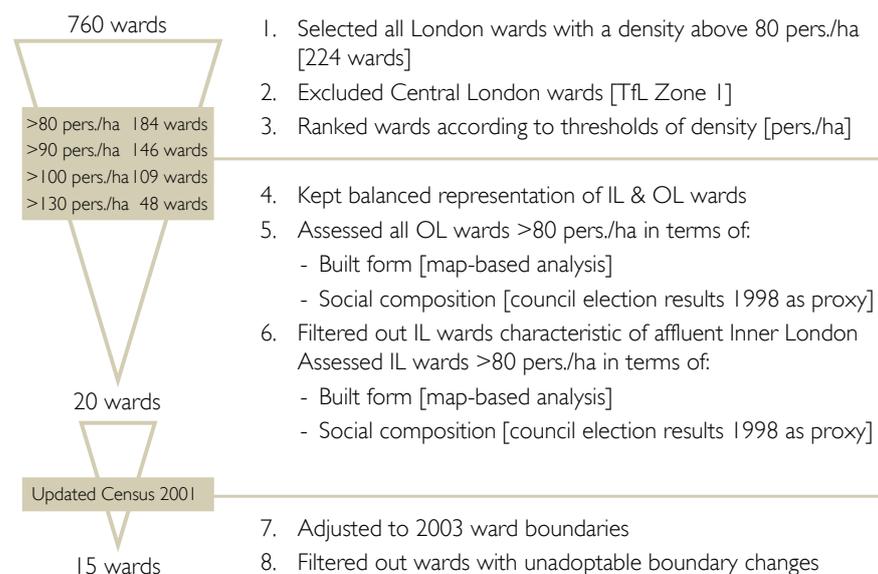
Having chosen a research methodology based upon case studies, a selection process was designed to select those neighbourhoods that seemed most relevant for further exploration (Figure 1). For reasons of data availability, a selection based on electoral wards was chosen. Wards represent the smallest geographic level for which detailed census information is available.

This research study, which focuses on high density neighbourhoods, first selected only those wards with a gross residential density of 80 pers./ha or above from among all 760 Greater London wards (1998 boundaries). In a second step, we excluded all Central London wards, defined as those wards within Transport for London's Zone 1, because of their unique characteristics as metropolitan business and retail hubs.

In order to achieve a balance between Inner and Outer London and to avoid very affluent Inner London areas, wards in the boroughs of Kensington & Chelsea and Westminster were also excluded. In these areas, either the built form or social composition (based on council election results in 1998) present unique cases from which London-wide lessons are not easily drawn.

This process led to the selection of 20 wards according to 1998 ward boundaries. These had to be revised when the Census 2001 results were published based on 2003 ward boundaries. Because of severe boundary changes, five of the 20 wards were no longer suitable and were therefore excluded. The remaining 15 wards were tested to determine whether they still met the selection criteria and were then finally included in the Selection 15 wards.

Figure 1:  
The selection process



## 2.2 Selection 15 wards

Table 1 provides an overview of the Selection 15 wards, indicating density rank, area, gross residential and dwelling density, average household size, as well as the total population of each ward.

Table 1:  
Selection 15 wards

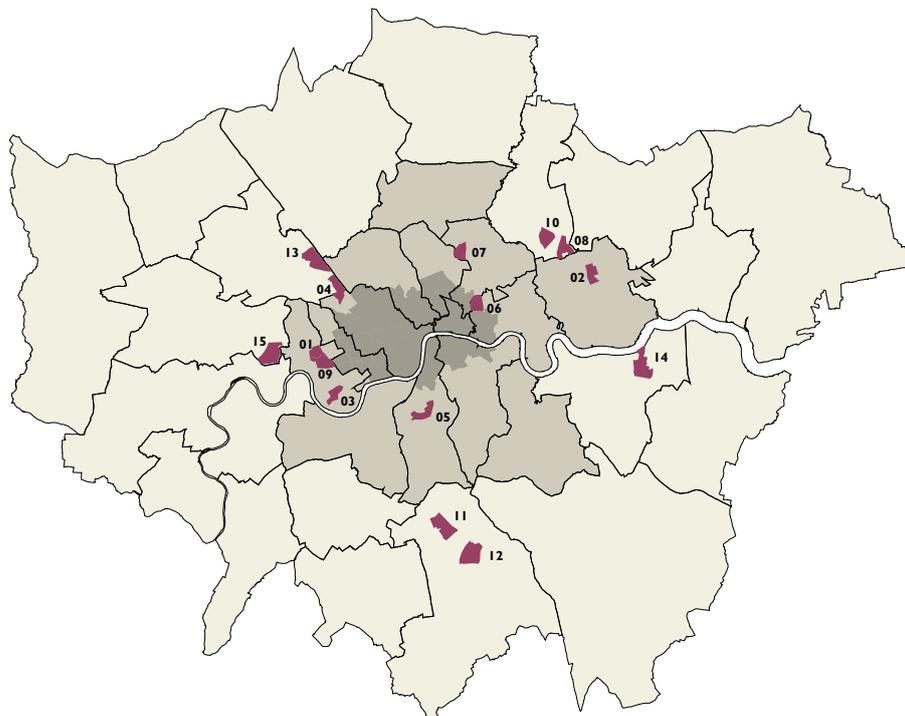
Density Rank Selection 15	Density rank GL wards	Inner/Outer London	Borough Name	Ward Name	Area [ha]	Gross residential density [pers./ha]	Gross dwelling density [unit/ha]	Household size [pers./hh]	Population
01	03	IL	Hammersmith & Fulham	Addison	54.87	203.9	99.6	2.02	11,185
02	09	IL	Newham	Green Street East	75.12	175.9	53.7	3.27	13,212
03	30	IL	Hammersmith & Fulham	Town	64.88	152.6	70.6	2.15	9,899
04	32	OL	Brent	Kilburn	93.94	150.9	70.2	2.14	14,172
05	33	IL	Lambeth	Ferndale	85.65	150.6	65.9	2.27	12,898
06	34	IL	Tower Hamlets	Weavers	77.63	150.5	60.7	2.45	11,685
07	38	IL	Hackney	Clissold	70.50	148.1	66.8	2.22	10,438
08	65	OL	Waltham Forest	Cann Hall	86.20	132.1	53.8	2.44	11,388
09	69	IL	Hammersmith & Fulham	Avonmore & Brook Green	88.75	129.8	61.4	2.07	11,522
10	72	OL	Waltham Forest	Grove Green	88.65	128.6	54.4	2.36	11,400
11	110	OL	Croydon	Bensham Manor	145.30	110.7	43.2	2.54	16,088
12	143	OL	Croydon	Addiscombe	158.63	97.1	47.1	2.05	15,402
13	146	OL	Brent	Mapesbury	137.80	96.1	41.7	2.28	13,242
14	148	OL	Greenwich	Glyndon	153.77	90.3	37.7	2.37	13,879
15	188	OL	Ealing	Southfield	143.97	86.7	40.6	2.14	12,481
			<b>Greater London</b>	<b>Ward Average</b>	<b>241.66</b>	<b>68.6</b>	<b>29.7</b>	<b>2.30</b>	<b>11,033</b>

Map 1 below shows the location of the Section 15 wards relative to Central, Inner and Outer London. There is an even distribution of wards, with eight wards in Outer London and seven in Inner London. And although there are clusters of wards, particularly in west London, generally there is an even geographic distribution of wards between east, west and south London. Only north London is represented with just one ward, Clissold in Hackney.

**Map 1:**  
**Selection 15 wards**

- 01 Addison
- 02 Green Street East
- 03 Town
- 04 Kilburn
- 05 Ferndale
- 06 Weavers
- 07 Clissold
- 08 Cann Hall
- 09 Avonmore and Brook Green
- 10 Grove Green
- 11 Bensham Manor
- 12 Addiscombe
- 13 Mapesbury
- 14 Glyndon
- 15 Southfield

- Central London
- Inner London
- Outer London



### 2.3 Public transport accessibility

Having identified the Selection 15 wards on the Greater London map, it is essential to better understand the transport accessibility associated with the location of each ward. Two generic types of accessibility are considered: accessibility by private travel mode and accessibility by public transport.

Good accessibility by private modes of travel, such as car, motorbike, bicycle or walking, depend mainly on the road network and, in the case of car use, on the availability of parking spaces. The level of accessibility by public transport, on the other hand, depends not only on the physical infrastructure (particularly for rail, tube and light rail), but also on the distribution of stations or stops and on the frequency of service.

Public transport continues to be the dominant means of travel to reach Central London. For this reason the transport maps analysed below only reflect access by public transport. These maps are based on Transport for London's CAPITAL model, and illustrate the public transport access time in minutes from the geographic centre of each Selection 15 ward to any other location (enumeration district) of Greater London.

A comparison of all 15 accessibility maps yields the general impression that, regardless of the extent of modern public transport systems, accessibility is still based upon a concentric pattern strongly linked to geographical distance. However, upon closer analysis, a variety of different levels of accessibility and also of differently-shaped access fields appear.

Of all Selection 15 wards, Town and Weavers enjoy the highest level of access. Whereas Town profits from its strategic location at the intersection of radial and orbital rail lines, Weavers occupies a Central London accessibility field, providing access along several radial routes. From both wards, public transport provides access to more than half of Greater London within one hour's travel time.

The lowest accessibility is found in Glyndon, reflecting the current disadvantage of the Thames Gateway, where access time to Central London is about one hour, while more than half of Greater London cannot be reached within 90 minutes. In comparison, Southfield, located at a similar distance from Central London but to the west, provides access to a much larger area within a given time span than does Glyndon. This is due not only to poorer public transport service and routes in the Thames Gateway, but also to fewer opportunities for crossing the river.

Accessibility in each ward varies further, particularly with respect to access by regional rail and tube, which create more complex shapes of access time fields. Most of these fields can be classified in the following ways:

1. *Elongated ovals where access along one corridor is much better than in any other direction.*  
Green Street East is one example of this, located along one of the radial routes with high frequency service into the city centre. Cann Hall, Grove Green and Glyndon also fit this pattern. The linear shape of the Clissold access field is largely due to the north-south bus corridor along Kingsland Road and Green Lanes. Generally, the Selection 15 wards in East London tend to exhibit this kind of access field shape.

2. *Multidirectional star-shaped access fields at an intersection of several access corridors.*

In Town, for example, a mix of rail and tube lines provide good access in several directions. Similar patterns can be observed in Addison, Kilburn, Ferndale, Weavers, Avonmore & Brook Green, as well as Southfield. More generally, out of the Selection 15 wards, those in west London tend to have more multiple corridor access.

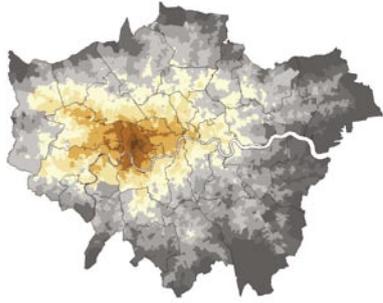
3. *Clustered access fields where access times to areas physically further away are less than to areas closer by.*

This can be identified in Addiscombe, where fast train service with few stops to Central London creates clusters of higher accessibility in the city centre than in areas in between. Both Bensham Manor and Addiscombe clearly show an access pattern based on regional rail, where islands of higher accessibility exist further away (e.g. Clapham Junction). Although Addiscombe is further from Central London, access is better there than in Bensham Manor, due to additional rail lines from adjacent Croydon Station to the inner city.

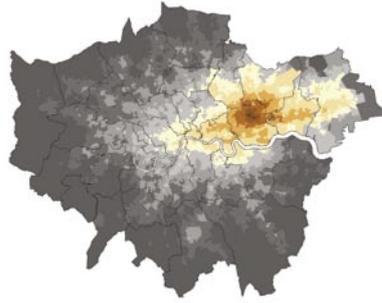
A comparison between Cann Hall and Grove Green illustrates the importance of direct rail access to the city centre. Both wards are located at a similar distance from Central London and lie only about one to two kilometres apart from each other. However, accessibility from Grove Green - served by the Central Line - is much better than from Cann Hall.

We conclude from this analysis that, despite their similarity in density levels, accessibility from the 15 selected wards varies considerably, both in terms of general access time and also in regard to the shape of the access field. Nevertheless, certain correlations between density and accessibility are noted: the two most accessible wards (Town and Weavers) are among the six densest wards, and the two least accessible wards (Glyndon and Bensham Manor) are among the six least dense wards. However, there is one important exception: Green Street East is the second densest ward of this selection and one of the densest wards in London, yet it appears unique in its relatively low level of accessibility.

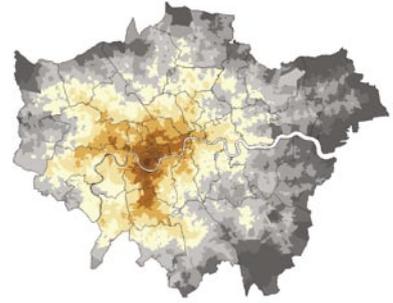
Addison, 204 pers./ha



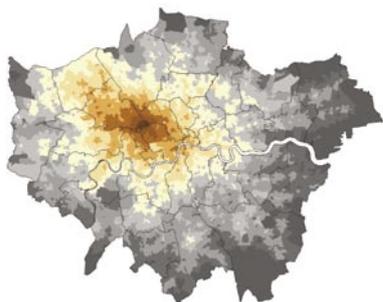
Green Street East, 176 pers./ha



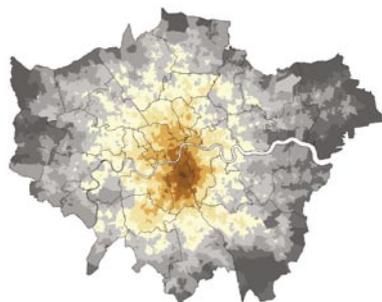
Town, 153 pers./ha



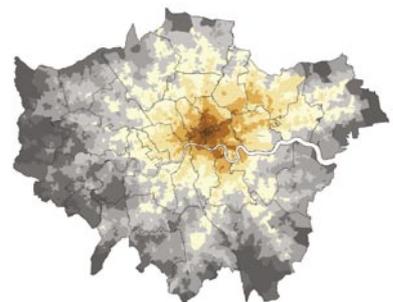
Kilburn, 151 pers./ha



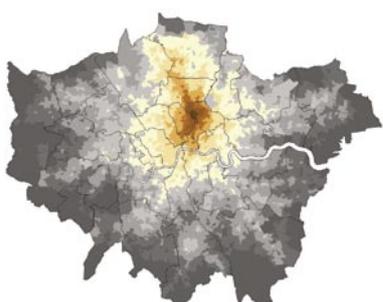
Ferndale, 151 pers./ha



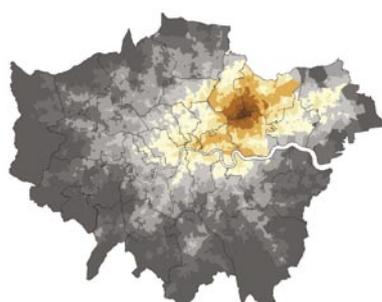
Weavers, 151 pers./ha



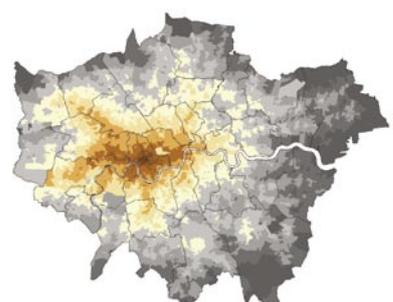
Clissold, 148 pers./ha



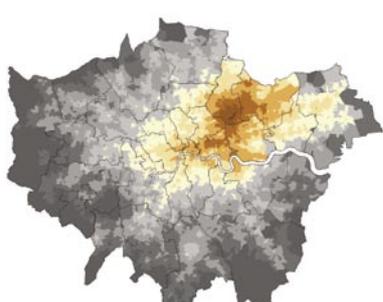
Cann Hall, 132 pers./ha



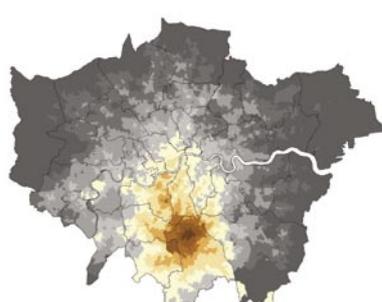
Avonm. & Brook Green, 130 pers./ha



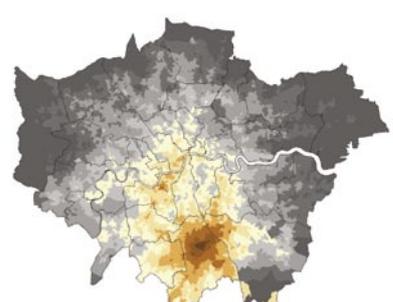
Grove Green, 129 pers./ha



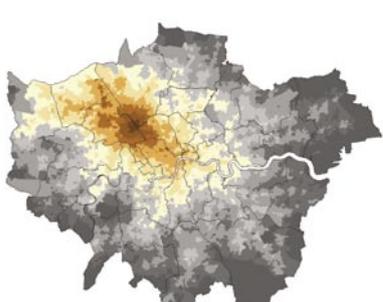
Bensham Manor, 111 pers./ha



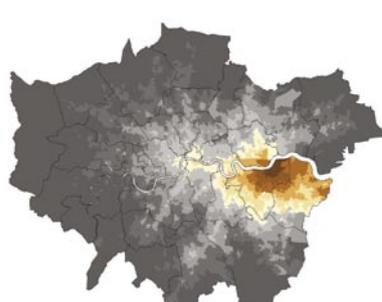
Addiscombe, 97 pers./ha



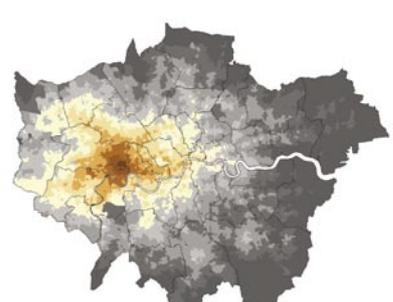
Mapesbury, 96 pers./ha



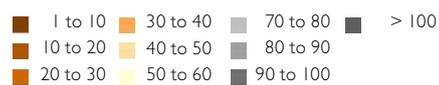
Glyndon, 90 pers./ha



Southfield, 87 pers./ha



Public Transport Travel Time [min]



## 2.4 Local area maps and ward boundaries

In order to better understand the geography of each ward and its adjacent areas, local area maps of each Selection 15 ward are shown on the following page. It is important to note that the scale of each map varies according to the size of each ward. Ward surface areas vary from 55 ha in Addison to 159 ha in Addiscombe. The boundary of each ward is drawn according to demographic and statistical parameters. More significant than the area's actual shape is its relationship to road networks, permeability, connectivity with the surrounding area and access to tube and rail lines.

An examination of the road networks reveals a prevalence of residential streets with mainly terraced housing. The exceptions are Weavers, Avonmore & Brook Green and Glyndon, which exhibit more complex street patterns largely due to council housing estates. The dominance of the terraced house streets typology is most pronounced in Green Street East, Town and Grove Green, where many long side streets intersect local high streets. This street pattern reflects the history of these wards, which were built as 19th-century suburbs.

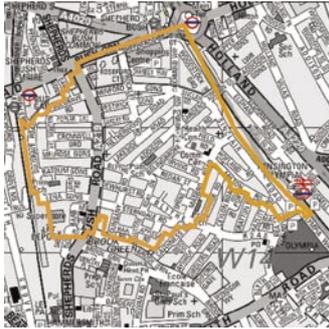
Although the sheer area given over to streets in each wards suggests a high degree of permeability, long residential streets with few intersections limit multi-directional permeability. More complex street patterns, on the other hand, such as those in Weavers, reduce legibility.

Similarly, the connectivity with the surrounding areas appears high at first glance, and lower once one considers that major roads and railway lines often act as barriers, particularly in Addison, Grove Green, Mapesbury and Southfield.

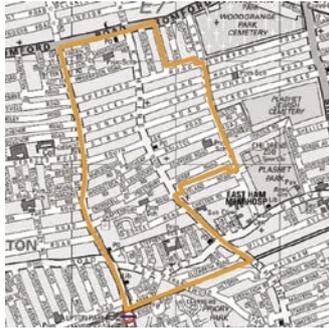
Access to public transport is further important information, which can be read from the location of tube and railway stations on the local area maps. This analysis excludes bus routes, which tend to be distributed much more evenly across London forming an independent secondary public transport network. The wards can be classified into four different public transport access groups:

1. *Access to rail and tube:* Addison, Kilburn, Ferndale, Avonmore & Brook Green, Addiscombe (tram), Mapesbury and Southfield have the most multi-modal public transport provision. Often this allows for the choice of different modes for travelling different distances but also increases multi-directional accessibility.
2. *Access to rail only:* Cann Hall, Bensham Manor and Glyndon have the most suburban access to public transport, relying solely on regional rail and buses.
3. *Access to tube only:* Green Street East, Town and Weavers all have only one or two major tube access points (which, in the case of Weavers, is one marginal access point).
4. *No access to tube or rail:* Only Clissold lacks direct rail access and relies heavily on bus routes along Kingsland Road and Green Lanes.

Addison, 204 pers./ha



Green Street East, 176 pers./ha



Town, 153 pers./ha



Kilburn, 151 pers./ha



Ferndale, 151 pers./ha



Weavers, 151 pers./ha



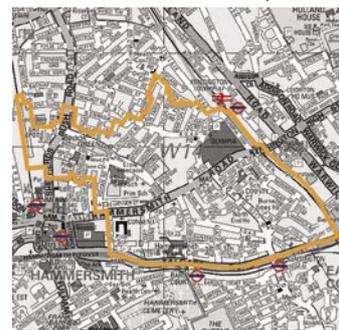
Clissold, 148 pers./ha



Cann Hall, 132 pers./ha



Av. & Brook Green, 130 pers./ha



Grove Green, 129 pers./ha



Bensham Manor, 111 pers./ha



Addiscombe, 97 pers./ha



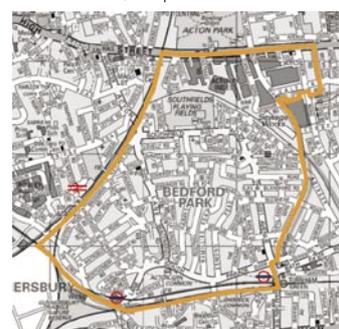
Mapesbury, 96 pers./ha



Glyndon, 90 pers./ha



Southfield, 87 pers./ha



Local Area Maps

## 2.5 Socio-demographic overview

The final overview of all Selection 15 wards examines ten parameters in each ward and compares these to the Greater London average. Based on a detailed analysis of various figures for each ward (documented at the end of this part), the following ten parameters were chosen as the most relevant:

1. *Deprivation*: Based on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), a composite index of six domain scores, using the following weightings: income (25%), employment (25%), health deprivation & disability (15%), education, skills & training (15%), housing (10%), geographical access to services (10%) [DOT, 2000]. Deprivation was also chosen as an indicator because of the common assumption that dense living is related to poverty.
2. *Children/Teenagers*: Percentage of population between the age of 0 to 19 [ONS, 2001]. High residential densities are perceived as unpopular with families and, particularly, as providing a lower quality of life for children.
3. *Elderly*: Percentage of population above the age of 65 [ONS, 2001]. The number of elderly people will increase over the coming decades, therefore this is an important group to examine. By implication, information on the percentages of people below 20 and above 65 also provides information on those aged between 20 and 65.
4. *Car Ownership*: Number of cars and vans divided by the number of households [ONS, 2001]. In addition to private open space, parking is among the biggest spatial constraints to higher-density living. Therefore, car ownership is an important indicator of urban density.
5. *Housing Price*: Based on the average of recorded transaction prices (that is, the actual prices for which properties sold) [Land Registry, 2001]. Housing prices, interpreted as an indicator of a location's desirability, offer information on the popularity of the selected higher density areas.
6. *White*: Percentage of population ethnically white, comprising "White British", "White Irish" and "White Other" census categories [ONS, 2001]. This indicator was chosen to respond to assumptions that high density areas appeal only to certain ethnic groups.
7. *Working*: Percentage of population aged between 16 and 74 who are full-time employees or self-employed [ONS, 2001]. Full-time employment is important to indicate the labour market's integration of residents and their economic independence.
8. *Living in Flats*: Percentage of households living in flats, either in a purpose-built block, a converted or shared house, or in a commercial building [ONS, 2001]. Higher density areas require a higher proportion of households living in flats.

9. *Renting*: Percentage of households renting from local council, social, private or other landlord [ONS, 2001]. Owner-occupation in the UK is strongly linked to living in detached, semi-detached and terraced houses, leaving renting as a characteristic of higher-density urban living.

10. *Single-person households*: Percentage of households that are occupied by only one person [ONS, 2001]. As a consequence of different lifestyle requirements, single-person households are regarded as more likely to embrace denser urban living than, for example, families.

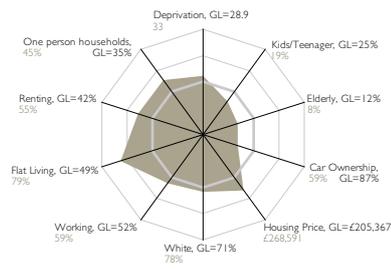
For each of the wards, all ten indicators were illustrated in one spider diagram, with each factor shown in relation to the Greater London ward average. A very specific shape emerges in the resulting polygons for each ward, allowing for a simple overview and easy comparison.

In comparing the spider diagrams on the following page, the 15 wards exhibit clear differences among themselves, as well as in relation to the Greater London average. Green Street East deviates most from the GL average: the ward exhibits an extremely low proportion of white people, a deprivation index well above average, and more children and teenagers than is typical for Greater London. This reflects the unique nature of this ward, as observed in the previous chapter. Other extremes include the housing price in Town, which is twice the GL average, showing the desirability of one higher density area; deprivation in Weavers, which corresponds to lower living standards in a ward dominated by council flats; and the high proportion of renters and those living in flats in Kilburn, Ferndale and Weavers.

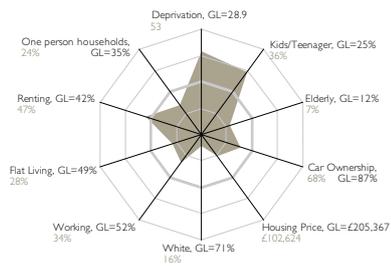
Although the Selection 15 wards are united in their characteristics of density levels and relative location within Greater London, they nevertheless represent a wide range of socio-economic characteristics:

1. Six of the wards exhibit levels of deprivation significantly above, and another four slightly above those of the Greater London average.
2. Only Weavers, Avonmore & Brook Green and Addiscombe have about the same proportion of elderly people as Greater London. All other wards contain a far lower proportion than the GL average.
3. Only Bensham Manor and Southfield have car ownership levels similar to the Greater London average.
4. The incidence of people living in flats generally decreases with decreasing levels of density within the 15 wards. The main exceptions are Green Street East and Mapesbury.

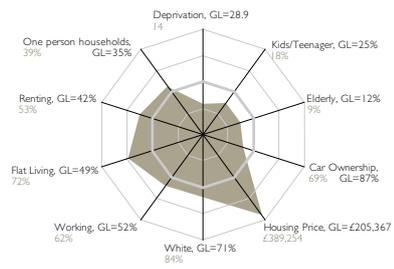
Addison, 204 pers./ha



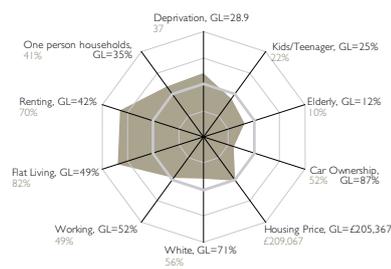
Green Street East, 176 pers./ha



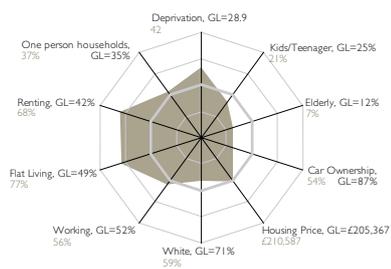
Town, 153 pers./ha



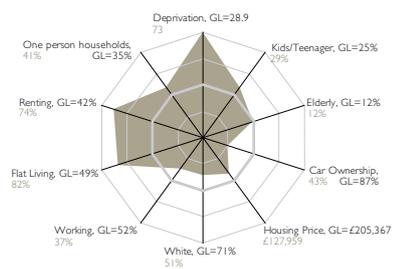
Kilburn, 151 pers./ha



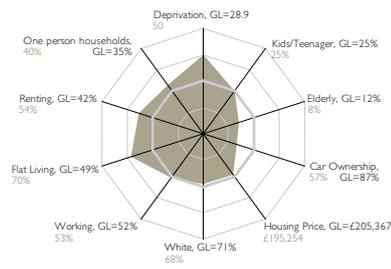
Ferndale, 151 pers./ha



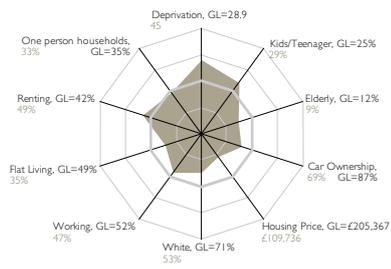
Weavers, 151 pers./ha



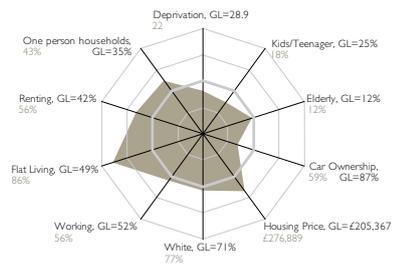
Clissold, 148 pers./ha



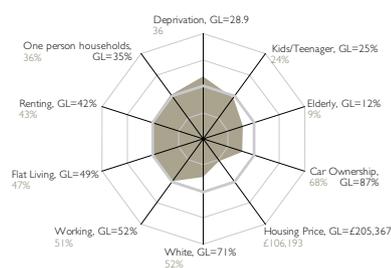
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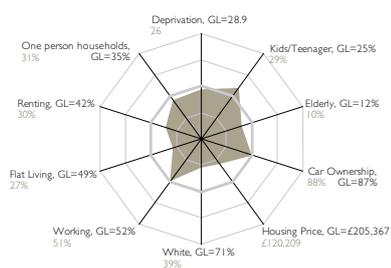
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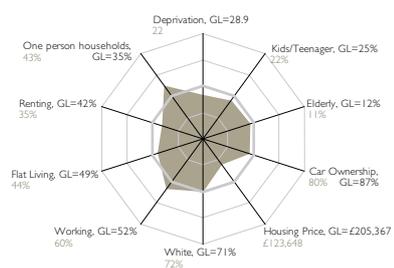
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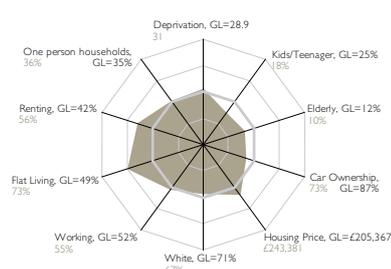
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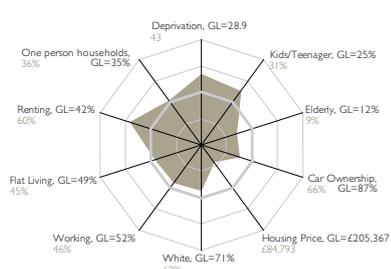
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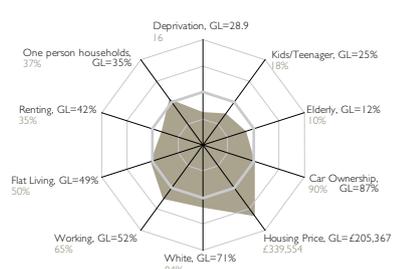
Mapesbury, 96 pers./ha



Glyndon, 90 pers./ha



Southfield, 87 pers./ha



Socio-demographic parameters

- individual wards
- Greater London

## 2.6 Glossary

CL	Central London
GL	Greater London
GLUC	Generalised Land Use Classification
IL	Inner London
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivation
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
OL	Outer London

## 2.7 Bibliography

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Neighbourhood analysis:

Socio-spatial analysis of the five  
areas of study

Part C



# I Introduction

As explained in Part B, this study comprises two levels of analysis, namely a metropolitan level analysis, where we looked at London-wide trends, and a neighbourhood-level analysis, where we “drilled down” into five areas to investigate in detail the key attributes associated with residential life in higher density neighbourhoods in London. This chapter presents the in-depth socio-spatial analysis of our five areas of study.

The analysis draws on the wide range of research techniques used by this study, namely the analysis of socio-economic census data, neighbourhood-scale mapping, semi-structured interviews with residents and key informants, and field observation. Additionally, we have integrated findings from the quantitative survey of residents' attitudes to density in these five areas, commissioned for this project from MORI (Part D of this report). The aim, therefore, has been to achieve a thorough and multi-dimensional understanding of these areas concerning which attributes linked to urban density make them more or less desirable places to live.

The first and second sections of this chapter describe the specific research objectives of the social component of the research and its methodology, respectively. In the third section, we present a brief outline of the conceptual framework that shaped the investigation (literature references in the latter section can be found in Part E of this report). In chapter 2 we outline our main findings and hypotheses, and then examine each area in detail in chapter 3, incorporating evidence such as quotes from interviews, charts with survey data and maps. Finally, chapter 4 presents the full catalogue of maps in which we analyse the different spatial and morphological attributes of the five areas.

## I.1 Research objectives and approach

The specific objectives of the research were, firstly, to describe each of the five areas in terms of its socio-economic and demographic composition, its social structure and dynamics, and its spatial attributes. Secondly, the study sought to understand how these three dimensions interact with each other as regards high density living.

The approach we chose to do this was the case study, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques. Due to the relative lack of recent research on residents' attitudes to density in the UK, we realised that we first needed to explore and identify the relevant issues and processes underlying the experience of high density living, i.e. how people make choices and why they value certain social and spatial attributes of a place to live. This task requires a rich contextual analysis, which classic quantitative correlational studies are not able to provide. As Krupat (1985) points out:

*“A major problem with most of the studies on density is that they rely on aggregate rather than on individual data [which] leave out some important information if we want to draw conclusions about how density affects behaviour.[...] What we have is a gross rate of density related to gross rates of pathology. The data do not tell us how they are related, that is, how one factor actually impacts on another for the individual living under a given set of circumstances. [Therefore], it is impossible to conclude anything about individual feelings,*

reactions, or behaviours from these data. [...] A second characteristic of these data is that they are correlational. This means that whatever the relationship between density and X, density cannot be taken to be the cause of X. It may be that other factors related to both (e.g. social class) may cause some form of pathology or even that the direction of causation is just the reverse (i.e., that people who are antisocial or aggressive may prefer or be forced by conditions to move to areas that are high in density)." [Krupat, 1985, 107]

In our approach, we acknowledge a series of sociological processes underlying people's satisfaction with and preferences for certain areas, which can only be understood by investigating people's attitudes and perceptions. At the same time, as our study highlights the importance of the characteristics of the built environment as determining factors in the desirability and functionality of places, this contextual analysis provided a unique methodology to investigate these processes.

For this purpose, we decided to use qualitative in-depth interviews with key local actors and representative local residents to help us gain insight into each of these places and communities. Once we had gained this insight, we were able to draw some hypotheses to be tested by a subsequent quantitative survey conducted in the five areas. The qualitative interviews proved very helpful in shaping the questions for the MORI survey so they would specifically complement our qualitative findings, and would produce statistically generalisable data. Lastly, we related back the findings from the survey to the qualitative findings, so as to check consistency, test our hypotheses and elaborate explanations for the trends observed in the quantitative data.

## 1.2 Research methodology

### Unit of analysis

We used the ward as our unit of analysis, as it is the smallest geographical level at which census data is available. However, bearing in mind that this unit does not necessarily constitute a meaningful socio-spatial entity with which residents identify or refer to, we didn't limit our analysis to its confines, but took the ward merely as a starting point. We made every effort to broaden our outlook to include spatial features and social dynamics stretching beyond the arbitrary ward boundaries.

The ward, indeed, proved to be meaningless as a unit of analysis to understanding neighbourhoods. Functional and social relations with the local area define different "circuits" or "neighbourhoods", which overlap with or extend beyond ward boundaries. Consequently, we believe that the desegregation of the census data at ward level as a smaller (local) scale for the study of "neighbourhoods" is questionable.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that our approach considered focusing on the "neighbourhood" as conceptual unit of analysis, we realised through our field work that it is rarely evident to the interviewees, i.e. there is no clear and direct association of the local area with the idea of "neighbourhood". When asked to define their neighbourhood, most residents, in turn, asked the interviewer to provide a definition. Responses suggest that there are two main levels at which residents relate to their "local environments": the functional and the social. Therefore, our findings have tried to capture that dissociation across our variables of study.

## Social analysis

The social analysis draws upon the empirical data gathered through observation and interviews in the five areas of study. The field work of this study took place between October and December 2003. The observation registered objective parameters (e.g. land uses, massing, main housing typologies, civic institutions) as well as subjective elements such as use of public space, condition of housing stock, social use of amenities and open space, etc.

## Spatial analysis

The spatial analysis at ward level is based on land lines and data published by Ordnance Survey. The area of analysis is 5 km<sup>2</sup>, with the case study ward in the centre of each map. The raw data was organised into thematic layers to generate a series of drawings highlighting different spatial features (i.e. figure ground, green open space, etc.) Extensive field work was then necessary to gather information on the ground floor uses displayed in the use analysis maps. For the local transport accessibility maps, GIS technology was used to create linear- (bus routes) and point-feature- (tube/rail stations) buffers as indicators of walk bands.

## Selection of interviewees

From a list of the main civic institutions in each area (compiled through observation and community networking in each area), we identified key local actors, i.e. people with a particular insight on the local area and community, although not necessarily residents (e.g. local estate agents, council planners, representative of housing associations, community workers). Using a snowball technique, these key actors helped us identify "representative residents", i.e. residents who play an active role in their local areas, thereby providing valuable insights on the values and interests of different sections of the community. These included some of the key local actors (i.e. those who are also local residents) and leaders and representatives of local community organisations. The selection of the interviewees sought a fair mix of gender, race and age (see appendix CA2). Overall, we conducted 70 in-depth interviews with key local actors and residents in the areas of study (ca. 14 per area - see appendix CA2).

## 1.3 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework of this study was developed from a combination of three sources:

1. The current UK urban policy agenda and related documents (Urban Task Force Report, Urban White Paper, Draft London Plan, etc.);
2. An initial literature review on the topic of urban density (see Part E); and
3. Interviews with experts from fields related to the subject (see appendix CA1).

This initial framework served as the template from which we produced questions for the interviews. However, it is important to note that many of the relevant references were added in the course of the project, as more up-to-date research on the topic was being published (one should remember that the study of housing intensification/high-density living is a relatively new and unexplored topic in the UK). Therefore,

throughout the project our learning curve improved and literature and concepts were added incrementally, as they came to our attention, resulting in the study's sometimes "fragmented" nature.

In order to understand "which attributes are associated with living in high-density neighbourhoods in London," we needed to ask a number of questions that could help us describe and explain the different dimensions of the problem. Table 1 summarises the resulting questions and areas of enquiry which lead the investigation:

Table 1:  
Research questions and  
areas of enquiry

<b>"What are the attributes associated with living in high-density neighbourhoods in London?"</b>		
	Research questions	Areas of enquiry
<b>Who?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What kind of people are interested in living in these areas?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Type of people</li> </ul>
<b>What?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the most / least desirable attributes of these areas according to their residents and key local actors?</li> <li>• What characterises housing in the area?</li> <li>• What are the spatial attributes of these areas?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Desirability</li> <li>• Housing in the area</li> <li>• Built environment (spatial maps)</li> </ul>
<b>Why?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Why are these people staying or moving into these areas?</li> <li>• What are the lifestyles of residents in different dense areas?</li> <li>• What are the patterns of use of dense neighbourhoods?</li> <li>• What are the mobility patterns of those living in dense areas?</li> <li>• What are the links between these areas and other parts of the city?</li> <li>• What are the social and community dynamics in the area?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lifestyles</li> <li>• Patterns of use</li> <li>• Mobility patterns</li> <li>• Links with the rest of the city</li> <li>• Social and community dynamics</li> </ul>
<b>How?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How is density perceived in the area?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perception of density</li> </ul>

Starting from these broader areas of enquiry, Table 2 shows the specific variables examined by the social study, which shaped our specific interview schedules (see appendix CA3), as well as the design of the quantitative survey. As for "housing characteristics" and "spatial attributes" of the areas of study, these were investigated through spatial mapping and field observation in addition to point 3.2. of the interview schedule.

Themes	Issues
1. Definition of the "neighbourhood" (Spatial)	1.1. Perceptual boundaries of the neighbourhood
	1.2. Landmarks, recognition of main urban/symbolic elements
2. Choice of the neighbourhood / area (Residents only)	2.1. Reasons to move into the area
	2.2. Choice rationale
3. Desirability of the neighbourhood	3.1. General
	3.1.1. General assessment of the neighbourhood
	3.1.2. Most valued attributes of the neighbourhood
	3.1.3. Least valued attributes of the neighbourhood
	3.2. Housing and property market
	3.2.1. Description of main housing typologies in the area
4. Patterns of use of the neighbourhood and links with rest of the city (4.1 and 4.2 for residents only)	3.2.2. Perception of property values
	3.2.3. Perception of rental market
	4.1. Mobility patterns
5. Community life in the neighbourhood	4.2. Facilities and public services
	4.3. Public space
	5.1. Social networks
6. Expectations about the neighbourhood (Residents only)	5.2. Community engagement
	5.3. Perception of safety
7. Perceptions on density	6.1. General expectations about the neighbourhood
	6.2. Personal expectations to stay or leave
	7.1. Perception on density in the local area
	7.1. Perception on density in general

Table 2:  
Template for interview  
schedule

### Core themes

The following is a brief summary of the core themes from which we drew our main variables of study. These both framed our questions and informed the interpretation of our findings.

### Desirability

For the purpose of our study, we defined desirability as the quality of a particular area to attract households to move in and live there. From an economic point of view, aspirations can be read through demand expressed in the housing market. An objective, quantitative indicator of demand is house price. However, there are also a set of qualitative indicators which express desirability in terms of housing market dynamism in a particular area. This can be measured through the appraisals given by local estate agents; observation of the proportion of properties for sale; state of repair of housing stock; and residents' perceptions on how desirable the area is.

As stated in our research objectives, one of our aims was to identify attributes that make high density areas desirable places to live. Therefore, we started from a number of assumptions of what makes a place desirable to residents, namely: presence of open green space, proximity to amenities and facilities, accessibility to public transport and relative availability of a diverse range of housing typologies (implying appeal to different types of households). These assumptions were based on a variety of sources examining residents' preferences on housing and the built environment, such as property research reports, studies on housing density [Cope, 2002, PRP Architects, 2002; Tunstall 2002], policy documents [*Towards an urban renaissance*, 1999; *Better places to live*, 2003, both from the ODPM], and literature on urban regeneration [Rogers, 1997; Jenks, 1996; etc.]. Our aim was to investigate to what extent these assumptions are confirmed or challenged in high density areas in London.

While the qualitative analysis aimed to unravel residents' perceptions on what they consider desirable and undesirable attributes of their respective local areas, the survey sought to quantify residents' perceptions in three dimensions: what the actual desirable attributes of these areas were, what could most be improved, and what the respondents' expectations are. As the qualitative study developed, we attempted to extrapolate the degree to which these areas are also "desirable" to (i.e. able to satisfy the needs of) "trapped" residents, those groups unable to choose their neighbourhoods by relocation within the private property market.

### Lifestyles

"Urban life" has been theorized as distinct from rural or suburban life by different authors in different terms. Sociological tradition has defined urban life by a certain attitude of detachment, sense of individuality (Simmel: "blasé attitude") and "polite neighbourliness," as opposed to rural or suburban life where people have a more community-oriented lifestyle.

*"The city is the instrument of impersonal life, the mould in which diversity and complexity of persons, interests, and tastes become available as social experience." [Sennett, 1977, 339]*

The recent "urban renaissance" literature discusses the benefits of compact cities for social interaction (walkable distances, chance of encounter, etc.) as opposed to the suburban dispersal which generates, in this view, higher alienation and social disintegration [see for example Jenks 1996].

As Haussermann [2004] posits, the differentiation and "pluralisation" of lifestyles and household types since the 1980s has resulted in retraction of the suburbanisation trend of the Fordist period. Particularly the physically dense, functional heterogeneous older inner city districts have experienced a renaissance, a "new urbanity" [see Haussermann/Siebel, 1987], and the growing demand for such milieus raises the question whether the desired qualities of urban density can be produced through urban planning policies.

“Density” has thereby become a buzz word in the urban planning debate, a term with a variety of associations. On the one hand, low densities are equated with negative consequences such as fragmentation, destruction of the countryside and inefficient rural land consumption. Moreover, low density is negatively associated with the expansion of a privatised lifestyle through suburbanisation, portrayed as an ignorant or irresponsible withdrawal from the urban arena vis-à-vis social problems.

High density, on the other hand, is regarded positively in this new ideology. It is considered a means to efficient consumption of energy and land; high density is “ecologically correct” [Haussermann, 2004], and is a condition or at least a central characteristic of urbanity (often even used as synonymous). Thus, in Haussermann’s view, architects and urban planners currently link high density with the public realm and with vibrant urban life.

In line with this discussion, the relationship between density and lifestyles becomes central to understanding which kinds of people are willing to stay in or move to higher-density areas, and what motives drive them to do so. In sociological terms, a lifestyle is the way a person (or a group) lives. This includes patterns of social relations, consumption, entertainment, and dress. A lifestyle typically also reflects an individual’s attitudes, values or worldview.

Different lifestyles, therefore, imply different tastes and preferences, which translate into different consumption choices. In his essay “The ideology of dense neighbourhood redevelopment”, Allen [1980] defines three types of motives for people to stay in, or move to dense inner city areas:

1. Practical, mainly economic, incentives;
2. Preferences for certain neighbourhood and housing types (matters of taste and lifestyle); and
3. Ideological factors.

According to Allen, these three types of motives interact with each other to determine people’s choices of where to live.

The “practical” or economic reasons why people find the central city increasingly attractive compared with the suburbs have to do with the narrowing of residential alternatives now that the suburbs are “maturing” or coming to resemble cities and to face similar problems for similar reasons. As Allen describes in the case of the United States, the suburbs around older industrial cities have ceased to be “bargains”, and suburban housing costs and taxes have risen to the extent that, in some old city neighbourhoods, structurally sound, turn-of-the-century houses can be purchased and renovated for substantially less than the cost of a new house and lot in the suburbs [Allen, 1980, 412].

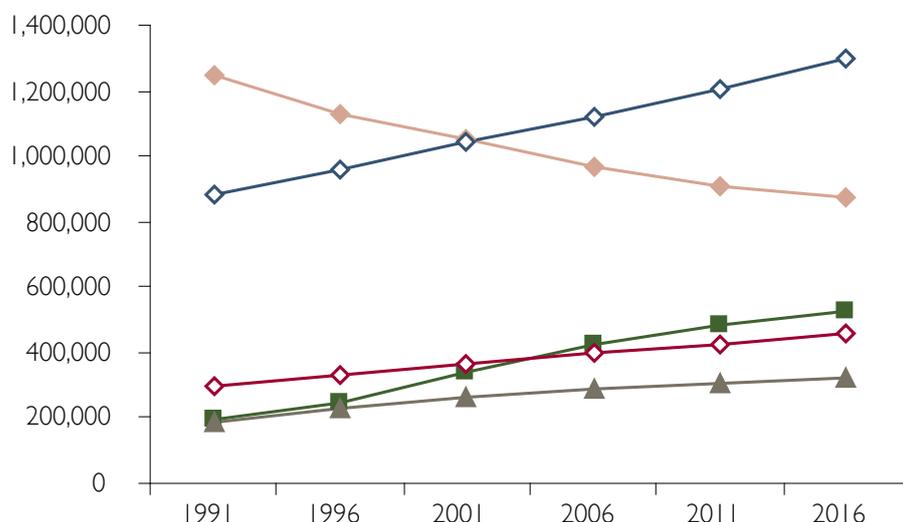
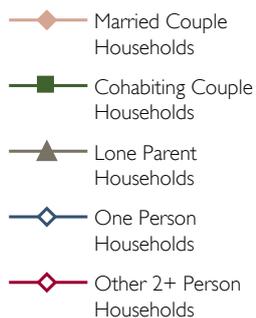
Since the 1980s, a growing number of people with tastes and preferences for dense neighbourhood lifestyles have moved to these areas. Examples of taste-based motives are appreciation for the architectural or historical character of a neighbourhood, preferring to live in a restored old house rather than in a new one, and – in large cities – a preference for apartment and condominium living. [1980, 413] According to Allen, these demonstrated tastes follow from and relate to practical motives,

especially strategic factors of centrality and proximity, such as wanting to spend less time commuting and more time with family.

Lastly, in Allen's view, ideological motives are inextricably involved with matters of practicality and preferences. Examples of "pro-urban" values or motives include a concern with urban social problems, the satisfaction of participating in a social movement, and the pursuit of social and cultural diversity. However, "probably only a few people actually seek out racially integrated neighbourhoods; but perhaps more like to have within perceptual range a variety of lifestyles, particularly those of ethnic communities." [Allen, 1980, 414]

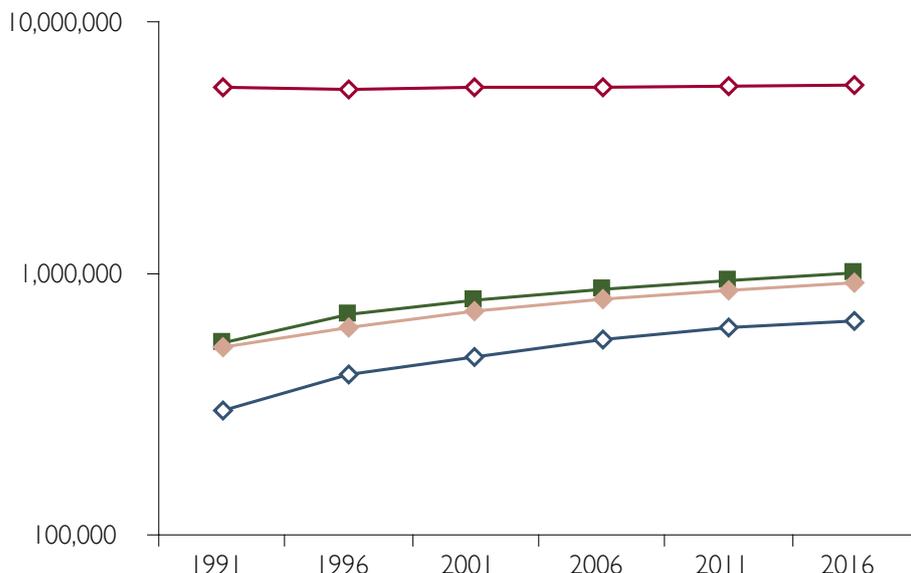
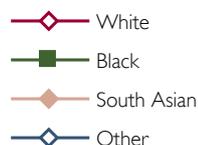
In the context of our study, existing research and policy documents accentuate the fact that London's population is changing, and identify new population trends that impact on lifestyles. As can be seen from Charts C1 and C2, the projected change in terms of household types and ethnic composition shows a dramatic shift towards one or two person households (singles, cohabiting couples) and non-white ethnic

Chart 1:  
**Greater London: projected change in population by household type 1991-2016**



Source: GLA 2000

Chart 2:  
**Greater London: projected change in population by ethnic group 1991 - 2016**



Source: GLA 2000

groups. The lifestyles of this socio-demographic groups are therefore going to have important implications for the urban economy and service provision. As the London Plan acknowledges, “a younger, more diverse London will increase the demand for higher density living close to leisure, entertainment and services.” [GLA, 2002]

Given the relevance of these new household types as a variable to understand preferences for dense urban living, we wanted to explore the lifestyles of people in the areas of study to understand which characteristics of these high-density areas attract different people to live there. By examining the patterns of use and mobility we aimed to describe how these areas can accommodate different groups of people with different lifestyles.

Lastly, underlying our approach was an understanding of London as a key engine of the international economy [see for example Sassen, 2001; Butler, 2003]. We sought to examine if and how the local dynamics of the dense neighbourhoods we studied relate to London’s “global city” status in terms of employment markets (the City of London’s financial and business service industries and supporting services) as well as systems of mobility (international migration and its relation to economic and kin networks) and linkages of these areas with the rest of the metropolitan region.

### **Social and community dynamics**

Wirth [1964] defines a city as a large, dense and permanent settlement inhabited by socially and culturally heterogeneous people. He believes that density results in greater tolerance of difference, but at the same time that physical closeness increases social distance, and may therefore increase antisocial behaviour.

In line with the above, literature about density has focused on the effects of crowding on human behaviour. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Chicago School, in particular, tried to test the assumption that high-density leads to levels of antisocial behaviour in humans, for which researchers conducted vast demographic studies which tried to prove a causal relationship. However, as Krupat [1985] points out, research on the effects of high-density living has been “a good deal less than definitive concerning its impact on urban behaviour.” [1985, 105].

In fact, as Krupat indicates, demographic studies show highly inconsistent results with regard to the effect of density on social behaviour, as “for almost every researcher who claims a significant finding, there is another who has criticized his or her sampling, methods or statistical techniques” [1985, 102]. In addition, he claims, there are even reports indicating that, for certain variables, high density is associated with positive effects and lower rates of pathology. In this regard, the role of “coping mechanisms” in dealing with negative effects of density—the development of complex collective and individual modes of adaptation – should not be underestimated.

But most importantly, it is necessary to ask what factors besides density are impacting on antisocial behaviour in areas where high density seems to be associated with higher levels of crime, for instance. To do so, Krupat underlines the shortcomings of statistical methodologies, as “researchers who have statistically attempted to separate the effects of density and social class have consistently found the latter to be more

influential; others have suggested that pulling these two factors apart statistically is not meaningful because they simply cannot be pulled apart in reality: the effects of crowding and poverty are not independent and should not be treated as such." [1985, 112]. Therefore, he argues that more can be learned about the nature of crowding by looking at it from the point of view of impact and process than from the point of view of outcome.

The qualitative portion of this study has focused on understanding these processes, and as such allows us to comprehensively understand the data gathered through the quantitative survey (see Part D), namely: variables determining the perceptions and attitudes of these areas' residents regarding density. Our intention was that the study of the wider social and community dynamics in these areas would yield the necessary framework to interpret these perceptions and attitudes. In doing so, the presence of other people should not be thought of in simplistic terms. As Baldassare [1977; 1999] asserts, the presence of others presents potential opportunities as well as potential constraints. In an exploration of whether socially "successful" dense neighbourhoods enable interactions between different groups, or cohesion of existing communities, we investigated the links between social networks and the provision of community facilities, resources, and meeting places within the areas of study [see for example Cattell and Evans, 1999].

In addition to the study of social networks in the areas of study, we focused on the concept of "diversity", a key aspect of what constitutes a defining attribute for urban life alongside density, as seen by scholars such as Wirth [1964], Simmel [1995] and Sennett [1977]:

*"A city is a human settlement in which strangers are likely to meet. For this definition to hold true, the settlement has to have a large, heterogeneous population; the population has to be packed together rather densely; market exchanges among the population must make this dense, diverse mass interact."* [Sennett, 1977, 39]

This necessary condition of urban life is even more pertinent for our study as the larger setting of the research, London, is recognised as one of the most cosmopolitan and culturally diverse cities in the world. Thus, we sought a definition of "diversity" that we could employ in the context of our investigation. The Audit Commission, for example, defines diversity as the range of ethnicity, gender, age and disability of residents [2002]. However, it is important to note that popular definitions of "diversity" may reflect notions of cultural and ethnic diversity as opposed to other types of diversity, e.g. age, socio-economic, gender, etc. Moreover, we found that many policy documents exhibit a bias towards this notion of diversity, for example the London Plan.

Therefore, in the course of this study, we sought a more comprehensive measure of "diversity": the number of different ethnic, age, socio-economic class, or other groups, and their relatively homogenous distribution within the ward (i.e. similar proportion of each, rather than skewed towards one or two groups). Nonetheless, it is important to note that our empirical findings showed that most respondents use the term "diversity" to refer to cultural and/or ethnic diversity. As a means to compensate for this bias, we examined the social relationships revealed in the qualitative research seeking to nuance the descriptions of "diversity" beyond the simple demographic figures.

## Housing and property market

Since our approach was to study high density at a “neighbourhood” level, we wanted to look at housing as part of a bundle of physical and social attributes attached to a particular local area. Thus, for the purpose of this study, we sought to link the characteristics of housing in each area with residents’ perceptions on density, particularly in terms of tenure and building typologies.

The study of the property market in each area also gave us insight on the most sought-after characteristics of housing, and how these relate to denser or less dense housing typologies, particular locations, and associated services and amenities. In this regard, our own field survey of building massing through plan analysis and field visits, as well as technical descriptions from interviews with estate agents and housing association representatives proved to be very useful.

## Trade-offs

The trade-off analysis aims to identify the main choices that different social groups make when deciding where to live in Greater London, given a certain budget. The assumption is that each household has a certain budget to spend on accommodation (subject to income and consumption), which allows them to choose a location according to their preferences. These preferences are reflected in different attributes of housing that they might consider more or less desirable

This portion of the analysis takes its cues from Alonso’s bid-rent function theory [Alonso, 1964] - (see Part E). This holds that the residential bid price curve is the amount that a household could pay for rent at different locations (with differing transportation costs) such that the same level of satisfaction is achieved. A more sophisticated formulation of the bid-rent function allows for the possibility that different amounts of housing space could be chosen at different locations. Two of the factors determining the steepness of a household’s bid rent curve are: (1) Transfer costs: the opportunity cost (time) of commuting; (2) Demand for space: The larger the quantity of land occupied by the household, the more it stands to gain in moving to an outlying location.

Bearing this analytical framework in mind, we measured trade-offs through a qualitative exploration of people’s preferences and processes of choice. From our qualitative study, we inferred trade-offs in each area from a combined analysis of all responses related to choice of the area and expectations, desirability and lifestyles. This information helped us to draft hypotheses about possible trade-offs for the main types of residents identified in each area. On the basis of these hypotheses we formulated a set of targeted questions to be asked in the survey (see Part D). In our analysis by area we present an integrated analysis of these sources, focusing on the main groups coming in to each area.

## Perceptions of density

There are a number of related terms, often used interchangeably, but incorrectly to refer to density, such as “crowding,” “overcrowding,” etc. According to Stokols [1972], density is a physical description of people in relationship to space, a necessary but not sufficient condition for crowding. “Crowding,” on the other hand, is the psychological or subjective experience that results from a recognition that one has less space than one desires. Perception of crowding is determined by personal and cultural variables. Rapoport [1977] presents examples of recommended density in different countries:

USA	340 square feet per person
Europe	170 square feet per person
Hong Kong	43 square feet per person

As for “overcrowding,” technically, in the United Kingdom, homes are judged to be overcrowded when there is more than one person in a household for every room (excluding bathrooms). They are judged “severely overcrowded” when the ratio exceeds 1.5 people per room. However, perceptions of overcrowding may vary according to a number of factors, including: design, social factors [Rapoport, 1975; Moch et al, 1996], tall buildings, type of activities [Rapoport, 1975], development size, construction, and facilities [Cooper et al, 1986; all quoted Tunstall, 2002 pp.11-12].

Previous research on attitudes towards high density [see for example Tunstall, 2002] has stressed the inconvenience of asking residents about their views on density due to the different interpretations that the concept might have. It is argued that, because density is a technical concept, used mainly by planners, architects and policy makers, it is alien to the knowledge of the general public. On the other hand, it is worth noting that, since the concept became part of the policy agenda, the current discussion on high density in the UK has been given considerable attention by the news media, therefore impacting on people’s views about the subject in a way which is difficult to control for in our study.

Taking these “methodological warnings” into account, our initial conceptual framework excluded any direct questions about perceptions on density to the interviewees. However, in the course of our pilot study (Clissold ward), we realised that the concept arose spontaneously on a number of occasions, and we decided that it was worthwhile to explore it further in the interviews. Consequently, we added four questions on perceptions about density, but at the end of our interview schedule, so as to avoid biasing the respondent from the beginning of the interview. We lack some responses on those questions for the case of Clissold, as the field work there was already half-way through at the moment of the addition. However, as we shall see in our analysis, the richness of the answers obtained in the remaining interviews has proven illuminating in our effort to understand the way people experience the condition and perceive the concept of density.

## Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Rebecca Tunstall, Emily Silverman and Bani Makkar at the London School of Economics for their help and advice in this part of our research. Special thanks also go to the 70 people who kindly agreed to be interviewed and share their time and knowledge with us.

## 2 Summary of key findings from the social analysis

The following is a summary of our key findings regarding the attributes of high-density living in the five London neighbourhoods that we have studied. As explained in the introductory section, our aim was to understand what makes these high-density areas more or less desirable places to live, as experienced by their residents. We would like to stress, however, the exploratory nature of these findings, as we have dealt with only a limited number of cases. Nevertheless, we believe that these cases represent a “micro-cosmos” of London’s ethnic and socio-cultural diversity, and we hope accordingly that our study will yield hints of possible trends and key issues that further research on the topic can continue to investigate. We have organised these findings into three core themes, which integrate the different variables of our study:

1. Key drivers for high-density living in London neighbourhoods.
2. Perceptions of density.
3. Factors of desirability of high density living in London neighbourhoods.

### 2.1 Key drivers for high-density living in London

Our research indicates that the key factors driving certain types of people to live in London at densities higher than the Greater London average are: **economic drivers** (job market, global city dynamics) and **lifecycle/lifestyle** factors. An exhaustive analysis of the economic drivers is beyond the remit of this study. However, immediately pertinent to our analysis is London’s condition as a magnet for job seekers locally, nationally and globally, and the resulting strain on its housing supply and infrastructure. There is extensive literature on the implications of this condition for housing demand, in particular regarding soaring property prices and housing shortage [see, for example, London Mayor’s Housing Commission, 2000; Whitehead et al, 2000; Cheshire, 2003]. This condition, ultimately, has given rise to the current UK policy emphasis on housing intensification, and to this study in particular.

Our findings confirm that these sorts of economic factors are driving people to live in high-density urban conditions such as the areas of study. Particularly in the case of first-time buyers such as young professionals and young families, dense inner city areas such as the ones studied represent their best chance to “step on to the property ladder,” as interviews and survey show. Our analysis, however, aims to focus on the socio-cultural and demographic factors which, coupled with economic variables, are driving certain types of people to trade-off qualities such as more domestic space for specific attributes associated to high density living. Therefore, the analysis of lifecycles and lifestyles provides answers to our research questions of what kind of people are interested in living in high density areas in London and why, and what these residents’ lifestyles are (i.e. patterns of use, mobility and links with the rest of the city).

- **Lifecycle:** From our findings it emerges that a major determinant of the choice for higher density areas is rooted in specific life-cycle dynamics. Our hypothesis – the “staging ground” hypothesis – is that individuals choose to move into these wards because they provide suitable typologies combined with suitable transport options and amenities – including access to economic and social networks – appropriate to an individual’s time of life. When lifestyles change (e.g. as individuals age), they

may leave these wards for other locations, which offer typologies (e.g. larger family homes), transport options, and amenities more suited to their changing needs. These choices involve an often complex process of “trading off” some qualities of one area against qualities of another. In our study, we observed these processes in all five areas, but they were particularly evident in middle-class areas with thriving Asian communities, such as Green Street East and Bensham Manor.

- **Lifestyles:** In line with the discussion above, we can conclude from our findings that high density areas can sustain different, coexistent lifestyles (i.e. a diversity of incomes, ethnicities, ages, household types, etc). This can be illustrated through a set of hypotheses regarding the lifestyles of different residential groups in these areas, drawn from the wards’ socio-economic profiles in combination with interpretation of the interviews. **Consequently, there appear to be specific lifestyles which are more or less prone to living in these dense areas:**

#### “Urbanites”

These are groups of people whose preferences and socio-economic conditions lead them to opt for high-density living, as identified by our study:

- a. **Young city workers**, singles and couples in their twenties or thirties who work in the City of London. We refer to them as “dormitory” residents, as they have chosen to live in these areas attracted primarily by their convenience in terms of accessibility to central London – specifically to the City. The presence of these groups is particularly evident in Ferndale, Clissold and Town. They are trading-off accessibility to Central London for other qualities such as upkeep of local area, safety, internal space or open green space. However, these trade-offs vary in different places. While “City workers” are attracted to Ferndale by the convenience of the tube connection to the City and are willing to forsake qualities such as upkeep of their local area and safety, in Clissold they are willing to use alternative modes of transport to get to work but gain proximity to amenities such as Clissold Park and the multicultural and “village”-style atmosphere of the area. In either case, nonetheless, these groups are most likely to stay in these area for a limited period of their lives, usually until they form a family or advance to senior professional positions.

*“[On Clapham High Street] everything caters for that young City guy who sort of like gets up early in the morning, jumps on the tube and comes back, grabs some shopping, into his place, puts on his shirt, back into the wine bar, necks as many drinks as he can, into bed at twelve o’clock, up on the tube and it is the rat on the wheel.”*  
(GG, estate agent, Ferndale)

*“[Clissold Ward] is one of the yuppie parts of the borough [...] More middle class, more articulate [...] Church Street is a bit of a magnet, you know, for restaurants and for sort of more middle class residents [...] than some other areas.”* (TF, council planner, Clissold)

- b. Young families** with up to two or three young children. Our findings suggest that they stay in these areas until drawn elsewhere by the desire for higher-quality secondary schools, and more space inside and out—see below. These groups include both young professional, middle-class gentrifiers (i.e. people attracted by these areas by their particular taste for inner-city living) and middle-class to lower middle-class families seeking to “step on to the property ladder” (particularly evident in Bensham Manor and Green Street East).

*“It’s always been a place where people come perhaps when they’re first married [...] it’s generally I would say a sort of middle-earners area and when they get better off then they move out.” (MC, resident, Bensham Manor)*

- c. Self-employed people** working from home, are attracted to these areas due to their need for either proximity to economic clusters or affordable domestic space; they also tend to value social qualities such as the multicultural character and vibrancy of an area. They are often labelled “Bohemians” or “Creatives” by estate agents and market research studies. This group is particularly evident in Ferndale and Clissold.

*“A lot of things that attract a lot of creatives, [...] those people they like to feel that they are different you know and Brixton does have that sort of like vibe about it. Although Brixton has fantastic commuting I wouldn’t say facilities that is not really the main reason why people come to Brixton. People come for the community.” (GG, estate agent, Ferndale)*

*“Quite a lot of artists live around here and people connected with the arts [...] there is quite a surprising number of small workshops.” (NS, resident, Clissold)*

- d. Recent university graduates**, usually flat sharers who move into these areas attracted by their proximity to other young people and amenities (particularly nightlife). Our study identified them especially in Clissold (particularly drawn by the multi-cultural and “alternative” character of the area) and Ferndale (“buzzing” nightlife, cosmopolitan atmosphere).

*“You do get a lot of professionals, [...] people who have just graduated, getting their first jobs in London and they are coming. They [...] could be four mates all been at Lancaster but all four of them come from all over the country, if you know what I mean, in terms of their original home, but they would all gravitate to here and be sharers.” (IA, estate agent, Clissold)*

- e. Recent immigrants**, who seek proximity to ethnicity-specific social and economic networks. These dense inner-city areas act as a first port-of-call to embed themselves in London, providing job opportunities as well as community support. Our research found this group particularly in Green Street East, Bensham Manor and Clissold.

*“People are expanding their houses, children growing up, new businesses opening, family businesses. Some of the people have come in as immigrants, opened businesses, expanded their businesses and brought in more family.” (GS, councillor, Bensham Manor)*

### “Suburban leavers”

As can be seen in more detail in our analysis by area, our study identified groups of people with lifestyles that eventually cause them to move away from these dense areas:

- a. **“Empty nesters,”** i.e. elderly people whose children have left home. Some of them move to more suburban areas wishing to be closer to offspring who’ve settled there. This group is particularly evident in Bensham Manor, Ferndale and Green Street East.

*“Elderly people who have moved, who have been here all their lives [...] as they get older [their] partner dies and they’re slightly infirm as well, they’re children tend to be on the outskirts [...] and they tend to move out to be close to their children and I think that the elderly [...] people feel really quite vulnerable.” (RH, resident, Ferndale)*

- b. **“Priced out”** children of existing residents, who cannot afford to buy homes where they grew up. This group is most evident in our work in Clissold, Ferndale and Town.

*“My neighbour’s children who were born here, they wanted to stay in Hackney [but] they couldn’t. They all have to move out to Chingford and I think it is a loss to us in terms of that supportive network because what is going to happen now is that [the parents] now have to sell their house and move out to get a bungalow near their children because they can’t afford anything in Hackney.” (YX, resident, Clissold)*

- c. **Families with three or more children,** or children of secondary school age, seeking better schools, or more room. This is a strong pattern in Town and Clissold.

*“People don’t tend to stay once they get onto their [...] second or third child, they tend to move further out of Fulham, purely because of the size of the houses and the size of the gardens you get in Fulham, just don’t make fantastic family homes [...] they would rather go out of London maybe and get a proper house that they are going to have for the next 20 years, so you tend to find there is a bit of a shelf life with the houses here.” (KR, estate agent, Town)*

*“[Middle class people] tend to come into the area because the housing is affordable, there are reasonable facilities [...] But they tend to move out, usually out of London altogether when their children come to secondary school age, because [...] they don’t have faith [...] in the local secondary education.” (Mr. P, resident, Clissold)*

- d. **Socially mobile families** for whom “moving up is moving out”. This trend is especially evident in the case of settled communities of earlier migrants, such as Asian (the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations) in Green Street East and Turkish/Kurdish people in Clissold.

*“We do get some of our [...] ‘better’ families who will be looking to move from Thornton Heath to Sanderstead or Purley, that would be considered the next step up if you’d done well.” (JO, clergy, Bensham Manor)*

*“Because they are very well established and run businesses, obviously they become more affluent and when we do that we start thinking, you know, we move out of these areas. And I think what’s happening is, more people from Eastern Europe are settling here and we are getting a slightly bigger population of African pupils and as that’s happening, what the Asian communities are beginning to do is move out of it very slowly and into places like Upminster [...] it’s exactly what the white population did pre the Asian population establishing themselves here.” (Mrs. J, head of schools, Green Street East)*

- e. **“Displaced” ethnic groups**, i.e. people who feel they have lost culture-specific amenities to newcomers. Particularly evident in Bensham Manor and Green Street East.

*“I don’t know any white shopkeepers anymore, they’re all Asian. [...] I think we’ve got one white butcher’s now in the market, he’s been there since year dot, so you’ve got one white butchers, all the rest have Hal Al meat.” (LH, housing association representative, Green Street East)*

*“It is hard really because a lot of the shops are owned by Asian families. They don’t employ anybody else other than Asian families, themselves. That upsets me.” (CM, resident, Bensham Manor)*

### **“Trapped residents”**

Finally, in each area we have identified groups of people who have had very limited or no choice at all in deciding where they live (“trapped residents”). These are usually socio-economically deprived and vulnerable people (e.g. long-term council tenants, elderly poor, asylum seekers). Clearly, such people’s lack of residential choice impacts on their quality of life and on their level of satisfaction with their area as a place to live. It is mainly in these cases that too high density (and, specifically, overcrowding) becomes problematic.

*“There are a mixture of elderly who have lived here an awfully long time, which you find often on a lot of council estates, because there is no mobility for them.” (RS, housing association representative, Clissold)*

*“I don’t mean to sound patronising but they don’t have the choice of living anywhere differently.” (LH, housing association representative, Green Street East)*

Table 3:  
Lifestyles and high-density

“Urbanites”	“Suburban leavers”	“Trapped”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Young City workers (singles and couples without children).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Empty nesters” wishing to be close to their family.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Long-term council tenants.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Young families (with up to two or three young children) and middle- to lower middle-class first-time buyer families.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Priced out” children of existing residents.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elderly poor.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-employed people working from home.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Families with three or more children, or children of secondary school age seeking better schools or more room.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refugees, asylum seekers.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recent university graduates.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Displaced” ethnic groups.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recent immigrants.</li> </ul>		

**Temporal dimension of density:** Our study of residents' lifestyles in these areas suggests that the implications of different lifestyles for dense living should be interpreted in two dimensions: a) a spatial dimension and b) a temporal dimension. The amount of time spent by an individual in their neighbourhood of residence over the course of the day, week and year may determine their trade-off of space against other factors such as accessibility to the city centre and proximity to amenities. In this interpretation, the possibility to take frequent holiday trips is a key factor of “escape,” which would allow these people to cope with higher densities better than people who lack that possibility (for instance, the “trapped” residents). As we can see from the survey (Part D), rates of satisfaction with areas of residence are higher among people who make more frequent trips out of London. We hypothesize that time spent working and socialising away from their homes may also impact on residents' attitudes to dense neighbourhoods. The trend is apparent in the interviews:

*“A lot of the professional[s] will go out at night maybe close to work and only come back here [late. Local] retail is not important because if they don't work 'round here [...] they can shop in the West End, maybe shop in the City.” (IA, estate agent, Clissold)*

*“Some [use] these houses like a dormitory and will be out of London at the weekend anyway.” (FF, clergy, Clissold)*

*“They park behind the gates, the drive out in the morning and probably work in the city and the West End, they drive back late at night having eaten somewhere else, they make no contributions whatsoever to the local economy.” (RH, resident, Ferndale)*

*“The adults work in the City and the children go to the Lycee, they go to France for their holidays, I assume they shop by car at some Sainsbury’s, or they have their food delivered. So they are not actually using the local shops very much and their social life, their children don’t go to dancing lessons locally, they don’t go to swimming lessons locally; they don’t go to school locally.” (MD, resident, Town)*

*“They work in the City for 10 hours, they leave here at 8, start at 9 and finish at 6, get back home at 7, so I mean any sort of services [...] would be closed anyway. Perhaps on the weekend they might do that, but I think generally, for example, post offices they would use the local ones in the City [...] if they want shopping they’ll go into town, Oxford Street is close enough and easy enough.” (GH, estate agent, Town)*

Consequently, we believe that the temporal dimension of density can and should be translated into new and more appropriate ways of measuring density in urban policy. The diversity of lifestyles amongst people seeking to live in dense areas (attracted, as we have seen, by other factors such as proximity to transport nodes, amenities, etc.) implies that new housing developments should account for the type of residents and their lifestyles, particularly in terms of their “density of use” i.e. how much time they spend in their homes and their real needs in terms of living space.

Taking, for example, some of the groups who are, according to our findings, prone to dense-living, we see that “young City workers” (singles or couples without children) will usually spend less time at home than “young families,” as the former will work long hours and spend their spare time in central London or outside the city, while the latter will tend to lead a more “home-centred” life, given the presence of children. Interestingly, this finding is consistent with a study by Cope [2002], which stresses the need to examine not just at occupancy of residential schemes, but also at who lives in them and how residents use the schemes.

## 2.2 Perceptions of density

The majority of people in the areas studied tend to be ambivalent or “reflexive” about density, as both the interviews and survey show. This means that most people are able to see both good and bad things about density, while only a minority of people tend to have clear-cut, black-and-white views about it. Therefore, we can speculate that there is potential for a change in attitudes (e.g. through policy, media, housing providers’ communication strategies, etc).

*“I don’t know [if density is a positive or a negative thing], it depends on your outlook. [...] Some people enjoy having the support of people, neighbours or people around them. Some people perhaps enjoy more freedom and open space.” (PJ, community worker, Green Street East)*

**Attributes commonly associated with density**, which were identified through the interviews and survey can be classified into:

- a. Positively associated with density: “people-related” attributes (community cohesion, cultural diversity), and the presence of facilities and amenities.
- b. Negatively associated with density: physical elements such as parking stress, overrun of facilities and lack of green space.

Our research shows that “vibrancy,” “liveliness,” and “community life” are positive attributes associated with density by residents of all five areas. People of different socio-economic backgrounds and with diverse lifestyles appreciate these “people-related” attributes from different perspectives. On the one hand, less affluent groups value the possibility of access to broad social networks that can provide help and support (particularly in Green Street East and Bensham Manor). On the other hand, middle-class groups such as “creatives” and some young professionals with cosmopolitan values acknowledge the advantages of these dense areas in terms of their vibrant, multicultural atmosphere and the “colour” and “richness” this can bring to their lives (particularly in Clissold and Ferndale).

The extent to which these attitudes lead to deeper levels of social integration is beyond the scope of this study. However, our survey has shown that residents of these areas express a higher-than-the-British-average appreciation for diversity (Part D), which corresponds to the definition of urban life as a place where people from heterogeneous backgrounds coexist “packed together rather densely” [Sennett, 1977, 39]. Wirth [1964] has highlighted the double-sided outcome of this urban condition: it can lead either to greater tolerance or to antisocial behaviour. From our findings, however, we have no evidence to establish a causal link between density and antisocial behaviour. As our study of residents’ perceptions on density shows, the main negative aspects that interviewees associate with high density are physical characteristics such as parking stress, overrun of facilities and lack of green space. Nonetheless, as we will see in the next point, density becomes particularly problematic when it turns into overcrowding.

**Key issues** that appear to determine people’s perceptions of density are:

- **The visibility of large council estates** within an area, irrespective of their often moderate numerical density, is associated negatively with high density. On the one hand, physical aspects such as scale and poor design generate a feeling of being “overwhelmed” and “closed in.” On the other hand, the social stigma attached to council tenants is associated by non-council tenants with anti-social behaviour and poor maintenance.

*“You stand in a block of flats, what can you see: another block of flats [...] visually I think that could feel quite closed in as well. But I think when you’re living in that kind of area and like Park Road and Crescent Road all you’re seeing is flats around you it gives you the feeling of living on top of each other.” (LBN, housing officer, Green Street East)*

*“[In] the part of the ward where I live, the council estates and the council blocks are not particularly dominant. [...] they tend to be at the back of the private housing so you don’t actually notice them [...] Although I guess that there is a fairly high density, there is a lot of space on the estate, so you don’t get this feeling as you do on a lot of Hackney estates that the feeling is overbearing or overpowering. So I think the space elements are very important. You can have high density, but if it is combined with relatively generous public space you don’t get this feeling of overpowering, overpowering feeling of density.” (Mr. P, resident, Clissold)*

- **The presence of natural elements** such as trees, parks, skyline and riverside can help alleviate the feeling of being “closed in” within high density areas.

*“I think [the streets up here] don’t feel as dense [as the council blocks] because you’re looking at a house in front of you and you can see a tree behind that and you can see the sky behind that. But I think when you’re living amongst that all you can see is another block of flats in front of you so your actual, visual doesn’t feel like you can see but I think in the houses you’ve got a feeling, you’ve got a long street and it’s all nice trees.” (LBN, housing officer, Green Street East)*

*“[...] because the roads are quite wide and you see a lot of sky, we don’t have a lot of tall buildings hemming us in. And as you walk towards the river, somehow the area opens; so you’ve got the river, which gives you a huge feeling of open space, so I don’t think you feel crowded in Fulham.” (MD, resident and community worker, Town)*

*“Maybe because we have the park close by, so they feel that there is a bit of fresh air. I think that the park does make a big difference to it. It has a massive open space there. [...] So it’s not all congested the density is right for that area. I think it would be bad to start developing anything on that park. It would be over congested.” (AD, housing trust representative, Clissold)*

- **Overlooking is more acceptable** than noise as a side effect of density. Interviews indicated that overlooking – if well designed – can sometimes foster sociability.

*“I suppose you know, one person’s overlooking is another person’s only contact with the outside world[...] at one time, [...]our communication with [the old lady who lived in the first floor] from our back garden to her kitchen window was the only communication she had with the outside world. Because she couldn’t get out, she was in an upstairs flat, she couldn’t get out, you know, leaning out of her kitchen window and chatting to us was one of the sad highlights of her week. [...] if that overlooking had been designed out, that option wouldn’t have been open to her.” (ML & JC, residents, Ferndale)*

*“You could be sitting in someone’s house and you can hear their telly next door or it’s like you can hear someone shouting in the street or you can hear someone’s door shut downstairs or you can hear a toilet flushing and you know it’s just like this constant noise [...] and I just get the feeling that they’re in my room, you know what I mean, it’s just there.” (LH, housing association representative, Green Street East)*

### 2.3 Factors of desirability of high density living in London neighbourhoods.

From our analysis we can conclude that the combination of specific factors in an area can make high density either a desirable or undesirable living experience:

Our findings show that certain attributes can make high-density living desirable or at least acceptable in London. Such attributes include: accessibility to green open space (when this is relatively large, well-maintained and perceived as safe), provision of a wide range of facilities, proximity to transport nodes and the presence of community networks that are perceived as valuable assets by certain groups of people.

*"[Density is positive] because you can get a lot of different mix of people really, and you can learn from the experience that they have, and the knowledge they bring with them."*  
(AS, councillor, Green Street East)

These findings add evidence to what previous literature on compact urban development, gentrification and inner city revitalisation describes as the qualities of high-density living [see, for example, Allen, 1980; Jenks, 1996; Rogers, 1997; Butler, 2003]. However, our study shows that in the specific case of London, these qualities prove attractive for certain types of people at certain times in their lives (lifecycle/lifestyle drivers). The issue of lifestyles integrates our finding about temporal dimension of density ("density of use"), whereby the possibility to "escape," i.e. to take short holiday breaks, acts as a coping mechanism that makes high-density living acceptable. Our study found this particularly in Town and Clissold and, to a lesser extent, in Ferndale.

However, high-density living becomes problematic in areas where high levels of deprivation coincide with a concentration of vulnerable ethnic groups and with over-crowded living conditions. As can be seen from our analysis, the perception of lack of privacy and the objective negative side-effects of over-crowding (noise, accumulation of rubbish, parking stress and traffic congestion, etc.) can neutralise or counter the potential of dense inner-city areas to act as nodes of robust community networks that provide social support for deprived groups. This is illustrated in our research, particularly in Green Street East, and partially in Ferndale and Bensham Manor.

*"[Density] can bring communities together because of the number of people there are, but then sometimes [...] when you get a large number of people living in a small area, you get this feeling of crowdedness and [...] people turn inwards."* (AS, councillor, Green Street East)

*"I enjoy living in, well, reasonably close proximity to so many people and, you know, I'd choose to live in a terrace house rather than in the middle of 20 acres, [it was] my first choice I suppose. But I think it, leads to problems and I think there were very significant problems with social housing around overcrowding in that really need to be addressed."*  
(RH, resident, Ferndale)

We can conclude from the above that urban **density, in itself, does not account for positive or negative attributes of urban areas** i.e. density is not the only independent variable to explain residents' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their local area. As our findings suggest, the combination of specific factors can make high density living either desirable or not for different types of people, at different stages of their life. These factors are what our study has aimed to unveil.

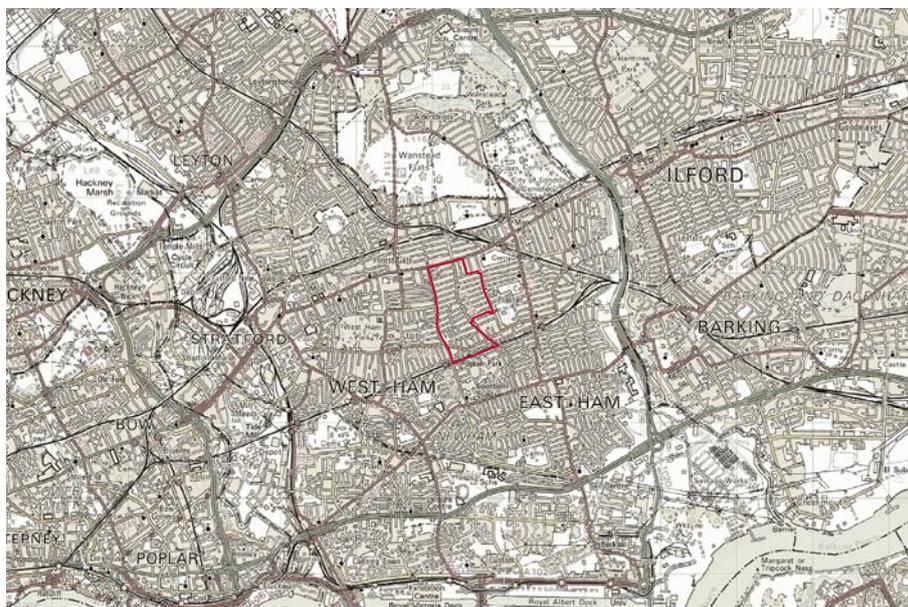
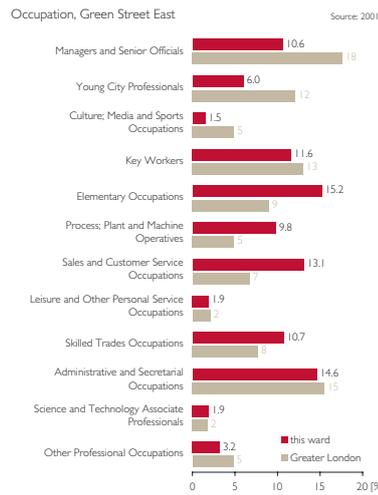
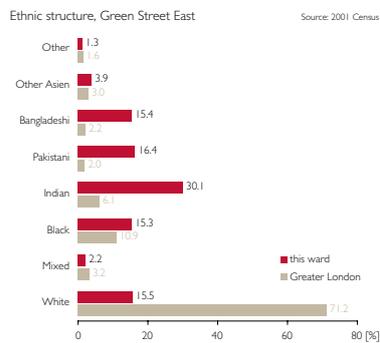
### 3 Social analysis by area

#### 3.1 Green Street East: “Asian enclave”

The densest ward of the sample in terms of population (176 pers./ha), however the fourth densest in terms of dwellings per hectare (54 dw./ha), indicating high levels of over-occupation. In fact, this is London's most overcrowded ward (21% of households) - [The Guardian, 14 April 2004; cited by Association of London Government study on overcrowding in London]. Green Street East is also the least “white” ward in east London. It has a very high proportion of people from Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds. A large majority of the housing are small terraces along narrow, one-way streets. The ward offers cheap houses for families, a local “Asian” high street and direct tube access to Central London.



*“It’s different from the rest of the streets in the country. It’s known throughout Europe, and as far as India, Pakistan, you name it, people know about Green Street. What’s special is that it’s such a diverse area, it’s special in the stuff it can bring from the jewellery to the people you can meet, because you can meet people from virtually any part of the world down Green Street.” (XV, councillor)*



**Index of multiple deprivation (darker colours indicate higher levels of deprivation).**

**Detailed comparison in chapter 4.**

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## Desirability

### Best

The best things about the area as cited in interviews, are: diversity (and a respect for diversity), vibrancy, shopping facilities, transport links, and safety (for Asians).

*“As far as shopping and things like that going on, there is more [...] here than a lot of other places in London.” (SS, estate agent)*

*“Green Street is a street scene for the Asian community, [...] it’s something which they can come down and see the bargains that there is, in the shops, the people, the scene, the different colours. There are mixes of people there, which is important, because obviously it is Asian but obviously it looks up to the other communities as well.” (AR, councillor)*

These perceptions contrast with the findings of the survey, where 28% of the residents disagree that their local area is a place where residents respect ethnic differences between people. Nonetheless, as will be explained in the “social and community dynamics” section, this apparent contradiction reveals a more complex picture of ethnic relations in the area.

**The area’s most valued attributes include diversity, and a respect for diversity, vibrancy, and shopping facilities.**



### Worst

Amongst the worst things indicated by interviewees are crime (gangs, beggars), deficient secondary schools, the presence of transient residents (RSL, immigrants), the neglected appearance of the area, and the displacement of non-Asian retail. Many of the worst things expressed in interviews correspond with the MORI findings that area residents are significantly more likely to say a range of things need improving compared with other wards – this holds true for parking, congestion, accessibility, health services, community activities, facilities for young children, general appearance, pollution, parks and open spaces, the level of anti-social behaviour, safety, race relations, the cost of housing and local job prospects (Part D). From the spatial analysis, the low access to green space bemoaned in interviews is apparent (Map 9).

**Residents say a wide range of things need improving including crime, poor secondary schools, the presence of transient residents, neglect of the area and displacement of non-Asian retail.**



*“The area is an area of great turnover, people come in and stop for two or three years or whatever and move on. We all know the reasons for that because it’s the state of the area really, the area has gone down hill.” (JC, resident)*

*“We just don’t go down there now because most of the shops down there are geared for Asian people, so there is nothing really to go down there for. But I mean years ago we used to go down to the market, we used to go into all the old property boys, but they are not there now.” (JC, resident)*

## Type of people

### Who lives there?

The area hosts high proportions of Asian groups (Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis), black people, and a striking minority of white people (15.5%). The ward contains a significantly above GL average proportion of couples with children (32.9%). The main resident group in the area are Asian families, most of whom work locally (32%). A long term white British population is also evident.



**The main resident group in the area are Asian families, most of whom work locally.**

### Who’s moving in?

Newcomers to the area include first time buyers, refugees (from South Central Europe, Africa, etc.), immigrants (many from East Central Europe), and what we might call “Stratham gentrifiers”, i.e. young people who are attracted to the area by the proximity to the Stratford transport hub and low property prices. Additionally, groups of first time buyers coming into the area include people who want to move closer to the city from Essex, and second- and third-generation Bangladeshis who have been coming into the area from Whitechapel, Tower Hamlets over the past five to ten years.

Interestingly, amongst the diverse Asian communities established in the area, our study identified a trend towards the predominance of Muslim Asians, as interviews suggest.

*“Previous arrivals and their adult children tend to stay in the area because of the temples and other ethnic-specific social amenities. However, there are few new arrivals from the Hindu community in the area. First generation Indians/Gujaratis are not coming to East Ham any more, but to Wembley, because it is a more specifically Gujarati Hindu place. Green Street is too mixed. More of the other communities are taking over, particularly Muslims. Green Street is becoming more specifically Muslim, there are more Muslim-specific facilities in the area.” (AP, resident)*

### Who’s leaving?

Amongst those leaving the area are elderly white people who, feeling displaced by the Asian-dominated retail and amenities, move to places such as Essex (Basildon, Southend) in a continuing “white flight”. On the other hand, in line with our “staging

ground” hypothesis, some Asians “move up” to larger houses in leafier places such as Ilford, thereby substantiating the relation between upward social mobility and suburbanisation.

**Residents are more likely to work and socialise locally. Green Street East is widely known for Asian-specific amenities, which draws custom from the metropolitan region and serves as a network for new immigrants starting out in London.**



### Lifestyles, patterns of use, mobility patterns

According to the survey findings, people in Green Street East are more likely to have jobs locally and to conduct their leisure activities locally (Part D). Amongst area residents, tube and car are the most important means of commuting. However, car ownership is low (67.8%), perhaps reflecting the greater than GL average level of deprivation. The survey shows that transport to Central London is de-prioritised vs. aspects of the local environment (Part D).

Green Street East is widely known for Asian-specific shopping and leisure, which draws custom from the metropolitan region while also serving as a network for new immigrants starting out in London. The white British minority convey feelings of disenfranchisement by the gradual disappearance of non-Asian retail and claim to be “overwhelmed” by the dominance of these ethnic groups.

*“[Green Street East] hasn't been doing too well in the sort of classic definition of a town centre [...]. It doesn't have that many of the sort of staple stores versus comparison stores but it has become a magnet for Asian, Indian sub-continent shops.” (JT, council planner)*

*“In Green Street if you walk any time between 12.00 and 2.00 a.m. at night, you'll find three to four restaurants open.” (Mr S, clergy)*

*“If you want to get clothes or something you have to go somewhere else, because they're more catering for Asians.” (DM, resident)*

Evidence suggests that Asian families use the area as a “staging-post” in their upward social mobility, aspiring to move to leafier Asian-dominated suburbs (e.g. Ilford, Redbridge). The area offers them an ethnic-specific social and economic network. Education is also an important component of social advancement for this group. The interviews imply lifestyles based upon close knit family life rather than integrated with the wider community.

*“The Asian community is very motivated in terms of education. [...] 97% of them, they do their homework, they're well behaved. It's just a wonderful community in which to work, because their parents want them to do well so they are going to.” (Mrs J, head of schools)*

*“Because they are very well established and run businesses, obviously they become more affluent and when we do that we start thinking, you know, we move out of these areas. And I think what’s happening is, more people from Eastern Europe are settling here and we are getting a slightly bigger population of African pupils and as that’s happening, what the Asian communities are beginning to do is move out of it very slowly and into places like Upminster [...] it’s exactly what the white population did pre the Asian population establishing themselves here.” (Mrs. J, head of schools)*

On the other hand, white elderly and black council tenants comprise the “trapped” residents of the area. Some of these residents feel marginalized and overwhelmed by the Asian community, in particular that they are losing local services for Asian-specific shops and facilities. As a result, they tend not to shop locally, instead going to places like East Ham High Street.

*“I don’t mean to sound patronising but they don’t have the choice of living anywhere differently.” (LH, housing association representative)*

*“Don’t forget that we’re talking about people that are dependent on [the] council [...] they’re the people that have had to fight to get where they live so they’re not going to want to move. And their aspirations are not to go and get a nice big house somewhere, their aspirations [are] this is it for me, this is where I am, this is where I belong and they don’t aspire to do anything other.” (LH, housing association representative)*

Lastly, the group we might call the “Stratford gentrifiers” are professional people of mixed ethnicity in their early 20s to mid-30s. Many of these are moving out from Whitechapel. Their investment decisions are partially based on the “colour” of the area and its potential due to anticipated transport links.

## Social and community dynamics

In Green Street East, our findings suggest, the combination of deprivation, ethnic diversity and over-occupation is leading to constraints rather than opportunities – As Baldassare [cited Krupat, 1985] points out “the presence of others presents potential opportunities as well as potential constraints”. While on the one hand, the qualitative analysis shows that “community life” and “respect” are amongst the best things that interviewees highlight about the area, on the other hand, both the interviews and survey show high levels of dissatisfaction with the area and perceptions of intolerance for ethnic differences.

Although apparently contradictory, both are true. There is a tension between a lively and cohesive community life within each sub-culture (especially the Asian sub-culture) and the accumulation of inter-class and inter-ethnic resentment. If we consider the recent influx of refugees and immigrants from Eastern Europe, and the predominance of the Asian community in the area, it is perhaps not surprising that white residents feel threatened, as both survey and interviews show.

Additionally, the displacement of non-Asian retail and allocation of housing to refugees generate friction between ethnic groups. Moreover, as evident from the perceptions on density in the area, high levels of over-occupation do not ameliorate these tensions.

*"In every way I think [this area] gives children what they need to grow to be decent citizens and be tolerant." (Mrs. J, head of schools)*

*"Now in the whole of that area there's one pie mash shop, one English place to eat. All the fish and chip shops are not run by English people at all, they're predominantly Asian, all the shops, I don't know any white shopkeepers anymore, they're all Asian. [...] I think we've got one white butcher's now in the market, he's been there since year dot, so you've got one white butchers, all the rest have Hal Al meat." (LH, housing association representative)*

**Displacement of non-Asian retail and allocation of housing to refugees generate friction between ethnic groups. High levels of over-occupation do not ameliorate these tensions.**



*"I'm not prejudiced in any way but I must say that a lot of this has been brought on by a lot of these asylum seekers, immigrants, [...] not so much the Asian people, because there is three Asian families living opposite me, one of them across the road, he is my best friend and I've known them thirty odd years now, over thirty years, we always get on alright though." (JC, resident)*

The different ethnic groups in the area have diverse patterns of local social engagement. While those white residents who do engage do so through residents' associations, the Muslim community seems to be underrepresented in local organisations. As discussed through the "staging post theory," interviews indicate that many of Green Street East's Asian residents are very mobility-minded and strongly focused on the welfare of their own family, at the expense, perhaps, of a more active local engagement. Clearly, for the Muslim Asian community, the mosque is the centre of community life.

*"You cannot get Asian people to come to meetings, they will not come, no matter what you do, we've done the door knocking, [...] we've done doing it in their language, we're obviously missing it somewhere, or are we missing it, or do they just not want to be part of that, do they want just to be in their own culture?" (LH, housing association representative)*

However, we have also identified some degree of "looser" or informal cross-ethnic patterns of local sociability, such as the interaction of some white British residents with Asian (Hindi, Muslim, Sikh) neighbours through their cultural celebrations (Eid, Diwali, etc).

*"It's really interesting that you've got the older Asian community that actually contribute all that stuff which is the Diwalis and when they're fasting and after their fasting the way they go 'round to neighbours and offer them food and all that's lovely." (LH, housing association representative)*

## Housing in the area

Historically, the area was characterised by poor quality housing, usually short term lets with no inside toilets and no heating until the implementation of the Monega Renewal Area programme. The housing stock is characterised by extended areas of small terraced houses (58.1%). Horizontal tower blocks cause huge problems due to poor design of public access, further isolating a marginalized population (Map 5). There is considerable over-occupation in the whole area, especially amongst council tenants, refugees and poor immigrants. As mentioned earlier, this is the most overcrowded

ward in London (21%). Many formerly two-bed houses have been converted into three-bed houses by the conversion of bathrooms into bedrooms.

According to interviews with key local actors, the area suffers a housing shortage due to Newham's housing crisis. However, we find that the area is entering the mainstream property market, due to its proximity to Stratford and to City Airport. New residential developments in the area are starting to have a "bulls-eye" effect on surrounding areas, and estate agents canvas social housing tenants to "buy-out" their tenancy. Housing demand also comprises student lettings (due to the relative proximity to the University of East London), and a significant amount of buy-to-let. According to estate agents interviewed, 50% are first-time buyers. More than the GL average of households are rented from a private landlord (24.6%). Therefore, considering that the price of housing (£102,624) is considerably lower than the GL average, some predict that the area is due to experience a property boom.



**The housing stock is characterised by extended areas of small terraced houses. There is considerable over-occupation. Many formerly 2-bed houses have been converted into 3-bed houses.**

*"[There are] A lot of people realising what they've got and upgrading due to realising how much equity they've got on their properties or people moving into an area because they see it is going to go boom." (SS, estate agent)*

*"A lot of people are buying and renting. Lettings seem to be quite a student market, we've got the University of East London, so lettings are quite big in that sense. Also young couples who may be come back from Essex and come down to, before they commit themselves, see what's about. Generally people in this area either come new to the country or they've just come new to the area and they work here or work close to here. Most people come, rent for a while and then buy. [...] Mainly apartments." (SS, estate agent)*

*"University graduates who have moved straight into central London and rented and decided that now is the time to buy somewhere, realised that they can't afford where they are renting and want to move out somewhere where it's close to, but not as much money." (SS, estate agent)*

## Trade-offs

Asian people – the area's main demographic group – show a clear lifecycle pattern, i.e. they move to Green Street East seeking proximity to ethnic community and specific amenities and business, deferring their need for space until a time when they have saved enough money to move to "leafier" Asian-dominated suburbs. This is consistent with the survey findings, where residents of the area were significantly more likely than the ward sample to prefer homogeneity and proximity to good schools to more space

in their home, and significantly more willing to trade-off good transport connections to Central London for proximity to friends and relatives, homogeneity, safety, well maintained streets, schools and parking.

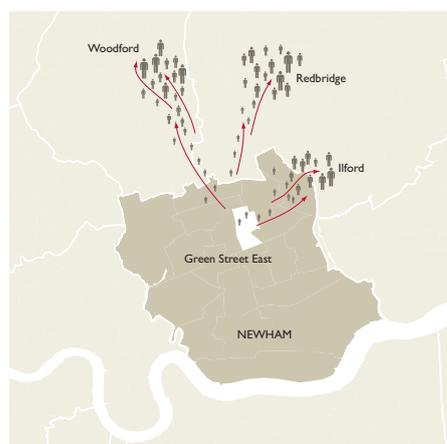
*"This borough [has] the majority of the minorities, you can say of the Asian and of the black people, that's why people want to move here you know, with the same race or same people, that's why they want to come here."* (MM, estate agent)

*"The Asian community is very motivated in terms of education."* (Mrs J, head teacher)

The survey findings support the hypothesis that residents tolerate the area as a temporary home, with the promise of an improved situation to come. In addition to the low proportions saying lifestyle made a difference in their choice to live in their area, only 23% in Green Street East say they would live there if money was no object. (Part D). Also almost half of the residents aspire to move out in the next few years (48%) (Part D).

*"People who have been in and around here all their lives [...] are moving back out to say Essex or Woodford; somewhere to bring their kids up. A bit more greenery around them. So people who have been here, done the hard graft, earned their money and want to have a bit more space."* (SS, estate agent)

**Asian residents seek the area's ethnic-specific amenities and economic networks, deferring need for space until they can afford to move to "leafier" suburbs.**



In addition, the survey finds that residents are significantly more likely to prefer homogeneity and proximity to good schools to more space in their home. Residents show an average to greater-than-average willingness to trade-off all other categories against transport connections to Central London. Moreover, they are significantly more willing to trade off good transport connections to Central London for proximity to kin, homogeneity, safety, streets, schools, and parking (Part D). This

corresponds with our lifecycle hypothesis for Green Street East's Asian community: they move to the area to access certain networks, but it is understood that moving out means "moving up". Whilst they are still in Green Street East, less personal space and green space have been traded off for proximity to places of employment and opportunity (such as education), a cluster of ethnic specific business and services and proximity to people from similar backgrounds.

*"This group is quite widely influenced by their jobs. Generally speaking you wouldn't want to pay that much more money to be somewhere unless it had something to do with your job, Whitechapel and in and around the area, it's a lot busier, it's a lot more built up, there's a lot less parkland and generally speaking those kind of people wouldn't want to be in that kind of central location, it's 90% to do with the job."* (SS, estate agent)

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## Perceptions of density

People in Green Street East are highly ambivalent about the positive and negative aspects of density. In fact, respondents in this area had the highest proportion of “it depends” as an answer to the question whether density is a positive or a negative thing.

*“I don’t know [if density is a positive or a negative thing], it depends on your outlook. [...] Some people enjoy having the support of people, neighbours or people around them. Some people perhaps enjoy more freedom and open space.” (PJ, social worker)*

On the whole, interviews suggest that vibrancy and diversity are considered good things. The availability of shops and social networks, and community support are all perceived as good aspects of the area, and about density. Moreover, expressed perceptions reveal that the connection between density and diversity is one of the area’s most valued attributes:

*“[Density is positive] because you can get a lot of different mix of people really, and you can learn from the experience that they have, and the knowledge they bring with them.” (AS, councillor)*

However, excessive levels of internal density (overcrowding), combined with poor housing conditions, deprivation, a transient population who live in over-occupation and lack of enough (usable) green open space generate a feeling of discomfort. These are the bad things about density in this particular area. Negative things about density, more generally, include potential overrun of local services, crime, disputes, and low tolerance by some people when faced with cultural diversity.

*“Well people these days don’t have the same sort of tolerance as people years ago. They just as soon turn around and put a knife in your back. [I think it has to do with] different people, different cultures.” (JC, resident)*

The link between density and overcrowding seems to be particularly strong, as perceived by interviewees in this area. There is a widespread feeling that the area is overpopulated and that dwellings are over-occupied. This perception is consistent with the fact that the area is the most overcrowded ward in London, as mentioned earlier. The close-knit nature of the community means that larger, extended families live under the same roof, often resulting in over-occupation.



**The visibility of nature elements, such as trees and sky is thought to create a feeling of lower density. The perception is that houses are more spread out than blocks, and offer a feeling of space, as opposed to being “closed in”.**

*“There’s almost a sense of over populating, because when we go around the borough conversing in political terms, [...] people start complaining about things [...] Kids not getting places in the school, houses are over populated. There’s a house for three or four people and there are seven living in there.” (XV, councillor)*

In direct relation with over-occupation, noise is considered one of the worst aspects of high density:

*“You could be sitting in someone’s house and you can hear their telly next door or it’s like you can hear someone shouting in the street or you can hear someone’s door shut downstairs or you can hear a toilet flushing and you know it’s just like this constant noise [...] and I just get the feeling that they’re in my room, you know what I mean, it’s just there.” (LH, housing association representative)*

Furthermore, when density reaches a certain threshold, it begins to have a negative social effect; people are perceived to become introverted and unsociable when density is too high.

*“[Density] can bring communities together because of the number of peoples there are, but then sometimes [...] when you get a large number of people living in a small area, you get this feeling of crowdedness and [...] people turn inwards.” (AS, councillor)*

Some attribute unsociability to single people who live either on their own or in large groups. They are judged to not relate with the rest of the community and to isolate within their own walls, concentrating on work and leaving the area as soon as possible.

*“You don’t get this cohesion, [...] a large number of single, one-parent people, or single people living in the house, they might not want to gel into the community areas. To try to get them out would be difficult because all they’re concerned about is the four walls they live in. [...] Similarly, when you get a group of five or six people living in a house who are all single, [...] they do not necessarily want to interact with the community out there. All they’re concerned about is a) doing their work, living and then moving on. Because they do not want to see themselves living in these four walls anyway. So you will get a high density of people living in a house, or in houses, because they’re not family units, and hence why they want to move on.” (AS, councillor)*

Lastly, transient residents are perceived as a nuisance when density levels reach a certain threshold, especially due to their living conditions, which are in most cases over-occupation.

A clear distinction is drawn between the quality of the built environment in council estates as compared with street properties. Some interviewees speak of the importance of physical and design elements to generate a perception of “space” as opposed to being “closed in”. People with private gardens or access to allotments, for example, don’t perceive the area as dense due to the possibility of using open (private) space.

Being surrounded by flats creates the visual impression of higher density, which is associated with being “closed in.” Houses are considered positively vs. council blocks. The perception is that houses are more spread out than blocks, and offer a feeling of space, the possibility to “escape,” unlike blocks, where many times communal gardens are considered unusable. Balconies are considered a good opportunity to take part in the street scene.

*“Whatever happens in that smaller area [the council blocks] where it’s so dense affects more, whereas I think with the houses from the way it’s more spread out [...] you’ve got the road, and you’ve got the feeling of being able to get away. So I think that all adds to it because in the block where are you going to go downstairs and sit in the communal garden? You’re not away from it are you, you can stand on your balcony and you’re still living it aren’t you. So you know if you’re living in a house and you just think ‘Oh I’ll go for a walk and get away,’ you’ve only got to walk to the top of the street, have a cigarette and feel a bit more chilled whereas [the council estate residents] can’t really do that because they’ve got to run the gauntlet to get past that to get away.” (LH, housing association representative)*

*“You stand in a block of flats, what can you see: another block of flats, and you know it’s like visually I think that could feel quite closed in as well. But I think when you’re living in that kind of area and like Park Road and Crescent Road all you’re seeing is flats around you it gives you the feeling of living on top of each other.” (LH, housing association representative)*

The visibility of nature elements, such as trees, sky, etc. is thought to create a feeling of space, of lower densities (as a positive condition). However, the area is not considered “leafy” and most residents aspire to move out to leafier areas.

*“I think [the streets up here] don’t feel as dense [as the council blocks] because you’re looking at a house in front of you and you can see a tree behind that and you can see the sky behind that. But I think when you’re living amongst that all you can see is another block of flats in front of you so your actual, visual doesn’t feel like you can see, but I think in the houses you’ve got a feeling, you’ve got a long street and it’s all nice trees.” (LH, housing association representative)*

*“It’s something that everybody would aspire to [...] people want to move out to the leafy areas, the surrounding areas.” (AS, councillor)*

Lastly, interviewees note the necessity for adequate facilities to sustain high densities.

*“I mean population is too much. [...] the rate is too high coming into this area than people who are going out from this area. I mean if you go on Monday to any bank, you’ll find cues coming out from the banks, from the post offices. [...] More services are needed [...] If you are living on Manor Park you won’t find one single bank empty. Take a left from Putney Road, go down to the A406 you won’t find a single high street bank on that road. Not one single cash machine.” (MM, estate agent)*

*“In terms of private car, I mean that area’s too congested to move out and in, that’s a bit – think before driving!” (MM, estate agent)*

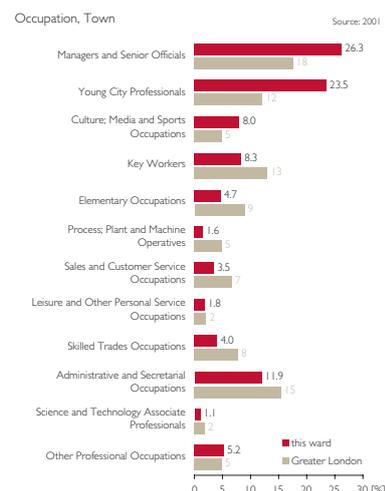
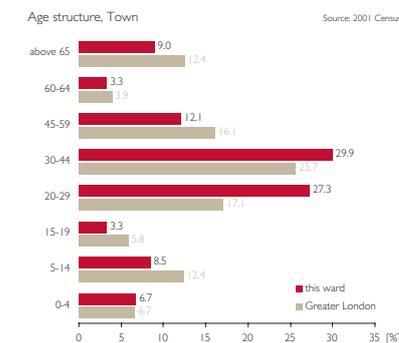
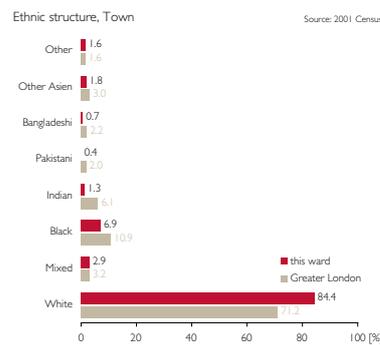
*“Upton Park, is in very poor condition. [...] It’s got very narrow passages. The frontage of the station to the main road is very poor. The entrance ways are very cluttered and on top of that it has to cope with the fact that West Ham Football Club is on the fringes of the town centre. And so you know, that has thousands of people using the station on a Saturday or when there is a match.” (JT, council planner)*



*“The main things are the general affluence of the area, things that come with the affluence of the area. Cleanliness, population makeup, safety and the greenery.” (GH, estate agent)*

### 3.2 Town: “Urban village”

Town is the densest ward in the sample in terms of dwellings per hectare (71 dw./ha), and has the second highest population density in our sample (153 pers./ha). It is also the most affluent area of our five wards, and the most ethnically homogenous (84.4% white). It is predominantly young, with the majority of its population between 20-44 years old. Residents commute to work mainly by tube (41.2%) and bus (11.5%) and have relatively low car usage as compared to the GL average. The area provides large three- to four-bedroom houses for families and young professional flat-sharers. Residents in this area pay a premium for being in a highly desirable location, close to amenities and transport connections to central London.



**Index of multiple deprivation (darker colours indicate higher levels of deprivation).**

**Detailed comparison in chapter 4.**

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## Desirability

### Best things

The things that Town residents like best about their area are: the proximity to green open space (parks, the riverside), amenities (shops, bars, restaurants), its accessibility to central London, safety and the availability of homes of “good” size and quality. The “leafy” character of the area is a highly valued attribute according to the interviews, which matches the survey findings that people in Town and Clissold are more likely to select the environment, parks and open spaces as the best things about the area (Map 18).

*“You’ve got an awful lot of open space, which I think is the attraction to southwest London as general, not just Fulham, [it has] a lot more greenery than the rest of London. That’s the major advantage. The other advantage is the safety and it’s an affluent area.” (GH, estate agent)*

*“Another great advantage of the area is that it’s got a fantastic diversity of restaurants and bars and particularly restaurants [... and ...] quite exclusive and good shops.” (GH, estate agent)*

*“It’s pretty well positioned, you are not far from the centre of town, but it’s easy access out as well.” (KR, estate agent)*



**Residents like the area's proximity to green open space, amenities, accessibility to central London, safety and the availability of homes of “good” size and quality.**

### Worst things

The problem cited as worst in the area is parking stress. Aside from this aspect, the interviewees struggled to identify other negative things about the area. This is consistent with the survey finding that Town residents are more likely to be satisfied with their local area than residents of the other wards polled. Only when pushed to name other negative aspects, people indicated traffic congestion, narrow streets, and poor service of public transport (particularly the unreliability of District line). Some residents also refer to the displacement of local retail by the proliferation of upmarket retail chains as a negative attribute (especially those who see the new retail as unaffordable).

*“I would say that anyone who knows Fulham, one of the worst things is parking and the narrowness of the streets as well. When you are actually driving around them physically, you know they are quite narrow roads.” (KR, estate agent)*

*"If you go to Putney Bridge, off Parsons Green, in the morning, I mean it's heaving! That one of the big issues, not just within out ward but across past Fulham, is the poor service on the district line, on the Wimbledon branch, which is horrendous sometimes. I mean it's like a cattle market!" (AL, councillor)*

**The worst problem cited in the area is parking stress.**



*"Local shops and services do not necessarily cater for those residents who cannot afford them." (EW, council planner)*

*"[Once] you could buy everything that you wanted in walking distance along the Fulham Road. Now all those shops are gone.[...Now] it's amusing shopping, there are lots of present shops and there are clothes shops, but for foods, you have to go away from Fulham Road really." (MD, estate agent)*

## Type of people

### Who lives there?

The longer-term residents in this area are a mix of affluent white British long-term residents, European and American senior executives with their families, and British working class people, usually social or council tenants. While the former group clusters in the south-west part of the ward (where the properties are larger and of better quality), the latter are housed in council flats and street properties in the north-east of the ward. Additionally, the area hosts a "transient international elite" of European and American senior executives who come to London (with their families) on job placements for four to five years.

**Residents are a mix of affluent white British, European and American executives with their families, and British working class.**



*"The makeup is relatively good, although obviously there is an economic and social diversity, largely it's quite a wealthy area and the political – well the cultural makeup is a lot more fixed than many other areas in London. It's quite generally good. A very typical sort of person who lives in Fulham for example – a white middle upper class." (GH, estate agent)*

*"We have a lot of City boys, when they were getting their bonuses they were buying their pads here. They are all very much, [...] ex-public school, they sort of ski in the same resorts and all go to the same dinner parties, very typical type that you get in Fulham." (KR, estate agent)*

*“They go to good schools, get a good education, get a good job, go into management, and Mummy leaves them lots of money. [...] Mummy and Daddy give them £20,000 to go and buy a flat.” (GH, estate agent)*

### **Who’s moving in?**

Those moving in to the area more recently are young City professionals (mainly white British and Antipodeans) They are attracted to the area by the wide range of class-specific amenities, its relative centrality and the availability of large three- to four-bedroom houses with two bathrooms, ideal for sharing.

There are also strong property market links to the Home Counties (e.g. people moving out from Town to Somerset, Wiltshire; moving in from Surrey, Sussex).

*“Because of the affordability of property in Fulham, most people would be from within London already and more affluent areas in London, because it is so expensive. Or [...] a lot of people come from the south west of the country, again because it’s more affluent.” (GH, estate agent)*

### **Who’s leaving?**

Those moving out of the area are British working class (black and white) who are being priced-out by the rapid upgrading of retail and amenities and, more generally, those families with three or more children who are seeking for more space and usually move out to suburbs in the south-west of London (e.g. Putney, Wimbledon). Lastly, socially mobile middle class families may move to Chelsea and Kensington (if they can afford to).

*“You would think that because we are north of the river people would move further west, but you are more likely to go South.” “People who are moving further out, to get more for their money, for what ever reasons, it’s normally young couples with children on the way, or with children, who are looking to move out to get something slightly larger.” (KR, estate agent)*

*“People don’t tend to stay once they get onto their [...] second or third child, they tend to move further out of Fulham, purely because of the size of the houses and the size of the gardens you get in Fulham, just don’t make fantastic family homes [...] they would rather go out of London maybe and get a proper house that they are going to have for the next 20 years, so you tend to find there is a bit of a shelf life with the houses here.” (KR, estate agent)*

*“There are a lot of people who aspire to live in Chelsea or Kensington, because it’s the next – certainly financially, the next step up.” (GH, estate agent)*

## Lifestyles, patterns of use, mobility patterns

In terms of lifestyle, the area attracts what we might call “Chelsea-wannabes”, i.e. affluent City professionals (both senior and junior) who would like to live in Chelsea, but can “only” afford Fulham. This is confirmed by the survey, where 60% of Town residents agree that the area they live in is the best they can afford. Chelsea wannabes senior comprise affluent families holding senior positions. Chelsea wannabes junior are affluent young City professionals from the UK or the Antipodes. Property patterns vary, from couples buying flats, singles sharing flats with two or three others, or parents subsidising their children’s purchase of property as investment. This group tends to socialize and shop locally, in Chelsea or west central London. It makes intensive use of the District Line, travelling to jobs in Central London, particularly the City of London.

**“Chelsea-wannabes” tend to socialise and shop locally, in Chelsea or west central London. This group makes intensive use of the District Line.**



*“It’s a very central area to live. It’s got very good public transport links to it. There are two pass routes around Fulham Road and funnily, the interesting thing – the interesting data that came out of that census, was that we had one of the highest percentages of people who use public transport to go to work.” (AL, councillor)*

*“A large percentage of the people living in the area [...] live in Fulham because it’s good to be said to live in Fulham [...] Not as good as Chelsea or South Kensington, but it still is a good area to meet other people, you will often bump into – I suppose what would be considered as important people.” (GH, estate agent)*

*“People want to live here, because their friends live here and parents like investing money here with or for their children for exactly the same reasons, because I feel it’s a very safe area to invest in [...] it’s very established.” (KR, estate agent)*

*“[Young Antipodeans] come in, they work very hard, they party hard.” (GH, estate agent)*

Socio-cultural links (i.e. family, friends, hobbies, etc.) are strong between the more affluent section of the local population and places such as Chelsea and Kensington, the home counties, and Central London (particularly the West End).

*“South west London is convenient for us, our children are here plus my wife’s brother and sister live out in that direction, much further out. We’re the right side of London for most of our family and social connections.” (PL, resident)*

*“We’re this side of London because I see golf as an important part of my life and getting out there is an important part of my life.” (PL, resident, travels to golf club at Ascot by car)*

The survey tells us that this group makes use of the local amenities and facilities and have the highest proportion of number of holidays amongst the sampled wards. From the interviews we know that Town residents have a high appreciation for the type of amenities and community typical of west-London, which includes frequent short-breaks to the “home counties”. The latter is a key factor to understand why density

can work in this area. As with certain groups in Ferndale, the “possibility to escape” enjoyed by many Town residents makes higher density less oppressive.

*“My free time is spent on holiday. My free time is for travel.” (MT, resident)*

On the other hand, council tenants or owners find themselves gradually priced-out of retail and amenities offered in the area. This group tends to shop in North End Road, which offers the lower-end retail in the area.

*“Fulham used to have a swimming pool and it lost that years ago, that’s a big symbol of what’s happening: that the local population feeling displaced or pushed out because that used to be a public swimming pool, run and managed by the council, but they couldn’t keep it going [...] it’s now private.” (MD, housing association representative)*

*“There are lots of new eating areas out, open, but I haven’t known the people who are using it, but it’s always full. [...] I only eat out about once or twice a year [...] I save the money.” (MT, resident)*

Lastly, the international business elite and their families are reported to use the area as a dormitory, working and socialising elsewhere.

*“Their lives aren’t conducted in the area. [...] the houses here are quite expensive so most of the people moving into the street are bankers of some sort or City people and they come in for two or three years and they have their 2.4 children and then they move out again. [...] The adults work in the city and the children go to the Lycee, they go to France for their holidays, I assume they shop by car at some Sainsbury’s, or they have their food delivered. So they are not actually using the local shops very much [nor is] their social life [local].” (MD, resident)*

*“They work in the city for 10 hours, they leave here at 8, start at 9 and finish at 6, get back home at 7, so I mean any sort of services [...] would be closed anyway. Perhaps on the weekend they might do that, but I think generally, for example, post offices they would use the local ones in the City [...] if they want shopping they’ll go into town, Oxford Street is close enough and easy enough.” (GH, estate agent)*

## Social and community dynamics

Despite the relative lack of community-based organisations in the area, residents in Town are likely to socialise locally, as both the interviews and the survey confirm. Local pubs, bars and restaurants are preferred meeting points for British and Antipodeans, whereas the large French population has its own community network of schools and gathering places.



**There is a choice of local amenities, for those who can pay.**

*“There are bars up in Fulham Broadway, literally full of South Africans every night, [...] people come from all over London to come to the bar, all the South Africans [...] go to there, you couldn’t hear an English accent for love or money.” (GH, estate agent)*

*"If one person lives here, all his friends from university will come down and live here as well and then they will know people who will then come move down, so there is quite an intricate interlinked community of young professionals in the area [...] the more international, Australian, South African, New Zealanders [...] do the same thing. One person will live here and others will come." (GH, estate agent)*

There is a choice of amenities, for those who can pay. This implies, however, that the less well-off residents have a separate circuit of meeting points such as council estate community halls.

*"Down the Fulham Road for example it's all antique shops and you know, designer clothes, but only for them and there is a lot of restaurants and bars, but only [for] the wealthy, because there is not a lot of community benefit, they are not part of the community. They don't move in here, they just live here, but they work in the City and they go out to the country at the weekends or something." (MD, housing association representative)*

*"We have one of the most active parents' association in London at Hammersmith and Fulham plus our voluntary organisation is also next to nothing. I don't think any other borough has a voluntary organisation as we have, which is well organised, well integrated to almost every aspect of health, education, environment." (MT, council estate resident)*

A high number of London-wide organisations based in Town ward mean that the area experiences a high influx of visitors from other areas, thereby intensifying the parking stress and traffic congestion.

*"Now we're looking to get [visitors'] parking restricted to two hours because we have so many amenities. There's a school on the corner, there's a library, there are shops, there's a chiropractor, there's a physiotherapy centre, there's a doctor's surgery, there's another school down there, there's a bridge club. Bridge club, bridge players are a nightmare, they operate between 10 o'clock in the morning to 11 o'clock at night, four or five a sessions." (PL, resident)*

Overall, however, there is a sense of "polite neighbourliness" in these areas, as indicated by the interviewees, who told us that people know their neighbours and that "neighbours care for each other and each other's property". The presence of some residents' associations, strongly focused on management and planning issues, illustrates a rather "functional" approach to neighbourliness.

## Housing in the area

**Victorian mansions flats in the area are described as purpose-built, well laid out, with well proportioned rooms and well run.**



The majority of residents live in flats in converted or shared houses (35.5%, well above the GL average) or in flats in purpose-built blocks. The main tenure types are owned (46.7%) and rented from private landlord (23.6%, well above the GL average).

Victorian terraced private properties, converted into flats, are popular for rent to groups of young professionals. Victorian mansion flats in the area are described as purpose-built, well laid out, with well proportioned rooms and well-run. Flat sharers, mostly young City professionals from the UK and Antipodes, seek large terraced properties, split into flats of three to four bedrooms with two bathrooms. Their preferred location is near tube access, particularly the Parsons Green station. This area is reported to attract women, in particular, because it is perceived as safe.



**Victorian terraced properties, converted into flats, are popular for rent to sharing young professionals.**

**Demand from families has spurred the re-conversions of historically subdivided houses in the west and south of ward.**

*“City professionals tend to go for various types [of housing, but...] the one thing they don't want to compromise on is location in terms of distant to the tube, so 99 out of 100 that would be the key thing for them, so if they would want to be five to ten minutes [from the tube they might] compromise on [...] if they wanted a garden [or] two bedrooms[...]. So that's the key thing they tend to be looking for, it could be one or a two bedroom, something in good condition ready to move in to, but very rarely want to do any work to it.”* (KR, estate agent)

*“The qualities of the tenants is relatively high and the rentals are high, you generally have quite a good tenant makeup, so it's very well known for being a good area, you might not get the best returns on your investment, but the property will be well looked after and you won't have problems with people paying rent for example, compared to other areas.”* (GH, estate agent)

Demand from families has spurred the re-conversions of historically subdivided houses in the west and south of ward and around tube stations. Some interviews suggest that a change of resident demographics in the area may be linked to a reverse of the subdivision trend.

*“When I first moved here [30 years ago] it was fairly down market area [...], most of the houses where multiple occupancy [... now] practically the whole area now is single family occupancy, the individual houses. [...] now days the flats are occupied by one or two people. When we first came to Fulham the flats where occupied by [working class] families.”* (MD, resident)

*“[There are] comparatively few old people, because when the last lot died they weren't replaced by middle-aged people, but the houses were converted back into houses and young couples bought them.”* (MD, resident)

Large family houses (four- to five-bedroom) are sought by affluent families, either British (often from “old” money, or buying with parental subsidies) or international (senior management transferred temporarily to London). Houses are valued for good quality architecture, and well sized rooms.

Moreover, buying in Fulham is perceived as a secure investment, especially by affluent families who subsidise young students and professionals who come to live to London.

*"Parents who will buy property that they will have their children live in, but it will be a long term investment so maybe their children are going to university or starting their first job in London and they will live there, rent out another room to a friend, or you have parents who are buying with their children."* (KR, estate agent)

As for the international business elite, they often live in corporate-subsidised housing, representing a highly desired clientele for local estate agents and landlords.

*"Affordability really doesn't affect [the location choices of residents in] the company [let market], because they are not paying"* (GH, estate agent)

**Geographical distribution of council housing in Town ward.**

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of information provided by London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham



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Lastly, the area's relatively high proportion of council tenants as compared to GL average is striking (19.1% and 17.1% respectively). However, from field observation and interviews we know that there are few council estates in the area, which impacts positively in the perception of the area as less dense. We might hypothesize therefore, that the housing policy of the Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham to re-house council tenants in street properties might be contributing to this effect (see map pictured above).

The main estates are Lancaster Court (a well-kept, friendly community) and Fulham Court (described as problematic and consequently subject to a recent de-intensification policy). However, the high property values of the area are also generating an emerging buy-to-let demand for ex-council stock, as we could gather through the interviews. The reported demand for ex-council stock comes from buy to let investors and more recently, from “professional” types.

*“There’s more people with jobs, or professionals. There are more professionals on the estate [...] we’ve got a family of two doctors here and the corner flat there are American students moving in, so that’s what’s happening to the estate.” (MT, council estate resident)*

## Trade-offs

The demographically strongest group in the area, upper-middle class professionals, forsake space to gain proximity to transport connections and to class-specific amenities. From the survey we can also see that Town residents are significantly more likely to prefer safety to more space in their home. However, as we can see from the perceptions on density, residents in this area consider having “the best of both worlds”: proximity to amenities and transport connections (urban attributes) and green space (parks and small private gardens). Is it only when their life-cycle drives them to look for more space that they decide to leave the area for more suburban locations.

*“City professionals tend to go for various types [of housing] but [...] the one thing they don’t want to compromise on is location in terms of distance to the tube, so 99 out of 100 that would be the key thing for them, so if they would want to be 5–10 minutes [from the tube].” (KR, estate agent)*

*“[Some areas are] less popular and cheaper because of the distance to the station, I mean most things are related to the distance from the station.” (GH, estate agent)*

The survey shows that Town residents are significantly less likely to prefer schools to more space in their home or to good transport connections to Central London. This may reflect an already adequate provision of good schools in the area, or the condition that many residents are able to afford private schooling and are thus independent from concerns with public provision of quality education.



**Upper-middle class professionals forsake space to gain proximity to transport connections and to class-specific amenities.**

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*“The people that have moved in now are posh [...] their children go to school in Kensington and Chelsea on the Hoe and they have country cottages where they go at weekends and they go abroad in the holidays. So they are not dependent on the neighbourhood in the way that previous generations were.” (MD, resident)*

The desire for proximity to other people of the same social class (higher than average in the survey results, relative to both more space and transport connections to Central London) resonates with respondents' descriptions of upper middle class white British, French, and other Europeans' attraction to the area.

*"People want to live here, because their friends live here and parents like investing money here with or for their children for exactly the same reasons, because I feel it's a very safe area to invest in [...] it's very established." (KR, estate agent)*

Safety and greenery are valued characteristics of the area, as expressed in most of the qualitative interviews. However, the preferences expressed in the trade-offs section of the survey suggest that respondents may take current provision of green spaces for granted (Part D).

*"Safety and greenery are I think those are the two things that attract most people to Fulham." (GH, estate agent)*

Lastly, some of the more reflexive responses to the interviews imply that residents trade off the amount of green space provided with the social status and convenience of more central areas and the provision of amenities.

*"I think life is more relaxing when you are walking down streets with greenway on either side, I think the greenery in the front gardens add a soft note to life, to the environment [...]. What I don't like about Fulham is that the architecture is very ordinary. [...] Everything is exactly the same, but if you go to Chelsea or South Ken' you have architectural surprises around the corner so, but on the other hand you lose that by walking along pavements with houses on either side and no greenery." (MD, resident)*

*"You are getting better transport facilities. You [...] are much nearer to the shops [than places further out ...] where front gardens are very large, you don't get so much rapport with your neighbours, so you lead a more isolated life if you have got a big detached house and a front garden, [...] in a way, this is the best of both worlds, I think because you are quite close to you neighbours, but you are sheltered a bit from them." (MD, resident)*

## Perceptions of density

When asked about their perceptions on density, respondents in Town are amongst the most reflexive of those in the five areas of study. This is illustrated by the fact that, on the one hand, most of them respond that the area could be considered both dense and non-dense. Moreover, none of them manifest absolute views –there were no responses for density is a "positive thing" nor for "density is a negative thing." Furthermore, people interviewed in this area were particularly articulate in elaborating on their views.

The main characteristics that people in this area associate with high density can be classified in two main groups:

- Tight urban grain (closeness of the roads, amount of residential property, number of streets, houses and blocks of flats)
- Traffic congestion (difficulty to travel around, congested roads)

There are widespread complaints about parking as associated to high density.

*"It's negative for the reasons that I first touched on, i.e. parking, driving around, the amount of times you drive down a street to pull in and let someone go past, because they are quite narrow streets and you have an awful lot of people who have large 4x4's!"* (KR, estate agent)



**Terraced housing is perceived as dense, capable of accommodating large numbers of people. However, there are widespread complaints in this area about parking stress as associated with high density.**

More generally, it is interesting to look at the arguments given to define the area as both dense and non-dense:

Comparative views: when asked to think whether their area is dense or not, interviewees tend to compare their area to other places in London.

*"I used to live in the Stockwell side, I can compare to that quite easily, where I actually lived, we used to have Victorian houses, which are very similar to the ones in Fulham, but at the same token, right next door, we would have an estate which would have five or six tower blocks in and would be reaching 30 floors or whatever it is. Obviously the amount of people would be dramatically increased around that sort of area. I think Fulham has a lot more green spaces than an area like Stockwell. There is five or six parks in the area and there is a lot of Victorian property, which doesn't facilitate to our population really. [...] not as much purpose built for example."* (GH, estate agent)

*"Well I mean how do you define dense? I mean this isn't dense compared to Hong Kong, but it's a bit more dense than say..."* (PL, resident)

*"Well it's probably no more dense than a lot of other areas, it's like a lot of other areas, but if you get – I live just a little way out in Surrey and it's much more densely populated than Surrey. [...] I mean out there, the gardens are bigger and all this sort of thing, there is just more land so the houses aren't all terraced for example. There is a lot of more houses that are detached houses or semi detached. So in comparison to that I find Fulham quite oppressive yes."* (Mrs M, head of schools)

Housing typologies: terraced housing is perceived as dense, as well as council estates. Those interviewees who think Town ward is dense tend to associate this to the terraced typology. Other interviewees think that the area is not dense as compared to other areas in London where there are plenty of council estates. They perceive that there is a relative absence of council estates in the area (just "pockets" of council estates).



**The best of two worlds: it is neither as suburban as Chiswick, nor as urban as South Kensington. Town offers homes with front gardens, albeit small gardens, which permit residents to be close to neighbours, but at the same time "sheltered" from them.**

*"The houses probably have the same number of residents whether they're 14 foot wide, 16 foot wide or 20, or 12 foot wide because they're just so many rooms and so instead of*

*having a bedroom that is 12 by 12, it might be 13 by 13, or 11 by 11, but they still the same number of people would occupy so density is a funny thing. It does not necessarily [...] I think, I think the impact is created by a vertical build rather than by a horizontal build.” (PL, resident)*

Terraced houses are perceived as tight, capable of accommodating large numbers of people. But, at the same time, the perception is that these large houses have low occupancy rates.

*“If you look at any of these streets here the gardens back onto each other and the distance between the backs of the houses is probably not more than 30 feet in total so there is a density. That’s just the way the houses were built and the roads were set up a hundred years ago.” (PL, resident)*

*“When we came to this area to look we did find that suddenly all the gardens and the houses seemed terraced. The reason why we bought this house was that there’s that space behind, which is the fire station.” (PL, resident)*

Personal situation: Many interviewees feel that the perception of density as a positive or a negative thing is determined by the personal housing situation (tenancy and typology) and location. It is acknowledged that density is perceived differently if one lives in a council estate or in a house with a garden.

*“I quite like having gardens, so I’m quite happy here.” (MD, resident)*

*“Depends where you are, I mean some of these residential streets, a person’s got far more space, but there’s a block of houses in Saint Moore, Rostover and Saint Moore, I think where the original houses are built on four floors, basement and three. So the density there is greater than it is here because we’re only on two floors, but the density in Saint Diana’s Road they were basically workmen’s cottages as they were in Novello Street, the houses were much smaller, so the density there is that much less [...] it depends on the size of the house, the size of the rooms and the density to some extent.” (PL, resident)*

Lastly, trade-off analysis appears clear in this area: Town ward represents “the best of both worlds” in the west London axis. On the one hand, the area is not quite suburbia, as it is close to transport nodes with easy reach to Central London and inner-city amenities. On the other hand, it’s not completely Inner London because houses still have gardens, albeit small.

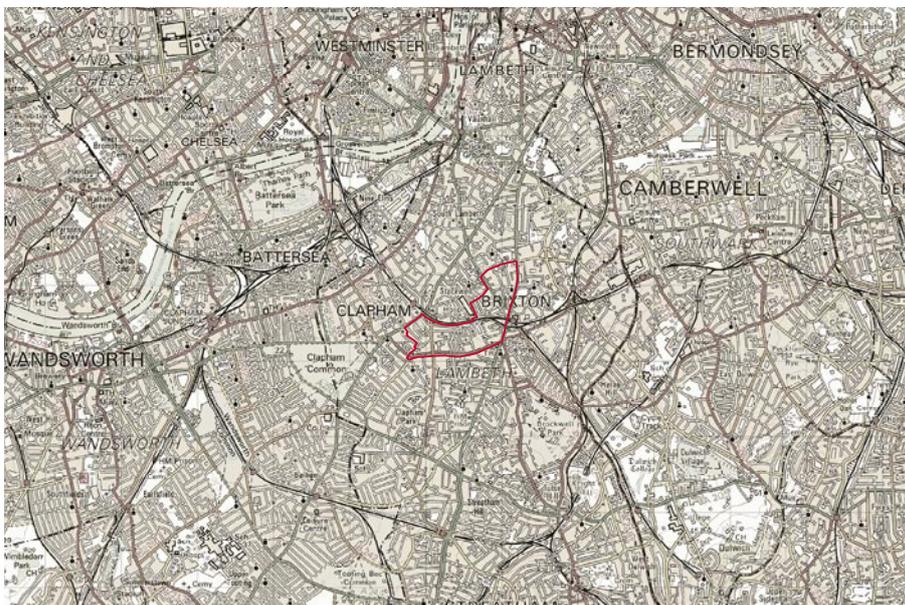
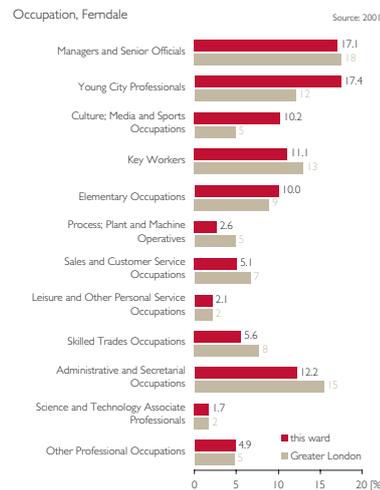
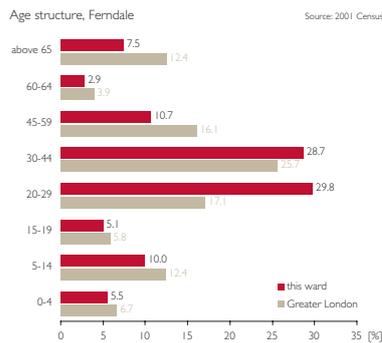
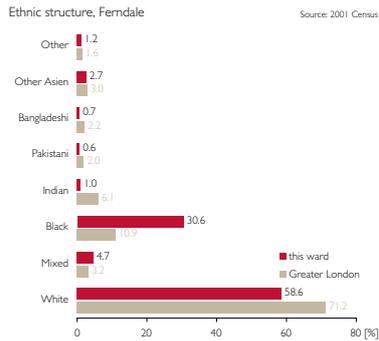
*“You are getting better transport facilities. You [...] are much nearer to the shops. [...] Where front gardens are very large, you don’t get so much rapport with your neighbours, so you lead a more isolated life if you have got a big detached house and a front garden, you don’t have the sort of relationship with your neighbours, seeing them over the garden wall that you do here, so in a way, this is the best of both worlds, I think because you are quite close to your neighbours, but you are sheltered a bit from them.” (MD, resident)*

### 3.3 Ferndale: “Brixton buzz”

The third densest ward of the sample in terms of population (151 pers./ha, 66 dw./ha). This ward has more than 2.5 times the GL average percentage of black residents, and a significantly smaller percentage of white residents. A large majority of the housing is back-to-back terraced houses with small gardens, 60% of which have been converted into flats. The presence of large council estates such as Stockwell Park estate is noticeable. The ward is distinguished both by its variety of local amenities, its night-time “buzz”, and its quick tube connections to Central London.



*“A diverse inner city area with a number of social problems, mainly related to drug dealing and crime, but also has a growing, young, middle class population living alongside an ethnically diverse one” (A), housing association representative)*



**Index of multiple deprivation (darker colours indicate higher levels of deprivation).**

**Detailed comparison in chapter 4.**

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## Desirability

### Best

The most valued attributes of the area are transport links and accessibility to central London (which is highly consistent with the survey), its diversity, multiculturalism, vibrancy and liveliness, and the day and night time economy. All of this is highly consistent with the survey, which states that Ferndale (33%) and Town (27%) are most likely to agree with the statement that one of the main reasons they moved where they live was fast transport connections to central London, (Map 24) (Part D). In addition, The survey finds that people in Ferndale and Clissold are more likely to enjoy the cosmopolitanism of their area, with 70%, and 61% respectively saying that a mix of different people in an area makes it a more enjoyable place to live (Part D). Also, residents of Ferndale (64%) are most likely to shop in their local area (Part D), which underlines the high value attached to the quality of the local economy. Lastly, from the interviews we know that some people consider the area to be relatively affordable, although that has been changing over the past five years due to rapid gentrification.

*"From Brixton it's very easy to say 'let's pop into town!'" (ES, estate agent)*

**With transport links and accessibility to central London, the most valued attributes of the area are its vibrant and multicultural character, reflected in its day and night time economies.**



**The area's "bad reputation" for crime and drug dealing is what residents most deplore about the area.**



### Worst

The worst things cited about the area include the area's "bad reputation" (associated with crime and drug dealing), police permissiveness, lack of green space and unaffordable housing.

*"Quite a lot of people don't really want to be in Ferndale, they'd rather say and indeed would say that they lived in Clapham or Stockwell rather than in Brixton." (RH, resident)*

## Type of people

### Who lives there?

The socio-demographics of the area reflect a dual ethnic composition, with a large minority of black people (mainly African Caribbean) and a below GL average white British community. Both the media and academic literature portray how the long-established black community of Brixton gives the area its distinctive identity, which has subsequently attracted middle-class people to the area.



**A long-established black community gives the area its distinctive identity, which has subsequently attracted a variety of middle-class groups.**

*“The area’s symbolic status in the history of Black, and particularly Afro-Caribbean, Britain is of significance given this group’s ascendancy in many popular cultural forms and symbolic desirability to people from countries which have no such population. Its multiculturalism [...] is one of the major attractions to the incoming middle class, who are more likely themselves to have been brought up in London than respondents in other areas.” [Butler, and Robson, 2003]*

The study also identified some elderly residents, both white and black British, who appear to be “trapped” in the area.

*“Elderly people who have moved, who have been here all their lives [...] as they get older [their] partner dies and they’re slightly infirm as well, they’re children tend to be on the outskirts [...] and they tend to move out to be close to their children and I think that the elderly [...] people feel really quite vulnerable.” (RH, resident)*

### Who’s moving in?

The main newcomers to the area might be classified as “City People” and “Creatives.” The first group are professionals aged 20 to 40 with no children. They cluster near the Clapham end of the area, where the tube connection with the Northern Line to the City is crucial to this group. They are mostly white British, but also include Antipodeans and a mix of other ethnicities. Some live in gated communities.

The “Creatives,” on the other hand, are people who work in the media and cultural industries, mainly self-employed or in short-term contracts (Ferndale has the second largest proportion of this occupational category amongst our wards, 10.2%, well above the GL average of 5%). They tend to cluster around Brixton tube station. This group started the process of gentrification of this area in the early 1980s, and continues to do so, attracted by its “buzz” and community feel, as some interviews illustrate.

*“A lot of things that attract a lot of creatives, [...] those people they like to feel that they are different you know and Brixton does have that sort of like vibe about it. Although Brixton has fantastic commuting I wouldn’t say facilities that is not really the main reason why people come to Brixton. People come for the community.” (GG, estate agent)*

The area is also attractive to recent university grads, aged 18 to 25 and white middle class. They may live as two to five people sharing a flat or be first time buyer couples. This group often rents for two to three years, then goes on to buy (often with parental help).

*“They fairly often may have rented in this area before they come to buy, which means that they come from University.” (ES, estate agent)*

*“Most of them have never lived in London before, most of them they have just got their first big job in the city, Mom and Dad have sort of handed them some money you know and they get their first flat.” (GG, estate agent)*

From the interviews and field observation we know that the high proportion of “other white” (12%) encompasses an increasing Portuguese community coming to the area in recent years. Many come to join relatives. This group are mainly local authority tenants and often exercise the “right to buy” council property.

*“They’re becoming more settled in the area and seeing their future is really here, rather than going back to Madeira or wherever it is they may be from, that’s making the difference and an awful lot of Portuguese people now are swarming into the area. Part of Stockwell Road it almost looks like a Portuguese village.” (BO, head of schools)*

### Who’s leaving?

Long-term British and African Caribbean residents are moving out of the area. Some former residents have removed to more suburban areas (e.g. Streatham) because they’ve gotten “fed up” with the area; people are said to move out to “escape urban stress”. Some older residents are also capitalising on the increased value of their homes.

*“Black people tend to be fairly happy here although there are some that have moved out to Thornton Heath, Croydon because even they find Brixton a difficult place to live.” (JM, clergy)*

*“Traditional Londoners [are] very rare, an endangered species around here.” (OL, social worker)*

*“The elderly West Indian population move out and again tend to sort of head down the road to somewhere like Thornton Heath where you can still get big Victorian houses but it is a lot cheaper so they free up a load of money or perhaps they go back to the West Indies and those houses will obviously [...] the majority of them are sold to builders who buy them and split them into flats.” (GG, estate agent)*

Young people “priced out” of the area will move elsewhere to buy properties. It is difficult for the children of some local people to afford to stay in the area. The property market for those seeking to “step onto the property ladder” has links to the areas south of Brixton (e.g. Tulse Hill, Herne Hill, Streatham).

*“Some younger people did want to move into this area but couldn’t afford it so once again they’ve gone out towards Streatham way.” (JM, clergy)*

Growing families with children also move out. Some are motivated by the area's lack of good schools for those who cannot afford private education.

*"White, middle class partners with kids, people go, [...] and once they want their child to go [to] schools, [...] they either move a long way out, they move out to Cornwall or back to perhaps where they were brought up in the country, or they go to Dulwich or they make some, or they make money, they start making a lot more money and they've got into Clapham."* (RH, resident)

*"London is the land of single parents so a lot of the mother and toddler stuff and outreach work like Sure Start [are popular... There is] a serious lack of childcare provision in this area."* (OL, social worker)

*"If you're a middle class parent you would not want to send your kids to any of these schools, any secondary schools in the area, to be quite blunt. [...] And that applies to most people here except they don't have a choice."* (AJ, housing association representative)

### Lifestyles, patterns of use, mobility patterns

Forming a part of the incoming middle-class to the area are two main groups identified through our research: the "City boys" and the "Creatives." While the former are in the area for convenience, i.e. its facilities and good transport connections to Central London and the City, the latter are attracted by the inner-city "buzz" and "coolness" of the area. Consequently, while the "City boys" have a "rat in the wheel" lifestyle, the "Creatives" conduct their lives more locally, making use of both day and night time economies. Another locally-based lifestyle, although often not by choice, are some long-term black residents. As evidenced from the interviews, this group – a great part of which are council tenants – have been gradually priced-out and those remaining express a feeling of being "stuck" in an area that becomes unaffordable and is riddled by the stigma of crime.

*"Next door is the classic example of what's happening in Brixton. When we moved in it was owned by a family that originally came from [...] the West Indies; he was a bus driver or bus conductor [...] they'd lived there for a long, long time, brought up their children there and I think, I think he was there for about 30 years. But anyway they sold up and made a good profit [and moved to Thornton Heath] and then they sold to a white middle class couple, who have moved on, or sold [...] they only lasted two years and they made a quick profit and went [to Dulwich] and then they sold it to two guys, didn't seem to stay very long, and now it's owned by a guy who rents it [to] four lads I think and they seem to like watching telly, [...] and they're management consultants or something, so they're up at the crack of dawn and too knackered to party."* (ML & JC, residents)



**Newcomers comprise two main groups: "City boys" (in the area for convenient facilities and transport to Central London), and "Creatives", (attracted by the inner-city "buzz").**

Dormitory residents are typically “rat in the wheel” City people, often at early stages in their careers. For this lifestyle group, transport links to the City are crucial. They tend to live at the Clapham side of the area, which has access to the Northern tube line. They work long hours in the City or central London and base their social networks on work relationships. Some of this group may live in the area’s gated communities, which are resented by other community members. They tend to shop near their work or in Clapham, rather than immediately local shops.

*“They are gated, they are hugely security conscious and my feeling about people who live there is that they, they park behind the gates, the drive out in the morning and probably work in the city and the West End, they drive back late at night having eaten somewhere else, they make no contributions whatsoever to the local economy.” (RH, resident)*

*“I work outside London [...] quite a bit and then I have to go usually it’s up to Euston or Kings Cross, St Pancras, so that’s very easy on the Victoria Line.” (JC, resident)*

*“[On Clapham High Street] everything caters for that young city guy who sort of like gets up early in the morning, jumps on the tube and comes back, grabs some shopping, into his place, puts on his shirt, back into the wine bar, necks as many drinks as he can, into bed at twelve o’clock, up on the tube and it is the rat on the wheel.” (GG, estate agent)*

**In Ferndale, we identified residents with “rooted lifestyles”. However, these can be divided into those rooted by choice, and those rooted by constraint. While the latter have usually become “stuck” in the as it becomes unaffordable, the former tend to spend more time working and socialising locally, which may lead to deeper community involvement.**



*“Doing a big shop, it’s more convenient to go to a big Sainsbury’s and some of them probably don’t feel entirely comfortable in Brixton and some of them probably don’t value the fact you can buy, you know, there’s an amazing Chinese supermarket where you can buy everything you ever wanted to make, Thai, Greek, curry, because that’s not what they do.” (RH, resident)*

Rooted residents might be divided into those rooted by choice, and those rooted by constraint. The latter group has no trade-off to make in their choice of residence; they have become “stuck” in the area as it becomes unaffordable. This group is particularly vulnerable to the trend of privatisation (and rising cost) of services formerly run by the council.

Those residents who actively choose “rooted” lifestyles, like the area and spend more time working or socialising locally, which may lead to deeper community involvement. This group is likely to trade-off quantity of space for quality of community life, including proximity to friends and relatives.

*“Those people they like to feel that they are different you know and Brixton does have that sort of like vibe about it. Although Brixton has fantastic commuting I wouldn’t say facilities that is not really the main reason why people come to Brixton. People come for the community.” (GG, estate agent)*

*“I’ve sort of put down a lot of roots here now [...] I’ve got to know the local people in the local corner store, and all that sort of stuff, and also because I run a business round the corner it’s kind of, you know, I feel like quite part of the community here.” (RX, resident)*

*“My two sisters moved, have moved down and live within two minutes of me and so we’ve actually kind of got a bit of a family set up round here and very, very locally which is also very important.” (RH, resident)*

The Portuguese community conducts an active community life, centred on local retail and churches. Churches also host Portuguese language schools and other after school activities; allowing children to keep up with language and education levels that will permit easy transitions back into the Portuguese system. These residents may be balancing international identities with local ones.

*“They’ve got Portuguese chaplains, even a Portuguese club and whatever. It’s almost as if like they’re sort of independent almost of the rest of the community, and they’re not really in any further way into the community.” (BO, head of schools)*

*“I have just been brought up here all my life and I don’t want to go back to Portugal, I like there on holidays but not to live there [...] And I have been someplace else kind of other areas but it for me it seemed a bit dead after living in Brixton.” (MJ, resident)*

The main gathering places for the long-term Black community are churches, community halls, and local shops.

*“There are black churches around that take care of most of the black community, the black community are looked after by the black churches quite a lot of the time.” (JM, clergy)*

*“Things like dominoes is quite important to the black community and they will meet for dominoes [in church halls or community halls...] if you go and walk along Coldharbour Lane at about ten o’clock at night barbers and hairdressing shops will be open [...] And they won’t be in there just getting their hair cut, they will be in there socialising.” (JM, clergy)*

Selective or “convenience” residents are attracted by the area’s “coolness” factor. They might be perceived as having “total gain” from the area, choosing to access the parts they want, and leaving the parts they don’t. Their use of the area is transitory; they stay until life conditions change (e.g. children, promotion). This group tends to socialise widely throughout the city, travelling to the centre, or where friends live. Lifestyle links between Brixton and the Brighton/Bournemouth area (e.g. second homes, social networks) provide some convenience residents with means of temporary “escape” from city stress.



**Selective or “convenience” residents are attracted by the area’s “coolness” factor. They tend to socialise widely throughout the city, travelling to Central London, or elsewhere where friends live. Their use of the area is transitory; they stay until their life conditions change.**

*“A lot of people are attracted to it because it is lively; there is something about Brixton. [...] good nightlife, [...] It is well known, it is quite popular for its restaurants [...] a good cinema, it does offer a lot to young people.” (JM, clergy)*

*“Young couples [move] to Brixton ‘cause it’s quite, it’s quite a cool place to be, they can afford to live here. They probably don’t have kids here, they certainly have a car and very often two scooters as well.” (RH, resident)*

*"We've got a lot of professional people who have moved into this area. And tend to sort of relate much more to Clapham than Brixton [...] in terms of where they choose to socialise." (JM, clergy)*

*"People's jobs in the City will progress very quickly and they will sort of like be start earning more money therefore they no longer need the property, quite often what they will do is keep the property and rent it out, keep it as an investment." (GG, estate agent)*

*"It is a place to live if you are a young couple or single, but many people move out when they start having children. That is the middle class people that have a choice." (JM, clergy)*

*"We've bought a flat in Bournemouth, which is our home town. So we spend quite a few weeks there." (JC, resident)*

*"A couple of people do have houses in the country as well, but people who live here tend to live here quite a lot and tend to get out quite a lot of the time and some [...] go away for six weeks." (RH, resident)*

### Social and community dynamics

The area has a metropolitan appeal, thereby attracting a permanent number of "strangers", which imparts its characteristic inner city feel or "buzz". However, the night time economy, for which Brixton is well known, may present a different type and temporality of use than that which concerns many local people.

*"[Along Clapham High Street] you have got a great tube link into the city, you have got loads of bars that you haven't got to walk far from your flat to get to so you can sort of like stagger out to your flat, everything is laid on for that lifestyle whereas with Brixton you have got to know where you are going. Brixton has got so many great things to do, but it is not all in one place you know. The Fridge, The Academy, The Dog Star, The Buzz Bar, all these places are sort of like you know, you have got to know where you are going haven't you?" (GG, estate agent)*

*"The locals [...] will perhaps use it up till reasonable hours. But actually after about 11, 12 at night an entirely different group of people come into Brixton, literally Friday and Saturday nights anything up to 100,000 to 150,000 people pour into Brixton, use all the nightclubs, the bars, etc. and then leave in the early hours." (PM, councillor)*

**Residents with more locally-based lifestyles do engage and may join local grass-roots groups and initiatives, such as the PAPA initiative (pictured left), a community-managed playground that serves as a node of community life in the area.**



Therefore, our findings suggest that in this area, day and night time societies don't necessarily mix. As a result, it is not surprising that residents of Ferndale are least likely to describe people in their area as friendly, as compared to the other wards in the sample (Part D). However, from the interviews we know that residents with more locally-based lifestyles do engage and may join local

grass-roots groups and initiatives (a community-managed playground, for example). Moreover, as we have mentioned earlier, certain groups of people move into the area attracted by what they consider a “community feel” – even if they do not actively partake in it. As paradoxical as it might sound, this phenomenon is what Butler’s study of gentrification in Brixton [2003] describes as “tectonic multi-culturalism”, i.e. that various social groups (and individuals) move across each other’s paths in ways that do not apparently involve much interaction, but demonstrate a high degree of awareness of each other’s presence:

*“There is, at least on the part of the middle-class groups, a celebration of the diversity of Brixton. The experience of ‘rubbing along’ with different cultural, social and ethnic backgrounds is a very important element of the frisson of living in a somewhat uncomfortable and ‘edgy’ area”. [Butler, 2003, 13].*

On the other hand, our study found evidence of residents who seem to genuinely value the possibility to interact with people from different cultural, social and ethnic backgrounds.

*“I’ve got a teenage son [...] he’s mixed race. And for him, I think, of all the places that he could grow up, it’s been a really tolerant easy going place for him as well, you know, that in his class there’s a lot of people like him, that come from mixed race backgrounds, who maybe come from one parent families, or shared sort of care.” (RX, resident)*

*“I like the idea of Louis growing up in a place that’s [...] very, very modern [...] very diverse, it’s very multicultural. [This] experience is very, very important for any child.” (RH, resident)*

Consequently, we can say that the social and community dynamics of Ferndale are double-sided: “vibrancy” (rated as one of the best attributes of the area) and “detachment” or even aggressiveness (including crime), are two sides of the same phenomenon, namely a dense, busy inner-city area. This is how life in the area, while is often perceived as “exciting”, can also be seen as “too much in your face.”



**Ferndale’s social and community dynamic is double-sided: “vibrancy” and “detachment” are two aspects of a dense, busy inner-city area.**

*“It is an incredibly aggressive [...] community to live in and [...] there is a very intimidating begging that goes on down by the tube station and [...] I think it all sort of comes down to the sort of polarisation between rich and poor.” (JM, clergy)*

*“Brixton High Street is a pretty extreme place. [...] if you’re not in the right mood mentally, it can be too much for you sometimes. [...] sometimes when you walk down there, like say on a Saturday, and you’ve got you know, the junkies begging off you, you’ve got drunken people rolling around, you’ve got the religious maniacs shouting out, you know, you’ve got the socialist workers, literally on a Saturday outside the tube it is bedlam.” (RX, resident)*

Furthermore, interview responses paint the picture of a polarised community, ranging from rough sleeping to gated communities to problematic council estates.

*"It's very cosmopolitan. It's very diverse you've got extreme poverty; people sleeping rough down in Brixton to the gated communities, to the huge council estates where there's various social economic problems." (JM, clergy)*

*"I don't think we are as cohesive as we would like to think we are." (JM, clergy)*

*"It slowly gentrified but it hasn't displaced the sort of ethnic minority communities as such, it's just altered the atmosphere of the community really. It has changed it dramatically. [In] Brixton, there's quite [...] an undercurrent of stress due to the sort of affluence and poverty sort of split." (OL, social worker)*

## Housing in the area

The area consists mainly of terraced houses with small back gardens, usually back to back, very often with a return, generally without front gardens and no basement. Approximately 60% of this stock has been converted into flats to house the increasing demand over the past decade. Additionally, gated communities are an emerging phenomenon in the area, resented by some longer-term resident interviewees.

A number of large council estates stand out in the area (particularly Stockwell Park Estate). The important visual presence of these estates is coupled with the perception of overcrowding of council tenants.

**The area consists mainly of terraced houses with small back gardens, usually back to back, generally without front gardens and no basement. In addition to a number of large council estates, gated communities are an emerging phenomenon.**



*"[Portuguese people] tend to have a number of children so they need bigger accommodation for less money so they tend to snap up the ex local-authority properties." (ES, estate agent)*

*"Renting very, very crowdedly. It's better now than it used to be but people would share, several families might share a flat temporarily." (BO, head of schools)*

In order to have a better understanding of the current housing market dynamics in Ferndale, it is useful to go back to the 1980s, when Brixton (along with neighbouring areas such as Vauxhall, Kennington and Stockwell) was one of the epicentres of a squatter movement. Its central location plus the availability of vacant Victorian properties appear to have determined the emergence of this phenomenon.

*"15, 16 years ago there were a lot of empty properties around. So it was much easier to find places. So you didn't really have to worry, you know once you got evicted from one place you could move on to the next one." (RX, resident)*

Around the same time, a gentrification process began in the area, triggered by low property prices, which attracted a first wave of “pioneer” middle-class incomers. According to Butler [2001], a second wave of gentrification originating in the housing boom of the late 1980s has continued, and accelerated dramatically in the past two or three years.

*“Brixton’s more recent status as an internationally renowned, cosmopolitan lifestyle centre –with an expanding commercial infrastructure of bars, clubs and restaurants- is clearly implicated in the more recent gentrification of the area, with many incomers attracted to its vibrancy and fashionable prestige.” [Butler, 2001, 2156]*

Our evidence suggests that one of the main groups which contributed to the property boom in the last decade, attracted by the vibrant and “trendy” character of the area, has been the gay community.

*“Mid to late nineties there was a very strong pull for the gay population here, [...] the pink pound really made the property boom in Brixton, you know really did.” (GG, estate agent)*

Today, there is a very competitive housing market in the area, with an important share of buy-to-let and first time buyers. The former are either investors-buyers or people who progress quickly (usually City workers), then move out and rent out their original property for income. In the case of first-time buyers, they often start “testing” the area on a six-months tenancy, after which they might decide to buy.

*“The area is saturated now with buy to let.” (ES, estate agent)*

*“Most people will rent for six months just to get a feel for the flavour of the area.” (GG, estate agent)*

*“There is a pattern that goes on here. [...] Second time buyers, they start off, they get together as rentals, the might meet a partner, settle down, buy their home, they have some children and as soon as the children are school age they move.” (ES, estate agent)*

The gentrification process has changed the character of the area over the past two decades. This is reflected in the housing market by the increasing demand for gated communities and the displacement of long-term residents for whom the area becomes unaffordable. Additionally, interviews cast doubt on the real benefits of this recent type of gentrification for the regeneration of the area.

*“Brixton was traditionally ‘West End lifestyle with South London prices’, increasingly however ‘West End lifestyle with West End prices!’” (LB, housing association representative)*

*“Every school round here has been made into a gated estate of flats.” (OL, social worker)*

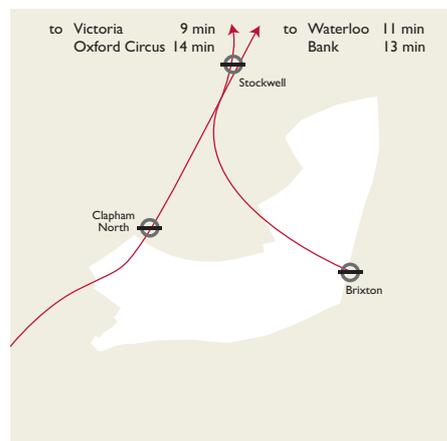
*“There are signs of wealth and regeneration but I don’t know how much local people actually get out of that. It seems to be regeneration of old buildings mainly for the, you know more moneyed population. But is still does attract a large black population you know it is all very fluid really.” (JM, clergy)*

## Trade-offs

The qualitative interviews confirm that transport connections to Central London are one of the most highly valued characteristics of the area. This is backed by a general analysis of stated trade-offs from the survey, which shows that Ferndale residents have a higher than average willingness to trade-off all other categories against transport connections to Central London and public transport, and they are significantly less

likely to prefer upkeep of streets and safety to transport connections to Central London (Part D). In addition, interviewees frequently express awareness of crime and safety issues, but their continued presence in the area seems to confirm the survey finding that they are willing to trade these off for other values. Amongst the incoming residents who have chosen to live in the area, the “City boys” prioritise good transport connections over other amenities such as safety, green open space and upkeep of the area.

**Ferndale residents have a more than average willingness to trade-off all other categories against transport connections to Central London and public transport access.**



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*“You can live in this area and be in central London within half an hour, to be in work within half an hour. I think people love that.” (PM, councillor)*

*“Whenever we think ‘Oh, shall we go somewhere and look at a garden and all that’ we think ‘Well, we don’t drive, don’t drive, don’t want to drive. Tesco’s is just over the road and the tube, Brixton tube is just up the end of the road really. So, Victoria Line is a very good line, could be at John Lewis in a thrice. So it suits us very much.” (ML & JC, residents)*

*“You’ve got relatively easy access to other things to do, [...] a wide range of interests can be served [...] you’ve got access to Central London, shops, restaurants, pubs and the like, art galleries, museums, not a lot of countryside, but you can’t have everything.” (ML, resident)*

*“There is no park in the actual borders of Ferndale. The closest big park of course is Brockwell Park, which is, you know a good, short bus ride, or a good 20 minute walk.” (PM, councillor)*

*“There’s a lot of potential because there are quite a few open spaces but they’re not utilised very well.” (OL, social worker)*

## Perceptions of density

Most of the interviewees in Ferndale consider it a dense area in terms of population. However, none of them consider density to be intrinsically a bad thing. Most of them say it is good, and the rest either don’t know how to respond or express ambiguous views.

We found that the interviewees tend to relate high population density to over-occupation, especially in social housing. Some of them use the word “overcrowding”

to refer to this. There is a general perception that inside densities are very high; that people need more domestic space. Therefore they build extensions to their homes, or leave the area in search for homes of appropriate size which are affordable.

*"I mean a significant overcrowding [...] especially among certain ethnic groups."* (RH, resident)

*"Planning regulations are very against any single family in a single house to extend the site of their property, which given that in order to have a little bit more space or to be able to carry on living here, people do move out 'cause their houses get too small, which I think is a pity because otherwise I think [there would be] people who are increasingly wealthy as they get older and earn more who would actually stay around, but who can't because they can't bring up four kids, you know, in a 2½ bedroom house."* (RH, resident)



**Proximity with neighbours has both positive and negative implications. Two dimensions of proximity are overlooking and noise. Interviews suggest that, while overlooking – if well designed – can foster sociability, noise is perceived as a nuisance.**

The general perception of the area being highly populated is also reflected in the busyness of the streets. While some perceive this as a nuisance, others relate it to feelings of safety.

*"Saturday and Friday night it's too much. [...] Associated problems are drug dealing, drunken people, etc. [...] It can be unpleasant. [...] It would be better if tube would be open until late."* (RW, resident)

*"New faces all the time. I think it makes it for me I feel more stable, more confident because you are never alone there is always people there with you."* (MJ & IS, residents)

*"We got a bit of a shock when we went with some friends on a Saturday [to Clapham High Street. We] thought we'd just be able to stroll into a restaurant, and it was heaving, really packed. That was a bit of a surprise."* (JC, resident)

Proximity with neighbours has both positive and negative implications for interviewees. Two dimensions of proximity are overlooking and noise. Regarding overlooking, perceptions are relative. People seem to be more tolerant to it as they associate it with sociability. Noise, on the other hand, is perceived invariably as a negative thing. Therefore, lack of sound insulation is a recurrent problem of living in close proximity to others.

*"You look out of the window and you can see four or five other people's front windows fairly close. So whilst it's not necessarily dense in urban planning terms, it's dense in how close you are to your neighbours. [...] In our garden, you are close by with people. And also these houses are not particularly well built in terms of sound insulation."* (ML & JC, residents)

There is an interesting relationship between overlooking, proximity and sociability. Proximity with overlooking is perceived by some residents to foster sociability, provided a set of conditions are met – amongst them, good design and planning.

This can help neutralise isolation suffered by elderly, ill or disabled people who are housebound.

*“One person’s overlooking is another person’s only contact with the outside world [...] our communication with [the old lady who lived in the first floor] from our back garden to her kitchen window was the only communication she had with the outside world. Because she couldn’t get out, she was in an upstairs flat, [...] leaning out of her kitchen window and chatting to us was one of the sad highlights of her week. [...] if that overlooking had been designed out, that option wouldn’t have been open to her.” (ML & JC, residents)*

*“It’s then down to the design and the building control and the planning development control, to regulate the development of high density so that people might be close to each other but they’re not on top of each other.” (ML & JC, residents)*

Furthermore, choice seems to be an important condition for a positive assessment of living in close proximity to others. As the following quote illustrates, people living in council housing might not have the same positive perception.

*“I enjoy living in, well, reasonably close proximity to so many people and, you know, I’d choose to live in a terrace house rather than in the middle of 20 acres, [it was] my first choice I suppose. But I think it, leads to problems and I think there were very significant problems with social housing around overcrowding in that really need to be addressed.” (RH, resident)*

Lastly, some interviewees acknowledge the link between density and facilities as a positive thing about density (the former in spontaneous mention):

*“Actually you need density to support transport and commercial and entertainment facilities. So yes, density is a good thing.” (ML & JC, residents)*

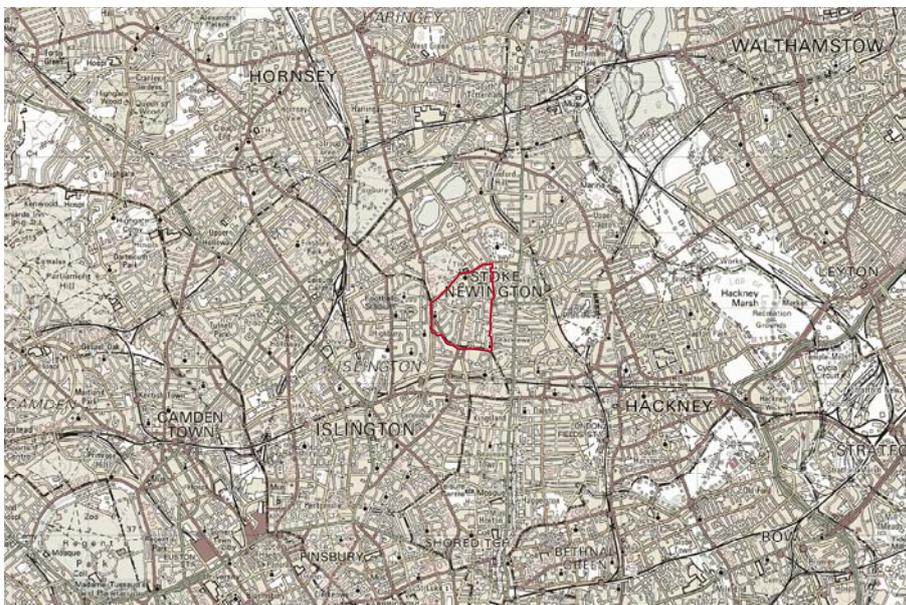
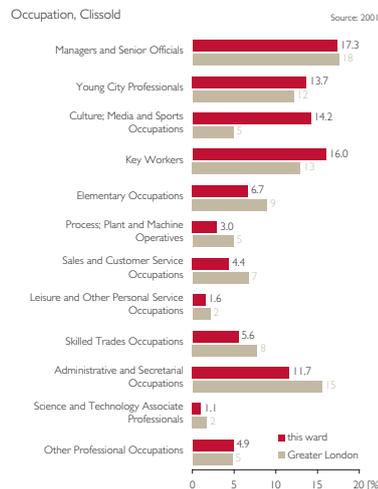
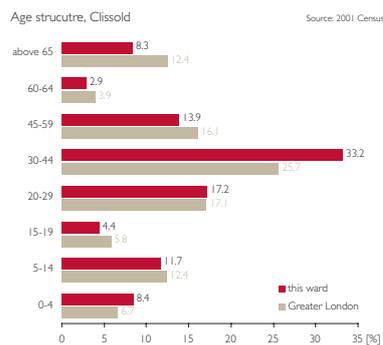
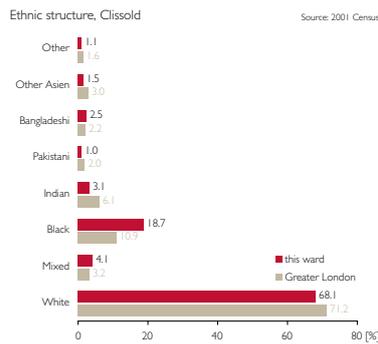
*“The quality of public or shared spaces and facilities needs to be higher in direct relation to increased density of population.” (RH, resident)*

### 3.4 Clissold: “Multicultural village”

The fourth densest ward in terms of population (148 pers./ha, 67 dw./ha) and the most deprived ward (50 vs. 28.9 GL average) in the sample. It contains the second highest percentage of white residents (68.1% vs. 71.2% GL average) of our sample, although this may hide “other white” groups (12.6%) such as Turkish and Kurdish. Clissold hosts higher-than-average levels of renting, and smaller than GL average household sizes (2.22). The ward offers affordable flats for first-time buyers. The lack of direct tube access to Central London cultivates a “village” atmosphere of local shops and amenities which appeals to “creatives,” students, and young families.



*“The good things [are] the mix, the mix of people [...] it is a lively sort of area, there’s always some excitement somewhere.” (FF, clergy)*



**Index of multiple deprivation (darker colours indicate higher levels of deprivation).**

**Detailed comparison in chapter 4.**

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## Desirability

### Best things

Proximity to Clissold Park and the streetscape and skyline of the area are amongst the best things interviewees mention about the local area. The latter is consistent with survey results, which highlight that people in Clissold were more likely to select the environment and parks and open spaces as the best things about their local areas (Map 36). In the survey, people in Clissold are more likely to name leisure facilities, activities for teenagers, facilities for young children, community activities, levels of noise from neighbours, and parks and open spaces as important in making somewhere a good place to live than other wards (Part D). Also amongst the best things about this area are proximity to Church Street and to good schools were, which might reflect the preferences of particular newcomers—young white professionals with or expecting small children.

**Clissold Park is rated as one of the area's best assets.**



*"We have the park close by, so they feel that there is a bit of fresh air. I think that the park does make a big difference to it. It has a massive open space there." (AD, housing association representative)*

### Worst things

**Council neglect and parking stress are considered amongst the worst things about the area.**



The worst things about the area, according to the interviews, are street crime and drugs, parking stress, lack of jobs in the area, the quality of secondary schools and council neglect. The deficient quality of secondary schools may be a push-out factor for newcomers with children once these reach that age.

*"Some people have left because of the crime rate, definitely. I know people that have left because they just thought f\*\*\* this!" (NS, resident)*

## Type of people

### Who lives there?

Longer-term residents are white British and African Caribbean and more recently, Turkish and Kurdish refugees. The area has a high proportion of white people (68.1%), although this category may conceal a significant proportion of Turkish and Kurdish residents, as detected by the interviews. The second largest group are black people (18.7%, above GL average). Interviewees describe the area as containing singles and young families, but fewer families with older children is reflected in the census data: adults 30 to 44 exceed the GL average (33.2%), as well as small children aged 0-4 (8.4%). Young people aged 20 to 29 comprise 17.2%, similar to GL average, while young teenagers 5 to 14 represent 11.7%, slightly below GL average. The household composition is predominantly one-person (39.6%, above GL average), and couples with and without children (17.9% and 15.8% respectively), although both are below the GL average. The area also stands out for an above GL average of lone parents (11.8%) and other households with no children, notably above GL average (11.3%).

In terms of occupations, this is mainly a ward of "professionals": 17.3% are managers and senior officials, 16% key workers, 14.2% culture, media and sports, and 13.7% city professionals. Interestingly, the last three categories are above GL average, and the ward has the highest proportion of key workers in the five wards.



**The main incoming group are white young professional couples, while longer term residents are white and black British and Turkish/Kurdish working class.**

A majority of long-term African Caribbean residents are from Antigua and Montserrat, and first came to area in the 1950s. The older generation of these are pensioners; many hold or held "trade jobs" (e.g. nurses, domestics in hospitals, caterers, tailors, carpenters, electricians, schoolteachers). The white British population spans an apparent range of social classes, from "trapped" council residents, to those seen as "bordering on the Bohemian".

*"There are a lot of old freaks that live here; a lot of old hippies live here. Which is not a bad thing; they are a pretty good bunch of people." (NS, resident)*

*"There are a mixture of elderly who have lived here an awfully long time, which you find often on a lot of council estates, because there is no mobility for them." (RS, housing association representative)*

*"[The Turkish and Kurdish community] is about 10-15 years old, and still in a ghetto. Waves of immigration since 1981, many from the same villages (Kurdish), many migrated as families with parents in their 40s." (PC, social worker)*

### Who's moving in?

Those moving in are mainly white young professional couples, either with or without small children. According to interviews, these are usually attracted to the area by the relative affordability of converted flats in a location near Islington (where their friends and lifestyle-specific amenities reside). Moreover, the postcode of the Clissold area (N16) seems to be a determining factor in these young gentrifiers' choice to live there; it is "the closest they can get to an East London price with a North London postcode" (RS, estate agent). The area also attracts students and recent university graduates who share flats and like the area's "village" and "multicultural" atmosphere. Both groups of newcomers have attracted to the area a number of shops and facilities which cater for their consumer needs—albeit slowly. As can be seen in the use analysis map (Map 31), these are mainly clustered on Stoke Newington Church Street.

*"The snobs moving in [...] I suppose to move into this area now you have got to be really upper middle class because the houses have gone up tremendously." (YX, resident)*

*"[Clissold Ward] is one of the yuppie parts of the borough [...] More middle class, more articulate [...] Church Street is a bit of a magnet, you know, for restaurants and for sort of more middle class residents [...] than some other areas." (TF, council planner)*

*"There are more middle class people coming in. That has been a constant trend because in 1975 I was a middle class person coming in, but at the time the area was very much more kind of working class." [They are] "definitely families with children. I mean quite markedly so. [...] it is a good area for families with children, in terms of the kind of housing you've got, which is affordable but not very constricted or very small." (Mr P, resident)*

*"There could be four mates all been at Lancaster but all four of them come from all over the country [...] in terms of their original home, but they would all gravitate to here and be sharers." (IA, estate agent)*

### Who's leaving?

The people moving out of this area tend to be generally long-term residents (both white British and African Caribbean) and especially their grown children, who have been "priced-out" of the area. Many of the elderly African Caribbean residents are retiring "back" to the islands. The children of long-term residents, when they marry or become independent, and want to buy homes are forced by house prices to move to Chingford, Enfield, or Walthamstow.

*"Moving out of Hackney is 'moving up' because it represents a step into homeownership. People cannot afford to buy locally so if they do buy, they have to leave." (PC, social worker)*

*"[Middle class people] tend to come into the area because the housing is affordable, there are reasonable facilities, the local primary schools are quite good [...] for London. But they tend to move out, usually out of London altogether when their children come to secondary school age, because [...] they don't have faith [...] in the local secondary education. [...]"*

they are not saying that the secondary education in this area is particularly bad, they are saying it is just typical of education in London generally.” (Mr P, resident)

“A lot of people who moved out [of] the area are those people whose children are around ten, when they’re having to consider secondary education.” (IA, estate agent)

## Lifestyles, patterns of use, mobility patterns

The research has identified two main social groups and lifestyles in the area: “locally-based lifestyles” and “selective” (or “convenience”) residents. The former consists mainly of longer-term residents: the Turkish/Kurdish population (who prefer to work close to their community), and students or recent graduates, who enjoy the local amenities and the atmosphere of the area (especially Clissold Park) and who socialise locally or nearby (e.g. Hoxton, Islington). Locally based lifestyles are also evident in the area’s high proportion of people working from home (9.4%, above GL average) and the high proportion of self-employed (12%). As we see from the interviews, this category is also consistent with the area having the highest proportion in our sample of people from the “creative” sector (14.2%), people who are likely to work either at home or nearby.



**Residents with locally-based lifestyles consist mainly of longer-term residents (black and Turkish/Kurdish people), and student or recent graduates, who enjoy the local amenities and the atmosphere of the area.**

“Selective residents” are mainly the young professional “gentrifiers”, for whom the area is attractive as a relatively affordable base not far from their main centre of activities (Islington). These tend to be young white professionals, who may work in the City of London, and socialise in Islington, West London, or near to their work.

“A lot of them belong to private health clubs, [where they] can go after work.” “A lot of the professional[s] will go out at night maybe close to work and only come back here [late. Local] retail is not important because if they don’t work ‘round here [...] they can shop in the West End, maybe shop in the City.” (IA, estate agent)

“Some [use] these houses like a dormitory and will be out of London at the weekend anyway.” (FF, clergy)

“Worship in eclectic central London churches [...] they live out here and go in there.” (FF, clergy)

There is some indication that separate lifestyles divide the area into ethnic-based sub-neighbourhoods: Green Lanes and Stoke Newington (Turkish businesses and flats above shops); council estates (African-Caribbean and Turkish-Kurdish); and street

properties (white owner-occupiers). For instance, long term white and black residents tend to socialise locally, often in their private homes.

*"[My children] are not locally based [... They say] 'let's meet up in this place in Leicester Square, or near Liverpool Street' or wherever it is. But I suppose with kind of older people like myself, it tends to be more local."* (Mr P, resident)

Green Lanes and Newington Green are commercial areas serving the Turkish and Kurdish community, with ethnic specific shops, cafes, community service, bookshop, theatre, etc. The Turkish and Kurdish community tend to live close to where they work, perhaps to minimise commute times to family commitments. First generation Kurdish Londoners, move to places like Enfield as couples in their early 20s, with plans to start families as owner-occupiers. This particular group are seen as community "role models": they are upwardly mobile, but generally in community-based employment. GPs and housing professionals, in particular, are expected to work for their ethnic community even if they are not locally resident.

*"You walk up the high street now and almost every shop [is] owned by Turks [...] grocers owned by perhaps a Pakistani family or a Caribbean family [...] have stayed the same but is run now by Turks."* (FF, clergy)

**The lack of tube implies a lack of generalised retail catchments which in turn allows local and niche shops to thrive, thereby allowing the area to retain its "village" atmosphere.**



To understand how this area works, one must refer to the particularity of its transport accessibility. The lack of a nearby tube station implies that those choosing to live in the area chose alternative modes of transport, such as bus, bicycles and foot. A much higher proportion of the population travels to work by bus or coach (29.9% vs. GL average of 11.1%).

The bicycle also scores higher in this area (8.6% vs. 2.3% in GL), and tube usage is very low. Moreover, Clissold residents are least likely to say that one of the main reasons they moved to where they live was fast transport connections to central London (Part D). These transport patterns might mean that Clissold residents who have chosen to live there are people with a particular mindset, closer to "post-materialist" values, i.e. environmentally friendly and keen on living in a multicultural atmosphere. Alternatively, this might mean that they have adapted to other modes of transport, as the quotes below seem to suggest.

*"I don't miss the tube because the buses run all night."* (YX, resident)

*"[The second best thing about the area is] the ease of access to the City and the West End. And for travelling around London or out of London generally because it's quite easy to get to the motorways from here."* (Mr P, resident)

The lack of tube also means a lack of generalised retail catchments which in turn allows local and niche shops to thrive (Maps 33, 34). As a result, the area has retained its highly rated "village" atmosphere. University graduates use the local amenities, and like the character of the area. Whilst the retail has remained local, there is some concern that "traditional" shops are being displaced by bars and restaurants catering to newcomers.

*“They are looking for a fairly attractive area that offers the services that they are looking for, i.e. restaurants, bars, a relatively high standard [of] amenities as far as East London is concerned. It’s quite a trendy area, Stoke Newington, because of the [...] number of young people that have moved into the area and also value for money.” (RS, estate agent)*

*“Most of the people that live in this area support the local businesses, which has meant they have been able to continue trading. [...] the restaurants, the local grocers, the smaller supermarkets, the hairdressers [etc], they tend to have been here for quite a long time, and locals pride themselves” on using them. (RS, estate agent)*

*On Church Street, which was once “a main shopping street” in Clissold, “lots of the traditional shops have changed use to restaurants, the existing residents feel they’re losing out [...] because they don’t see it as gaining restaurants, they see it as losing shops and they might blame [...] the people who have bought new flats in the area as contributing to that.” (TF, council planner)*

*“For me as a black person there isn’t anything around here really that relates to us [...] Church Street don’t have any entertainment for us although for the main community it is the high point of their life like restaurants.” (YX, resident)*

The area is also popular for artists' live/work spaces. This group may have served as the avant-garde for the area's gentrification.

*“Quite a lot of artists live around here and people connected with the arts [...] there is quite a surprising number of small workshops.” (NS, resident)*

*“This area is renowned for artists, but around here they tend to be more conservative sorts of professionals.” (YX, resident)*

The area is a destination for many first time buyers, who may be moving up the property ladder from rental. It is also described as a place for young families; in particular because of the recreation opportunities offered by Clissold Park.

*“The park I don’t use as often now as I used to, but when the kids were a little bit younger, we were there every night.” (NS, resident)*

*“When I saw the park I thought this would be a lovely place to bring up children.” (Mr P, resident)*

Those with locally-based lifestyles tend to move within the area when circumstances change (i.e. having a child), rather than leaving it.

*“It’s not a particularly transient area, although people move about quite a lot within the area [...] Once they’ve moved in a lot of people will stay here as opposed to them moving out into another area.” (RS, estate agent)*

*“A lot of the people moving into the area don’t have kids. A lot of the people moving within the area do have kids.” (IA, estate agent)*

*“If I was to move I would probably move out of London, there wouldn’t be an awful lot of point in moving to another part of London.” (NS, resident)*

## Social and community dynamics

The survey suggests higher than average tolerance for diversity in this area. Residents of Clissold (along with Ferndale) are most likely to enjoy the cosmopolitan nature of their area, possibly reflecting these areas higher proportions of BME residents (Part D). Clissold residents are also more likely to feel people respect ethnic differences, more likely to feel people get on with each other, and to feel more involved in the community (Part D). They are also significantly less likely to prefer homogeneity to transport connections to Central London (Part D). Moreover, qualitative interviews highlight that long-term residents tend to feel that people are friendly and care for each other.

**Gentrifiers are perceived as polite but not really “mixing” with the existing communities.**



*“If I am ill or if there is a problem that any of the neighbours will support you know before I get to my family they would all be there you know either the neighbours across the road, around the corner. It is like a little community.” (YX, resident)*

However, interviews also suggest that while ethnic communities coexist, they don't necessarily mix. African Caribbean are gradually being priced-out from the area. The Turkish/Kurdish community have built a circuit of ethnic-specific services and activities including community centres, cafes, shops, etc. White “gentrifiers” are gradually colonising the area, but the views of interviewees cast doubt on the reality of inter-class and inter-racial integration. In fact, some longer-term residents perceive newcomers with some resentment.

*“[Turkish/Kurdish residents] very much keep themselves to themselves, well, within their own communities.” (FF, clergy)*

*“The [middle-class newcomers] might just give you a nod as opposed to saying good morning to you as if to say I am better than you” (YX, resident)*

Furthermore, the “pricing out” of locally-raised children from the housing market weakens social support for the older generation.

*“My neighbour's children who were born here, they wanted to stay in Hackney [but] they couldn't. They all have to move out to Chingford and I think it is a loss to us in terms of that supportive network because what is going to happen now is that [the parents] now have to sell their house and move out to get a bungalow near their children because they can't afford anything in Hackney.” (YX, resident)*

While many residents demonstrate locally-based lifestyles, patterns of use (e.g. schools, socialising) transcend ward and borough boundaries, in particular, the boundary between Islington and Hackney. The African Caribbean population is reported to have social and cultural links to Hackney, Tottenham, and Walthamstow. The Turkish and Kurdish populations, meanwhile, have links to Stoke Newington, Enfield, Haringey, Edmonton, and Stamford Hill. It is “safe to be Turkish” in Clissold –as pointed out by one interviewee- and younger members of the community from suburban Enfield and other places return to the area to socialise. Long term white British residents have social ties to Islington and Hackney. Lastly, young, white professionals socialise and use amenities in Islington, and south west London.

In terms of local social engagement, there appear to be few formal social organisations in the area. Community halls throughout Hackney have closed down. Meanwhile, local amenities don't work as gathering places for all residents (e.g. black women and Turkish people don't usually go to pubs). The main meeting places in the area appear to be schools and Clissold Park.

*“Most people let their children go out. I mean my son go[es] out, I wouldn't let him be educated in Hackney.[...] For black boys in particular [schools here] is just fighting. There are so many odds against him that I was determined that my son would go to a good primary school. [He] went to school in Highbury, and I knew that that school fed children into the better secondary schools. [...] I didn't physically move, but I moved my address.”* (YX, resident)

*“[Stoke Newington] is the only school around here, so you can either go private or you send your kids to that school, I can't afford to send my kids to private school and anyway they didn't want to go to a private school. They wanted to go where all their friends were going and all their friends were going to Stoke Newington.”* (NS, resident)

## Housing in the area

The area consists mainly of house conversions in two- to four-storey terraced houses. Some streets stand out for a better quality architecture (e.g. Clissold Crescent), with four-storey terraced houses with large back and front gardens and basements. There are a few relatively small council estates, “scattered little blocks”, which are considered not to have an overwhelming presence in the area.



**The area consists mainly of house conversions in two to four-storey terraced houses. Some streets have better quality architecture with four-storey terraced houses with large gardens and basements. There are a few, relatively small council estates.**

Most Clissold residents live in flats in purpose built blocks (40.2%, notably above GL average), followed by flat in converted or shared house (26.1%) and terraced houses (26.1%). This is consistent with our identification of main three groups in the area, namely: long-term council tenants, young (student) sharers, and young gentrifiers, both couples and single people. On the whole, this is an area of renters rather than owners. In terms of tenancy, the two main groups are: owned by mortgage or loan (28.6%) and rented from council (25.5%, considerably above GL average). The price of housing is slightly above GL average (£195,254), echoing some interviewees' comments about gentrification and rising property prices.

**Middle class newcomers are attracted to the area by (amongst other factors) its proximity to Islington, but at an "East London price". As property developers in the area advertise: "Islington: Minutes away by road from North London's cultural hub."**



The demand for private housing focuses mainly on rentals and buy-to-live of converted houses and flats in terraced houses for young couples, and house rentals for young sharers. There is a widespread perception that few development sites remain in the area, thereby making it difficult to increase density. Also, residential development is perceived as driving out all other development, impacting on employment and housing opportunities in the area.

*"There's been quite a bit of conversion work done over the years; pubs turned into flats; schools turned into flats; tiny patches of land turned into flats." (FF, clergy)*

In terms of property desirability, the area seems to be divided into several sub-neighbourhoods, appealing to different residents.

*"As far as the communities in this area are concerned, [Stoke Newington and Stanford Hill] are treated as two completely separate areas, the type of person that wants to buy property in Stoke Newington won't necessarily want to buy something in Stanford Hill and vice versa." (RS, estate agent)*

The locations preferred by newcomers are the streets south of Church Street, as they are "close to it but not actually on a busy street." (RS, estate agent). As discussed above, middle class newcomers are attracted to the status of an "N" postcode. Many of these have relocated from other, previously-gentrified areas, seeking affordable purchases.

*"A couple of streets of N16 [...] within the Borough of Islington [are] very popular, not necessarily because the roads themselves are that attractive, or because the properties are that attractive, but because people can say they live in Islington [...] people like the post code and people are very much post code driven." (RS, estate agent)*

*"Within the last seven, eight years [...] Islington flat people [and Clapham house people] are becoming Stoke Newington house people." (IA, estate agent)*

The relative value placed on proximity to people of similar backgrounds versus more internal space may change with buyers' lifecycles. While first time buyers without children will buy former council properties, families with children reportedly seek

“period conversions”. The former category of buyers “want a two bedroom ex-local maisonette, because they have got a little bit extra space and maybe got a small garden for the same price as a one bedroom conversion with no outside space.” (RS, estate agent) They are concerned with “value for money” while the latter want to avoid “mixed” tenancy areas.

Some council tenants have exercised “right to buy” and sold their properties on to middle class newcomers, while others (for example those in the Garland and Kennelway estates) have exercised right to buy and stayed in their properties.

## Trade-offs

It can be inferred from the above evidence that the main social group demanding to live in the area (young middle-class professionals) are attracted to the status of an “N” postcode, thereby forsaking other qualities such as upkeep of local area and safety. Another very attractive feature of the area (not just for the latter group but generally) is its proximity to Clissold Park and multicultural atmosphere. This is consistent with the findings from the survey, where we can also see that residents in this area are significantly less likely to prefer social homogeneity to transport connections to Central London, and significantly more likely to prefer proximity to parks than transport connections to central London.



**The main newcomers to the area are attracted to the status of an “N” postcode – a relatively affordable area near to Islington – and forsake other qualities such as upkeep of local area or safety.**

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Clearly, those who chose the area have done so for values other than a tube link.

*“Loads of people love the area, but just couldn’t see themselves living somewhere where there wasn’t a direct tube link.” (RS, estate agent)*

*“Most people that live here don’t have a problem as far as transport is concerned, because you adapt, you use the transport that’s available to you.” (RS, estate agent)*

Clissold residents trade off access to Central London for qualities of the local environment. They are significantly more likely to prefer proximity to parks than transport connections to Central London (Part D). This is matched by the survey finding that people in Clissold much less likely to pick transport, and local facilities as the best things about their area compared with other wards but, are more likely to select the environment and parks and open spaces as the best things (Part D).

## Perceptions of density

Perceptions on whether the area is dense are relatively evenly divided between yes and no. However, we must remember that the questions on density received only a few responses in this area, as Clissold was our pilot case (i.e. the specific questions on perception on density were included at a later stage, only in the last interviews carried out in this area).

While Clissold is the second densest ward in our sample (156 pers./ha, 70 dw./ha), the general perception is that the area is neither overpopulated nor crowded.

*"Because I live on a street and don't live on an estate I think my view would be, I would be inclined to say it wasn't overpopulated from a density point of view. I don't particularly think it's outrageously full of high blocks, not outrageously." (DD, resident)*

There appears to be a relatively generalised indifference to the possibility of the area being dense.

*"I don't think it's particular either." (NS, resident)*

*"[Density is] just a fact of life." (Mr. P, resident)*

However, the perception is that the area is already a built up area, with a low stock of vacant sites to develop, is generally held.

Some interviewees report that council estates are not dominant in the area and not particularly dense.

**Kennelway estate is considered an example of acceptable density, which is attributed to good design and to the proximity to Clissold Park.**



*"[In] the part of the ward where I live, the council estates and the council blocks are not particularly dominant. [...] they tend to be at the back of the private housing so you don't actually notice them [...] Although I guess that there is a fairly high density, there is a lot of space on the estate, so you don't get this feeling as you do on a lot of Hackney estates that the feeling is overbearing or overpowering. So I think the space elements are very important. You can have high density but if it is combined with relatively generous public space you don't get this feeling of overpowering, overpowering feeling of density." (Mr. P, resident)*

In particular, the Kennelway estate is considered an example of acceptable density, which is attributed to good design and to the proximity to Clissold Park.

*"The buildings are well spread out." (AD, housing association representative)*

*"Maybe because we have the park close by, so they feel that there is a bit of fresh air. I think that the park does make a big difference to it. It has a massive open space there." (AD, housing association representative)*

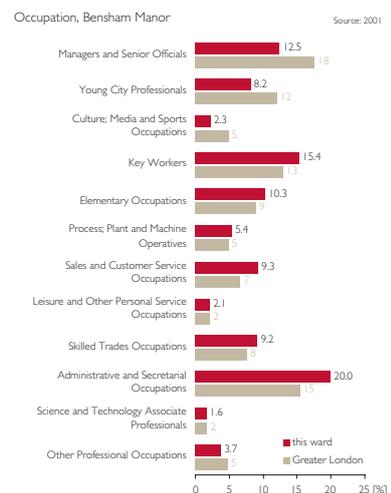
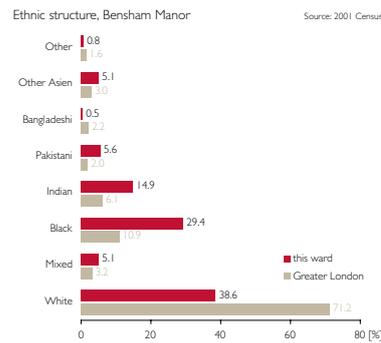
Interestingly, we gathered through qualitative interviews that certain groups of people in the area might be experiencing isolation, a condition that literature on urban density defines as the opposite to crowding [Krupat, 1985]. This is based on the perception that the area has changed recently, particularly in terms of age structure. Decreasing occupancy rates due to children growing up and leaving home would mean that mostly older and single people are remaining in the area. As a consequence, older people are experiencing isolation when younger family members move out of the area. This seems to be the case in homes of long-term area residents generally, and in council estates especially.



*"...it's certainly not slum but neither is it some leafy suburb. It is very much inner city" (JO, clergy)*

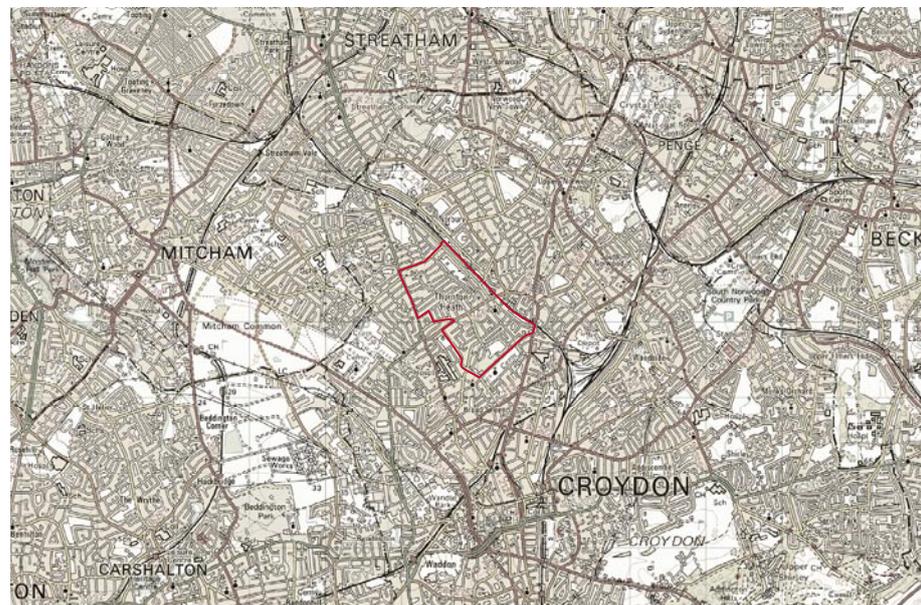
### 3.5 Bensham Manor: "Rough suburbia"

A high density ward for Outer London (110 pers./ha, 43 dw./ha), albeit the least dense in the sample. A small majority of residents are white, however the area also houses a high proportion of black people, as well as people of Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage. With an average level of deprivation for GL (26.4), it is the second least deprived ward from our sample. A large majority of the housing is medium size terraces along two-way residential streets. Bensham Manor offers relatively cheap family-sized houses, with direct train access to Central London. Much of local life centres on Croydon town centre.



**Index of multiple deprivation (darker colours indicate higher levels of deprivation).**

**Detailed comparison in chapter 4.**



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## Desirability

### Best things

The area is perceived as a “family area,” predominantly residential but with ample local amenities, thanks to the proximity to Croydon town centre and local high streets (London and Brigstock Roads). The best things about the area most frequently cited are: transport access to Central London and to Croydon Town Centre; the presence of local facilities; and, particularly, the area’s active community life. The use of private cars rather than public transport is pronounced relative to other wards. Perhaps it is unsurprising that parking is a high priority relative to good transport connections to Central London (Maps 38, 42).



**Croydon Town Centre is the area’s functional centre, an important transport hub around which facilities cluster.**

*“It’s accessible to London. I mean it’s twenty minutes, we’re very handy here to the railway station so there’s good communication up through Clapham Junction and say twenty minutes I can be in Victoria in Westminster, see a show or something. So that’s a good part of it. I think it’s accessible to Croydon; it has a good shopping centre. It’s very handy for Gatwick.” (JO, clergy)*

*“You are offering something to people which they move into the area which they don’t have to live right next to it but they can go to the bottom of their roads and they have got what they need.” (WB, estate agent)*

*“Asian people want to be in this area because of community things like the youth centre, the mosques, Sikh and Hindu temples, language and music classes.” (NB-S, social worker)*

### Worst things

There is ambivalence about the multi-cultural character of the area. While some interviewees consider it a positive feature, others fear that the influx of newcomers from other ethnicities will create problems. The worst things cited about the area include a perceived ghettoisation of Asian communities, both from inside and outside. This means that, on the one hand, Asians tend to cloister themselves in their own community, and on the other hand, members of other communities may undervalue them. Interviewees also deplore the lack of usable green space, especially for families with children. This suggests that the survey finding re: preference for parks reflects residents’ future desire, rather than current circumstances (Part D) (Map 45). They feel deterred from using the available parks, such as Rectory Park, due to the fear of crime and other forms of antisocial behaviour. The latter constitutes another “worst thing” mentioned.



**Despite the presence of parks in the area, these are unused by residents who perceived them as badly maintained and unsafe.**

*“The ghetto is created not by the presence of a large Asian community, but by the perception of that community by outside professionals, e.g. teachers, police, doctors.” (NB-S, social worker)*

*“It’s just different types of people moved into the area. [...] When my children were younger and you heard about a murder, or a stabbing, or a mugging, it was always a long, long way away. [...] but now it is more often local.” (AF, resident)*

*“I would just be too scared to let them go out. And I wouldn’t use the park, [although] we used to use it quite a lot, [...] I wouldn’t take the grandchildren there at all, because it is just, you know, it is just the types of people there.” (AF, resident)*

*“Very few facilities for children. I mean we don’t have green space here. We’ve got a park down the road, which we don’t tend to use because of the dog mess and the needles. So it’s urban.” (JB, head of schools)*

## Type of people

### Who lives there?

The long-term residents in this area are mainly middle-aged to elderly white British, African Caribbean and Asian families. The area has significantly above average percentage of residents who are black (29.4%), Indian (14.9%) and Pakistani (5.6%) with white people (38.6%) far below the London average. The main occupation groups are administrative and secretarial, services, skilled trades, elementary and key workers. The latter (15.4%) are above the GL average, and the second highest proportion amongst the five wards (after Clissold). The area is an attractive location for this group; we hypothesize, mainly because of its relative affordability as well as the availability of family-sized homes. Census data reflects a predominance of families with young children and teenagers in the area: an above average proportion of children and teenagers, as well as of adults in the age groups 30 to 44 (27.4%) and 45 to 59 (16.4%). The average household size, 2.54, is above GL average.

### Who’s moving in?

Those moving in to the area recently are mainly Asian couples without children, young couples in general, young white single men and “transitory” residents. As gathered through interviews, a trend towards incoming young Asian families continues. In addition, people of African Caribbean origin from Brixton are said to be moving in to Bensham Manor. The presence of refugees and asylum seekers was only noticeable through the interviews, as they seem to “blend” in the local community due to its diversity of ethnicities. The population of transitory residents is from a range of ethnicities, currently from francophone Africa, the Balkans, Middle East, and Sri Lanka, and often includes young women with children.

## Who's leaving?

According to interviews, residents tend to have relatives in the area, and often further south – the “Croydon suburbs”, (e.g. Purley or Crawley). These families express aspirations to move to these suburbs to have a larger house with a bigger garden and to be close to their relatives. Some sentiments of displacement are evident amongst white and black longer-term residents, but these lack the intensity that can be found in Green Street East. Those leaving the area are white elderly (who often move “just outside” Croydon) and families with children seeking better secondary schools, more space, and “better” neighbourhoods. Families leaving the area choose to buy larger homes in South Croydon (Purley, Culsdon). Some Asians move out to areas with well-established Asian communities. The white elderly move to places like Selston, Sandersted, Old Culsdon, Sutton or Stonely. Temporary residents (e.g. asylum seekers) may be relocated to other parts of Croydon.

*“A lot of singles, young working people moving in and once you get to sort of family type age, older family type age groups you get outward migration and that carries on through to retirement. So we have [...] the relatively large single, younger aged population and then a young family population.” (LN, council planner)*



**Bensham Manor hosts a large proportion of middle class families of diverse ethnicity. Long-term residents are mainly middle-aged to elderly white British as well as families from African Caribbean and Asian backgrounds. Additionally, there is a trend of young Asian families incoming to the area.**

*“People want to be in an area where they are dominated by their own race. [...] you will find people buying the property they will be like I don't want to live next to a [...] coloured person.” (WB, estate agent)*

*“Black or white they move here, then when they have children they move out and find the leafy suburbs.” (Mr. W, resident)*

*“Some of our [...] ‘better’ families who will be looking to move from Thornton Heath to Sandersted or Purley, that would be considered the next step up if you'd done well.” (JO, clergy)*

## Lifestyles, patterns of use, mobility patterns

The main lifestyle group identified in Bensham Manor is lower middle-class suburban families, whose lives revolve around Croydon. Residents tend to work, shop and socialize locally and around Croydon town centre (ca. 3 km south), and send their children to local schools. Social networks, also locally-based, revolve around family ties, friends, church and school.

*“You can look through the Baptismal records and you can see the same family names coming up. So there’s a lot more history and rootedness.” (JO, clergy)*

*“Once they’re here they tend to stay [...] people get together in family groups and they have their brothers and sisters and they grow up here and then they tend to stay.” (NB-S, social worker)*

*“If I didn’t work here and it is so easy for me to get to work, and my girls weren’t still at home, and my husband didn’t have to cycle into Croydon, I probably wouldn’t live in Thornton Heath. But [...] I am hoping in the next couple of years both my girls are going to be married and in their own places, and they both work local to where we live.” (AF, resident)*

*“I wouldn’t move very far because I want to see my grandchildren.” (MC, resident)*

**The main lifestyle group identified in Bensham Manor is lower-middle class suburban families, whose lives revolve around Croydon.**



Bensham Manor is 3 km from Croydon, which serves the functional structure of a regional centre, i.e. providing a full range of consumer services and varied employment opportunities. Thornton Heath is considered “North Croydon” as opposed to leafy, suburban areas to the south of central Croydon. Residents are satisfied with the facilities and amenities of

Croydon, and many perceive Central London as a destination only for special affairs. In this regard, findings of the interviews are consistent with the working and commuting patterns identified both in the Census and the survey. Area residents rate local facilities as slightly more important than the average for other areas (Part D). The area offers both bulk staple shopping, often conducted by car (e.g. 24-hour Tesco in Croydon), and more local – though perhaps more limited – convenience shopping.

*“Main food shopping I would normally go to Tescos, which is just a stone’s throw away. At the moment I haven’t got a car so my middle daughter takes me shopping.” (AF, resident)*

*“The shops in Thornton Heath are not very imaginative. You’ll have to go to Croydon a lot for any other kind of shopping.” (MC, resident)*

*“I like the fact that if I run out of anything, I can pop out at say 8 o’clock in the evening and get it.” (CM, resident)*

We hypothesize that Bensham Manor (as with Green Street East), acts as a “staging post” in families’ and individuals’ upward mobility. Many residents rate the area poorly, and aspire to leave it when their financial circumstances change (i.e., higher salary, more job mobility). This dissatisfaction with the ward is echoed in the survey. In addition to the low proportions saying lifestyle made a difference in their choice to live in their area, only one in eight in Bensham Manor say they would live there if money was no object. White residents living in the area are particularly likely to disagree with this statement (Part D). Also, nearly half of the residents aspire to move out in the next few years (49%) (Part D).

The area is an affordable “rung” on the property ladder to a number of groups: First time home-buyers are drawn to the area by its relative affordability and family-sized homes (see “Housing Market” below). Single newcomers, usually flat-dwellers, are Croydon and metropolitan commuters who are attracted to the area by its affordability, and access to jobs.

*“It’s actually always been a very transitory place. [...] a place where people come perhaps when they’re first married [...] it’s not a high earners area, it’s generally I would say a sort of middle earners’ area and when they get better off then they move out.” (MC, resident)*

*“People are expanding their houses, children growing up, new businesses opening, family businesses. Some of the people have come in as immigrants, opened businesses, expanded their businesses and brought in more family.” (GS, councillor)*

Working patterns of area residents differ noticeably from the other wards in the sample. Fewer area residents work in Central London than other areas (18%) and one in five work outside London (Part D). Fewer use public transport to commute to work than in other areas; over half of residents use the car, and few (11%) the tube (Part D). Perhaps unsurprisingly, residents are least likely to cite one of the main reasons they moved to where they live as fast transport connections to central London (Part D) (Maps 38, 42). Residents may commute to Central London, Central Croydon or elsewhere within the metropolis.

*“It is access to [jobs in] London as a whole and also Croydon. There is a fair pool of employment, potential employment within the borough itself [...] about fifty percent of the employed population migrate out to work, the remaining fifty percent [...] of local residents in employment are employed locally.” (LN, council planner)*

*“Croydon probably employs quite a few, it’s a big centre, but we’re only half an hour from the centre of London, and you’ve got southern Wimbledon the other side, so I think people probably go all ways.” (JB, head of schools)*

Composing a different lifestyle group in the area are the “transitory” residents, including asylum seekers and vulnerable residents in RSL accommodation. While some may amalgamate with the established Asian community, or join local faith communities, they tend to integrate only marginally with the established community. Though given very limited choice in their place of residence, this group may be drawn to Bensham Manor by knowledge of its existing ethnic communities.

*“There’s a real desire to get children into schools, there’s a real desire for learning from the children and the children that we’ve got here, the older ones which obviously speak very good English and have very good exam levels.” (MC, housing association representative)*

*“It’s a fantastic area from our businesses point of view and our clients’ point of view because they fit in so easily and they’re not high profile.” (MC, housing association representative)*

*“Given a choice between here and Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, wherever, they would rather be here. They don’t have a great deal of knowledge about London itself in terms of the different parts of it, but this is an ethnic community here.” (MC, housing association representative)*

## Social and community dynamics

Interviewees express a feeling that neighbours look after each other and each other's property. Churches (mainly Catholic and Hindu), identified as important centres of community life in the area, act as nodes of social integration between new and longer-term residents. These are usually linked to schools, playgroups and after-school activities. That means that social integration occurs mainly through extended family life. There are also those who focus on their own or their family's sake with no time or willingness to join faith groups, thereby tending to be more isolated. Despite the presence of active faith communities, there is a lack of formal social organisations in the area. This is what one interviewee refers to as "homeowners without a voice."

*"They're homeowners without a voice. [...] The conditions of the houses tell you a lot about the people living in them and the area itself. The housing doesn't look right as you drive around here. It looks a little neglected. The people couldn't afford to buy elsewhere but here. [...] So they'd bought biggish houses that they could share; they'd live out [of] one room; someone else would live out of another and that's how they got on the ladder. They are not people that are out joining residents' groups."* (MC, housing association representative)

**Social integration in the area occurs mainly through extended family life or faith communities, i.e. around schools and faith centres.**



*"Once I'd had children and was home, [I] was able to actually appreciate the area and what it had to offer. Rather than when we first moved here, I think for the first year, I was going to work. So I would get in my car or get on the bus and go to work, come home, be in my house. But I didn't really get to know the area very well. In the past few years, first having my son, playgroups, you know, meeting other mums, the doctors, which we've spent lots of time at. And you've just got to see a different side to living here."* (CM, resident)

*"We're always into the local shops, some of the residents keep going to the local shops as well and spend money, and yeah, I mean that's our community involvement."* (MC, housing association representative)

While black and white communities appear relatively well integrated with each other, the Asian community tends to stay apart. Interviewees note a trend to ghettoisation from both inside and from outside the Asian community. Some evidence of racial tensions or intolerance of diversity from the interviews is confirmed by the survey findings. A significant minority of residents from Bensham Manor do not enjoy living in an area where there is a mix of ethnic groups and 21% tend to disagree that their local area is a place where residents respect ethnic differences between people (Part D). On the other hand, some residents believe that the ethnic diversity prevents racial conflict.

*“It is hard really because a lot of the shops are owned by Asian families. They don’t employ anybody else other than Asian families, themselves. That upsets me, because I think well, you know, it would be nice if, with the unemployment in the area, with all the shops that you could spread it out so that other people could get work. But it is kept close. But that’s their culture.” (CM, resident)*

*“[The Asian community is] friendly [...] but has no social life [...] everything takes place around the temple or the mosque.” (AD’S, resident)*

*“Mixed people, from European, African, Asian countries. Makes you feel safer. There are more chances for racism in an area where there is a single dominant ethnic group.” (Mr S, resident)*

*“People want to be in an area where they are dominated by their own race [...] you will find people buying the property they will be like ‘I don’t want to live next to a, that coloured person’. [...] a lot of people will go, ‘I want to know what the neighbours are like.’” (WB, estate agent)*

There is a general feeling that the area is changing. Socially, this means the influx of new and more diverse people. This manifests itself in more teenagers on the streets, and the relatively new presence of refugees. The spatial expression of change in the built environment is a perceived increase in construction works, specifically the splitting of houses into flats, new residential buildings, and new RSLs. Interviewees refer to these changes as “squeezing more people in”, specifically refugees and immigrants. The general attitude is of slight discomfort with this situation. For some, the subdivision of the pre-existing housing stock means the loss of houses of appropriate size to accommodate larger families. Others convey fear of the negative impact of the newcomers, in terms of higher crime in the area—although not explicitly.

## Housing in the area

The property market is characterised by the supply of mostly one and two-storey terraced three-bedroom houses with a garden (some with front gardens), described as of appropriate size for families with children. There are several four-storey blocks and mini-estates (Map 41). Larger houses are usually subdivided into HMOs, making up a small number of relatively new developments. Due to the area’s proximity to Luna House (Home Office), there is an emergent housing market for RSL to provide temporary accommodation for asylum seekers. This has influenced the conversion of terraced houses into B&Bs for these residents, as well as the construction of new purpose-built blocks. For example, on Brigstock Road, some larger Victorian (six-bedroom) terraced houses have been joined together as HMOs or B&Bs.

The area has larger houses, and higher levels of homeownership than the GL average. A very high percentage of homes are terraced (56%) with above average surface given over to domestic buildings (19%) and gardens (40%). The high percentage of homes that are mortgage or loan owned (47.3%) corresponds with the lower middle class residential profile. Taking all “owned” categories, the area has a strikingly high percentage of homeowners (70.1%), far above the GL average. Combined with the significantly low average price of housing (£120,209), this tells us about the affordability of this area.

Demand in the area is strongly based on the housing stock's relative affordability. While the area appeals to families looking for large houses, there is also an emerging demand from commuters for one-bedroom flats. Buy-to-let investors (mostly Asian, according to interviews) are a growing presence in the area; they subdivide large houses into flats. Some interviewees express disapproval of the subdivision trend, claiming that it accelerates the movement of growing families from Bensham Manor to the outskirts of Croydon. The area's reputation as an "Asian ghetto", which purportedly suppressed house prices, is now changing. Croydon Council is described as "pro-development" in response to high housing demand.

**The area is characterised by the supply of mostly one and two-storey terraced three-bedroom houses with a garden of "appropriate" size for families with children. However, there is a trend towards subdivision of large houses and new developments of purpose-built flats.**



*"If you wanted to stay in the area it is very hard because there aren't the houses with the room." (CM, resident)*

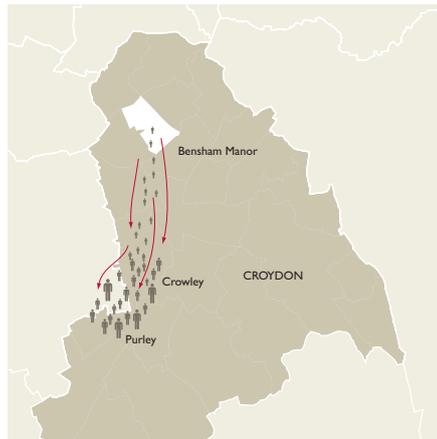
*"The area is congested; there is a trend for people who can afford bigger houses to move to the outskirts of Croydon: Caterham, Coulsdon, Purley." (NB-S, social worker)*

*"The perception of the area being an Asian ghetto has made house prices cheaper until recently. This is changing now as more Afro-Caribbean and Asians seek property in the area." (NB-S, social worker)*

*"Nine out of ten [planning] applications that go in get accepted" because the council "have got a lot of people on the books that are trying to find a home residentially because they can't afford to buy." (WB, estate agent)*

## Trade-offs

Both from the quantitative and the qualitative research, it seems evident that the main group in this area—lower middle class families—prioritise schools and family-sized homes over transport connections to Central London and the conditions of the local environment. This is consistent with the fact that most of their activities are locally based and with residents' stated expectations to move to leafier areas in the future. These lifestyle tradeoffs support our “staging post” hypothesis: people choose to live here en route to somewhere preferable, and will accept lower standards of environmental upkeep in exchange for family-sized houses and proximity to good education.



**People choose to live in Besham Manor en route to somewhere preferable, such as more suburban areas south of the borough.**

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*“What people are now looking for is not an area to live in; they are looking for socially for schooling and for healthcare. [...] If they have kids the school will come first and they will pick the area for that school, they won't just go ‘I want to live in this area because it is nice.’” (WB, estate agent)*

*“We needed to find a house which we liked and could afford. So maybe we would have chosen a different area if we'd been better off.” (MC, resident, moved from Brixton with children)*

## Perceptions of density

The majority of the interviewees think that the area is dense. Their views are divided between positive and negative perceptions of density. As compared to the other areas, they express less reflexive views on the implications of density.



**Social aspects such as vibrancy, liveliness and community support are amongst the best things that interviewees in Besham Manor associate with high density, as is the presence of facilities. However, parking stress, traffic congestion and the loss of family-sized homes due to new developments are deplored as negative aspects linked to high density.**

The positive aspects of density mentioned in Besham Manor can be grouped as community and social aspects and the presence of facilities and amenities. The negative aspects of density can be classified into two categories: parking/congestion; and new developments and loss of family-sized homes. As we have seen from the general perceptions about the area, this is consistent with the stated best and worst things. However, the relatively high number of responses in the survey category

“[dense neighbourhoods can] accommodate more homes for people” (33%) seems rather surprising if we compare it to the relatively low numbers of mentions in the qualitative interviews. Furthermore, some interviewees in certain areas (especially Bensham Manor) expressed their worries about increasing house sub-division and building works going on in their local area.

Nonetheless, circumstances have not yet reached a state of perceived overcrowding; residents of Bensham Manor are more likely to say privacy is one of the best things about their area compared with the other wards (Part D).

*“You need to have density to have facilities, yes, but you have to be able to escape.” (NB-S, social worker)*

*“I don’t think [density] is a negative thing [...] because it’s vibrant. It’s a sort of a lively thing I would say. Vibrant congregation in a lively area might be how I would summarise it.” (JO’T, clergy)*

*“It does upset me when I see houses split, the big houses into flats. Because [...] I would love to have a place that was bigger.” (CM, resident)*

*“They’ve been talking about for years another 165 dwellings going to go up there [...] So again, the council, the government whoever you want to blame are bringing more and more people into this area.” (Mr. W, resident)*

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## Appendix CAI

List of experts consulted at the London School of Economics and Political Science

Prof. Paul Cheshire, Department of Geography & Environment, LSE

Dr. Janet Foster, Department of Sociology, LSE

Dr. Steve Gibbons, Department of Geography & Environment, LSE

Prof. Ian Gordon, Department of Geography & Environment, LSE

Dr. Bani Makkar, Research Officer, CASE, LSE

Dr. Vassilis Monastriotis, Research Fellow, Department of Geography & Environment, LSE

Prof. Richard Sennett, Cities Programme, LSE

Emily Silverman, CASE (STICERD), LSE

Prof. Ed Soja, Cities Programme, LSE

Dr. Rebecca Tunstall, LSE

Prof. Christine Whitehead, Department of Economics, LSE

## Appendix CA2 List of Interviewees by Area

Area	Bensham Manor Croydon	Clissold Hackney	Ferndale Lambeth	Green Street East Newham	Town Hammersmith & Fulham
<b>Categories</b>					
<b>Local key actors</b>	Initials Gender / Ethnicity				
1. Estate agent 01	JP M / A	RS M / WB	GG M / WB	MM M / A	GH M / WO
2. Estate agent 02	WB M / WB	IA M / WB	ES F / WB	SS M / BB	KR F / WB
3. Council planner	LN F / WB	TF M / WB	SB F / WB	JT M / WB	EW F / WB
4. Social / community worker	NB F / BA	PC M / WI	OL M / WB	PJ M / WB	MD F / WB
5. Housing association representative 01	MC M / WB	AD F / BA	AJ M / WB	LH F / WB	DL M / BB
6. Housing association representative 02	CS M / BB	RO M / WB	LB M / BB	--	MD M / WI
7. Head of schools	JB M / WB	MD M / WB	BO M / WI	XJ F / WB	XM F / WB
8. Clergy	JO M / WI	CF M / WB	JM F / WB	XS M / A	XX M / WB
9. Councillor	GS F / BO	JN M / BB	PM M / WB	XV M / A	AL M / WB

<b>Residents</b>					
10. Resident 01	XW M / WB	DP M / W	XR M / BB	DM F / WB	PL M / WB
11. Resident 02	MC F / WB	YX F / BB	MJ & IJ M & F / WO	JC M / WB	XM M / A
12. Resident 03	XS M / A	TX F / WO	RH F / WB	AP F / BA	MT F / BB
13. Resident 04	AF F / WB	DD F / WB	ML & JC M & F / WB	--	TB F / WB
14. Resident 05	CM F / BB	NS M / WB	RX M / WB	--	--
Extra interviews					
	<b>Resident</b> AD M / A	<b>Community worker</b> RP F / BB	<b>Community Worker</b> MP F / A		
			<b>Resident</b> RW M / WB		

**Gender**

- M Male
- F Female

**Ethnicity**

- A Asian or Asian British
- BB Black British
- WB White British
- BA Black African
- BC Black Caribbean
- WI White Irish
- WO White Other
- BO Black Other

## Appendix CA3-A

### SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR REPRESENTATIVE RESIDENTS

#### Personal information

Initials:	Area of study:
Age:	Interviewer:
Sex:	Date:
Occupation:	Address:
Ethnicity:	Telephone number (optional):
Length of residence:	Type of property
Tenure:	Number of bedrooms:
Household type:	Number of people in the dwelling:

#### Questions

We are conducting a study about this area (show map) for the London School of Economics. The study aims to identify what are the main attributes of this area in terms of quality of life, from different angles, i.e. social, economic and physical.

#### Choice of the area

1. When did you come to live to this area?
2. Why did you come to live to this area?
3. Did you consider other areas in London?
4. If so, why didn't you choose those areas?

#### Desirability of the area

5. Is this area a good place to live?
6. Why?
7. Where are the best places to live in this area? (i.e. particularly desirable "spots" in the area)
8. Why?
9. What are the 3 best things about living in this area, in order of importance? .
10. Why?
11. What are the 3 worst things about living in this area, in order of importance?
12. Why?
13. How would you characterise/describe this area in terms of:

Attributes	Good	Fair	Poor	Comments
13.1. Accessibility by public transport				
13.2. Accessibility by private car				
13.3. Affordability				
13.4. Services (health centres, shops, post offices, etc.)				
13.5. Provision of public open space / parks				
13.6. Safety				
13.7. Provision of good schools				
13.8. Provision of leisure amenities				
13.9. Environmental qualities (cleanliness, noise, pollution, etc.)				
13.10. Private parking				
13.11. On-street parking				
13.12. Quality of the public realm e.g. streetscape, pavement, bike paths				
13.13. Community life				
13.14. Privacy				

### Patterns of use of the area and links with the rest of the city

14. How do you (or the head of household) travel to work?
15. How long does it usually take?
16. Where do you usually go shopping?
17. How do you get there?
18. How long does it usually take?
19. Where do you usually go in your leisure time?
20. How do you get there?
21. How long does it usually take?
22. What public services/facilities do you use in this area?
  - 21.1. Schools
  - 21.2. Health centres
  - 21.3. Library
  - 21.4. Post office
  - 21.5. Other
  - 21.6. Other
23. Where do people get together in this area?
  - 23.1. Indoor spaces
  - 23.2. Outdoor spaces
24. Are these places appropriate?
25. Why (not)?

### Attributes of own housing

26. Do you have a private garden?
27. How do you use it? How often do you use it?
28. I'm going to show you a list of features of a property. Could you please tell me how important the following attributes are for you? Assign a number from 1 to 3 to each attribute, according to:

1 = Very important    2 = Relatively important    3 = Not important

Attributes	Importance	Comments
28.1. Accessibility by public transport		
28.2. Accessibility by private car		
28.3. Affordability		
28.4. Services (health centres, shops, post offices, etc.)		
28.5. Provision of public open space / parks		
28.6. Safety		
28.7. Provision of good schools		
28.8. Provision of leisure amenities		
28.9. Environmental qualities (cleanliness, noise, pollution, etc.)		
28.10. Private garden		
28.11. Front garden		
28.12. Other private open space, e.g. terraces or balconies		
28.13. Private parking		
28.14. On-street parking		
28.15. Quality of the public realm e.g. streetscape, pavement, bike paths		
28.16. Community life		
28.17. Privacy		
28.19. Number of neighbours		

### Community life in the area

29. Where do your relatives live? (SHOW MAP)
30. Where do your friends live?
31. How often do you meet with friends and family?
32. Where do you usually meet?
33. Why there?
34. How do you find the people in this area? (Friendly, not so friendly, sociable, etc.)
35. Has the area changed lately? (e.g. newcomers? Leavers?)
36. If so, how has it changed?
37. What are the main social organisations / social groups in the area?
38. What are their activities?
39. Where do they meet?
40. Are these spaces appropriate?
41. Why are they (not)?
42. How safe is this area?
43. Has safety improved/stayed the same/worsened in the last 2 / 5 years?  
In what ways?

### Definition of the 'neighbourhood' (show area map)

44. What is the name of your neighbourhood?
45. Where are the boundaries of this neighbourhood?
46. What places do you consider 'typical' of this neighbourhood?

### Expectations about the area

47. Are you planning to stay in this area?
48. Why?
49. If you would like to move out, where would you like to move to?
50. Why?

### Density in the area

51. Do you think that this is a dense area?
52. What makes you think so?
53. ASK ONLY IF ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 51:  
If you think that this is a dense area, do you consider it a positive or negative thing?
54. Why do you think so?

### Summary question

55. Is there anything you would like to add about this area?  
Do you enjoy living here?  
Would you like anything in particular to change in the area? Etc...

## Appendix CA3-B

## SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS / COMMUNITY OFFICERS

**Personal information**

Initials:	Area of study:
Age:	Interviewer:
Sex:	Date:
Occupation:	Institution:
Position (role):	Address:
Ethnicity:	Telephone number (optional):
Resident:	

COMPLETE ONLY IF ALSO RESIDENT:

Length of residence:  
Tenure:  
Household type:

**Questions**

We are conducting a study about this area (show map) for the London School of Economics. The study aims to identify what are the main attributes of this area in terms of quality of life, from different angles, i.e. social, economic and physical.

**Catchment area**

1. Which is your core area of responsibility / catchment area?
2. How would you characterize the households in the community your users come from? (ethnicity, age, socio-economic group, etc.)
3. Do people from other areas come to this centre?
4. If so, why?

**The area and the neighbourhood**

5. How would you characterise this AREA? What is special about it? (show map)
6. Do you recognize different "neighbourhoods" within this area? (show map)
7. Does the majority of the people of your target group live in any of these neighbourhoods? If so, in which of them? (SHOW MAP)
8. ASK ONLY IF ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 7:  
How would you characterise the NEIGHBOURHOOD of your target group?
  - 8.1. Social profile (ethnicity, age, religion, income, etc.)
  - 8.2. Community activity (community engagement e.g. participation in neighbourhood/resident organisations, political activity, "social capital", etc.)
  - 8.3. Physical features (regeneration, new developments, state of the environment, public realm, land use, etc.)
  - 8.4. Public services and amenities (infrastructure, open space, connectivity to the rest of the city, schools, health centres, etc.)
  - 8.5. Economic activity (business activity, employment generated by the area, etc.)

**Desirability of the area**

9. Do you think this area is considered a good place to live?
10. Why?

11. What are the best things about living in this area?
  - 11.1. In general
  - 11.2. In each neighbourhood
12. Can you name the 3 best things about living in this area, in order of preference?
  - 12.1. In general
  - 12.2. In each neighbourhood
13. What are the worst things about living in this area?
  - 13.1. In general
  - 13.2. In each neighbourhood
14. Can you name the 3 worst things about living in this area, in order of preference?
  - 14.1. In general
  - 14.2. In each neighbourhood
15. What kind of people do you think are looking to move in to this area, in terms of:
  - 15.1. Age
  - 15.2. Gender
  - 15.3. Household type (marital status, (no)children, etc.)
  - 15.4. Ethnicity
  - 15.5. Socio-economic group (income, occupation)
16. Where do these people usually come from (i.e. outside London, other areas within London –which?)
17. Why do you think people want to move in / out of this area? What are they looking for?

#### **Community life in the area**

18. Has the area changed lately? (e.g. Newcomers? Leavers?)
19. What are the main social organisations / social groups in the area?
20. What are their activities?
21. Where do they meet?
22. Are these spaces appropriate?
23. Why?
24. Are there particular physical (spatial) features which influence community life:
  - 24.1. positively
  - 24.2. negatively
25. How is the relationship between number of residents and the supply of open space and other facilities in this area?
26. What are the main mechanisms of community support in this area?
27. Are there any frictions between the different communities in the area?
28. IF THERE ARE CONFLICTS: What is the spatial expression of these conflicts (e.g. gang territorialisation, graffiti, ghettoisation, gated communities, etc.)

#### **Development / infrastructure projects in the area**

28. What have been the main recent development and infrastructure projects in this area?
29. Amongst these, have there been any particularly divisive projects?
30. How has been the relationship between the different stakeholders in these projects, e.g. housing associations, developers, the council, other community organisations, etc.?

31. What has been the response of:
  - 31.1. The community
  - 31.2. The council
  - 31.3. The developers
  - 31.4. Other stakeholders

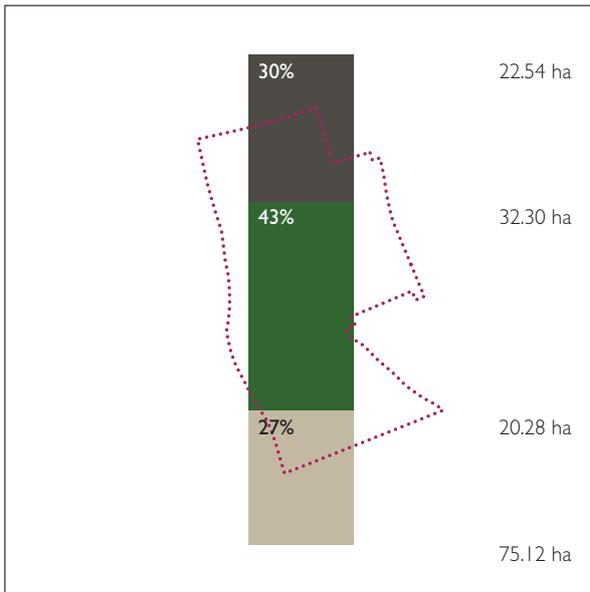
**Density in the area**

32. Do you think that this is a dense area?
33. What makes you think so?
34. ASK ONLY IF ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 32:  
If you think that this is a dense area, do you consider it a positive or negative thing?
35. Why do you think so?

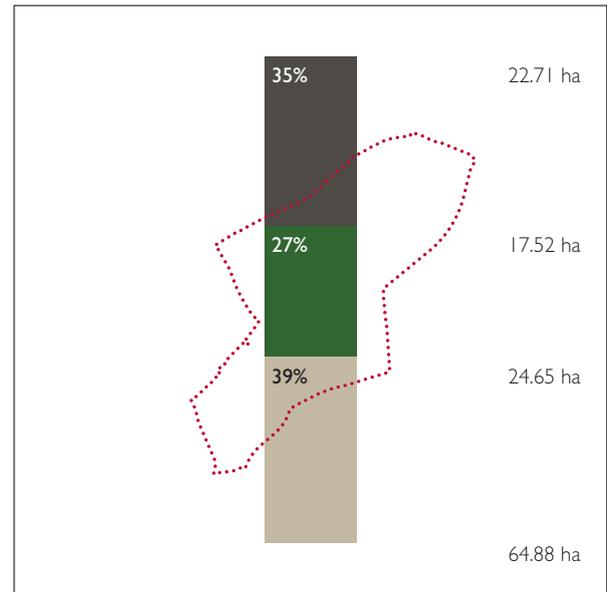
## Neighbourhood analysis:

Part C

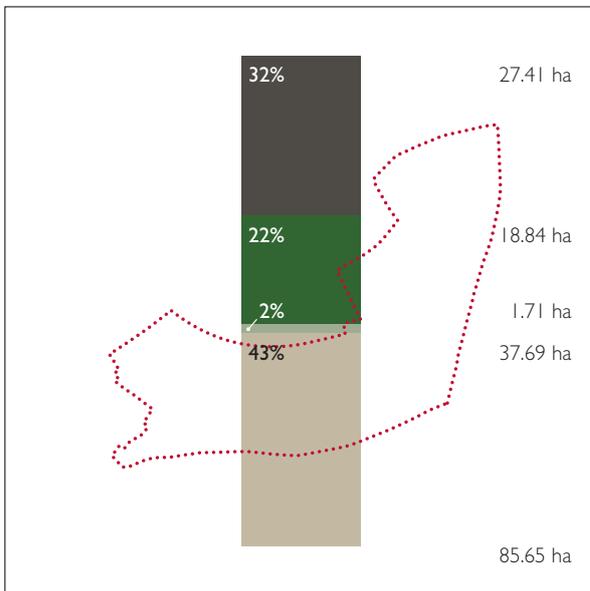
Spatial analysis



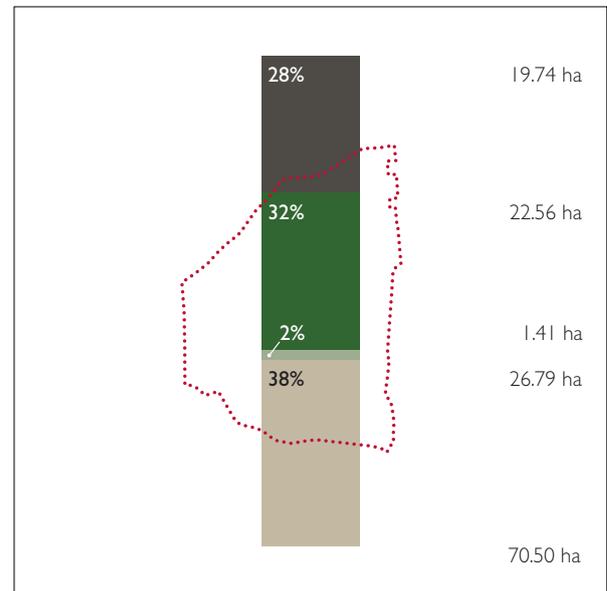
Green Street East, Newham



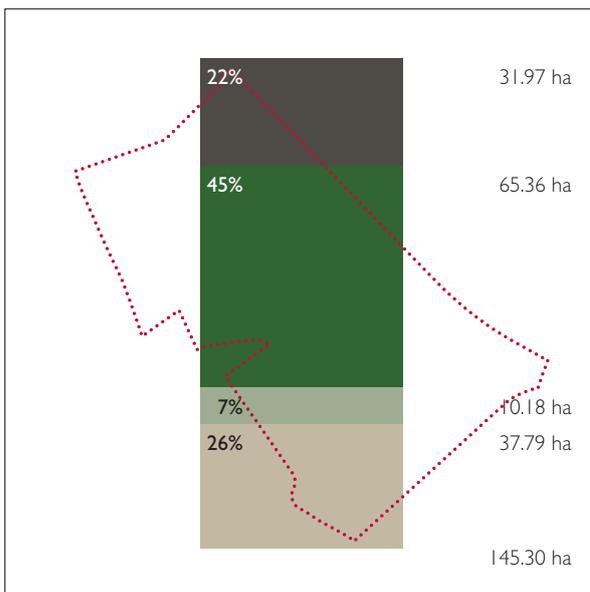
Town, Hammersmith & Fulham



Ferndale, Lambeth



Clissold, Hackney



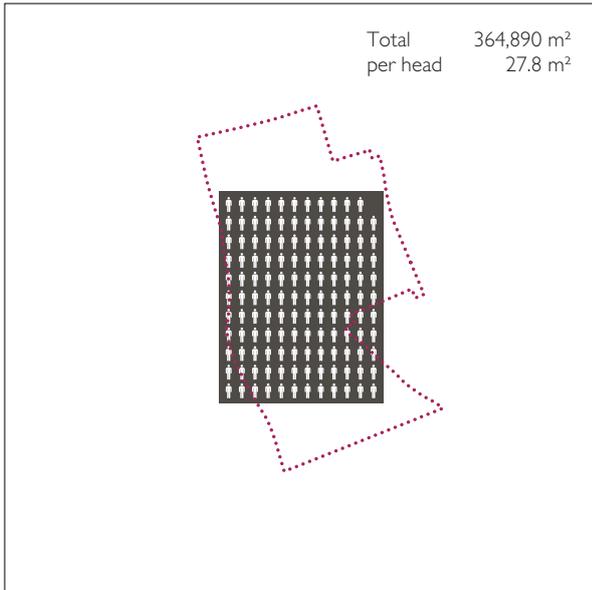
Bensham Manor, Croydon

The five wards vary in size, with Bensham Manor being the largest (145.3 ha) and Town the smallest (64,88 ha). In addition, as the graphs show, the surface area composition varies significantly as well. For example, the area covered by private gardens is very large in Bensham Manor (45% of the ward surface) and only about half the percentage in Ferndale (22% of the ward surface).

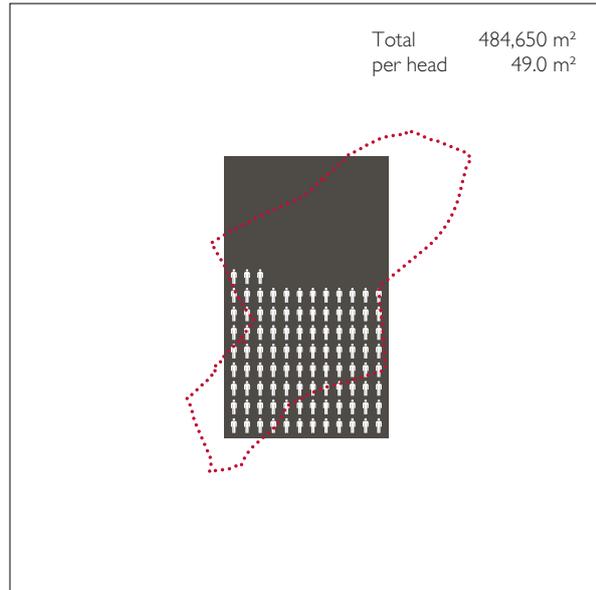
**Surface Analysis**

The total area of the histogram represents the ward surface.

- Buildings
- Private gardens
- Public open space
- Streets & other hard surfaces



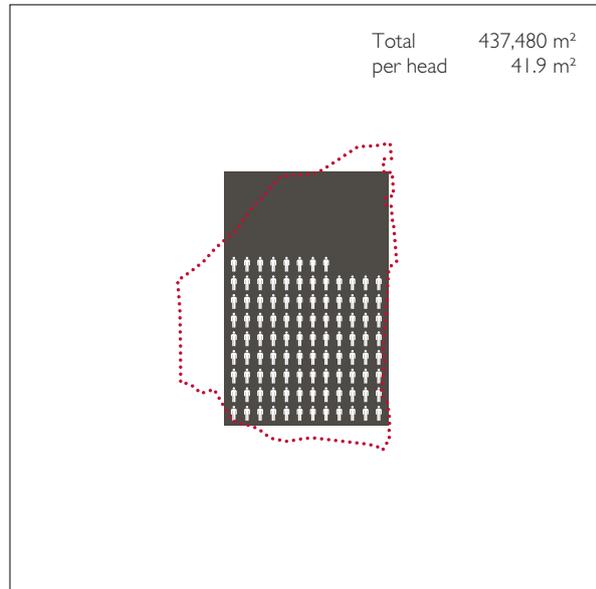
Green Street East, Newham



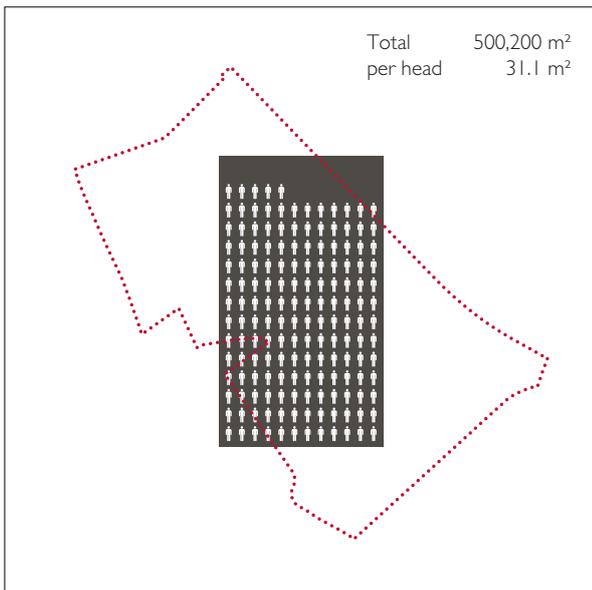
Town, Hammersmith & Fulham



Ferndale, Lambeth



Clissold, Hackney



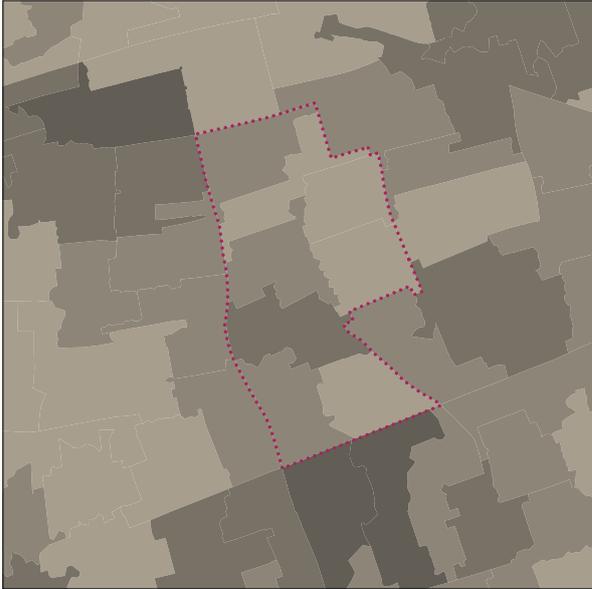
Bensham Manor, Croydon

The total area of habitable space in the area is represented by the dark brown rectangle. This calculation based on building footprint and massing analysis. The ratio between the number of residents and the area of habitable space is an indicator of overcrowding.

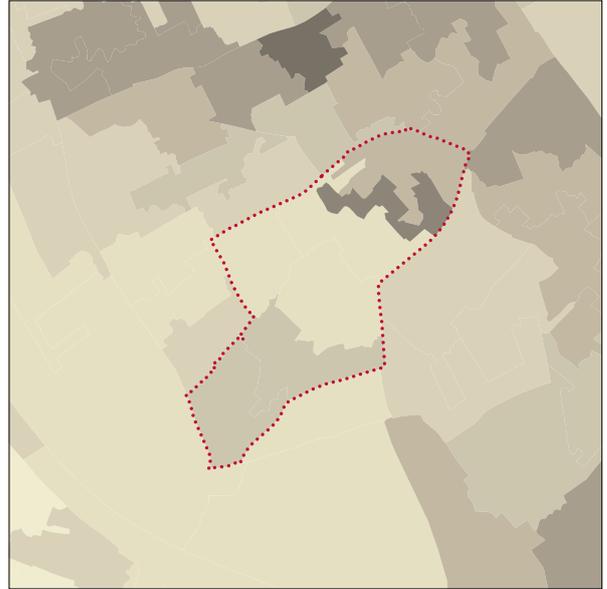
**Ward Comparison  
Habitable Space**

The dark brown area represents the total of habitable space within the ward.

- Habitable space in the ward
- ↑ 100 residents



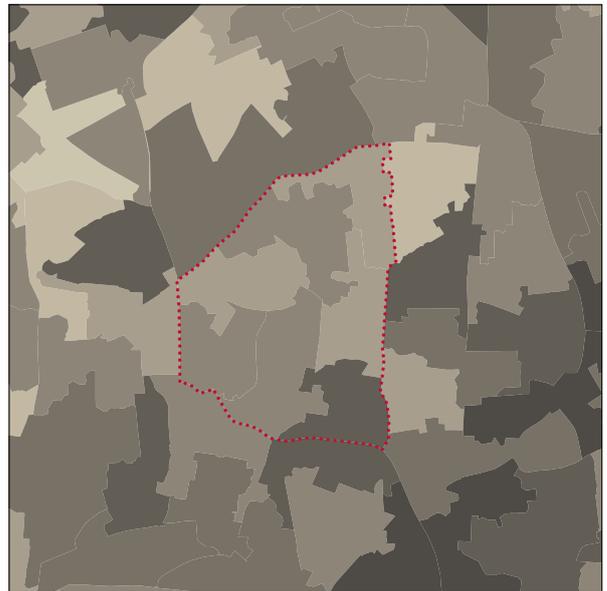
Green Street East, Newham



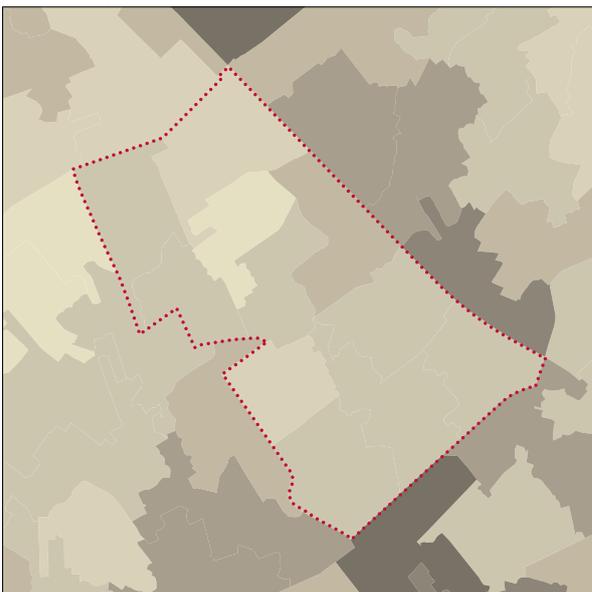
Town, Hammersmith & Fulham



Ferndale, Lambeth

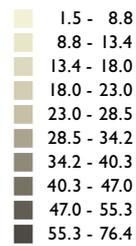


Clissold, Hackney



Bensham Manor, Croydon

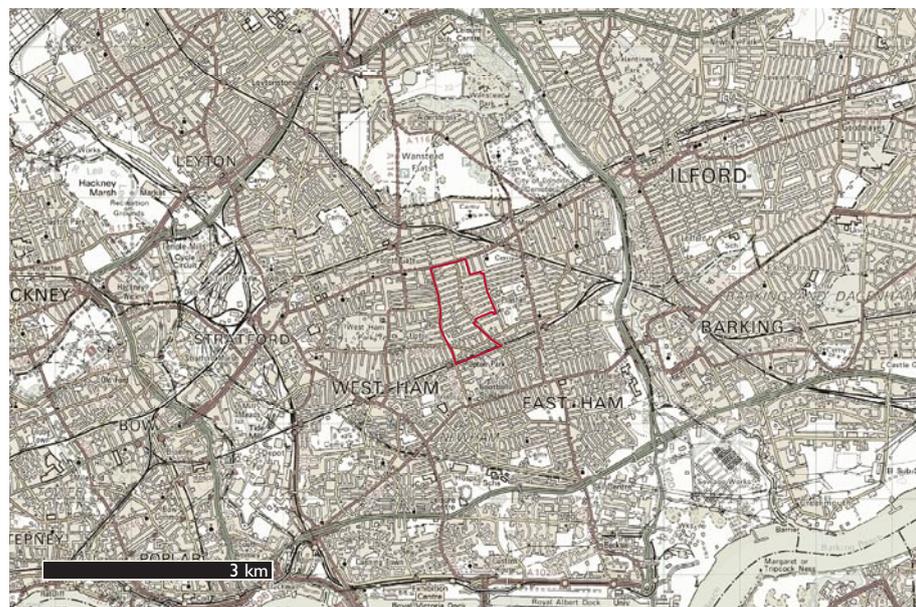
**Ward Comparison  
Index of Multiple Deprivation**





Map 1 (top)  
**Green Street East  
Context**

Map 2 (right)  
**Green Street East  
Overview**



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Green Street East features a very homogenous typology. The terraces, approximately 250 m long, are orientation south-west to north-east. The main access roads run perpendicular to them and comprise larger building typologies (Green Street along the western ward border). Along the southern edge the rail tracks create a break in the urban fabric.

Map 3  
**Green Street East**  
**Figure ground**



Map 4  
**Green Street East**  
**Surface Analysis Ground**  
**Floor Uses**

- Trade, services & food
- Assembly, leisure
- Religious worship
- Cultural
- Health
- Education
- Public services

The main commercial backbone of the ward is Green Street, which runs along the eastern edge of the ward. There are also some larger premises directly north of the Upton Park Underground station and some less concentrated activity at Katherine Road. Other major retail streets in the area include Upton Lane and Woodgrange Road to the west and Station Road High Street to the east.

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The drawing shows the most homogenous picture of all five case studies. There is a very small number of buildings taller than two stories, those being a council estate in the south or schools and buildings with light industrial uses.

Map 5  
**Green Street East  
Building Heights**

- 1 floor
- 2 floors
- 3 floors
- 4 floors
- 5 floors
- 6 or more floors

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Map 6  
**Green Street East  
Transport network**

- Bus routes
- Rail tracks

The street grid is very clearly structured. Katherine Road functions as the north-south central axis of Green Street East. Here all intersecting streets connect on either side, whereas the side streets along Green Street show a disconnected pattern. The service level of buses in the area is very good, only the area along the eastern edge of the ward has a less good bus proximity level. Upton Park Underground station in the south-west corner of the ward is served by the District as well as the Hammersmith & City lines.

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Map 7  
**Green Street East**  
**Tube proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands around tube and rail stations.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minute
- 5 minute

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Map 8  
**Green Street East**  
**Bus proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands along bus routes.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minute

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Green Street East includes the second largest percentage of open green space in the group of case studies (43%). All of this, however, is private and comprises mostly generous back garden space for the terraced houses (often, up to 30 m of green space exist between terraces).

In addition there are a number of parks to the east of the ward, Woodgrace Park Cemetery, Plashet Jewish Cemetery, Plashet Park and Priory Park to the south.

Map 9  
**Green Street East**  
**Green open space**

- Private gardens
- Green public open space

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Map 10 (top)  
**Town**  
**Context**

Map 11 (right)  
**Town**  
**Overview**



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The dominant typology in the area is the residential terraced house, which generates a much more consistent built form in Town compared to the other wards. The area also has the highest ratio of building footprint area of all case study wards (35%).

The back gardens of the terraces in Town are of comparable depth throughout, except for the terraces on the western edge of the ward, where they are wider. Fulham Road, extends through Town from south-west to north-east, is the main access route for the ward, connecting to the residential streets extending perpendicularly to either side.

There are a number of estates clearly visible in the north-eastern part of Town (Lancaster Court, Ravensworth Court and Swan Court north of Fulham Road, Fulham Court to the south). Stamford Bridge stadium is located at the north-eastern edge of the map.

The tracks of the Underground's District Line run along the southern edge of the ward, dividing the built environment.

Map 12  
Town  
Figure ground



Map 13  
**Town**  
**Surface Analysis Ground**  
**Floor Uses**

- Trade, services & food
- Assembly, leisure
- Religious worship
- Cultural
- Health
- Education
- Public services

The main retail areas are along Fulham Road (with the central area in the ward especially busy) and North End Road, extending northward from the northern end of Town. There are also some smaller premises along Dawes Road, the northern stretch of Fulham Palace Road, both in the north west, and Wandsworth Bridge Road in the southeast.

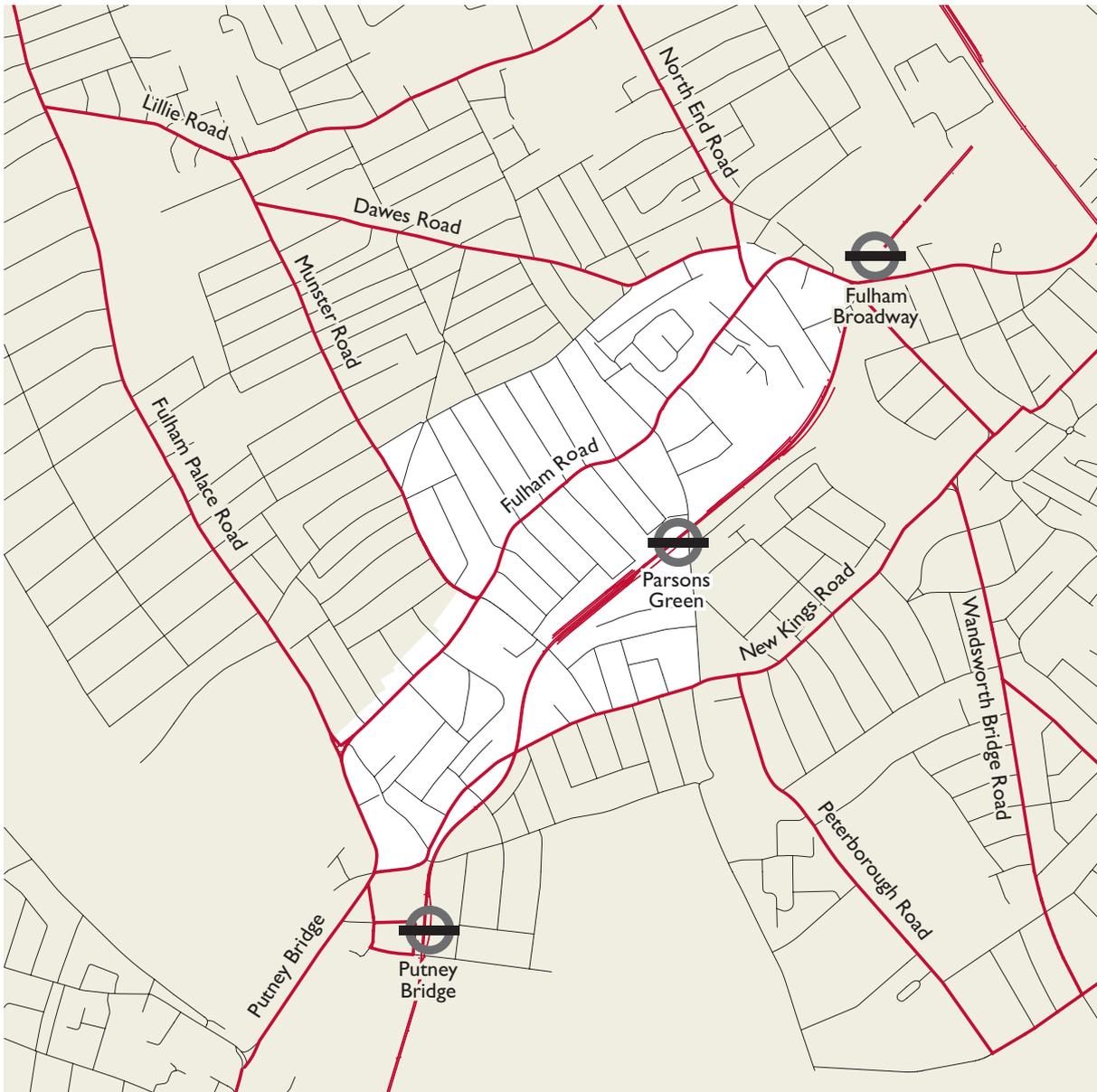
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Map 14  
**Town**  
**Building Heights**

- 1 floor
- 2 floors
- 3 floors
- 4 floors
- 5 floors
- 6 or more floors

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Map 15  
**Town**  
Transport network

- Bus routes
- Rail tracks

The ward is served by the Wimbledon branch of the District Line which provides one stop within the ward and two directly adjacent to it. Bus routes run along Fulham Road, serving the immediate area of the ward. Other routes are evenly distributed, providing a very good coverage for the area.

The street grid itself reflects the terraced houses with a series of short, parallel roads (approx. 200 – 300 m in length).

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Map 16

**Town**

**Tube proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands around tube and rail stations.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minute
- 5 minute

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Map 17

**Town**

**Bus proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands along bus routes.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minutes

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All of the green space in this ward is private (27% of the ward area), mostly terraced houses back gardens. But there is a significant amount of public green space available in the adjacent areas: Fulham Palace gardens to the southwest of the ward stretches along the river Thames. Hurlingham Park just to the south of Hammersmith & Fulham offers diverse sporting activities (cricket ground, tennis court, swimming pool) and also has riverfront access. Furthermore there are South Park, Eel Brook Common to the southeast and two large cemeteries (Fulham and Brompton Cemetery) to the north. The proximity to the River Thames is an important feature of the area and adds to its attractiveness.

Map 18  
**Town**  
**Green open space**

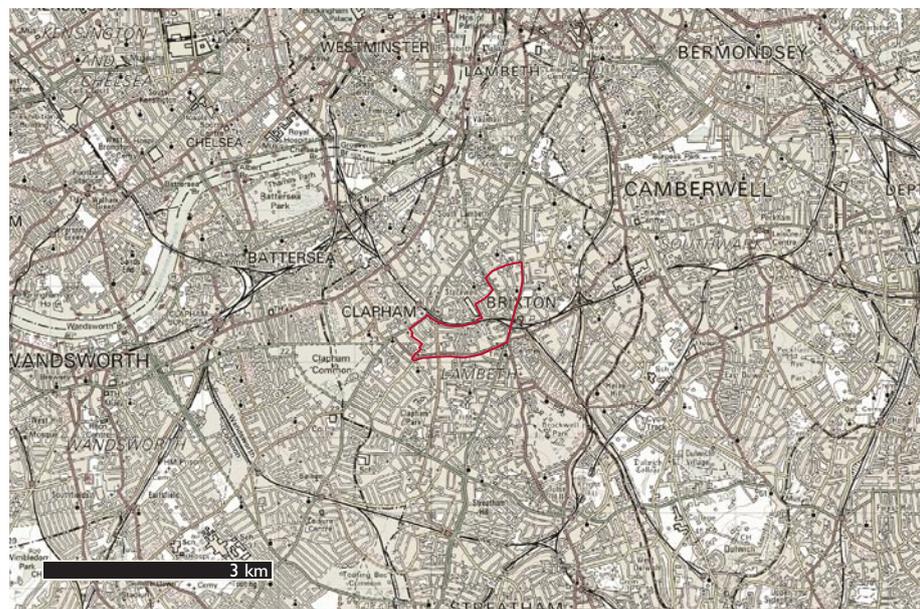
■ Private gardens  
■ Green public open space

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Map 19 (top)  
**Ferndale**  
**Context**

Map 20 (right)  
**Ferndale**  
**Overview**



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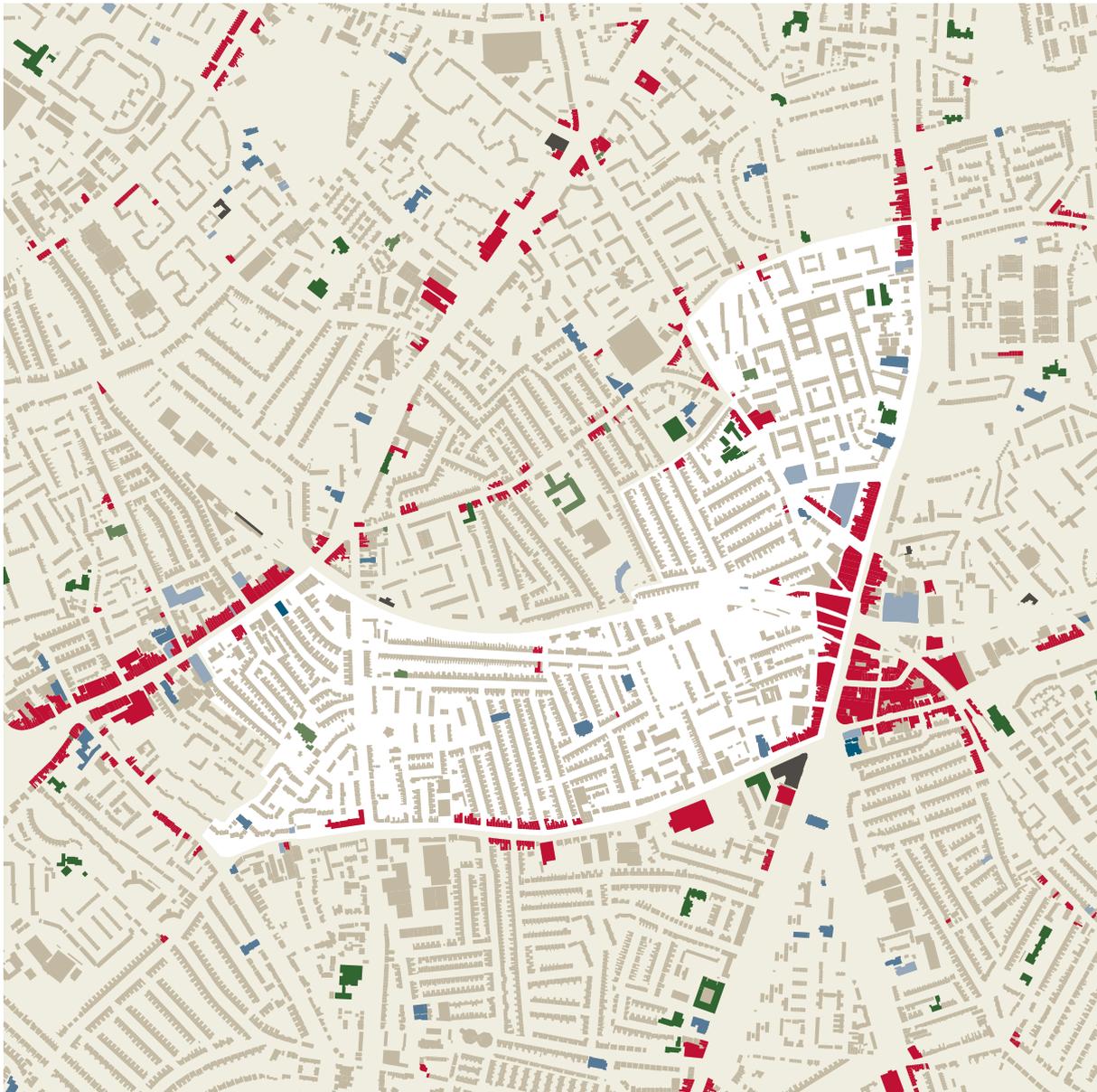


This map shows very clear dividers that shape the built environment: One is a set of rail tracks following a horizontal “S” shape from the north west to the south east. The other are two major roads: Brixton Hill (north-south) and Acre Lane (east-west).

The building stock is of a diverse nature: terraced houses dominate the centre of Ferndale, as well as the area directly to the north and along the entire southern part of the map. However, there is a large number of purpose-built blocks mostly in the northern area. In the northeastern triangular shape of the ward the typology changes abruptly, manifesting an abrupt change in the built environment: The Stockwell Park estates and associated areas cover about 5 ha of land in the ward of Ferndale.

Along the eastern border of Ferndale the typology reflects the predominantly commercial use around Brixton station with larger and deeper buildings.

Map 21  
**Ferndale**  
**Figure ground**



Map 22  
**Ferndale**  
**Surface Analysis Ground**  
**Floor Uses**

- Trade, services & food
- Assembly, leisure
- Religious worship
- Cultural
- Health
- Education
- Public services

The strongest commercial node in the area is around Brixton underground station: A stretch of about 500 m along Brixton Hill with exclusively commercial uses strongly influences the image of the area, both as a busy daytime shopping area and as a vibrant destination for nightlife activities. This also extends into the triangular area between Brixton Hill, Atlantic Road and Coldharbour Lane.

Another concentration of commercial activities is on Clapham High Street, adjacent to Clapham North Underground station. Whereas the area south of Ferndale is predominantly residential, there are some small clusters of commercial uses both along Landora Road and Clapham Road.

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As already suggested by the figure-ground drawing, the massing in the ward of Ferndale is fairly diverse: the massing illustration reveals areas where the same typology had been used or large scale developments. It also reflects the commercial activities near Brixton Underground station and the urban feel of this area where most of the buildings extend to three floors or more.

Map 23  
**Ferndale**  
**Building Heights**

- 1 floor
- 2 floors
- 3 floors
- 4 floors
- 5 floors
- 6 or more floors

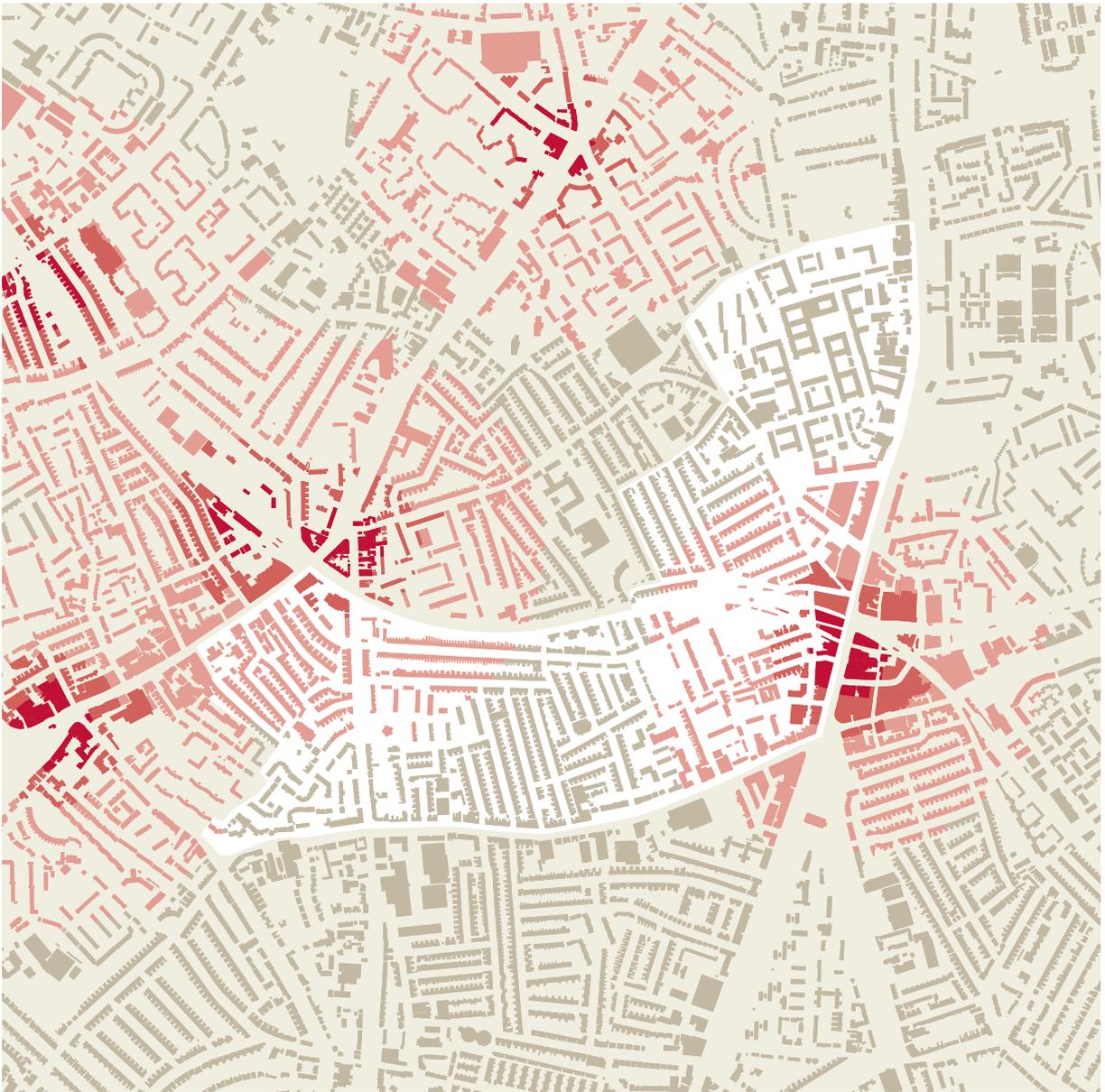
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Map 24  
**Ferndale**  
Transport network

- Bus routes
- Rail tracks

The area is well served both by train (Clapham High Street) as well as by tube (Clapham North, Stockwell and Brixton). With both the Victoria and the Northern Line serving the local Underground stations, the good connections play a vital role for the local residents. Especially the link Clapham North to Bank has shown to be very relevant for the local residents. Also the bus network is fairly dense and connects the ward with the wider south-London area.



Map 25  
**Ferndale**  
**Tube proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands around tube and rail stations.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minute
- 5 minute

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Map 26  
**Ferndale**  
**Bus proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands along bus routes.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minutes

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Of all the case studies, Ferndale has the lowest ratio of green space (24%). The public green space (approximately 1.8 ha) is distributed in three larger and two smaller plots. There are four public green areas directly adjacent to the ward boundaries in the northeastern corner (Max Roach Park, Slade Gardens) and one park each to the east and west of Stockwell underground station (Larkhall Park and Mostyn Gardens). The back gardens of terraced houses tend to be narrower in the southern part of the ward than in the northern areas. There is also a series of open spaces in and around estates in the northern corner of Ferndale.

Map 27  
**Ferndale**  
**Green open space**

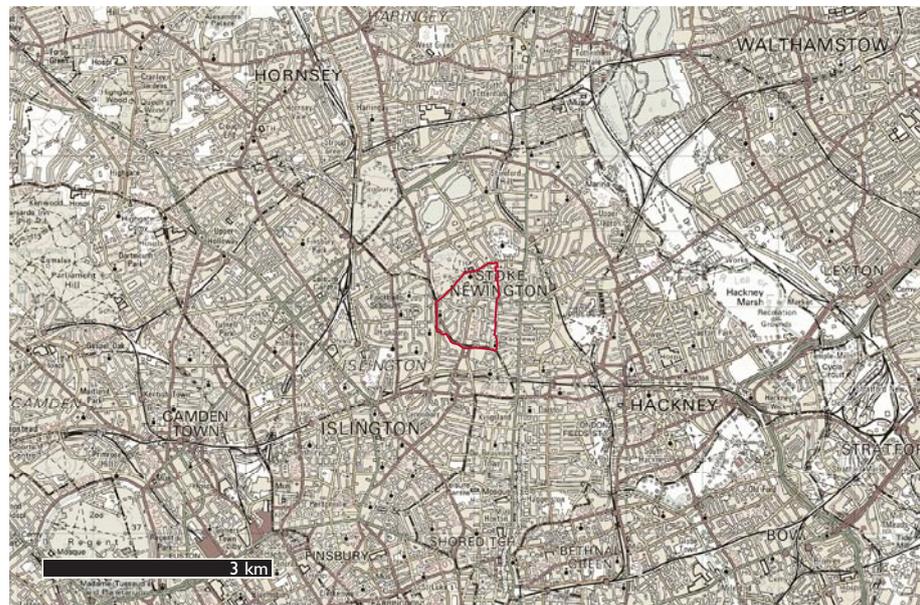
■ Private gardens  
■ Green public open space

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Map 28 (top)  
**Clissold**  
**Context**

Map 29 (right)  
**Clissold**  
**Overview**



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The most dominant open space elements in the area are Stoke Newington Road/ High Street in the east, Clissold Park in the north-west and the rail tracks running along the south. There are clusters of terraced housing, but in general the pattern is less homogenous as in other areas (e.g. Bensham Manor): a series of council estates of various typologies appear around the southern end of the ward of Clissold, both within and outside the ward boundaries and just off the northeastern corner of the ward.

Map 30  
**Clissold**  
**Figure ground**



Map 31  
**Clissold**  
**Surface Analysis Ground**  
**Floor Uses**

- Trade, services & food
- Assembly, leisure
- Religious worship
- Cultural
- Health
- Education
- Public services

The dominant commercial retail strips are along the Kingsland High Street, Stoke Newington Road and Stoke Newington High Street. There is one main centre of activity near the Dalston Kingsland rail station, where a road was covered and turned into a shopping centre. Right next to that development is a daily open-air market offering a broad variety of products. A second concentration of commercial activity is located around the intersection of Stoke Newington High Street and Stoke Newington Church Street. The shops along Stoke Newington Church Street tend to be more upmarket, serving the new community that has recently moved into the area, occupying mostly refurbished terraced houses.

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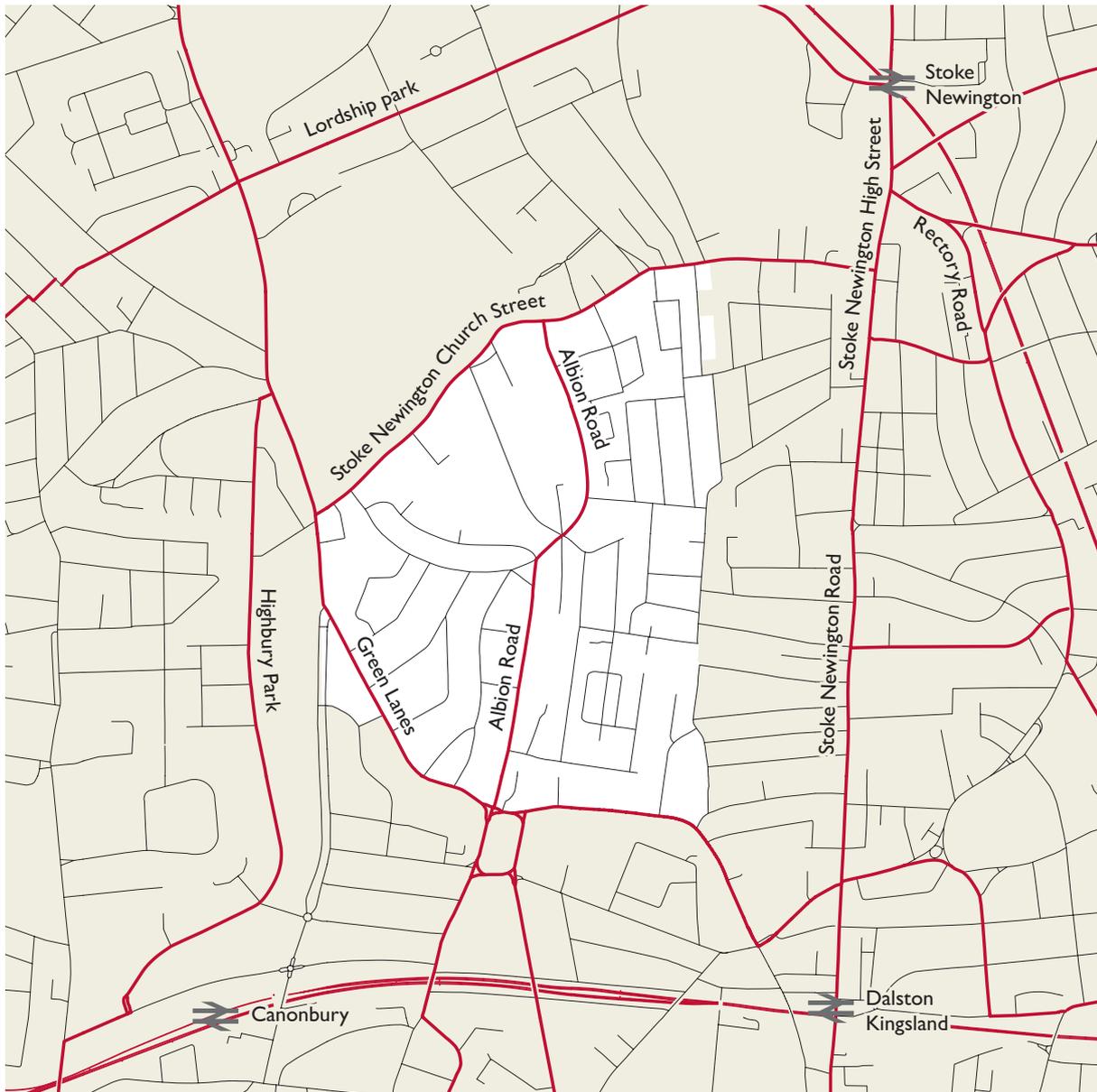


As already suggested by the figure-ground illustration, the massing map also reflects a certain amount of diversity within the building stock in Clissold. The council estates are clearly visible with their larger volumes and heights.

Map 32  
**Clissold**  
**Building Heights**

- 1 floor
- 2 floors
- 3 floors
- 4 floors
- 5 floors
- 6 or more floors

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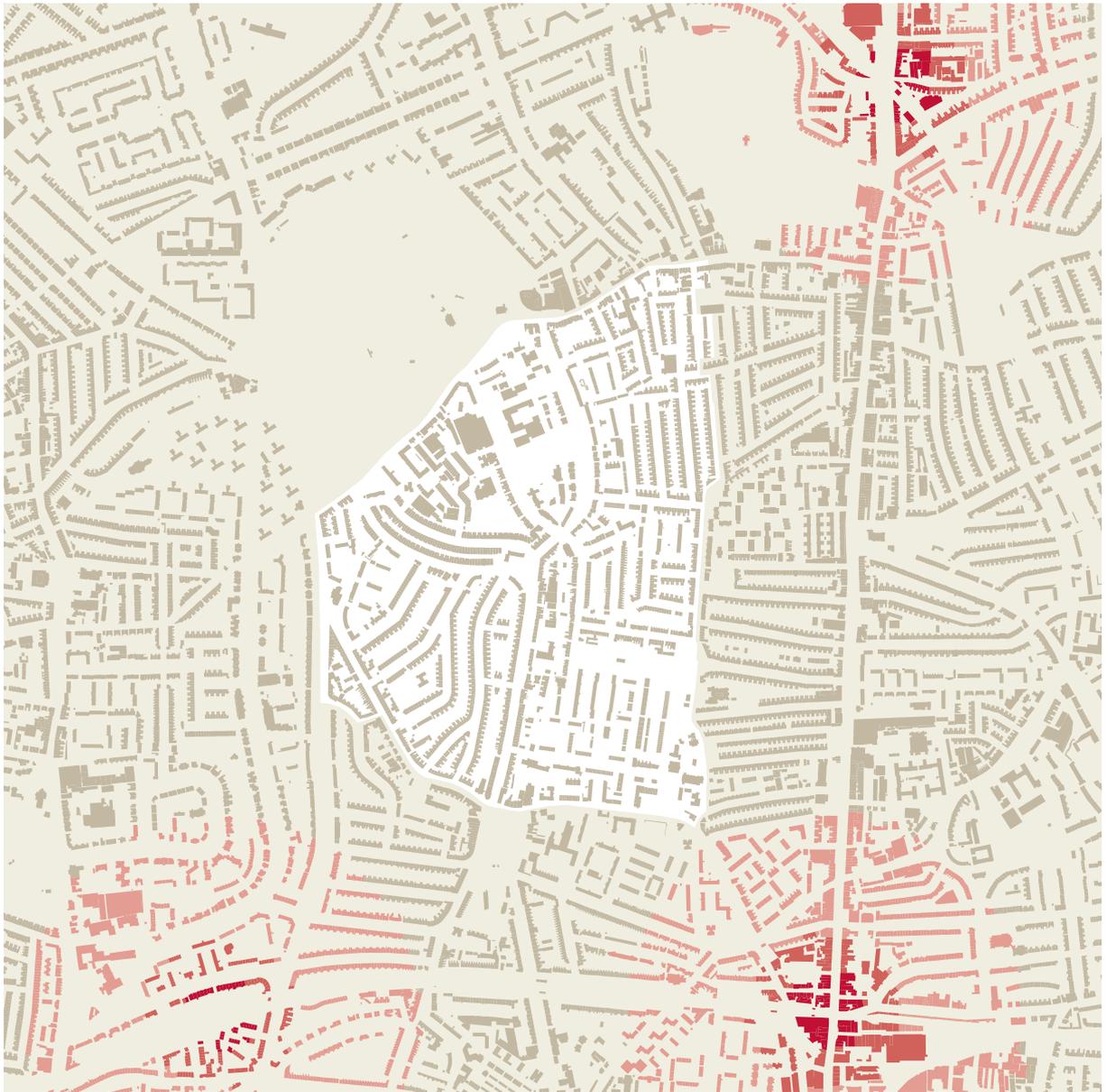


Map 33  
**Clissold**  
Transport network

- Bus routes
- Rail tracks

The area around the ward of Clissold is served only by train stations located on the periphery: Stoke Newington, Dalston Kingsland and Canonbury. The network of buses in the area is denser in the east, especially along the Kingsland Road between Stoke Newington and Dalston Kingsland. There is a fair number of cul-de-sacs in the area serving residential streets. The open rail tracks along the south of the area create a gap in the street grid with a limited number of connecting bridges.

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Map 34  
**Clissold**  
**Tube proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands around tube and rail stations.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minute
- 5 minute

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Map 35  
**Clissold**  
**Bus proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands along bus routes.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minutes

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Private open green space takes up 32% of the ward area. The back gardens with a width of 15 m in the north east and 35 m in the southwest are smaller than in other wards (e.g. Bensham Manor). There is only one small public green space, Butterfield Green within the ward itself, but the main open space is Clissold Park, 22 ha, just to the northwest of the ward. The park offers not only wide open green space, but also amenities such as tennis court etc.

Map 36  
**Clissold**  
**Green open space**

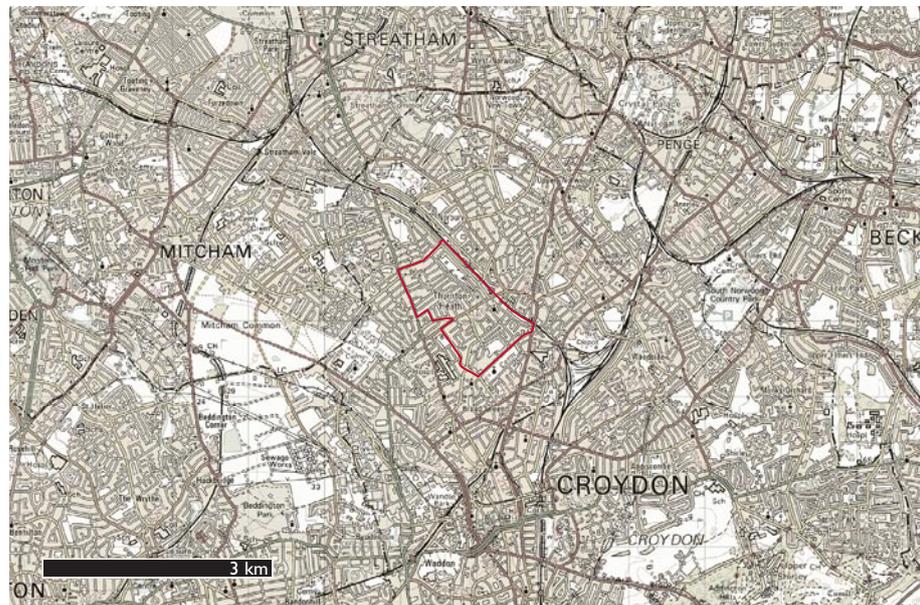
- Private gardens
- Green public open space

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Map 37 (top)  
**Bensham Manor**  
Context

Map 38 (right)  
**Bensham Manor**  
Overview



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The area surrounding Bensham Manor shows a very clear organisational pattern which reflects the dominant building stock of the area: terraced houses. These form parallel rows of street, orientated approximately south-west to north-east and perpendicular to that. There are a few large developments interrupting the residential pattern (e.g. Mayday University Hospital).

The rail tracks running along the eastern border of the ward are a strong determining factor for the area, shaping the alignment of the building stock.

Given the high proportion of terraced houses, there is only a small number of residential buildings with no direct street frontage (north-eastern corner).

Map 39  
**Bensham Manor**  
Figure ground



Map 40  
**Bensham Manor**  
**Surface Analysis Ground**  
**Floor Uses**

- Trade, services & food
- Assembly, leisure
- Religious worship
- Cultural
- Health
- Education
- Public services

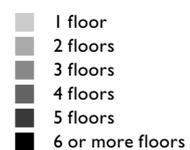
Commercial uses concentrate along Brigstock Road, mostly occupying ground floor properties with residential uses above. Right next to the rail station is a new supermarket. There is another strip of commercial uses along London Road, though the density of activities appears to be smaller. The largest single use development is the Mayday University Hospital, just outside the south-western corner of the ward. Most of the other uses are distributed fairly evenly throughout the area.

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The massing diagram mirrors the homogenous picture of Bensham Manor's urban fabric illustrated in the figure-ground drawing. The vast majority of buildings are two storey, with a few exceptions that form clusters of three- to four- storey houses.

Map 41  
**Bensham Manor  
Building Heights**



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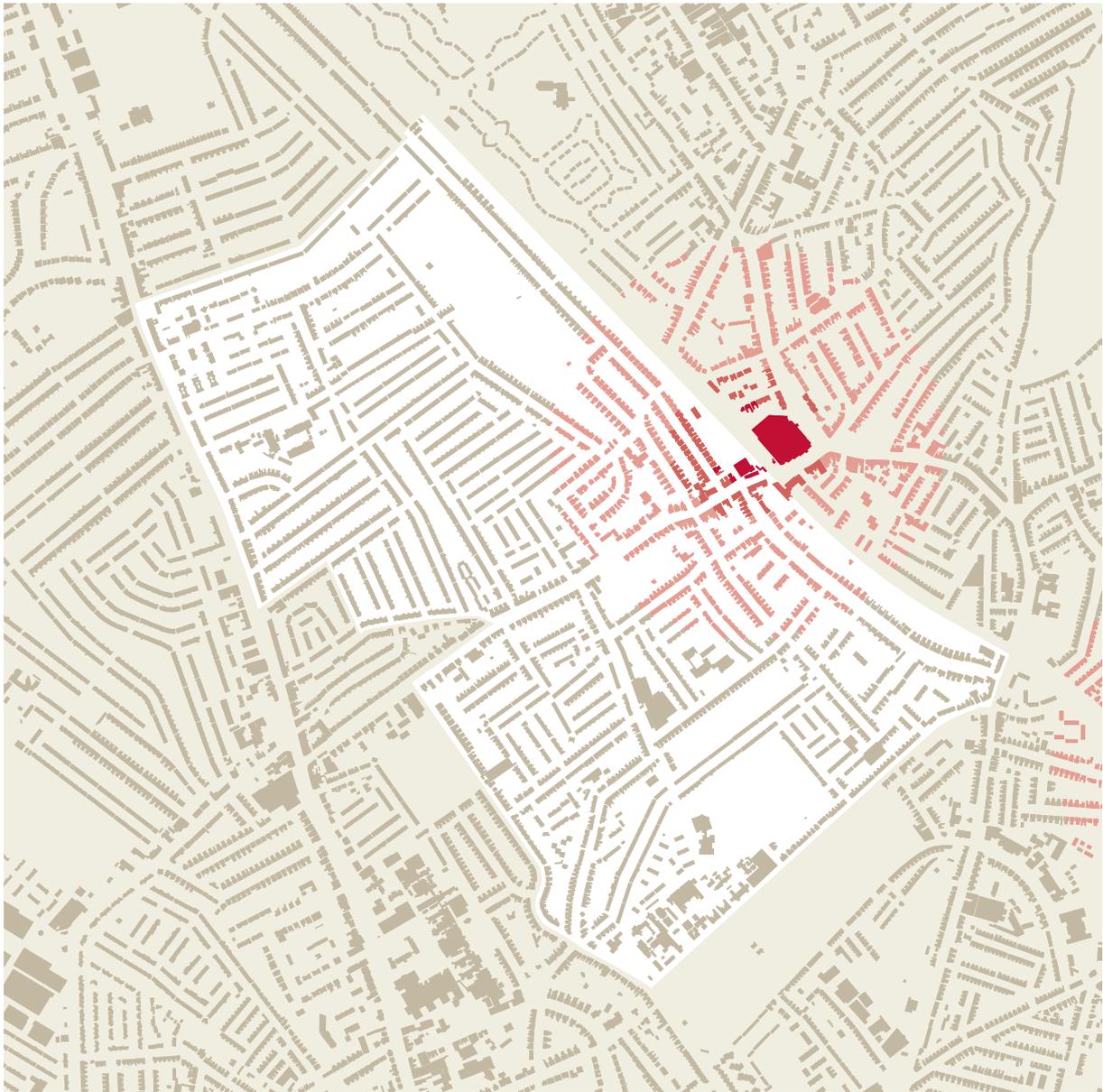
Map 42  
**Bensham Manor**  
Transport network

- Bus routes
- Rail tracks

The area is mainly served by the Thornton Heath rail station on the northeastern border of the ward. The bus routes run on either side of the ward with one route extending perpendicularly from Brigstock Road and cutting through the ward, and connecting to the rail station.

There are a number of clusters that show the typical terraced-housing pattern, though the street grid is more heterogeneous than in the other wards. Most of the disconnects are mostly due to green open spaces (e.g. Queen's Road Cemetery) or to large developments (Mayday University Hospital).

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Map 43  
**Bensham Manor**  
Tube proximity analysis

The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands around tube and rail stations.

- 1 minute
- 2 minute
- 5 minute

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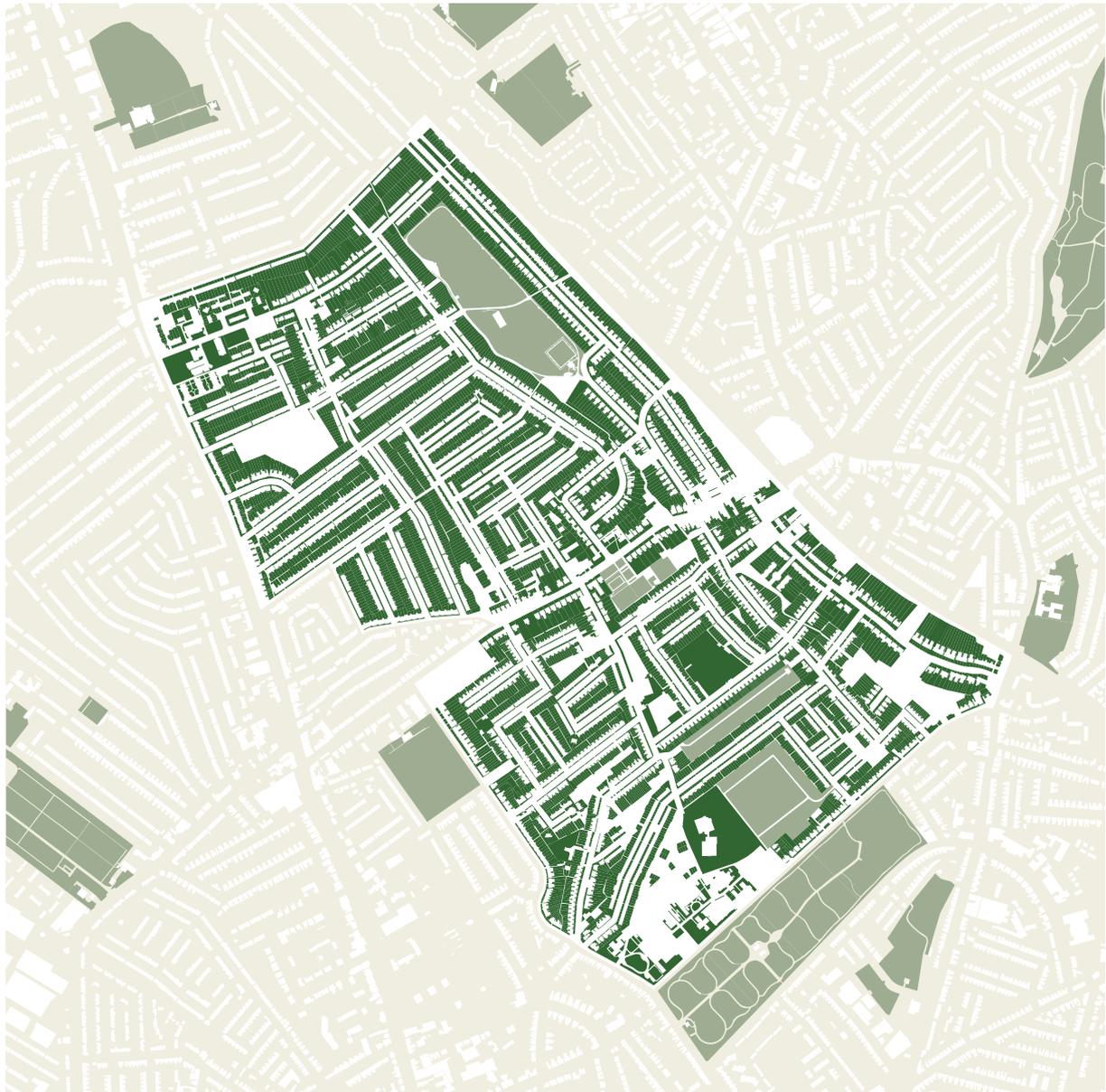


Map 44  
**Bensham Manor**  
**Bus proximity analysis**

**The colour coded buildings represent walk-bands along bus routes.**

- 1 minute
- 2 minutes

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The area shows a very large portion of land dedicated to private green spaces (45%), mostly in the form of very spacious back gardens in the terraced houses. The largest public green open space is the Queen's Road Cemetery, followed by a recreation ground in the northeastern corner of the ward. Most of the other green spaces are directly associated with educational facilities.

Map 45  
**Bensham Manor**  
**Green open space**

■ Private gardens  
■ Green public open space

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Quantitative survey

Part D

## Table of contents – Part D

Introduction	273
Summary of main findings	276
Quality of life	278
Lifestyle	290
Social and community dynamics	296
Attitudes towards density	299
The main trade-offs	303
Statistical analysis	307
Testing hypotheses	315
Statistical reliability	319
Questionnaire: attitudes of urban density	320

# Introduction

## Background and objectives

This report presents the findings of a research study conducted by the MORI Social Research Institute on behalf of The Minerva-LSE Research Group. It looks at public perceptions of density and urban neighbourhoods in five electoral wards taken from five local authority areas in London. These wards are Bensham Manor in Croydon, Clissold in Hackney, Ferndale in Lambeth, Green St East in Newham and Town in Hammersmith and Fulham.

The main objectives of the study were to investigate:

- The public's perceptions of the most and least desirable aspects of living in "high density" areas;
- What kind of people value living in "high density" areas;
- Patterns of use of services, transport etc. in "high density" areas;
- Lifestyle and mobility patterns of residents in these areas.

## Methodology

Questionnaires were mailed out to 8,000 randomly selected addresses across the five wards using the Postal Address File (PAF) as a sampling frame. Results are based upon 1,917 completed questionnaires returned between 2nd February and 12th March 2004, which represents a 24% response rate. A reminder questionnaire was mailed to non-respondents in the week commencing Monday 1 March 2003. The data are weighted by age, sex, working status and ethnicity and tenure to the known profile of the wards.

## Key drivers analysis

At the analysis stage, regression techniques were used to identify the key drivers of satisfaction with local area and perception of whether urban density is a good or a bad thing. This approach avoids relying on the stated level of importance of each factor from the respondent, and instead uses statistical techniques to identify those factors which have the strongest underlying relationship.

Using these regression techniques, we are able to investigate the 'key drivers' of satisfaction and support or opposition for density. These drivers can also be interpreted as 'predictors'. Key drivers analysis also calculates the overall 'fit' of the model, which is displayed as a percentage. The nearer this percentage is to 100, the better the fit of the model, in terms of the power of the included 'predictors' in explaining turnout and the proportion thinking the new voting methods make the process of voting better.

The results presented in this report show the relative importance of the statistically significant factors in each model in 'explaining' or 'predicting' the variation in the dependent variable scaled to 100. A minus sign illustrates that the factor is negatively related to satisfaction, a plus sign reflects a positive relationship.

### Report layout

Following this introduction, the report contains:

- An Executive Summary outlining the main themes to emerge in this document;
- A chapter looking residents' attitudes towards their local area in terms of its most and least desirable attributes, friendliness in the area, what most needs improving, cost, convenience and lifestyle considerations and attitudes towards diversity in the area.
- This is followed by a chapter exploring lifestyles and mobility patterns of residents in the five wards, looking at commuting times, modes of transport, car ownership, shopping habits and leisure, sporting and social activities of residents.
- Next, the social and community dynamics in the areas are explored such as extent residents feel that they get on with people from other ethnic backgrounds and how involved they feel in their local community.
- Finally, perceptions of density across the five wards are investigated along with what trade-offs people make when they decide on where to live.

### Interpretation of the data

#### Quantitative Research

It should be remembered that samples, and not the entire population of the wards have responded in the survey. In consequence, all results are subject to sampling tolerances, which means that not all differences are statistically significant. A guide to statistical reliability is appended.

Where percentages do not sum to 100, this may be due to computer rounding, the exclusion of "don't know" categories, or multiple answers. Throughout the volume, an asterisk (\*) denotes any value less than half a per cent but greater than zero.

In the report, reference is made to "net" figures. This represents the balance of opinion on attitudinal questions, and provides a particularly useful means of comparing the results for a number of variables. In the case of a "net good" figure, this represents the percentage rating something good less the percentage rating it poor. For example, if 40% rate something good and 25% rate it poor, the "net good" figure is +15 points. In the report reference is also made to BMEs. This acronym stands for "Black and Minority Ethnic".

### Acknowledgements

MORI would like to thank Darinka Czischke, Chris Panfil, Philip Rode, and Tony Travers at The London School of Economics for their help and advice in developing this project. Special thanks also go to the 1,917 people who took part in this survey.

### Publication of the data

As The Minerva-LSE Research Group has engaged MORI to provide an objective and representative programme of research, it is important to protect Minerva plc's interests by ensuring that it is accurately reflected in any press release or publication of the findings. As part of our standard terms and conditions, the publication of the data in this report is therefore subject to the advance approval of MORI. This would only be refused on the grounds of inaccuracy or misinterpretation of the findings.

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Checked & Approved



Bobby Duffy  
Nicholas Gilby  
Adam Palenicek

## Summary of main findings

Urban density appears to work best in Town and Clissold wards and least well in Bensham Manor and Green Street East wards. The level of density does not appear to be salient in explaining people's attitudes – attitudes by area are quite different despite the level of density being similar, and there is little evidence of a relationship between actual density and perceptions of it.

### Residents' attitudes towards their local area

- Residents of the five wards are less satisfied with their area and less likely to think people in their area are friendly compared with the average Londoner, who is in any case more negative than the average person in the country.
- The experience of living in a densely populated urban area seems to be most positive for the residents of Town ward. These residents are most likely to be satisfied with their local area as a place to live and also are most likely to rate crime and community factors as well as environmental factors such as parks and open spaces as the best things about their local area.
- Living in a dense urban area seems to be seen in the most negative terms by residents of Green Street East who are significantly more likely to say a range of things need improving compared with other wards – e.g. parking, congestion, accessibility, health services, community activities, facilities for young children, general appearance, pollution, parks and open spaces, the level of anti-social behaviour, safety, race relations, the cost of housing and local job prospects. They also show the second lowest satisfaction with their area behind Bensham Manor.

### Choice

- In this context residents of Bensham Manor and Green Street East are the least enthusiastic about their area, a further indication that density works least well in these areas. These residents are least likely to say they moved into their area because of people with similar aspirations and lifestyles, that they would live there even if money was no object, and are more likely to want to move away in the next few years.

### Diversity

- Residents of Clissold and Ferndale are most likely to enjoy the cosmopolitan nature of their area, possibly reflecting the higher proportions of BME residents in these areas. In line with the above findings and further indicating their more negative perception of living in a densely populated urban area, a significant minority of residents from Bensham Manor do not enjoy living in an area where there is a mix of ethnic groups.

### Social dynamics

- Clissold residents are more likely to feel people respect ethnic differences between people and more likely to feel people get on with each other. They also feel more involved in the community. Strengthening the assumption that density is not working as well in this area, community bonds appear weakest in Green Street East where more people feel ethnic diversity is not respected than those in other areas, and people feel less involved in the community than in other areas.

### Attitudes towards density

- There is no particular relationship between actual and perceived density, nor between actual density and how positive people are towards it. For example, Town ward has the highest density in terms of dwellings per hectare, but its residents are less likely to perceive it as dense than any other ward. The nature of the area and of the people who live there likely accounts for this – the importance of the effect of affluence is shown here.
- Residents of Bensham Manor and Town wards, with the lowest and second highest density of the five wards respectively, are most likely to say that living in a high density area is a bad thing. Overall, there seems to be ambivalence over the advantages or disadvantages of high-density living in each of the wards.

## Quality of life

Although most say they are satisfied with their area as a place to live, satisfaction is lower than in the rest of London and England as a whole. Many of the people in these wards would move out if they could afford to and hope to in the next few years. The different responses given to the questions about what makes somewhere a good place to live and what are the best things about this area hint at a significant level of underlying dissatisfaction.

### Satisfaction with area

Just over three in five (61%) of respondents are satisfied with their area as a place to live with a quarter saying they are dissatisfied. At the surface, this may be seen as a positive result, however, as can be seen from the figures below, satisfaction across the five wards studied in this survey is low in comparison with London as a whole, and much lower than across England.

Q	How satisfied are you with this area as a place to live?		
	5 wards	London	England
Base: All respondents	%	%	%
Very satisfied	18	36	49
Fairly satisfied	43	44	37
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11	7	5
Slightly dissatisfied	15	9	6
Very dissatisfied	10	5	3
Don't know	2	0	2

Source: MORI/Survey of English Housing 2000/01

If we look at other London Boroughs where MORI in the last two years has asked representative samples of residents how satisfied they are with their area, we find that in general, residents of our five wards are more dissatisfied than in relation to other London Boroughs. Clissold bucks the trend – here residents are more satisfied than they are in Hackney as a whole.

Q	How satisfied are you with this area as a place to live?		
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Net satisfied
Base: All respondents	%	%	%
Bensham Manor	45	31	+14
Clissold	64	25	+39
Ferndale	62	25	+37
Green Street East	50	37	+13
Town	79	13	+66
Barking and Dagenham – 2002	72	20	+52
Brent -2002	74	17	+57
Hackney – 2002	51	31	+20
Southwark – 2002	73	19	+54
Enfield – 2003	75	18	+57
Westminster - 2003	84	9	+75

Source: MORI

Overall, recent movers are significantly more likely to be satisfied with their area (68%) than long-standing residents (52%). White residents (66%) are more likely to say they are satisfied than BME residents (56%). Residents of Town (80%), Clissold (64%) and Ferndale (62%) are much more likely to be satisfied than residents of Green Street East (50%) and Bensham Manor (45%).

Families are significantly less satisfied (55%) with their area than adults without children (66%). People who have two or more foreign holidays a year are significantly more likely to be satisfied with their area (67%) than those who have one holiday a year (60%) or none (52%).

The table below shows analysis of satisfaction with area among different demographic groups within each area. Within each sub-group the patterns by ward are similar with some exceptions (e.g. ethnicity). However, caution should be taken in interpretation given the small base sizes of some of the sub-groups.

Q1	How satisfied are you with this area as a place to live?					
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base:	(1917)	(270)	(484)	(396)	(328)	(439)
All respondents	% Satisfied	% Satisfied	% Satisfied	% Satisfied	% Satisfied	% Satisfied
Total	61	45	64	62	50	80
Gender						
Male	62	41	63	65	54	77
Female	62	49	66	58	45	81
Age						
16-34	64	45	59	63	56	83
35-54	58	40	66	65	40	72
55+	65	55	72	53	53	82
Ethnicity						
White	66	32	68	64	35	81
BME	56	52	57	60	53	72
Work Status						
Working	66	44	69	63	45	78
Not Working	59	46	56	60	56	81
Tenure						
Owned Outright	59	40	68	63	42	79
Buying on Mortgage	64	41	72	71	48	88
Social Renters	57	42	57	53	57	64

Source: MORI

## Friendliness

Over two thirds of respondents (69%) describe people in their local area as 'friendly' with a quarter reporting them to be 'not friendly'. Again, at face value, these proportions viewing people in their area as 'friendly' may be seen to be high, however, as can be seen from the figures below, perception of friendliness across the five wards studied in this survey is low in comparison with London and particularly so when compared with England generally.

Q On the whole, would you describe the people who live in this area as...?			
	5 wards	London	England
	%	%	%
Very friendly	9	22	36
Fairly friendly	60	64	56
Not very friendly	20	10	6
Not at all friendly	5	2	1
Don't know	5	1	1

Source: MORI / Survey of English Housing 1997/98

Longer-standing residents are more likely to feel their area is friendly than recent movers. There is not a great deal of difference by area as can be seen from the table below. Residents of Clissold and Green Street East are most likely to describe people in their area as friendly, and residents of Ferndale are least likely to do so. However, as MORI often finds with community measures, there are no great differences by type of area or ward.

Q2 On the whole, would you describe this area as...?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
	(1917) % Satisfied	(270) % Satisfied	(484) % Satisfied	(396) % Satisfied	(328) % Satisfied	(439) % Satisfied
Base: All respondents						
Very friendly	9	7	12	8	10	8
Fairly friendly	60	64	62	55	62	60
Not very friendly	20	16	20	23	19	20
Not at all friendly	5	5	5	7	5	4
Don't know	5	8	2	7	3	7

Source: MORI

### Important attributes of somewhere to live

The top five things that are most important in making somewhere a good place to live for the residents of the five wards are accessibility by public transport (54%), safety (47%), the level of anti-social behaviour (34%) and the quality of public transport (33%) and health services (33%). As can be seen from the table below, attitudes do vary significantly by area, with those in Green Street East, Ferndale and Bensham Manor rating local facilities as more important than residents of other areas, and those in Town and Clissold wards place a higher priority on the environment. Those in Town are more likely to consider crime and community issues are more important than those in other wards.

People in Clissold are more likely to name leisure facilities, activities for teenagers, facilities for young children, community activities, the level of noise from neighbours and park and open spaces as important in making somewhere a good place to live than other wards.

Q6 Thinking generally, which of the following things below would you say are the most important in making somewhere a good place to live?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
<b>Transport</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>86</b>
Accessibility by public transport to other areas	54	53	58	56	42	57
Quality of public transport	33	31	34	38	30	32
Availability of parking	26	29	26	25	29	22
Accessibility by car to other areas	17	18	15	19	23	12
Level of traffic congestion	13	14	11	10	21	13
<b>Local facilities</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>73</b>
Health services	33	36	31	36	45	24
Shopping facilities	29	28	20	30	30	37
Schools	28	32	28	29	35	21
Leisure facilities	22	18	33	21	20	15
Activities for teenagers	17	18	25	15	19	9
Facilities for young children	16	19	21	15	18	10
Community activities	12	13	16	12	13	6
<b>Environment</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>84</b>
General appearance	27	27	26	26	20	35
Parks and open spaces	26	19	33	27	19	29
Level of noise from neighbours	19	18	22	18	13	23
Upkeep of public spaces	17	11	18	22	17	16
Level of pollution	16	17	19	13	22	12
Access to garden or other private open space	15	11	18	13	14	17
Level of noise from the street	15	14	17	16	16	12
Privacy	13	14	12	13	16	12
<b>Crime/ community</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>83</b>
Safety (of your person and property)	47	43	41	52	42	53
Level of anti-social behaviour (e.g. graffiti, vandalism, loutish behaviour etc.)	34	31	31	34	26	45

Friendly neighbours	26	30	29	29	27	18
Race relations	14	16	15	15	18	8
<b>Other</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>26</b>
Cost of housing	24	23	25	27	25	20
Local job prospects	12	13	12	13	18	7
Not stated	3	4	2	3	2	4
Source: MORI						

### Best things about the area

When asked what are the best things about living in the area, residents tend to pick aspects that are not high on their list of what is important in making somewhere a good place to live, with the exception of accessibility by public transport. This suggests they do not rate highly the aspects of the area that are most salient to them.

Shopping facilities come out top (45%), followed by accessibility by public transport (43%), parks and open spaces (31%), friendly neighbours (27%), and the quality of public transport (23%). Again, as can be seen from the table below, attitudes vary significantly by area, with people in Clissold much less likely to pick transport, and local facilities as the best things about their area compared with other wards. Those in Town and Clissold, however, are more likely to select the environment and parks and open spaces as the best things, and those in Town are much more likely to have a favourable attitude towards the level of crime, the general appearance of the area and crime/community issues in general. Residents of Bensham Manor are more likely to say privacy is one of the best things about their area compared with the other wards.

These findings are all consistent with what we know about the areas – we would expect residents of Town ward to be most positive about crime (as there is less crime there) and residents of Clissold ward to be less positive about transport (as the transport links are worse there).

Q7 Thinking about your local area, which of the things below, if any, would you say are the best things about living in this area?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base:	(1917)	(270)	(484)	(396)	(328)	(439)
All respondents	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Transport</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>75</b>
Accessibility by public transport to other areas	43	36	29	55	42	50
Quality of public transport	23	25	15	26	28	24
Accessibility by car to other areas	16	25	11	15	19	16
Availability of parking	7	12	7	9	6	5
Level of traffic congestion	5	4	3	4	8	6

<b>Local facilities</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>75</b>
Shopping facilities	45	51	36	42	47	51
Health services	22	32	16	26	16	25
Leisure facilities	20	19	13	32	23	18
Schools	15	15	10	14	25	12
Community activities	8	4	7	12	12	6
Facilities for young children	8	6	10	7	8	7
Activities for teenagers	4	4	4	4	5	3
<b>Environment</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>74</b>
Parks and open spaces	31	14	48	26	19	37
Access to garden or other private open space	16	17	19	14	14	14
General appearance	15	14	12	10	11	28
Level of noise from neighbours	13	15	12	11	13	15
Privacy	12	20	8	10	12	11
Level of noise from the street	10	10	9	13	7	11
Upkeep of public spaces	6	4	5	6	8	7
Level of pollution	5	6	5	4	8	4
<b>Crime/community</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>57</b>
Friendly neighbours	27	29	31	27	25	25
Safety (of your person and property)	13	9	8	9	10	28
Race relations	12	8	15	14	17	6
Level of anti-social behaviour (e.g. graffiti, vandalism, loutish behaviour etc.)	8	9	6	5	8	13
<b>Other</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>16</b>
Cost of housing	13	19	14	14	16	6
Local job prospects	6	9	4	7	7	6
Not stated	10	11	16	10	10	5

Source: MORI

### What most needs improving

The five things that people in these areas most want to see improved are the level of anti-social behaviour (42%), parking availability (38%), safety (32%), the areas' general appearance (32%) and the level of traffic congestion (31%).

From the table overleaf, one can conclude that there is some evidence of higher expectations in some areas compared with others. For instance although Town residents are as likely to say transport is one of the best things about living there as

people in other wards, they are most likely to highlight it as in need of improvement. This contrasts with Clissold, whose residents rate local facilities least highly out of the five wards but highlight them more than other wards as most in need of improvement. The same applies for crime/community issues in Ferndale.

Residents of Green Street East are significantly more likely to say a range of things need improving compared with other wards – this holds true for parking, congestion, accessibility, health services, community activities, facilities for young children, general appearance, pollution, parks and open spaces, the level of anti-social behaviour, safety, race relations, the cost of housing and local job prospects.

Q8 Thinking about your local area, which of the things below, if any, do think most need improving?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
<b>Transport</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>81</b>
Availability of parking	38	34	35	28	39	51
Level of traffic congestion	31	32	29	24	42	32
Quality of public transport	18	16	20	15	13	24
Accessibility by public transport to other areas	10	10	19	4	10	7
Accessibility by car to other areas	6	8	8	3	11	3
<b>Local facilities</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>48</b>
Activities for teenagers	27	30	31	27	27	19
Leisure facilities	20	24	34	13	18	12
Health services	19	18	20	12	34	11
Community activities	17	23	13	17	26	11
Facilities for young children	16	19	11	19	23	11
Schools	14	17	15	16	17	7
Shopping facilities	10	9	9	15	10	8
<b>Environment</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>72</b>
General appearance	32	31	31	37	37	24
Upkeep of public spaces	30	29	37	28	19	33
Level of pollution	23	18	20	23	34	20
Level of noise from the street	20	16	15	23	22	24
Parks and open spaces	15	21	12	19	19	9
Level of noise from neighbours	12	5	12	18	12	13
Access to garden or other private open space	10	11	11	11	8	10
Privacy	7	6	5	9	9	5
<b>Crime/community</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>47</b>
Level of anti-social behaviour (e.g. graffiti, vandalism, loutish behaviour etc.)	42	43	37	54	44	34
Safety (of your person and property)	32	29	35	40	38	19
Race relations	13	12	9	18	21	7
Friendly neighbours	9	11	7	10	12	7
<b>Other</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>41</b>
Cost of housing	24	16	18	22	32	31
Local job prospects	17	25	14	11	32	9
Not stated	6	10	6	6	4	5

Source: MORI

### Attitudes to the area – cost

Half agree with the statement that the area they live in is the best they can afford. Overall, residents of Town (60%) and Clissold (58%) are most likely to agree with this statement. Also white residents and those who are buying their house on a mortgage are the groups most likely to agree with this statement. When responses are analysed within each of the five wards, these dynamics remain largely the same.

There is significant evidence that many people feel constrained in their choice where they live. Almost half of respondents (46%) disagree with the statement “I like this area so much I would live here if money was no object”. Residents living in Bensham Manor and Green Street East, those aged 16-34, those who are working and those who are buying their house on a mortgage are most likely to disagree with this statement. White residents living in Bensham Manor and Green Street East are also particularly likely to disagree with this statement.

When looking at sub-groups by ward there are many differences – younger people in Bensham Manor are particularly negative about it, while white residents of Bensham Manor and Green Street East are also more negative.

Q17b   I like this area so much I would live here even if money was no object						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) % Disagree	(270) % Disagree	(484) % Disagree	(396) % Disagree	(328) % Disagree	(439) % Disagree
Total	46	58	44	47	53	34
Gender						
Male	46	53	48	46	46	39
Female	46	63	39	47	61	30
Age						
16-34	50	61	49	55	58	35
35-54	47	63	44	39	55	38
55+	33	44	34	33	39	21
Ethnicity						
White	46	73	42	55	65	33
BME	46	50	48	36	51	39
Work Status						
Working	49	63	45	54	55	38
Not Working	39	47	42	32	51	24
Tenure						
Owned Outright	44	54	35	36	60	33
Buying on Mortgage	51	68	51	57	45	31
Social Renters	41	39	41	42	51	33

Source: MORI

Levels of concern about the cost of housing are highest in Town and Green Street East wards (32% say it needs improving in Green Street East and 31% in Town compared with 24% overall). This apparent paradox (as Town has relatively expensive housing and Green Street East relatively cheap housing) will reflect the socio-economic situation of the differing populations. Town ward is populated by middle-class, high income groups who have paid a premium to live in the area while Green Street East ward is a working-class, low income area.

### Attitudes to the area – lifestyle

More people disagree (34%) than agree (27%) with the statement that they wanted to live in their area because a lot of people have the same aspirations and lifestyle as them. White residents and those aged 16-34 are most likely to say lifestyle played some part in their choosing to live in their area.

Bensham Manor in Croydon and Green Street East in Newham in particular seem to be wards about which the residents are least enthusiastic. In addition to the low proportions saying lifestyle made a difference in their choice to live in their area in the table below, only one in eight in Bensham Manor and 23% in Green Street East say they would live there if money was no object. Also almost half of the residents aspire to move out in the next few years (49% of Bensham Manor and 48% of Green Street East).

Q17g	I wanted to live in this area because a lot of people have the same aspirations and lifestyle as me					
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) % Agree	(270) % Agree	(484) % Agree	(396) % Agree	(328) % Agree	(439) % Agree
Total	27	12	29	27	22	39
Gender						
Male	31	15	29	33	30	41
Female	24	8	28	21	14	37
Age						
16-34	30	8	29	30	21	45
35-54	23	10	28	20	23	30
55+	28	22	27	32	24	35
Ethnicity						
White	33	10	35	32	12	41
BME	20	12	16	21	25	30
Work Status						
Working	29	10	31	30	20	41
Not Working	24	15	24	22	25	32
Tenure						
Owned Outright	26	11	32	17	19	40
Buying on Mortgage	33	10	43	29	27	53
Social Renters	23	0	18	28	17	30

Source: MORI

Almost half (42%) say they hope to move out of the area in the next few years. Unsurprisingly, residents aged 16-34 (59%) are most likely to agree, as are those who have lived in the area for only 1-5 years (49%). People in Town and Clissold ward are least likely to say they hope to move out of the area in the next few years, suggesting that they are more attached to the area compared with other wards.

Q17h   I hope to move out of this area in the next few years						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Strongly agree	24	31	23	26	31	14
Tend to agree	18	18	18	18	17	19
Neither agree nor disagree	16	17	16	15	14	20
Tend to disagree	11	7	12	9	7	16
Strongly disagree	12	7	12	11	11	16
Don't know	19	20	19	21	20	15

Source: MORI

### Attitudes to the area – convenience

Fast transport connections and being close to their family does not seem to have impacted greatly on the residents' choice of where they live. Around a third both agree and disagree with the statement that one of the main reasons they moved to where they live was fast transport connections to central London (unsurprisingly those in Clissold and Bensham Manor are least likely to say this), while slightly more agree (38%) that being near their family made a difference to where they chose to live.

Residents of Ferndale (33%) and Town (27%) are most likely to agree with this statement.

Q17c   One of the main reasons I moved here was for the fast transport connection to central London						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Strongly agree	9	5	5	16	12	7
Tend to agree	23	16	18	34	17	28
Neither agree nor disagree	21	21	21	17	24	23
Tend to disagree	16	15	20	8	17	17
Strongly disagree	20	29	26	13	18	18
Don't know	11	13	10	11	13	8

Source: MORI

Q17d   Being near to my family made no difference to where I chose to live						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Strongly agree	22	12	22	33	13	27
Tend to agree	16	17	15	15	18	17
Neither agree nor disagree	17	19	18	17	18	16
Tend to disagree	17	17	19	14	20	16
Strongly disagree	15	22	14	11	18	14
Don't know	12	13	12	11	14	10

Source: MORI

### Attitudes to the area – diversity

Around a quarter (23%) say they prefer to live in an area with people from similar ethnic backgrounds, while 41% disagree. This figure is similar to London as a whole, but below the national figure.

Thinking about your local area, how far do you agree or disagree with...?		
Q	I prefer living in an area where people are from the same ethnic background as me.	
	5 wards	Britain
Base: All respondents	%	%
Strongly agree	8	18
Tend to agree	15	21
Neither agree nor disagree	27	N/A
Tend to disagree	18	29
Strongly disagree	23	24
Don't know	9	7

Source: MORI

This is confirmed by the majority of residents (58%) who agree that having a mix of different people in an area makes it a more enjoyable place to live, whilst only 12% disagree. On balance, the five wards are slightly more positive than Britain as a whole.

Thinking about your local area, how far do you agree or disagree with...?		
Q	Having a mix of different people in an area makes it a more enjoyable place to live.	
	5 wards	Britain
Base: All respondents	%	%
Strongly agree	23	27
Tend to agree	35	38
Neither agree nor disagree	22	N/A
Tend to disagree	7	19
Strongly disagree	5	8
Don't know	7	8

Source: MORI

People in Clissold and Ferndale are more likely to enjoy the cosmopolitanism of their area, with 70%, and 61% respectively saying having a mix of different people in an area makes it a more enjoyable place to live.

This will reflect to some degree the higher BME population in these wards compared with Town and Bensham Manor. Significant minorities in Town (17%) and Bensham Manor (16%) disagree with the statement that having a mix of different people in an area makes it a more enjoyable place to live.

Q17e I prefer living in an area where people are from the same ethnic background as me						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Strongly agree	8	6	6	5	13	11
Tend to agree	15	15	8	12	18	24
Neither agree nor disagree	27	30	22	30	25	30
Tend to disagree	18	17	22	17	16	14
Strongly disagree	23	20	33	25	19	15
Don't know	9	11	9	10	9	6

Source: MORI

Q17f Having a mix of different people in an area makes it a more enjoyable place to live						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Strongly agree	23	23	31	23	25	13
Tend to agree	35	30	39	38	33	32
Neither agree nor disagree	22	24	13	24	19	32
Tend to disagree	7	7	7	4	6	10
Strongly disagree	5	8	3	2	7	7
Don't know	7	8	7	8	10	5

Source: MORI

## Lifestyle

Lifestyle patterns are very varied as are the patterns of working life. People in all the wards work in a variety of places and have varied commuting times. Bensham Manor is the outlier where working patterns are different – few work in Central London and fewer use public transport than in other areas. Most people’s lives outside work centre around their local areas, though around two in five do most of their socialising and shopping elsewhere.

### “Churn”

The length of residency in these wards is not too dissimilar to the national picture. In England, 11% have lived in their area for one year or less, compared with 7% in the five wards, and 47% have lived in their area for 10 years or more compared with 38% of our sample. “Turnover” of residents appears to be highest in Town and Ferndale wards, where 29% and 24% respectively have lived in the area for under three years, compared with 16% and 17% in Bensham Manor and Newham respectively.

How long have you/your household been living in this area?		
	5 wards	England
Base: All respondents	%	%
Under 1 year	7	11
1-2 years	15	16
3-5 years	19	11
6-10 years	18	16
11-20 years	18	22
21+ years	20	25
Don't know	3	0

Source: MORI/Survey of English Housing 2000/2001

### Commuting

Only a small minority (20%) of residents in these areas can get to work in less than half an hour. Most take between 30 and 90 minutes. Unsurprisingly those in Bensham Manor have the longest commutes, with 45% taking more than an hour to get to work, compared with 12% in Ferndale.

How long do you usually spend travelling from home to work (one way)?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents who say they are working	(1240) %	(173) %	(337) %	(265) %	(173) %	(292) %
Less than 10 minutes	3	*	2	3	8	1
10-29 minutes	17	19	16	17	16	17
30-59 minutes	44	26	48	59	27	49
60-90 minutes	23	39	21	10	34	21
Over 90 minutes	3	6	2	2	9	1
Not stated	10	10	12	8	7	10

Source: MORI

Data from Social Trends 2003 shows that in 1999-2001 men took on average 28 minutes to travel to work in Great Britain and women 22 minutes. In London commutes were longer, with men on average taking 40 minutes and women 35 minutes. In the five wards, four in five take longer to travel to work than the national average – in Town and Clissold ward only 18% travel to work quicker than the average nationally. Four in five (79%) of Ferndale residents get to work within an hour, compared with just under half (45%) in Bensham Manor.

Q	How long do you usually spend travelling from home to work (one way)?					
	5 wards		London		Great Britain	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Base: All	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mean time taken (minutes)	50	48	40	35	28	22

Source: MORI/National Travel Survey 1999-2001, quoted in Social Trends 33, 2003

Residents of the five wards work in a variety of places, with around one in five working locally, in the City, the West End, or somewhere else in London. Clissold has the highest proportion of home-workers (10%), which reflects the relatively high proportion of people who say they are self-employed.

People in Bensham Manor or Green Street East are more likely to have jobs locally, while residents of Town and Ferndale are more likely to commute into the City. Fewer residents of Bensham Manor work in Central London than other areas – 18% compared with 48% of Ferndale residents – one in five work outside London.

Q10	Whereabouts do you work at the moment?					
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All those who say they are working	(1240) %	(173) %	(337) %	(265) %	(173) %	(292) %
Elsewhere in London	26	22	30	24	31	24
In this area but not at home	21	29	17	17	32	17
City of London	20	11	17	25	20	25
West end	16	7	19	23	6	18
At home	6	3	10	6	4	6
Outside London	6	20	2	2	3	4
Not stated	5	7	5	4	3	6

Source: MORI

No one means of transport predominates among the working people in the five wards. Around a third go by bus (39%), tube (35%) or by car (30%). Patterns vary greatly between areas which will of course reflect working locations and the transport options available. For example, over half of people in Bensham Manor use the car, and few (11%) the tube.

By contrast, half of people in Town and Ferndale use the tube, and over half of people in Clissold (59%) use the bus.

Q11 Which of the following modes of transport do you usually use to get to work?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All those who say they are working	(1240) %	(173) %	(337) %	(265) %	(173) %	(292) %
Bus	39	27	59	32	37	35
Tube	35	11	20	52	36	50
Car	30	53	26	17	48	23
Walking	25	26	28	23	26	21
Train	14	24	14	7	26	6
Cycle	13	4	26	15	3	12
Motorbike	3	4	4	4	*	2
Other	2	5	1	1	1	2
Not stated	5	7	5	6	3	5

Source: MORI

As can be seen from the following table, the patterns of travelling to work in the five wards are very different to England as a whole (where 61% use a car and 10% walk) and to London as a whole (where car use is less than nationally but still the most popular method).

Although data are not directly comparable, our sample largely follows the pattern below for each area.

Q Usual method of travelling to work							
	England	London	Bensham Manor	Clis-sold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Work at home	9	9	9	9	6	10	8
Tube/metro/light rail/tram	3	19	4	15	48	28	41
Train	4	12	20	5	7	10	3
Bus/Minibus/coach	8	11	16	30	12	12	11
Motorcycle/scooter/moped	1	1	1	2	2	0	2
Drive car	55	33	35	21	13	27	17
Passenger in car	6	3	3	1	1	2	1
Taxi	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Bicycle	3	2	1	9	4	1	4
Walking	10	8	10	7	6	9	10
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Source: Census 2001

### Transport outside work

Again the transport options available appear to determine patterns of transport use out of work, with Bensham Manor residents most car-dependent and those in Clissold being most dependent on the bus.

Q12	Which one of the following modes of transport do you usually use to get around when you are not working?					
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Car	36	60	29	26	43	34
Bus	35	24	48	31	32	33
Tube	9	*	1	22	4	13
Walking	6	4	8	4	5	8
Cycle	4	3	6	7	1	5
Train	2	1	1	1	3	2
Motorbike	1	0	1	*	*	1
Other	*	1	*	0	*	*
Not stated	7	6	5	8	11	5

Source: MORI

### Vehicle ownership

Vehicle ownership also reflects this, with residents of Bensham Manor and Town owning more vehicles than residents of the other three wards. Unsurprisingly, residents of the five wards are less likely to own a car than others in London and particularly those in the rest of England. The inner-city nature of most of these wards, ease of availability of public transport and difficulties with parking alluded to by residents in previous questions will account for this.

Car owners are just as likely as non-car owners to think that good things about high density areas are:

- density does not affect the quality of an area;
- high density areas tend to be well designed.

Car owners are more likely than non-car owners to think that the infrastructure not being able to cope is a negative feature of a high density area.

Perhaps unsurprisingly those who own cars are more likely to think that high density areas create parking problems than those who do not own cars and therefore do not experience these problems on a day-to-day basis.

Q	How many vehicles do you own or have the use of (include company cars unless no private use is allowed)?		
	5 wards %	London %	England %
1 car	48	43	44
2 cars	7	16	24
3+ cars	1	4	6
Light van	1	N/A	N/A
Cycle	5	N/A	N/A
Bicycle	11	N/A	N/A
None of these	37	37	27

Source: MORI / Census 2001

Q13 How many vehicles do you have or have the use of?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All Respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
1 car	48	60	41	42	49	51
2 cars	7	10	5	5	6	8
3+ cars	1	1	*	*	*	1
Light van	1	2	1	2	2	1
Cycle	5	3	8	3	1	5
Bicycle	11	5	18	14	3	13
None of these	35	24	37	41	41	32

Source: MORI

### Shopping

The majority of residents (72%) do their main food shopping in their local area, with 50% using local and corner shops. Residents of Ferndale (64%) are most likely to shop in their local area and residents of Clissold (35%) are most likely to shop elsewhere. There appears to be no link between the extent of local shopping and how dense the area is.

In the least dense and urban area (Bensham Manor) the proportion who shop locally (80%) is lower than an area with average density out of the five wards (Ferndale).

Q14 Whereabouts do you generally go for your main food shopping?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All Respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
In the corner/local shops	50	53	36	64	47	52
In other shops in this area	22	27	18	20	27	19
A neighbouring area	20	12	35	11	17	20
Elsewhere in London	4	2	7	3	2	6
Outside London	*	*	*	*	*	1
Don't know	4	6	3	2	6	4

Source: MORI

Almost half 48% of respondents conduct their leisure/sporting activities locally and 35% go elsewhere. Just over a third (35%) of respondents socialise locally with 16% socialising at home and 42% elsewhere.

Residents of Clissold are more outgoing with 41% conducting their leisure activities elsewhere, and 50% socialising elsewhere. Green Street East and Town residents are more likely to conduct these activities locally.

Q15 Whereabouts do you mainly go for your leisure and/or sporting activities?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All Respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Locally	48	40	47	47	54	53
A neighbouring area	16	18	23	11	13	15
Elsewhere in London	11	13	10	14	6	11
West End	5	3	7	6	4	5
Outside London	3	3	1	2	2	6
Don't know	17	24	13	20	21	11

Source: MORI

There is no real connection between positive perceptions of density and socialising patterns. Those who say density is a “good thing” are as likely to socialise locally (34%) as those who think it is a bad thing (31%).

Q16 Whereabouts do you generally go to socialise/meet with friends?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All Respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Locally	35	35	33	37	30	41
At home	16	21	13	17	23	12
Elsewhere in London	15	17	15	16	13	15
A neighbouring area	15	11	20	12	11	18
West End	10	5	14	10	10	9
Outside London	2	3	1	2	1	2
Don't know	6	7	5	6	11	4

Source: MORI

Just over one in five (22%) of residents have made no holiday trips abroad or in the UK in the last year. The most common answer was one trip (27%) and approximately 10% reported taking two, three, four, five and more than five holidays respectively. Residents of Clissold are most likely to have taken no holidays (27%) and Town residents have the highest proportion in all the other categories.

In general those taking foreign holidays tend to be younger, less likely to have children, and are more likely to own their own home.

Q30 How many holiday trips have you had in the last year (including weekends away and holiday trips in the UK or abroad)?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
None	22	23	27	26	25	12
One	27	34	20	24	46	20
Two	15	23	15	15	15	12
Three	11	8	14	8	6	16
Four	6	5	5	5	3	11
Five	11	6	12	11	4	17
More than five	7	2	7	11	1	12

Source: MORI

## Social and community dynamics

There appear to be different social and community dynamics in these areas. Clissold residents appear to enjoy the cosmopolitan feel of their area more than in other areas, being more likely to feel people respect ethnic differences between people and more likely to feel people get on with each other. They also feel more involved in the community. Community bonds appear weakest in Green Street East where more people feel ethnic diversity is not respected than those in other areas, and people feel less involved in the community than in other areas. Anti-social behaviour appears to be the most troubling aspect of community relations, more so than race relations or neighbours.

### Friction

Just under two thirds (63%) agree that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together; whilst 21% disagree. Residents of Clissold (70%) are most likely to agree with this statement, just as residents of Clissold are most likely to describe people in their area as friendly.

There are no significant differences by age in the proportion agreeing that their area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.

Q3	To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?					
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) % Agree	(270) % Agree	(484) % Agree	(396) % Agree	(328) % Agree	(439) % Agree
Total	63	58	70	61	62	61
Gender						
Male	63	53	63	70	67	58
Female	64	63	78	52	56	64
Age						
16-34	61	64	62	58	72	56
35-54	64	49	80	68	51	62
55+	67	64	70	63	57	74
Ethnicity						
White	63	52	73	61	55	59
BME	63	61	64	62	63	67
Work Status						
Working	66	59	81	63	65	57
Not Working	58	57	52	58	58	71
Tenure						
Owned Outright	65	52	75	53	61	74
Buying on Mortgage	67	61	85	73	54	54
Social Renters	60	47	59	58	61	67

Source: MORI

Over two thirds (68%) agree that their local area is a place where residents respect ethnic differences between people, while 18% disagree. Again, residents of Clissold (79%) are most likely to agree with this statement.

Residents of Green Street East (28%) and Bensham Manor (21%) are most likely to disagree.

Q4 To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where residents respect ethnic differences between people?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Definitely agree	13	10	14	14	14	11
Tend to agree	55	51	65	53	50	55
Tend to disagree	14	17	11	11	19	14
Definitely disagree	4	5	3	3	7	2
Don't know	14	18	8	19	10	18

Source: MORI

Only a quarter of respondents (24%) feel involved in their local community with 69% not feeling involved very much or at all. Again residents of Clissold are most positive about their area- (32% feeling involved), whilst Green Street East and Town residents (both 76% not involved) feeling the least involved. Perhaps unsurprisingly, longer-standing residents and older age groups are more likely to feel involved in their local community. A quarter (27%) of people who have lived in their area for 21 or more years feel involved compared to under one in five (19%) of people who have lived in the area for five years or less.

Q5 Overall, how involved do you feel in the local community?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
A great deal	4	3	7	6	1	4
A fair amount	20	19	25	20	20	15
Not very much	43	38	43	40	48	47
Not at all	27	31	23	27	28	29
Don't know	5	8	3	8	4	5

Source: MORI

The table below shows that, in relation to Britain as a whole, the residents of the five wards feel slightly less involved in their community, however, this is probably in line with London in general as the People's Panel survey in 1998 showed that Londoners were slightly less involved in their community than was evident in the UK overall.

Q Overall, how involved do you feel in the local community?			
	5 Wards	London	Britain
Base: All respondents	%	%	%
A great deal	4	3	5
A fair amount	20	22	26
Not very much	43	48	43
Not at all	27	27	25
Don't know	5	*	1
Net involved	-46	-44	-37

Source: MORI

When asked what needs improving with their area, anti-social behaviour is the key “community” aspect that needs looking at. Two in five (42%) say that it needs improvement, with people in Ferndale most wanting improvement in this area (54%).

Other aspects of community relations are less prioritised. One in ten (9%) say they would like more friendly neighbours, and race relations are seen as in need of improvement by 13%. Residents of Ferndale (21%) see most need for improvements in race relations.

## Attitudes towards density

A significant minority of people have difficulty in understanding the concept of “urban density” even if it is their daily experience. They are also ambivalent about whether it is a good or bad thing, with around half seeing both the advantages and disadvantages. Most respondents (52%) perceive their local area as a “high density” area, but many do not know (28%), suggesting that significant numbers are not familiar with the way the concept is worded. White residents and those who are working are more likely to describe their area as of “high density”. Residents of Town (31%) and Bensham Manor (23%) are significantly more likely to say that their area is not a “high density” area, compared with the other wards. Respondents in Ferndale and Green Street East are more likely to say they do not know, suggesting in these wards they have more difficulty comprehending the concept.

Looking at the sub-groups and comparing by ward, we find there are some interesting differences.

Younger people in Ferndale are more likely to think their areas is a high density one than older people, the reverse is true in Bensham Manor.

Q18 You may have heard of the term “high density area”. Would you describe your local area as a “high density area”?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
	(1917) % Yes	(270) % Yes	(484) % Yes	(396) % Yes	(328) % Yes	(439) % Yes
Total	52	49	54	54	54	48
Gender						
Male	53	52	56	54	58	48
Female	50	46	51	54	50	48
Age						
16-34	52	41	54	60	54	45
35-54	54	51	60	48	55	54
55+	47	57	41	43	54	47
Ethnicity						
White	56	65	56	60	60	50
BME	47	40	48	46	53	40
Work Status						
Working	56	53	59	63	58	48
Not Working	44	40	45	37	50	48
Tenure						
Owned Outright	61	63	65	69	63	52
Buying on Mortgage	59	55	63	71	59	46
Social Renters	42	27	42	37	57	47

Source: MORI

Those who describe their area as a “high density area” are less likely to say its general appearance is one of the best things about living in the area (11%) than those who think it is not a high density area (26%). People who live in houses are significantly more likely than those who live in flats to think they live in a high density area (59% vs 47%). However, this is accounted for by the higher proportion of flat dwellers who cannot give an opinion to this question compared with house dwellers.

The proportions thinking their area is high density does vary by the amount of trips abroad taken – however, this is down to the variability of the number saying “don't know”.

There is no particular relationship between actual and perceived density. Town ward has the highest density in terms of dwellings per hectare, but its residents are less likely to perceive it as dense than any other ward. Similarly, Ferndale, where residents are most likely to describe it as a high density area, is about average out of the five wards in terms of persons per hectare, dwellings per hectare and persons per dwelling.

Only 6% of respondents see living in a high density area as a good thing, while a quarter see it as a bad thing. There is a lot of ambivalence with almost half (46%) saying ‘it depends’ and 23% not able to give a view. Although residents of Clissold (10%) and Ferndale (8%) are most likely to say that living in a “high density area” is a good thing, twice as many in both these wards think it is a bad thing. As before perceptions of density do not appear to be greatly affected by actual density. The residents of Bensham Manor and Town wards, with the lowest and second highest density of the five wards respectively, are most likely to say that living in a high density area is a bad thing (30% and 28% respectively).

People who have lived in their area for five years or less are significantly more likely than the most long-standing residents to think that living in a high density area is a good thing (9% vs 3%). Those who are dissatisfied with their area are much more likely to think living in a high density area is a bad thing (42%) compared with those who are satisfied with their area (18%). Those who are satisfied with their area are more likely to say “it depends” (52%) than those who are dissatisfied (34%).

People who do not feel involved in the community are more likely to think urban density is a bad thing (28%) than those who feel involved (18%), although the same proportion (6%) of those who do and do not feel involved think that it is a good thing.

Of those who describe their area as a high density area, 10% think living in a high density area is a good thing and 31% a bad thing, with 54% saying they don't know. A small proportion (5%) say they do not know.

This suggests that most residents are fairly ambivalent – certainly only a small proportion are actively positive about it.

Q19 In general, do you think living in a “high density area” is a good thing or a bad thing?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All Respondents	(1917) % Good thing	(270) % Good thing	(484) % Good thing	(396) % Good thing	(328) % Good thing	(439) % Good thing
Total	6	2	9	8	5	5
Gender						
Male	8	2	14	10	6	6
Female	5	2	5	5	4	5
Age						
16-34	6	1	12	6	3	4

35-54	7	2	9	10	7	7
55+	6	3	5	8	5	5
Ethnicity						
White	5	2	6	7	7	4
BME	8	2	16	9	5	10
Work Status						
Working	6	3	7	8	5	5
Not Working	8	0	14	7	6	6
Tenure						
Owned Outright	6	5	8	9	3	7
Buying on Mortgage	7	2	12	8	8	6
Social Renters	7	0	10	6	5	6

Source: MORI

Diversity of high density areas (34%) is the most frequently mentioned good thing about them, closely followed by the accommodation of more homes for people (33%) and the opportunity for access to transport, commercial and entertainment facilities (28%) that high density areas provide. People in Clissold ward are most likely to think diversity is a good thing about living in a high density area than other wards. There are no significant differences between ethnic groups on ratings of diversity as a good thing about high density areas. Unsurprisingly, those who think living in a high density area is a good thing are more likely to mention the positive aspects of high density in the table below than people who think it is a bad thing.

Q20	Which, if any of the things below, do you think are good things about "high density areas"?					
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
High density areas tend to be more diverse than other areas	34	30	42	36	34	28
They can accommodate more homes for people	33	28	34	35	31	33
Only high-density areas can support transport, commercial and entertainment facilities	28	31	23	29	31	29
High density areas are much more lively than others	28	17	28	28	28	32
It is the most efficient use of space	21	18	21	22	17	25
There is more of a community feel in high density areas	16	16	16	18	22	11
They are not like dormitory towns	14	8	18	17	11	13
High density areas are the future	7	6	6	7	13	4
It doesn't affect the quality of an area	7	4	9	6	8	5
High density areas tend to be well-designed	6	3	5	4	10	6
Other	3	3	3	3	4	3
Don't know	28	33	27	27	29	26

Source: MORI

The most frequently mentioned bad things about high density areas are parking problems (60%), crime and vandalism (60%), noise pollution (60%) and smaller living spaces (54%). In general, respondents gave more answers to this questions than the question asking them what were the good things about high density areas. This is not surprising – in general people tend to find it easier to think of negative rather than positive things.

Residents of Green Street East (66%) and Town (65%) are most likely to mention parking problems as bad things about “high density” area, whilst residents of Green Street East (69%) and Bensham Manor (66%) are most likely to cite increases in crime levels and vandalism in this context. There is little significant difference by area in the proportions saying people do not want high density.

Q21	Which, if any of the things below, do you think are bad things about “high density areas”?					
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
Creates parking problems	60	62	61	49	66	65
Increase in crime/vandalism	60	66	54	60	69	55
Noise pollution	60	59	60	56	62	61
Smaller living spaces	54	57	56	46	52	61
Slums/poor housing	40	38	41	37	51	33
Leads to community problems	38	37	39	37	42	35
The infrastructure cannot cope	34	21	42	34	27	40
Poor quality of life	33	33	33	27	40	31
People don't want it	24	23	29	19	24	24
Previous high density areas suggests it doesn't work	18	15	20	12	17	23
Other	3	2	3	3	1	3
Not stated	12	12	10	17	12	9

Source: MORI

## What are the main trade-offs that people make in these areas?

When looking at the trade-offs, people generally trade off more space in their home for other aspects. Around two thirds of people when presented with a choice prioritise personal and property safety, and around half prioritise the upkeep of the local area, and proximity to shops and amenities before space in their home.

There appears to be less of a willingness to trade-off against good transport links to central London, although the pattern of prioritisation is similar.

Proximity to people with the same background is clearly a low priority – people prioritise space in their own home and good transport links to Central London over this proximity.

Across the wards it is apparent that, when trading off against more space in the home, residents of Ferndale are most likely to chose transport, Town- safety, Green Street East- proximity to people with the same background and proximity to good schools and Clissold- appearance of streets and pavements.

When trading off against good transport connections to Central London, residents of Green Street East are most likely to prioritise safety, proximity to people of the same background, proximity to good schools and appearance of streets and pavements. Bensham Manor residents are most likely to prioritise upkeep of their area and availability of parking spaces, whilst residents of Clissold are most likely to prioritise proximity to parks and open spaces ahead of good transport connections to Central London.

At first glance it appears that some of the trade-offs expressed are the opposite of the actual choices of the respondents. For example, all wards have good transport connections to Central London and live in areas of higher than average crime but in their expressed preferences prioritise a low level of crime over good transport connections. However, it is important to remember that we are asking people what trade-offs they would make now, not what they did in the past. Furthermore, people will tend to think about the negative aspects of their area when making these choices and therefore tend to prioritise reducing those.

Q22 Each row below contains two characteristics of places to live which people think about when choosing where to live in London. For example, would you prefer to live somewhere that has good public transport connections or has more domestic space?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
I) A - Good public transport connections						
Prefer A	36	28	29	46	37	39
Prefer B	20	22	24	16	17	20
B - More space in your home						

2) A - Good transport connections to Central London						
Prefer A	38	33	33	47	41	35
Prefer B	20	22	23	12	22	21
B - More space in your home						
3) A - Safety (personal and property)						
Prefer A	67	63	66	67	68	73
Prefer B	5	3	8	5	5	3
B - More space in your home						
4) A - Proximity to people with same background						
Prefer A	21	17	18	16	29	26
Prefer B	36	33	41	39	25	37
B - More space in your home						
5) A - Upkeep of local area						
Prefer A	48	49	50	45	46	51
Prefer B	10	8	9	13	14	9
B - More space in your home						
6) A - Proximity to shops and amenities						
Prefer A	49	50	50	51	43	52
Prefer B	12	9	13	9	11	15
B - More space in your home						
7) A - Proximity to parks and green spaces						
Prefer A	43	39	47	41	44	43
Prefer B	16	12	14	17	17	21
B - More space in your home						
8) A - Proximity to good schools						
Prefer A	41	44	41	37	55	31
Prefer B	26	16	28	30	8	40
B - More space in your home						
9) A - Proximity to friends/ relatives						
Prefer A	34	34	32	34	39	32
Prefer B	22	20	24	19	19	29
B - More space in your home						
10) A - Appearance of streets/ pavements						
Prefer A	42	39	46	36	45	43
Prefer B	15	12	13	16	13	20
B - More space in your home						

Source: MORI

Q22 Each row below contains two characteristics of places to live which people think about when choosing where to live in London. For example, would you prefer to live somewhere that has good public transport connections or has more domestic space?						
	Total	Bensham Manor	Clissold	Ferndale	Green Street East	Town
Base: All respondents	(1917) %	(270) %	(484) %	(396) %	(328) %	(439) %
11) A - Safety (personal and property)						
Prefer A	61	61	54	56	66	66
Prefer B	6	6	5	9	4	7
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
12) A - Proximity to people with same background						
Prefer A	18	14	10	13	28	25
Prefer B	38	29	47	44	22	38
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
13) A - Upkeep of local area						
Prefer A	39	46	39	34	39	40
Prefer B	14	9	13	19	12	14
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
14) A - Proximity to shops and amenities						
Prefer A	39	45	36	37	41	36
Prefer B	13	5	11	13	14	18
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
15) A - Proximity to parks and green spaces						
Prefer A	37	39	43	30	38	35
Prefer B	16	12	11	21	13	21
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
16) A - Proximity to good schools						
Prefer A	34	43	31	28	49	26
Prefer B	26	13	30	31	8	41
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
17) A - Proximity to friends/relatives						
Prefer A	31	35	29	29	33	30
Prefer B	22	17	22	22	14	29
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
18) A - Appearance of streets/pavements						

Prefer A	39	42	40	26	48	39
Prefer B	16	14	16	21	10	18
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
19) A - Availability of parking space						
Prefer A	37	47	33	28	45	38
Prefer B	23	12	29	30	13	24
B - Good transport connections to Central London						
Source: MORI						

## Statistical analysis

### CHAID analysis

CHAID (CHI-squared Automatic Interaction Detector) analysis was used to segment the respondents into different groups according to their satisfaction with their local area and their positive/negative perception of living in high density areas.

CHAID uses statistical techniques (based on CHI-squared analysis) to select key determinants or drivers (such as gender, age or other attitudes) of satisfaction and attitude to density and for these key determinants (e.g. age), which levels / groups (e.g. age 65 plus) are the most likely to exhibit the characteristic and which levels (e.g. 16 – 34) are the least likely.

It has a similar function to Key Drivers Analysis (KDA) in that it tests the strength of association between a key characteristic or behaviour and other factors / responses to other questions in the survey. However, CHAID is a more useful technique to explore the impact of demographics or attitudes have on key characteristics or behaviours, enabling the segmentation or clustering of the population accordingly.

For the CHAID analysis (the tree diagrams) the predictors should be taken together. So for example in the chart looking at whether high density areas are a good thing it is white residents of Bensham Manor who have had at least one holiday in the last year who are most negative about higher density (107 respondents).

As can be seen from the CHAID analysis tree below, when satisfaction with area is analysed by attitudinal and demographic variables, the group that emerges as the most likely to be satisfied are those who think that people who live in their area are very friendly and who agree that their local area is a place where people from different groups get on well together. The least satisfied group are those who feel that people in their area are not at all friendly, live in the Green Street East ward and who disagree that their local area is a place where people respect ethnic differences between people.

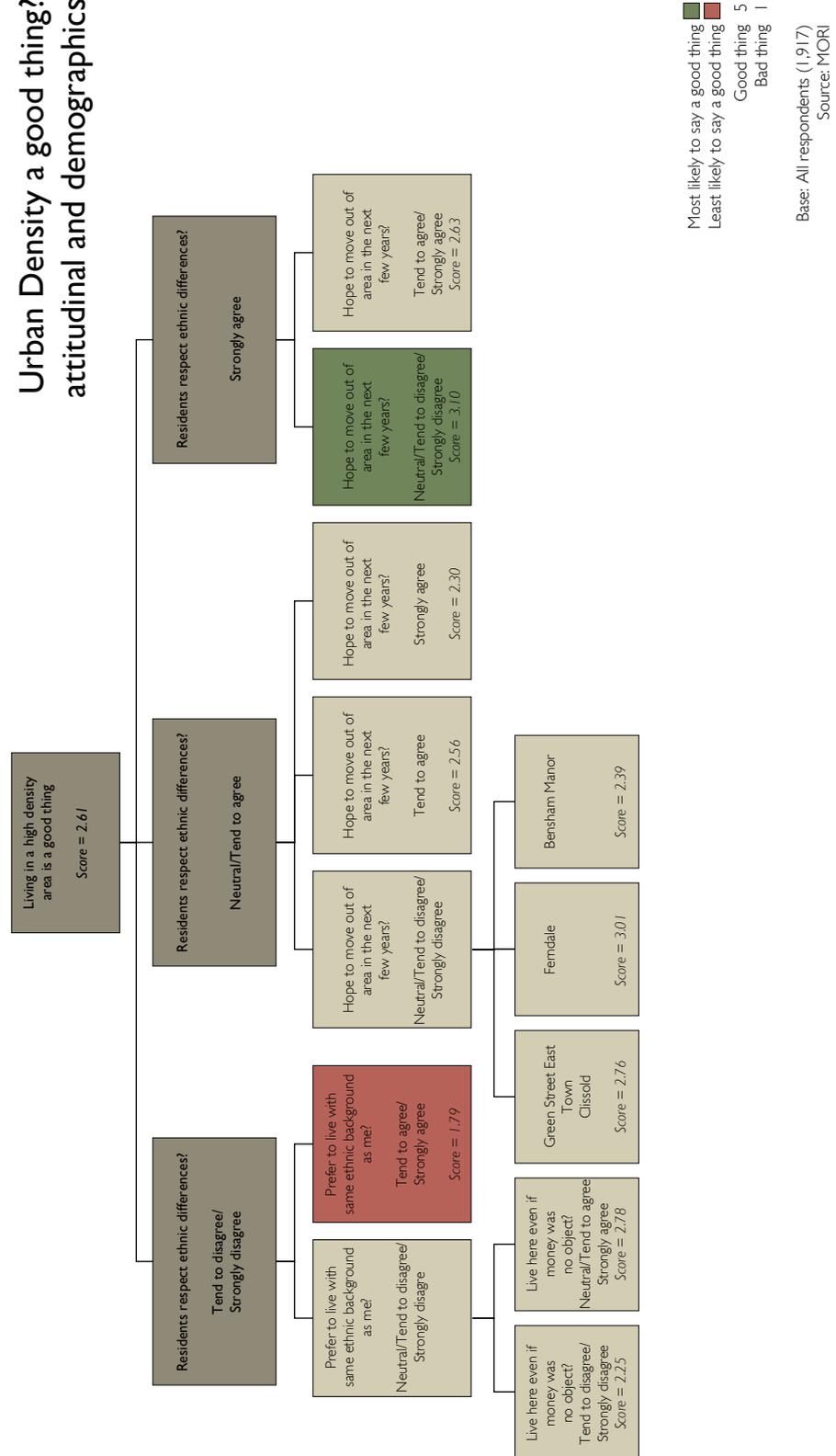
When analysed by demographics only, the group showing the highest satisfaction with their area are residents of Town ward who do not rent their home from the Council and who took more than five holiday trips in the last year. The group least likely to be satisfied with their area are residents of Green Street East ward whose household consists of two adults under 60 years old. Interestingly, the next least satisfied group are white residents of Bensham Manor.

Residents who are least likely to view the experience of living in a high density area in positive terms are those who strongly disagree that residents in their area respect ethnic differences between people, and want to live around people from the same ethnic background. Residents who are most likely to say that living in a high density is a good thing are those who strongly agree that residents in their area respect ethnic differences between people and do not intend to move out.

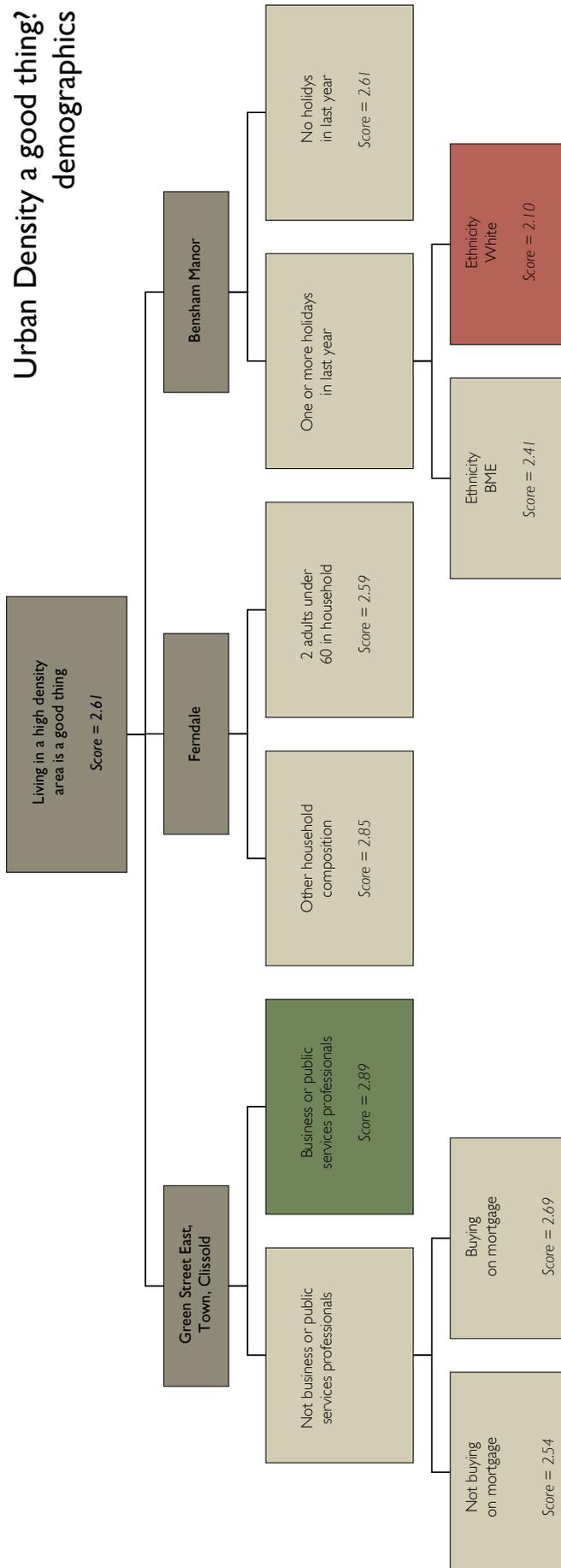
When analysed using demographic variables, those most likely to view high density living as positive are residents of Green Street East, Town and Clissold, and whose

occupation is as a business or public service professional. Those most likely to be negative about high density are those from Bensham Manor ward, had at least one holiday in the last year and are white.

## Urban Density a good thing? attitudinal and demographics



# Urban Density a good thing? demographics

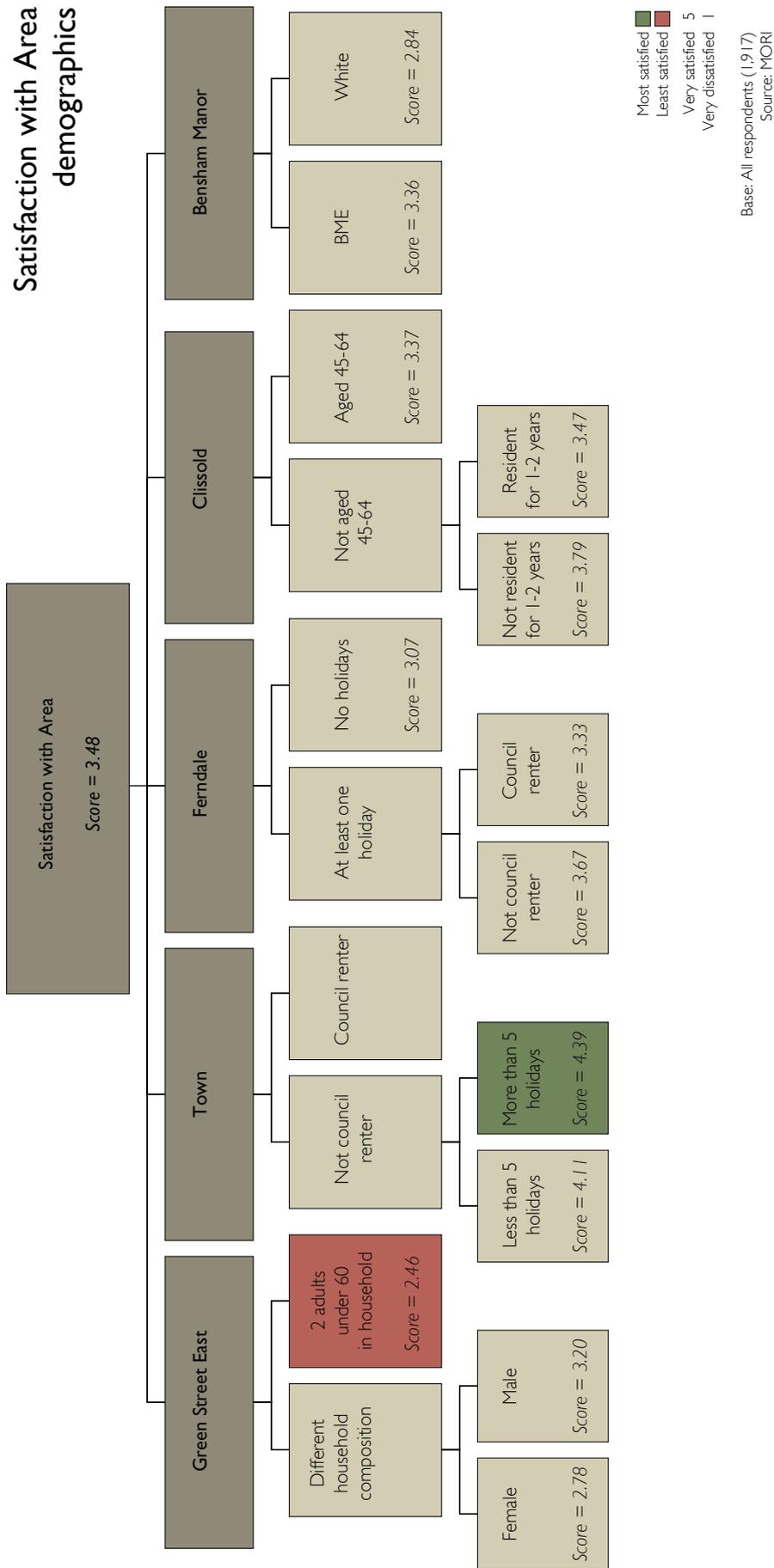


■ Most likely to say a good thing  
■ Least likely to say a good thing  
 Good thing 5  
 Bad thing 1

Base: All respondents (1,917)  
 Source: MORI



# Satisfaction with Area demographics



■ Most satisfied  
■ Least satisfied  
■ Very satisfied 5  
■ Very dissatisfied 1

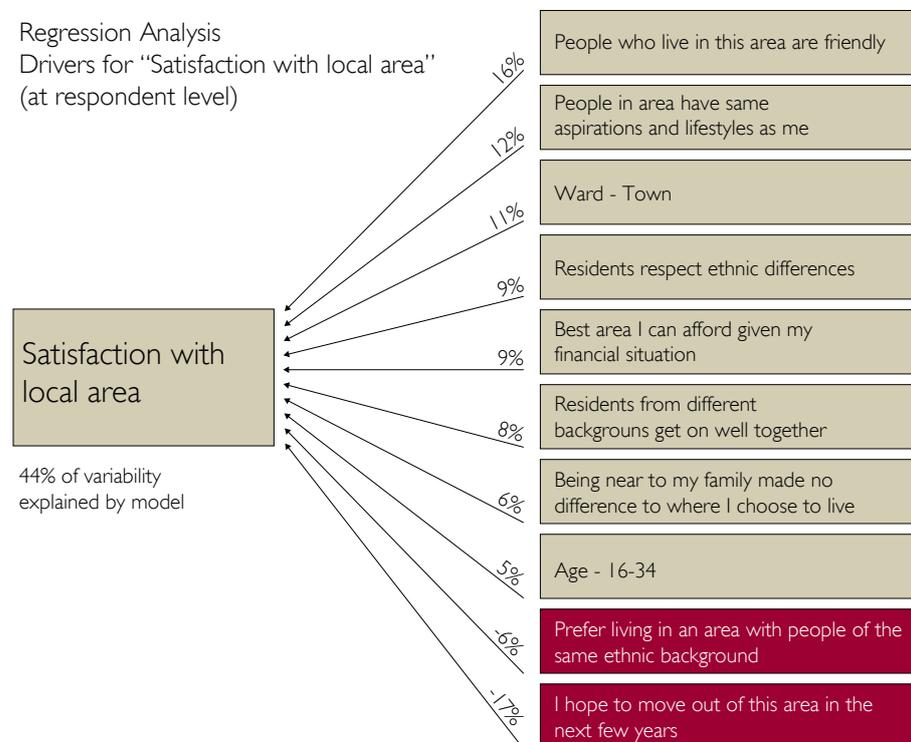
Base: All respondents (1,917)  
 Source: MORI

### Key drivers analysis

Regression techniques were used to identify the key drivers of satisfaction with local area and the perception of whether urban density is a good or a bad thing. These drivers can also be interpreted as 'predictors', in as much as a high positive (negative) score on one of these factors is associated with a high (low) relative importance to the variable being measured. Key drivers analysis also calculates the overall 'fit' of the model, which is displayed as a percentage. The nearer this percentage is to 100, the better the fit of the model, in terms of the power of the included 'predictors' in explaining the result for the variable measured.

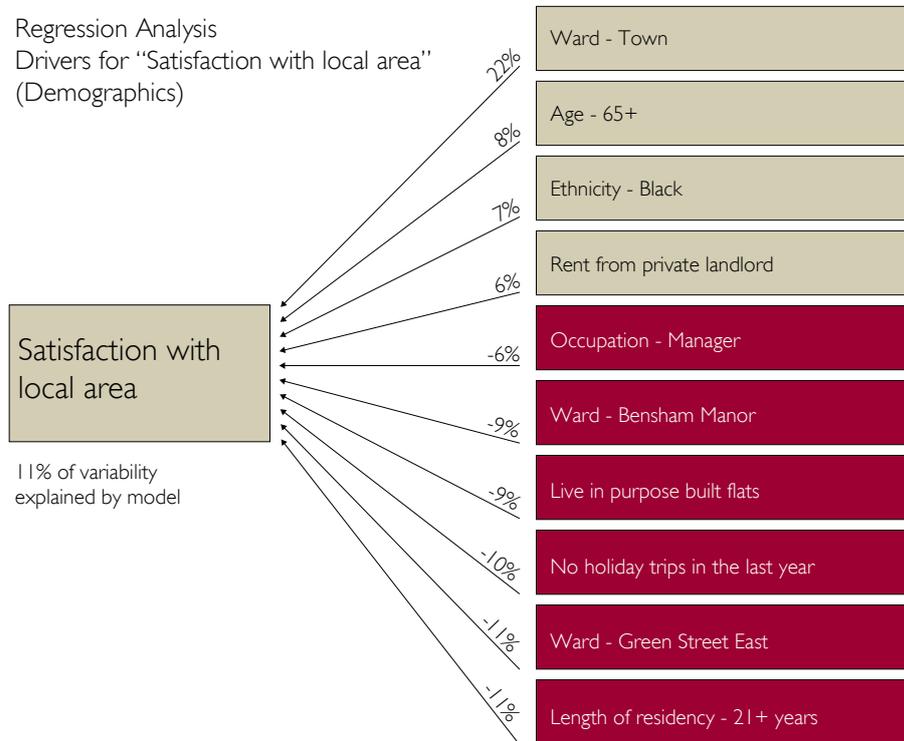
The results presented in this report show the relative importance of the statistically significant factors in each model in 'explaining' or 'predicting' the variation in the dependent variable (e.g. satisfaction with local area), scaled to 100. A minus sign illustrates that the factor is negatively related to satisfaction, a plus sign reflects a positive relationship.

44% of the variability in satisfaction with local area can be predicted by looking at a combination of ten variables (both attitudinal and demographic). As we might expect, the strongest positive driver of satisfaction with local area is people feeling their area is friendly (16%). The strongest negative driver is perhaps not surprisingly those who hope to move out of their area within the next few years (-17%). Other positive drivers are thinking people in the area have similar aspirations and lifestyle (12%), living in Fulham (11%) and thinking ethnic differences are respected (9%).



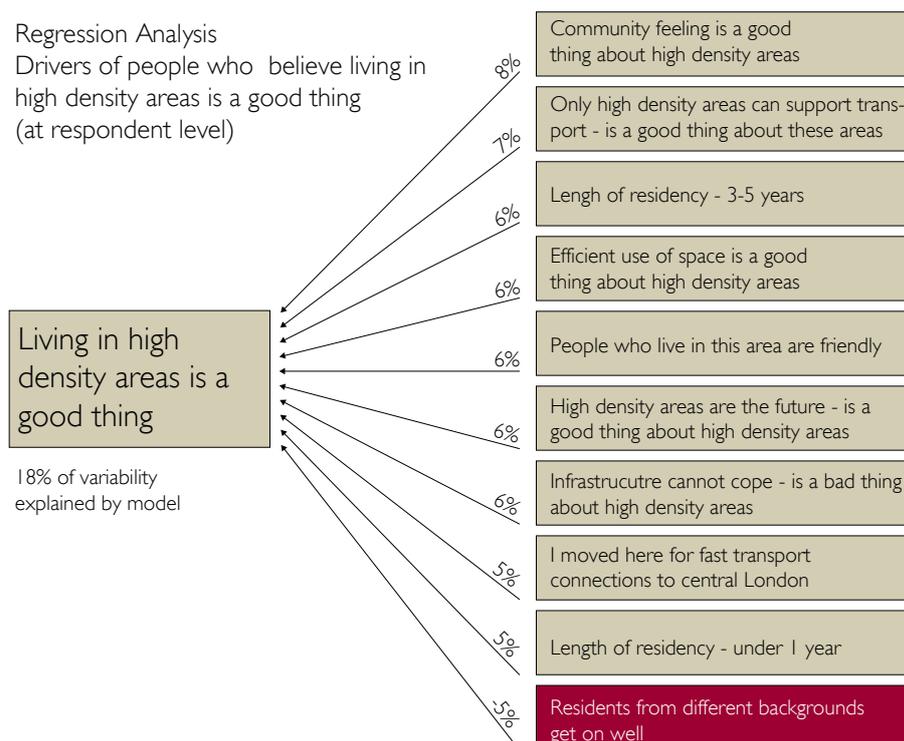
When demographic variables are used to model satisfaction with area, the model is much weaker - only 11% of the variability in satisfaction is predicted. The strongest positive driver (22%) is living in Town ward. Other key positive drivers are being aged over 65 (8%) and being black (7%). The strongest negative driver of satisfaction within

demographics is living in Green Street East (-11%) and other strong negative drivers are living in the area for over 21 years (-11%), making no holiday trips (-10%) and living in Bensham Manor (-9%).

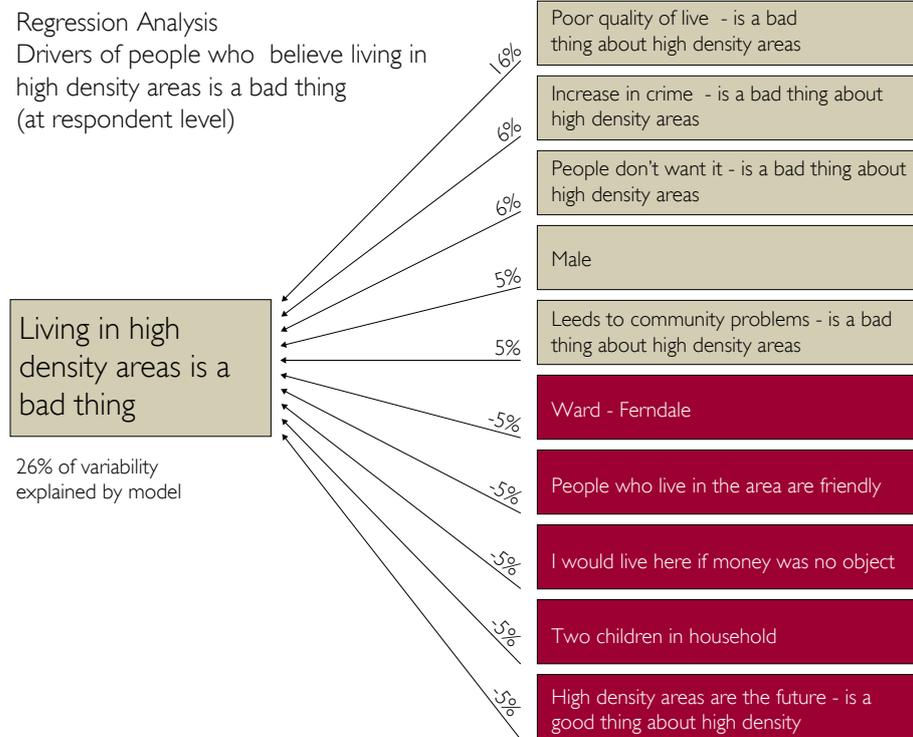


### Urban density is a good/bad thing

The model for explaining the key drivers of people thinking urban density is a good thing is quite weak with 18% of the variability explained by ten variables. The strongest positive driver is those who feel that 'community feeling' is a good thing about high density areas (8%). Perhaps counter intuitively, the strongest negative driver is people who think residents from different backgrounds get on well together (-5%).



The model for explaining the key drivers of people thinking urban density is a bad thing is better, but still weak (26% of the variability can be explained by ten variables). The strongest driver of negative perception (16%) is the perception that 'poor quality of life' is a bad thing about living in high density areas. The strongest negative driver of perception of living in high density being a bad thing is the view that 'high density areas are the future' is a good thing about them (-5%).



## Testing hypotheses

During the wider research project the Minerva-LSE Research Group carried out, for each topic a proposition or hypothesis was developed. Below we consider each one and discuss whether the data in this survey is evidence in favour or against it.

### Facilities and density

In some areas the building typologies might not be facilitating the conversion into shop/leisure uses.

It is only possible to make indicative comparisons on measures of local shopping and leisure facilities. Data from a recent survey of Londoners conducted in March 2004 gives a very indicative comparison. In that survey 57% said that, in the last 4 weeks, they had socialised locally, 35% in Central London, 7% elsewhere in London, and 8% out of London. In our survey 66% say they socialise at home, locally or in a neighbouring area, 9% in Central London (West End), 13% elsewhere in London and 3% outside of London. This suggests that the five wards socialise more locally than people do in London as a whole.

Q	I am going to read out a list of activities that you may or may not have done in the past 4 weeks. For each of them, I'd like you to tell me where you did them. Was it local to your home, in Central London, somewhere	To socialise and be entertained
	Base: 1,017 Londoners aged 16+, 17 – 24 March 2004.	%
	Local	57
	Central London	35
	Elsewhere in London	7
	Out of London	8
	Did not do activity	12
	Don't know	*
Source: MORI		

### Transport and density

Rising population density leading to rising car density is linked to higher dissatisfaction with the local area

There is a mixed picture as to whether car density is linked to higher dissatisfaction with the local area. Bensham Manor has the highest car ownership rates but the lowest satisfaction. However, Town ward bucks the trend - second highest on car ownership and highest satisfaction with area. However, car ownership is partly a function of affluence (Town and Bensham Manor are the two most affluent wards) and it is difficult therefore to draw definitive conclusions.

The results analysing the parking questions by ward are below, with the wards ranked by density (most dense at the top using the gross residential density measure). Although the data suggests that satisfaction with car parking is highest in the least dense areas, and that, broadly speaking, the more dense the area the more likely people are to think the availability of parking needs improving, the perception that high density areas create parking problems is relatively consistent across the five wards.

Q	How satisfied are you with this area as a place to live?		
	Availability of parking is one of the best things	Availability of parking needs improving	High density areas create parking problems
Base: All respondents	%	%	%
Green Street East	6	39	67
Town	5	51	66
Ferndale	9	28	49
Clissold	8	35	61
Bensham Manor	12	34	62

Source: MORI/Survey of English Housing 2000/01

### Public open space and density

One of the key attributes which make people in higher-density neighbourhoods more satisfied with their local areas is the access to public open space which meets three basic conditions: - relatively large size, well kept and safe.

The regression analysis of satisfaction with area clearly demonstrates that good community cohesion makes people in higher-density neighbourhoods more satisfied with their local areas, and that the role of access to public open space is much less significant.

### Diversity and density

Ethnic and cultural diversity is associated positively with higher density. (Or: ethnic and cultural diversity is the most valued positive attribute of high density in the areas of study)

The survey suggests that ethnic and cultural diversity is associated positively with higher density, and that those who enjoy urban density most (measured by satisfaction with area), are those who, in general, perceive that people in their area get on well, are friendly, and that ethnic differences are respected. However, it is important to remember that only 6% say that living in a high density area is a good thing, and almost half (46%) are ambivalent.

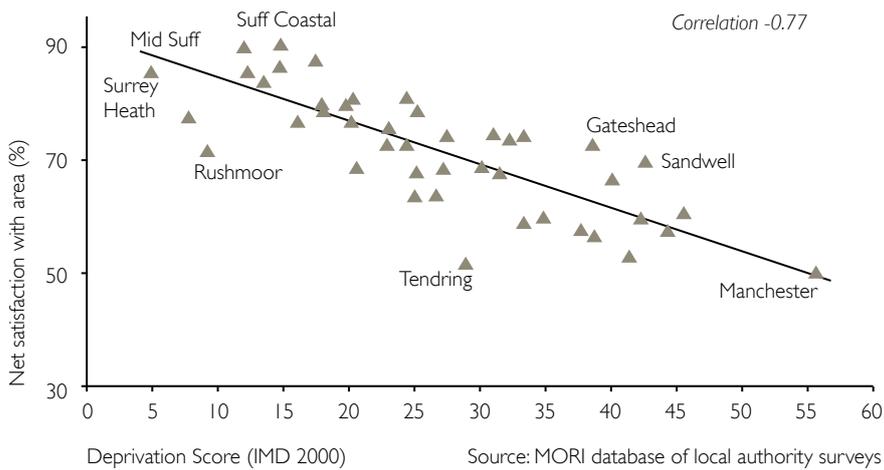
### Deprivation and density

“Deprivation” matters more than “density” to explain differences in residents’ satisfaction with their local area.

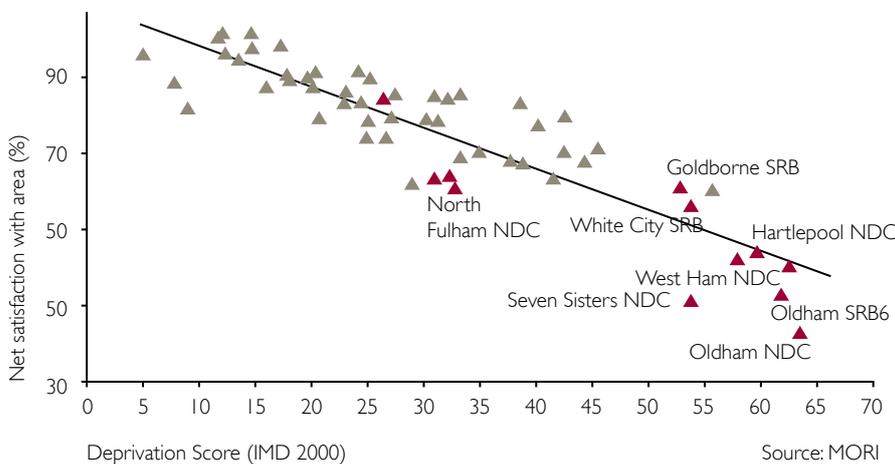
Our previous work has suggested that “Deprivation” matters more than “density” to explain differences in residents’ satisfaction with their local area. In fact deprivation is actually a very powerful predictor of public attitudes on a wide range of issues. There is a very strong relationship between ratings of local areas as a place to live, and their relative level of deprivation. Here we show recent face to face MORI surveys asking people about their quality of life, and comparing it with the Index of Multiple Deprivation Score for that local authority.

When we add in even smaller areas (below local authority level), and look at individual areas that are being targeted as part of government regeneration initiatives, the same clear pattern is evident.

Satisfaction with area s a place to live versus ‘Index of Multiple Deprivation’ (IMD)



Adding regeneration areas...



However the link is also there in this survey. Bensham Manor ward bucks the trend – despite being relatively affluent satisfaction with the area is lowest – this suggests we could be witnessing a deprivation and interesting area effect.

Ward	Deprivation Score (IMD 2000)	Satisfaction with area
Clissold	49.72	64
Ferndale	42.43	62
Bensham Manor	26.39	45
Town	13.94	80

Source: MORI

There is a significant difference between those who think higher density areas are a good thing those who think they are a bad thing by satisfaction with area. Satisfaction with area among those who think higher density areas are a good thing is 67% satisfied, 22% dissatisfied while of those who think it is a bad thing 46% are satisfied and 42% are dissatisfied.

### Attitudes to density

The majority of people in these areas tend to have “reflexive views” on density, i.e. they are able to recognize both good and negative attributes of high-density living.

People’s attitudes on urban density are certainly not clear cut – only 33% are prepared to give a view either way when they are asked whether high density areas are a good or a bad thing. When asked what are positive and negative features of high density areas, a wide variety of responses are given. This suggests that the majority of people in these areas tend to have “reflexive views” on density. Previous qualitative work we have done looking into the issues of new developments has also found that people’s attitudes are often ambivalent.

## Statistical reliability

The respondents to these surveys are only samples of the total 'population' of the general public. This means that we cannot be certain that the figures obtained are exactly those we would have if everybody in the five wards had been interviewed (the 'true' values). We can, however, predict the variation between the sample results and the 'true' values from a knowledge of the size of the samples on which the results are based and the number of times that a particular answer is given. The confidence with which we can make this prediction is usually chosen to be 95% – that is, the chances are 95 in 100 that the 'true' value will fall within a specified range. The table below illustrates the predicted range for different sample sizes and percentage results at the '95% confidence interval'.

Overall statistical reliability			
Size of sample on which survey result is based	Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels		
	10% or 90%	30% or 70%	50%
	±	±	±
400	3	5	5
500	3	4	4
800	2	3	4
1,000	2	3	3
1,500	2	2	3
1,917	1	2	2

Source: MORI

For example, with a sample of 1,000 where 30% give a particular answer, the chances are 19 in 20 that the 'true' value (which would have been obtained if the whole population had been interviewed) will fall within the range of plus or minus 3 percentage points from the sample result.

When results are compared between separate groups within a sample, different results may be obtained. The difference may be 'real', or it may occur by chance (because not everyone in the population has been interviewed). To test if the difference is a real one – i.e. if it is 'statistically significant', we again have to know the size of the samples, the percentage giving a certain answer and the degree of confidence chosen. If we assume the '95% confidence interval', the differences between the two sample results must be greater than the values given in the table below:

Statistical reliability between subgroups			
Size of sample on which survey result is based	Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels		
	10% or 90%	30% or 70%	50%
	±	±	±
250 vs 250	5	8	9
250 vs 500	5	7	8
500 vs 500	4	6	6
500 vs 1,000	3	5	5
1,000 vs 1,000	3	4	4

Source: MORI

## Questionnaire: attitudes to urban density

Final Topline Results (18th March 2004)

- Questionnaires were mailed out to 8,000 randomly selected addresses in five London wards – Bensham Manor, Clissold, Ferndale, Green Street East, and Town. 1,917 responses were received representing a response rate of 24%. A reminder questionnaire was sent to all non-responders.
- Fieldwork took place between 4 February and 12 March 2004.
- Data for each of the five wards are weighted by age, gender, working status, tenure and ethnicity to the profile of each ward.
- Where results do not sum to 100, this may be due to multiple responses, computer rounding or the exclusion of don't knows/not stated.
- Results are based on all respondents unless otherwise stated.
- An asterisk (\*) represents a value of less than one half or one percent, but not zero.

### I Views of your local area

Firstly, we'd like to ask you a few questions about your local area.

Q	How satisfied are you with this area as a place to live?	
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Very satisfied	18	18
Fairly satisfied	43	44
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11	10
Slightly dissatisfied	15	15
Very dissatisfied	10	9
Don't know	2	2

Q	On the whole, would you describe the people who live in this area as...?	
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Very friendly	9	11
Fairly friendly	60	61
Not very friendly	20	19
Not at all friendly	5	5
Don't know	5	5

Q	To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?	
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Definitely agree	14	14
Tend to agree	49	52
Tend to disagree	14	14
Definitely disagree	7	6
Too few people in the local area	2	2
All same backgrounds	2	1
Don't know	13	12

Q To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where residents respect ethnic differences between people?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Definitely agree	13	12
Tend to agree	55	56
Tend to disagree	14	14
Definitely disagree	4	4
Don't know	14	14

Q Overall, how involved do you feel in the local community?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
A great deal	4	4
A fair amount	20	21
Not very much	43	44
Not at all	27	25
Don't know	5	5

Q Thinking generally, which of the things below would you say are most important in making somewhere a good place to live							
Q Thinking about your local area, which of the things below, if any, would you say are the best things about living in this area							
Q Thinking about your local area, which of the things below, if any, do you think most need improving?							
	Q6		Q7		Q8		
	Most important		Best things		Most need improving		
	Wtd	Unwtd	Wtd	Unwtd	Wtd	Unwtd	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>Transport</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>70</b>	
Accessibility by car to other areas	17	15	16	16	6	6	
Accessibility by public transport to other areas	54	54	43	46	10	10	
Availability of parking	26	25	7	7	38	36	
Level of traffic congestion	13	13	5	5	31	32	
Quality of public transport	33	33	23	23	18	19	
<b>Local facilities</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>64</b>	
Activities for teenagers	17	14	4	4	27	25	
Community activities	12	10	8	8	17	16	
Facilities for young children	16	14	8	8	16	14	
Health services	33	37	22	24	19	17	
Leisure facilities	22	19	20	19	20	21	
Schools	28	27	15	14	14	15	
Shopping facilities	29	31	45	45	10	10	
<b>Environment</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>75</b>	
Access to garden or other private open space	15	16	16	16	10	8	
General appearance	27	27	15	14	32	34	
Level of noise from neighbours	19	20	13	13	12	12	
Level of noise from the street	15	14	10	10	20	19	
Level of pollution	16	14	5	5	23	24	
Parks and open spaces	26	27	31	34	15	13	
Privacy	13	12	12	11	7	5	
Upkeep of public spaces	17	18	6	7	30	31	

<b>Crime/community</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>62</b>
Friendly neighbours	26	25	27	28	9	8
Level of anti-social behaviour (e.g. graffiti, vandalism, loutish behaviour etc.)	34	35	8	7	42	43
Race relations	14	13	12	10	13	11
Safety (of your person and property)	47	48	13	13	32	32
<b>Other</b>						
Cost of housing	24	22	13	12	24	22
Local job prospects	12	11	6	6	17	13
Not stated	3	2	10	8	6	6

## 2 Work and leisure

Q How long do you usually spend travelling from home to work (one way)?			
		Weighted	Unweighted
		%	%
	Less than 10 minutes	3	3
	10-29 minutes	17	18
	30-59 minutes	44	43
	60-90 minutes	23	22
	Over 90 minutes	3	3
	Not Stated	10	10

Q Whereabouts do you work at the moment?			
		Weighted	Unweighted
		%	%
	Base: All those saying they are working (1,240)		
	At home	6	8
	In this area but not at home	21	22
	City of London	20	18
	West End	16	16
	Elsewhere in London	26	27
	Outside London	6	5
	Not stated	5	5

Q Which of the following modes of transport do you usually use to get to work?			
		Weighted	Unweighted
		%	%
	Base: All those saying they are working (1,240)		
	Car	30	30
	Bus	39	41
	Train	14	12
	Walking	25	27
	Cycle	13	13
	Tube	35	34
	Motorbike	3	3
	Other	2	2
	Not stated	5	6

Q And which one of the following modes of transport do you usually use to get around when you are not working?

	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Car	36	35
Bus	35	36
Train	2	1
Walking	6	5
Cycle	4	5
Tube	9	8
Motorbike	1	1
Other	*	1
Not stated	7	7

Q How many vehicles do you own or have the use of (include company cars unless no private use is allowed)?

	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
1 car	48	49
2 cars	7	7
3+ cars	1	1
Light van	1	1
Cycle	5	4
Bicycle	11	12
None of these	35	35

Q Whereabouts do you generally go to for your main food shopping? If you don't do the main food shopping, please answer for the person in your household who does.

	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
In the corner/local shops	22	21
In other shops in this area	50	48
A neighbouring area	20	22
Elsewhere in London	4	4
Outside London	*	1
Don't know	4	4

Q Whereabouts do you mainly go for your leisure and/or sporting activities?

	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Locally	48	47
A neighbouring area	16	17
West End	5	6
Elsewhere in London	11	11
Outside London	3	4
Don't know	17	16

Q Whereabouts do you generally go to socialise/meet friends?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
At home	16	17
Locally	35	35
A neighbouring area	15	16
West End	10	9
Elsewhere in London	15	13
Outside London	2	3
Don't know	6	6

### 3 Characteristics of your local area

Q Thinking about your local area, how far do you agree or disagree with each of the statements below?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
This is the best area in London I can afford to live in given my financial situation		
Strongly agree	22	22
Tend to agree	28	30
Neither agree nor disagree	22	22
Tend to disagree	11	10
Strongly disagree	9	8
Don't know	8	8

I like this area so much I would live here even if money was no object		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly agree	9	9
Tend to agree	20	20
Neither agree nor disagree	16	16
Tend to disagree	21	21
Strongly disagree	25	24
Don't know	9	9

One of the main reasons I moved here was for the fast transport connections to Central London		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly agree	9	10
Tend to agree	23	23
Neither agree nor disagree	21	20
Tend to disagree	16	16
Strongly disagree	20	19
Don't know	11	11

Being near to my family made no difference to where I chose to live		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly agree	22	25
Tend to agree	16	18
Neither agree nor disagree	17	17
Tend to disagree	17	14
Strongly disagree	15	15
Don't know	12	12

I prefer living in an area where people are from the same ethnic background as me		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly agree	8	8
Tend to agree	15	14
Neither agree nor disagree	27	28
Tend to disagree	18	19
Strongly disagree	23	22
Don't know	9	9

Having a mix of different people in an area makes it a more enjoyable place to live		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly agree	23	22
Tend to agree	35	34
Neither agree nor disagree	22	23
Tend to disagree	7	8
Strongly disagree	5	5
Don't know	7	8

I wanted to live in this area because a lot of people here have the same aspirations and lifestyle as me		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly agree	8	7
Tend to agree	19	20
Neither agree nor disagree	28	29
Tend to disagree	17	17
Strongly disagree	17	16
Don't know	11	12

I hope to move out of this area in the next few years		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly agree	24	21
Tend to agree	18	19
Neither agree nor disagree	16	16
Tend to disagree	11	11
Strongly disagree	12	13
Don't know	19	20

Q You may have heard of the term "high density area". Would you describe your local area as a "high density area"?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Yes	52	56
No	20	19
Don't know	28	24

Q In general, do you think living in a "high density area" is a good thing or a bad thing?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
A good thing	6	6
A bad thing	25	26
It depends	46	49
Don't know	23	19

Q Which, if any, of the things below, do you think are good things about "high density areas"?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
It is the most efficient use of space	21	21
They can accommodate more homes for people	33	32
High density areas are the future	7	8
Only high-density areas can support transport, commercial and entertainment facilities	28	29
It doesn't affect the quality of an area	7	7
High density areas tend to be well-designed	6	5
High density areas are much more lively than others	28	30
High density areas tend to be more diverse than other areas	34	37
There is more of a community feel in high density areas	16	15
They are not like dormitory towns	14	18
Other	3	3
Don't know	28	27

Q Which, if any, of the things below, do you think are bad things about "high density areas"?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
The infrastructure cannot cope	34	36
People don't want it	24	24
Smaller living spaces	54	54
Noise pollution	60	61
Leads to community problems	38	38
Increase in crime/vandalism	60	62
Slums/poor housing	40	39

Previous high density areas suggests it doesn't work	18	19
Poor quality of life	33	33
Creates parking problems	60	63
Other	3	3
Don't know	12	10

Q

Each row below contains two characteristics of places to live which people think about when choosing where to live in London. For example, would you prefer to live somewhere that has good public transport connections or has more domestic space?

A - Good public transport connections	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	21	21
Tend to prefer A	15	16
Both equally preferable	31	31
Tend to prefer B	11	11
Strongly prefer B	9	9
Not stated	13	13
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Good transport connections to Central London	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	19	17
Tend to prefer A	19	20
Both equally preferable	29	29
Tend to prefer B	12	12
Strongly prefer B	8	8
Not stated	13	13
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Safety (personal and property)	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	40	40
Tend to prefer A	27	27
Both equally preferable	16	17
Tend to prefer B	3	4
Strongly prefer B	2	1
Not stated	11	11
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Proximity to people with same background	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	6	6
Tend to prefer A	15	13
Both equally preferable	29	28
Tend to prefer B	21	21
Strongly prefer B	15	16
Not stated	14	16
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Upkeep of local area	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	20	21
Tend to prefer A	28	29
Both equally preferable	28	27
Tend to prefer B	7	7
Strongly prefer B	3	3
Not stated	13	14
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Proximity to shops and amenities	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	21	21
Tend to prefer A	28	27
Both equally preferable	27	27
Tend to prefer B	9	9
Strongly prefer B	3	3
Not stated	13	12
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Proximity to parks and green spaces	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	19	18
Tend to prefer A	24	25
Both equally preferable	28	29
Tend to prefer B	12	12
Strongly prefer B	4	4
Not stated	13	14
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Proximity to good schools	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	23	20
Tend to prefer A	18	16
Both equally preferable	18	20
Tend to prefer B	13	14
Strongly prefer B	13	15
Not stated	15	16
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Proximity to friends/relatives	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	14	14
Tend to prefer A	20	19
Both equally preferable	29	28
Tend to prefer B	13	14
Strongly prefer B	9	10
Not stated	14	15
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Appearance of streets/pavements	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	18	20
Tend to prefer A	24	23
Both equally preferable	29	28
Tend to prefer B	12	12
Strongly prefer B	3	3
Not stated	14	14
B - More space in your home (indoors and outdoors)		

A - Safety (personal and property)	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	35	35
Tend to prefer A	28	26
Both equally preferable	19	20
Tend to prefer B	4	4
Strongly prefer B	2	2
Not stated	14	14
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Proximity to people with same background	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	7	6
Tend to prefer A	11	11
Both equally preferable	27	26
Tend to prefer B	21	21
Strongly prefer B	17	17
Not stated	18	18
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Upkeep of local area	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	17	19
Tend to prefer A	22	23
Both equally preferable	30	30
Tend to prefer B	10	10
Strongly prefer B	4	3
Not stated	17	16
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Proximity to shops and amenities	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	17	17
Tend to prefer A	22	23
Both equally preferable	32	32
Tend to prefer B	10	9
Strongly prefer B	3	3
Not stated	17	16
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Proximity to parks and green spaces	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	16	15
Tend to prefer A	21	23
Both equally preferable	30	29
Tend to prefer B	12	12
Strongly prefer B	4	4
Not stated	17	17
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Proximity to good schools	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	20	18
Tend to prefer A	14	14
Both equally preferable	21	21
Tend to prefer B	12	13
Strongly prefer B	14	16
Not stated	19	18
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Proximity to friends/relatives	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	13	13
Tend to prefer A	18	18
Both equally preferable	30	28
Tend to prefer B	13	14
Strongly prefer B	9	10
Not stated	18	18
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Appearance of streets/pavements	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	18	20
Tend to prefer A	21	21
Both equally preferable	29	29
Tend to prefer B	12	12
Strongly prefer B	4	3
Not stated	16	16
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

A - Availability of parking space	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Strongly prefer A	22	22
Tend to prefer A	15	16
Both equally preferable	23	23
Tend to prefer B	12	12
Strongly prefer B	11	11
Not stated	17	16
B - Good transport connections to Central London		

Q7- Thinking about your local area, which of the things below, if any, would you say are the best things about living in this area				
* Q18 Would you describe your local area as a 'high density area'?				
		Q18		
		Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
Transport		72		
Accessibility by car to other areas		18		
Accessibility by public transport to other areas		47		
Availability of parking		7		
Level of traffic congestion		3		
Quality of public transport		22		
Local facilities		72		
Activities for teenagers		3		
Community activities		7		
Facilities for young children		7		
Health services		21		
Leisure facilities		20		
Schools		12		
Shopping facilities		47		
Environment		65		
Access to garden or other private open space		15		
General appearance		11		
Level of noise from neighbours		12		
Level of noise from the street		9		
Level of pollution		4		
Parks and open spaces		35		
Privacy		9		
Upkeep of public spaces		4		
Crime/community		48		
Friendly neighbours		28		
Level of anti-social behaviour (e.g. graffiti, vandalism, loutish behaviour etc.)		7		
Race relations		14		
Safety (of your person and property)		12		
Other		26		
Cost of housing		13		
Local job prospects		6		

#### 4 About you

Now we'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself. This is so we can be sure that we are getting the views of a good cross-section of the community. The answers to these, as with all questions, are strictly confidential to MORI.

Q	Are you male or female?	Weighted %	Unweighted %
	Male	50	41
	Female	50	59

Q What was your age on your last birthday?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
16-24	7	4
25-34	40	24
35-44	22	27
45-54	13	16
55-64	8	13
65+	10	16

Q Which of the following categories describes your occupation?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Manager/senior official (business or public sector)	17	18
Business or public services professional	15	15
Culture, media or sports	10	10
Teacher, nurse, policeman, or other professionals from social and voluntary sector	12	14
Administrative and secretarial	7	8
Science and technology associate professional	3	2
Elementary trades, administration and service	1	1
Process, plant and machine operative	*	*
Sales and customer service	6	4
Leisure and other personal service	1	1
Skilled trades	5	4
Other professionals	11	11
Doing something else	6	6
Not stated	6	5

Q How long have you/your household been living in this area?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Under 1 year	7	6
1-2 years	15	12
3-5 years	19	15
6-10 years	18	17
11-20 years	18	21
21+ years	20	25
Don't know/can't remember	3	3

Q In which of these ways does your household occupy your current accommodation?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Owned outright	18	26
Buying on mortgage	31	36
Rent from council	29	16
Rent from Housing Association/Trust	6	7
Rented from private landlord	15	13
Other	1	2

Q Which of the following best describes the composition of your household?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Single adult 60 or over	8	12
Two adults, at least one 60 or over	7	10
One parent family with children	11	9
Single adult under 60	19	18
Three or more adults, all 16 or over	11	10
Two parent family with children	20	18
Two adults both under 60	19	17
Other	2	2
Not stated	3	3

Q Which of the following best describes where you live?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Detached house	2	3
Semi-detached house	5	7
Terraced house	35	42
A flat in a purpose built block	34	26
A flat in a converted or shared house	17	16
A flat in a commercial building (e.g. above a shop)	2	2
Other	1	2
Not stated	3	3

Q How many holiday trips have you had in the last year (including weekends away and holiday trips in the UK and/or abroad)?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
None	22	18
One	27	26
Two	15	17
Three	11	12
Four	6	7
Five	11	11
More than five	7	9

Q How many adults aged 18 or over are living here?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
One	32	33
Two	39	40
Three	11	10
Four	4	4
Five	2	2
More than five	2	1
Not stated	11	10

Q How many children aged 11 or under are living here?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
None	71	74
One	15	13
Two	10	9
Three	3	3
Four	1	1
Five	*	*
More than five	1	1

Q To which of these groups do you consider you belong to?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
White	56	68
British	46	57
Irish	3	4
Any other White background	7	7
Mixed	2	2
White & Black Caribbean	1	1
White & Black African	*	*
White & Asian	1	1
Any other mixed background	*	*
Black or Black British	19	13
Caribbean	10	8
African	8	5
Any other Black background	1	*
Asian or Asian British	19	12
Indian	10	7
Pakistani	4	2
Bangladeshi	3	1
Any other Asian background	2	1
Other ethnic group	3	3
Chinese	1	1

Q34 Which of these activities best describes what you are doing at present?		
	Weighted	Unweighted
	%	%
Employee in full-time job (30 hours plus per week)	42	44
Employee in part-time job (under 30 hours per week)	10	8
Self employed full or part-time	12	12
On a government supported training programme (e.g. Modern Apprenticeship/ Training for Work)	1	1
Full-time education at school, college or university	5	3
Unemployed and available for work	6	4
Permanently sick/disabled	7	6
Wholly retired from work	11	16
Looking after the home	6	5
Doing something else (please write in)	2	2

Literature Review

Part E



## Urban sociology notes

### Georg Simmel (1858-1918)

- Considers importance of urban experience, i.e. chose to focus on urbanism (life within the city) rather than urbanization (development of urban areas).
- "The Metropolis and Mental Life" is an essay detailing his views on life in the city, focusing on social psychology.
- Unique trait of modern city is intensification of nervous stimuli with which city dweller must cope, different from rural setting where rhythm of life is more slow and sensory imagery habitual and even. In the city, in contrast, there is constant bombardments of sights, sounds and smells.
- Individual learns to discriminate, become rational and calculating, develops a blasé attitude – matter-of-fact, a social reserve, a detachment, responding with head rather than heart, don't care and don't get involved.
- Urbanites highly attuned to time.
- Rationality expressed in advanced economic division of labour, and the use of money as a universal means of exchange.
- Acknowledged freedom, transcendence of pettiness of daily routine, new heights of personal and spiritual development but potentially, sense of alienation could override this.
- To maintain sense of individuality and not feel like cog in machine, must do something different or odd to stand out.

### The blasé attitude

- Incapacity to react to new sensations due to saturation.
- Reinforced by the money economy: money as a common denominator of all values, regardless of their individuality.
- Reserve, indifference, apathy – forms of psychological protection – become parts of the metropolitan lifestyle.
- Positive aspect of metropolitan life: reserve and detachment produce individual freedom.
- Paradox of city life : objectification leads to greater individualism and subjectivism.
- The most significant characteristic of the metropolis: "functional extension beyond its physical boundaries" – a person's life does not end with the limits of his/her body and the area of his/her immediate activity.

### Louis Wirth (1897-1952) University of Chicago

- Developed first urban theory in the US; previous urban sociology comprised essentially descriptive studies.
- Focus on urbanism – urban lifestyle – more than on structure of city.
- Definition of city as large, dense, with permanent settlement and socially and culturally heterogeneous people. Therefore urbanism was seen as a function of population density, size and heterogeneity:

- 1 **Population size:** creates diversity because large numbers of people coming together logically increase potential differentiation among themselves, of migration of diverse groups to city; creates need for formal control structures, e.g. legal systems; supports proliferation of further complexity of labour specialization; organizes human relationships on interest-specific basis, i.e. "social segmentalization", where secondary relationships are primary, in essence urban ties are relationships of utility; creates possibility of disorganization and disintegration.
- 2 **Population density:** intensifies effects of large population size on social life; manifests quality of separateness, e.g. economic forces and social processes produce readily identifiable and distinct neighbourhoods ("ecological specialization"); fosters a loss of sensitivity to more personal aspects of others, instead tendency to stereotype and categorize; results in greater tolerance of difference but at same time physical closeness increases social distance; may increase antisocial behaviour.
- 3 **Population heterogeneity:** social interaction between many personality types results in breakdown of the rigidity of caste lines and complicates class structure, thus increasing social mobility; physical mobility tends to accompany social mobility; leads to further depersonalization with concentration of diverse people.

## Urban economics notes

### Alonso W. (1964) Bid rent function theory

A “Bid-Price Curve” is a set of combinations of land prices and distances among which the individual is indifferent. It shows the land rent the household could pay at each distance in order to achieve a predetermined utility level (thus there is a bid price curve for every utility level). The bid price function answers the following question: as the individual considers residential locations at different locations in the city, i.e. at increasing distances from the city centre, what price of land would allow him/her to buy sufficient amount of land (and other goods) to enjoy as much satisfaction as a given (starting) price (and amount of land) at the city centre.

The residential bid price curve is “*the set of prices for land the individual could pay at various distances while deriving a constant level of satisfaction.*” (p.59) Alonso stresses three points in his characterization of the bid price curve:

1. Every individual or household has his/her own bid price curve. Others have other curves.
2. Every bid price curve represents a given utility level. There is a family of bid price curves representing different utility levels, analogous to the well-known indifference curves.
3. Prices represented by the bid price curve have no necessary relations to actual prices: “A bid price is hypothetical, merely saying that, if the price of land were such, the individual would be satisfied to a given degree.” (p.59)

A more sophisticated formulation assumes that households have preferences given by a set of indifference curves. The bid-rent function is the amount that a household could pay for rent at different location (with differing transportation costs) such that the same level of satisfaction is achieved; i.e., the household is on the same indifference curve. This formulation allows for the possibility that different amounts of housing space could be chosen at different locations. Also, it allows for the possibility that higher income households end up locating in the suburbs because of the relatively low cost of open land there compared with locations closer to the CBD.

Two factors can be isolated that are important in determining the steepness of a household’s bid rent curve:

- **Transfer costs:** the opportunity (time) cost of commuting can be especially important in evaluating the transfer costs of a household. If each hour spent on the road is valued more, commuting becomes more dear, and rent bids fall more rapidly as distance from the CBD increases.
- **Demand for space:** The larger the quantity of land occupied by the household, the more it stands to gain in moving to the outlying location. As rents fall per unit of land with increased distance from the CBD, the more units that are occupied, the more total savings are realized by such a move. It follows that bid rents will fall less rapidly with distance from the CBD if the amount of land occupied is large: A smaller decrease in rent per unit of land is required to compensate for the commuting costs associated with the more distant location. This results in flatter bid rent curves, and outlying locations are encouraged.

Transfer costs will certainly increase for households with higher income as the opportunity cost of commuting increases. By itself, this will tend to increase the slope of bid rent curves and should encourage high-income households to live closer to the CBD. At the same time, however, higher-income households are likely to demand more space, and this will draw the household farther away from the CBD.

Dislike of old houses and neighbourhoods (as well as associated externalities) and a superior mobility may go far to explain the generally positive association between income and suburbanization. This association is especially prominent in families with school-age children, who are naturally more sensitive to differentials in school quality, neighbourhood amenity and safety, open space, and neighbourhood homogeneity. An analysis of residential patterns in the Greater New York area in the 1950s showed that well-to-do families with children under the age of fifteen showed relatively strong suburban and low-density preferences, while those without such children were more willing to accept the higher densities of close-in communities. Differences according to presence or absence of children were less evident for lower-income families, whose latitude of choice of residential areas is narrower.

## Abstracts

**Butler T. and Robson G. (2003) "Negotiating Their Way In: The Middle Classes, Gentrification and the Deployment of Capital in a Globalizing Metropolis." *Urban Studies* 40(9), 1791-1809.**

### Summary

In this article the authors outline a new approach to the gentrification of London, which argues that it is a diverse phenomenon. This reflects not merely contested explanations for gentrification but more importantly the different ways in which individuals and social groups have reacted to the effect of living and/or working in a global cities on their "work-life balance". As the middle classes have increasingly lost a sense of place-based rootedness at work, they have been struggling to build it in their domestic and residential lives. For many this means a move into the heart of the globalizing metropolises. This has been associated with a proliferation of gentrified neighbourhoods in such cities. The article reports on research undertaken in five such London neighbourhoods and presents three models of neighbourhood gentrification that have each produced their own patterns and narratives of settlement.

### Conclusions (selected, focusing on Brixton)

Three of the areas in the study (Barnsbury, Battersea and Brixton) are not inner city areas that have simply gentrified but rather, in their different ways, have become nodal points on the new map of the global metropolis. They function in different ways, and present different aspects of the impact of globalization on urban space. All – with the exception of Battersea - abut very sharply onto areas still rooted in "local" economies of social exclusion.

Brixton has been connected to globalization in significantly different ways than the other areas, and remains - unlike Upper Street/Barnsbury and Northcote Road/Battersea - somehow "local". It is not easy to characterise how or why this is so - when one considers, for example, that Brixton is visited by far greater numbers of people from overseas than Battersea, and is much more responsive to demographic globalization. As far as the latter is concerned, Brixton is now a very particular kind of nodal point, attracting new migrants from all over. So Brixton has a chaotic vibrancy and unpredictable immediacy of its own, which can be called "global" in two ways:

1. It is a key site of the new youth/hedonistic/leisure economy, which is an important aspect of the new global economy. This is an expression of London as capital of "cool Britannia" and its increasing attractiveness to the huge international youth trend towards drug- and club-based fun. London, for a complex of reasons which are beyond the remit of this paper, has become one of the European capitals of this kind of hedonism and Brixton is firmly established as a brand leader at the "funkier" and "multicultural" end of the market [Talbot, 2001]. The area's symbolic status in the history of Black, and particularly Afro-Caribbean, Britain is of significance given this group's ascendancy in many popular cultural forms and symbolic desirability to people from countries which have no such population. Its multiculturalism, as argued in the paper, is one of the major attractions to the incoming middle class, who are more likely themselves to have been brought up in London than respondents in other areas.

2. The area is a nodal point on the European circuits developed by refugees and economic migrants – itself an important aspect of globalization, but one which registers far less in Barnsbury, not at all in Battersea, and as a threat in Telegraph Hill.

Ultimately, Battersea and Barnsbury have become homogenised and reflect the globalization of culture, consumption and finance, whereas Brixton represents the authors suggest a unique point in the conception of the globalized city. It is one in which the middle classes play their part in the uncertain, unpredictable, but socially necessary experiment of coming to terms with the kinds of novel social structures and interactions being thrown up by globalization processes. Brixton is one of the places in which we can glimpse what this might actually mean in an area which is not merely an “underclass” ghetto.

The authors noted in Brixton a dialectic which recognises and draws the local excluded into a “Brixton of the mind” which is unquestionably tectonic, but which insists on the middle-class right to belonging and identification. This is despite what appears to be a significant difference between Tulse and Herne Hills; in the former a flight from or refusal of social capital building can be discerned, in the latter its conscious construction. On both sides of the park, Brixton represents an irreplaceable model of city living. However, as also noted in the paper, Tulse Hill is also possibly the most insecure area - it is here that households with children are most likely to talk about fleeing the city altogether.

**Cope H. (2002) Capital gains: making high density housing work in London. London Housing Federation.**

This research is based on case studies of high density housing association – owned and – managed housing, predominantly rented. It provides a useful analysis of definitions of density as well as identifying several key issues relating to the allocation, management and related costs of high density housing developments.

The report concludes that schemes can work well at very high housing densities of 81 to 455 dwellings per hectare but that these have a higher proportion of adult residents without children, often enjoying under-occupation.

Key factors that are recommended to be carefully considered when embarking upon high-density developments are: 1) density levels and location; 2) design and quality; 3) development costs; 4) allocation and occupancy; 5) management approaches; and 6) working with residents and communities.

Key points of the research are summarised below:

- Successful high-density housing has four key factors: location and sense of place, a successful allocation policy and occupancy, successful management approach and good design.
- Varying densities across a site can resolve intensity-of-use problems.
- High-density schemes should include lettings plans as a matter of course.
- Management is crucial to the success of high-density schemes.
- High-density schemes have higher service charges and rents, especially in schemes developed in partnership with the private sector. This is particularly problematic for mixed tenure schemes.
- Even at high densities, generously sized personal outdoor space should be provided (i.e. through balconies).
- Families can successfully live in high-density schemes with certain provisos:

*“Families can therefore live in high-density schemes, provided that serious consideration is given to housing families with children above ground level. Families should also ideally have their own access. (...) for family-only accommodation, 250 homes per hectare is probably the maximum acceptable housing density. Amenities must be provided for children” (p. 10)*

*“(...)high-density living can be successful for all household types with any range of economic circumstances – but only if it is high-quality living, facilitated by quality design and intensive management, supported by appropriate occupancy levels procured through sensitive allocation policies.” (p. 10)*

**Hall P. “Whose habitable city?” Paper presented at the symposium “The resurgent city” LSE, 19-21 April 2004.**

What does a “habitable” city mean? Clearly, a city worth living in. But by whom? The only relevant people to ask are the people actually living in that city—or who might live in that city, if they chose. That gives an immediate difficulty: the people who live there know about their condition; those who might live there do not; they might have a false picture of their prospects.

There are two ways of finding out that they want, or might want: what the economists call stated preferences, and revealed preferences. Economists have always preferred the latter: what people show they actually want, freely, in the marketplace. But, as economists like John Kay have recently reminded us, there are troubles with markets. For one thing, they take no account of incomes: poor people have less market power than rich people. For at least a century, most societies have conceded that housing, and living conditions generally, are merit goods that should in part be provided outside the market for poorer people. But, as we have very clearly seen in the United Kingdom recently, politics have operated in the opposite direction, allowing local communities to act as clubs that maximise their own living standards at the expense of possible newcomers: the so-called NIMBY phenomenon. In other words, there is widespread market failure.

If markets don't give the right signals, we are left with the economists' second-best option: stated preferences. And here, we face a paradox: in the UK, at least, surveys unanimously agree that the vast majority of people express a clear preference for a suburban, not an urban, lifestyle. In their words, their preferences run against the grain of the government's stated urban policies, which are to raise densities of new development and minimise the use of greenfield land.

Further, there is disturbing confirmation of this from other parts of the world, which offer a nearer approximation to the economists' perfect market. In large parts of Latin America, over the last forty years, poor people have seized large areas of land around the cities as part of mass land appropriation or squatting movements, followed by some form of acquisition of legal title to the land. Thirty years ago a British expert, John Turner, caused a sensation in thinking about urban development when he commended such movements; so influential was his work, that it later became World Bank orthodoxy. Turner pointed out from his own observations that in this process people showed the truth of Patrick Geddes' information, fifty years earlier:

*"As Patrick Geddes wrote half a century ago in India: 'I have to remind all concerned (1) that the essential need of a house and family is room and (2) that the essential improvement of a house and family is more room.'"*

He found, as Geddes had, that people knew very well what they wanted for themselves: when they first came to the city, unmarried or just-married, they preferred to live in central slums, near jobs and cheap-food markets; then, as children came, they looked for space and security; at that point, if free to act, they preferred to live in large unfinished houses, or even large shacks, rather than in small finished ones; they could finish them, or enlarge them, later.

If you go today to such places, you see the results. Just outside the boundaries of Mexico City, the spontaneous settlement of Nezahualcoyotl houses 1.2 million people; a short distance away, Ecatepec houses another 1.6 million; in all, nearly one in six of the people in this, the world's largest urban agglomeration. Most people in these places are aspirant middle-class people; they live family-oriented lives in the homes they have built for themselves, on which they lavish love and care; the streets are full of their children, though less full now as the original inhabitants age and their successors produce fewer offspring than they did. These places, I would argue, are the best possible illustrations of the places ordinary middle-income, family-oriented people want for themselves, whether in the suburbs of Mexico City or the suburbs or south-east England. If we want the evidence, it's right in front of our eyes.

**Jenks M., Burton E. and K. Williams (Eds.) (1996) *The compact city: a sustainable urban form?* E & FN Spon, London.**

The introductory chapter (pp.3-7) defines the focus of the book as the search for solutions for cities in the developed world in the context of the current debate on the compact city approach. While starting from the premise that there is a strong link between urban form and sustainable development, it acknowledges that this is not simple and straightforward. *"it is by no means clear that the compact city is the best or only way forward."* (p.6) Therefore, the book wants to present the new thinking and research to advance in the debate.

The definition provided as a starting point states that a sustainable city “*must be of a form and scales appropriate to walking, cycling and efficient public transport, and with a compactness that encourages social interaction.*” [Elkin et al., 1991, p.12]. The model of the compact city has been dominated by the model of the densely developed core of many historic European cities. While this vision, the authors argue, is very attractive for architects, planners and urban designers, as well as for tourists, “*the danger is that it is a romantic vision, one which assumes a golden age than can be recaptured through urban form, leading to a sustainable and benign civility.*” (p.5) In the authors’ view, the policies proposed have been based more in theory than in practice, and the arguments are contentious.

On the one hand, supporters advocate the multiple benefits of concentration of socially sustainable mixed uses and reduced need to travel (thus reducing vehicle emissions), the more efficient land use planning, combined power and heating schemes, and energy efficient buildings. Higher densities may help to make the provision of amenities and facilities economically viable, enhancing social sustainability. On the other hand, however, detractors argue that the compact city may become overcrowded and suffer a loss of urban quality, with less open space, more congestion and pollution [Breheny, 1992a, 1992b], and may simply not represent the sort of environment in which the majority of people would wish to live if they had the choice.

The book has 27 chapters, organised in five main themes: Compact city theory; Social and economic issues; Environment and Resources; Measuring and Monitoring; and Implementation.

## Conclusions

Despite the wide variety and occasional polarisation of the arguments presented throughout the book, the authors present some discernible common threads around the following issues:

- **Urban form:** While the possibility of the intensification of urban areas begins to fulfil some of the aims for promoting high density compact living, at the same time it is recognised that a policy of compaction would be unlikely to satisfy the demand for certain types of homes, and that new development will be necessary in locations other than urban areas. Here the arguments for compromise, for decentralised concentration, and more autonomous settlements begin to provide answers. This requires a regional perspective behind that of the city. However it is clear that such solutions depend heavily on the way that transport systems evolve in the future.
- **Transport:** The urban form that appears to provide the most efficiency for transport, and reduced car journeys, is that of decentralised concentration, but the savings are not great. However, some urban forms enable urban residents to undertake more sustainable travel patterns. The growth of out-of-town facilities for essential requirements such as food and household goods is now seen as both unsustainable and inequitable, as it discriminates against those without access to a car. There is also some agreement that, while urban form per se might make some contribution to reducing emissions, the likelihood is that more significant savings will come from more advanced technology to make personal transport eco-friendly. Benefits may also come from changes in behaviour, encouraged by education and awareness campaigns, and enabled by public transport and more compact urban forms.

- **Quality of life:** A common theme throughout the book concerns the quality of life of urban residents. It is the quality of life that might be offered by the various solutions to sustainable urban forms that is crucial in making them attractive and achievable options. Few people are likely to accept changes unless there is an alternative that gives as good or better a quality of life, or unless there are good and persuasive reasons to do so. There are clear arguments to suggest that the compact city needs to provide an environment where people will want to live, and which provides the services, facilities and transport that will encourage them to lead more ecologically sustainable lifestyles, particularly in relation to the use of the car.

**Krupat E. (1985) People in cities: the urban environment and its effects.**  
**Environment and Behaviour Series. Cambridge University Press.**

Section on “crowding”, in Part II “Living in the City,” pp. 99-113

This section looks at the concept of density from the perspective of crowding studies. It defines crowding as the subjective perception of too high density. According to Stokols [1972] density is a physical description of people in relationship to space, a necessary but not sufficient condition for crowding. Crowding, on the other hand, is the psychological or subjective experience that results from a recognition that one has less space than one desires. Perception of crowding is determined by personal and cultural variables. Rapoport [1977] presents examples of recommended density in different countries:

USA	340 square feet per person
Europe	170 square feet per person
Hong Kong	43 square feet per person

Research on the effects of crowding on humans comes from two main traditions:

- 1 Experimental orientation of the laboratory
- 2 Demographic-correlational field approach

While the author does not deal in detail with the first tradition, he stresses that demographic studies show highly inconsistent results. “*For almost every researcher who claims a significant finding, there is another who has criticized this or her sampling, methods or statistical techniques.*” (p.102) In addition, there are even reports indicating that for certain variables high density is associated with positive effects and lower rates of pathology.

According to the author, it is clear from his review of the literature that research on the effects of high-density living has been “*a good deal less than definitive concerning its impact on urban behaviour*” (p.105). The reasons for this inconsistency and eventual explanation detailing why and when density does have an impact can be traced via two routes: first, a consideration of methodological problems and differences among the various studies cited; and second, a conceptual discussion of density and crowding in light of the empirical literature.

In the conclusions section, the author gives four arguments to explain why he believes that high-density living in cities does not ‘cause’ social pathology.

- 1 High-density living has the capacity to be stressful, but despite the different problems that it may create, he argues, people are capable of developing complex individual and collective modes of adaptation by which these problems can often be overcome.

*"In dealing with crowding in public spaces, however, we must also recall that certain coping mechanism may entail various costs to individuals and those around them (e.g. the development of norms of non-involvement, a disregard for the needs of strangers). Thus, although many urbanites may be "rough on the edges", this seems to be more a cost of avoiding true pathology than a form of pathology itself." (p.112)*

- 2 When we consider that rates of crime and mental problems are higher in the central city than in suburbs or small towns, we have to ask what factors besides density differ among these settings.

*"Researchers who have attempted statistically to separate the effects of density and social class have consistently found the latter to be more influential; others have suggested that pulling these two factors apart statistically is not meaningful because they simply cannot be pulled apart in reality: The effects of crowding and poverty are not independent and should not be treated as such." (p.112)*

- 3 More can be learned about the nature of crowding by looking at it from the point of view of impact and process than from the point of view of outcome. What causes urban pathology is a set of stressful conditions that cannot be coped with successfully.

*"Therefore, density when experienced as crowding can act as a cause of urban pathology. Still, it is only one cause among many; and it need not lead to pathology at all, because people may be able to cope with it successfully." (p.113)*

- 4 As a result, it is dangerous to think of the presence of other people in too simple a way. In fact, one of the most stressful living conditions is isolation. As Baldassare [1977; 1999] points out, the presence of others presents potential opportunity as well as potential constraints. Also, Freedman's [1975] density-intensity perspective displays elements of a more complex approach in pointing out that density can have either of two different and opposite consequences:

*"Increasing the density of a situation is like turning up the volume of music: whereas it was once background, now it is more difficult to ignore; if it is music you dislike or if the sounds keeps you from hearing something else you want to listen to, then it will be experienced as stressful. But it is equally possible that for some people, under some circumstances, the presence of others will be music to their ears." (p.113)*

#### **Llewelyn–Davies – the Metropolitan Transport Research Unit (MTRU) (2000)** **Sustainable residential quality: exploring the housing potential of large cities.**

##### Historical approaches to density measurement

- Discussions of urban density in London have tended to focus upon the concept of 'net residential density' and were expressed initially in terms of persons per hectare (pers./ha).
- The LCC's 1943 County of London Plan, for example, identified three density zones. The Outer Zone was averaged at 240 pers./ha; the Intermediate Zone was averaged at 336 pers./ha while the Inner (core) Zone rose to an average of 494 pers./ha.

- Such simplistic patterns of concentric density bands were a familiar feature of post-war development strategies across Europe.
- The Greater London Development Plan adopted the measurement of Habitable Rooms to Hectare (HRH), but established the London wide density maxima at the lower end of the ranges set in the 1943 County of London Plan, i.e. 125 – 250 HRH (equating to 50 – 100 habitable rooms to the acre). It is this range which has been carried through into LPAC's Strategic Advice and the UDPs of the London Boroughs.

### Historical perceptions of density

- The policy of limiting residential densities reflected deep seated perceptions that higher density housing was synonymous with overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions.
- "Anti-urban ideology": The report states that literature, politics and social commentary of London through its recent history runs a continuous theme of opposition, even escape, from what the metropolis is believed to present as an undesirable environment for its residents.
- This perception underlies many of the periods of London's urban development in the 19th and early 20th century, when the emerging middle classes aspired to a single family 'house in the ground', however dimensionally constrained.
- This has been also facilitated by fast-improving, high capacity public transport giving those living in the emerging outer suburbs access to the attractions of inner London (the availability of a variety of opportunities and diversions).

### Challenging established perceptions of density

- There is a considerable body of research into sustainable urban environments at higher densities. For instance, the pioneering studies undertaken by the Martin Centre at Cambridge University in the late 1960s. These demonstrated that successful residential quarters could be designed at densities within the LCC's "intermediate" zone (and higher) with most if not all dwellings having attached private gardens and garages, yet with the prevailing building height remaining at three stories or lower.
- A series of innovative public housing schemes for such Boroughs as Islington and Camden, from the 1970s onwards, proved that the Martin Centre's theoretical calculations could be fully realised in practice with typical outcomes in density terms of between 310 to 390 pers./ha without loss of privacy, amenity or compromising housing mix and choice.
- These successful projects also demonstrated that their site planning and detailed design generally required a higher standard of professional performance and a greater confidence on the part of the local councils that commissioned them, certainly compared to standard house builders' products of the same period.

### Densities and typologies

- Despite the evidence of the Cambridge researchers that identical numbers of residents could be accommodated either in terraced houses "on the ground" or in high-rise blocks – the two contrasting extremes, the misconception has persisted that high-rise forms of development automatically mean higher densities, while often in practice, the relationship between plot ratios and number of dwellings lies in the physical form itself and not in the numbers accommodated.

- The Foundling Estate in Bloomsbury: offers example of city-scale project that has succeeded in matching historical high residential densities but reinterpreted in a contemporary form and with higher space standards for each resident.
- High density often coincides with high values. Some examples of high net urban density (i.e. as high as any found in Europe) yet without loss of environmental quality are:
  - The Edwardian mansion blocks of Kensington
  - The 1930s 'modern' flats of Maida Vale
  - The standard Victorian terraces of Fulham or Wandsworth
- The 'root confusion' (according to Sherlock and others) has been between density and intensity.
- Intensity meaning usually "an urban environment perceived as being acceptably dense and vital, while retaining personal amenity, privacy and well-being."
- Perceptions of what is acceptably intensive/over-intense vary between individuals.

### Evidence from earlier research on density & quality in London

Study of 50 cases in London to compare historical developments, density and related environmental/social qualities.

- **Pre-1919 case studies:** environments consistently scored well in terms of landscape quality, architectural character, visual cohesion and quietness, but scored negatively in terms of the convenience of car parking.
- **Inter-war neighbourhoods:** also showed a high degree of legibility and spaciousness.
- **Post-1980 case studies:** while the study identified a number of recurrent strengths including landscaping, architectural character and privacy as well as convenient parking, it also highlighted a number of consistent weaknesses which undermined environmental quality. These included poor layout and a low quality of public realm, a lack of visual cohesion as well as poor relationships to the surrounding context.

**General conclusion:** analysis of 50 case study areas demonstrated that environmental quality and development density are not related. In fact, the study shows that some of London's most desirable and enduring residential environments were built at densities well above those set by today's UDP policies.

**Making efficient use of urban land should be considered jointly with other objectives, e.g. the effective provision of affordable housing.** This raises issues about how best to accommodate affordable housing within private sector led developments and the need to ensure that the housing forms provided are appropriate to local need. (p. 8)

### Marks Barfield Architects / MORI study (2002).

MORI was commissioned by Marks Barfield Architects in 2002 to obtain independent feedback on the Skyhouse concept from 'potential purchasers', including young professionals, older high net worth individuals and key sector workers. The initial objective of the research was to try and understand the issues that would motivate or undermine purchase decisions, rather than attempt to quantify reactions to the concept.

## Methodology

MORI ran a series of six focus groups with between 8 and 12 adults in each to ascertain views on Skyhouse. Participants were recruited to strict criteria to represent a range of potential purchasers. A topic guide was used to steer the discussion and participants were shown images of Skyhouse as prompts. Discussions were recorded and the transcripts analysed. Because this is qualitative research, results are indicative only and cannot be said to be statistically reliable due to the small numbers of people involved.

Perhaps surprisingly in the context of what we know of people's reactions to 'tower blocks' in general, spontaneous reactions to images of Skyhouse were positive, bringing to mind words such as 'luxurious', 'expensive', 'futuristic' and 'wow!'. Of course, Skyhouse does not appeal directly to everyone, but all agree that the higher floors would offer 'great views'.

The quality of the design – and the suggested price tag – raise expectations from the start, however. While some facilities are seen as essential for any high rise building – secure parking, lifts that work, on-site security and safety features – others that are deemed 'nice to have' – such as integrated leisure and sports facilities, and a laundry service – are seen as requisite features of a Skyhouse property. The major consequence of this relates to concerns about service charges and maintenance. On the one hand, most people would expect access to facilities and services to be limited to residents and their guests, but on this basis see good maintenance and upkeep of these as attainable only through high service charges.

The potential to impress potential purchasers then comes down to the issue of space. Good sized rooms, high ceilings and plenty of storage are what count.

Skyhouse offers aspirational living which appeals to people at particular stages of life. Amongst younger, pre-family professionals, it is seen as a great place to live before settling down. To the 'empty nesters' – people with equity and children who have recently left home – it again presents an opportunity to indulge in carefree, low-maintenance, city living. Skyhouse is also seen as a possible investment opportunity.

The proposal to make between 30 to 50 per cent of the accommodation available to key sector workers such as police, nurses, firemen and teachers at a reduced purchase price provoked interesting reactions. Amongst key sector workers themselves, Skyhouse is seen as a very desirable place to live, but beyond their reality – and financially, beyond reach. Views about key sector worker provision vary considerably among other potential purchasers, however. Young professionals are most conciliatory, with many recognising the need to provide housing for these key service providers. In contrast, those aged 45+ are quite vociferous in their opposition to this proposal arising from fears about 'the Council' providing accommodation to 'undesirables' and general resentment about the proposed subsidy. There is clearly an issue over the definition of 'key workers' which needs to be addressed.

In terms of location, most people see Skyhouses being built 'by a river, with a great view' – and of course London features strongly. The Greenwich Peninsula is seen as an ideal location, as are Canary Wharf, the Isle of Dogs and London's many parks, though opinion is divided on whether Skyhouses should be built singly or as part of a complex.

**Mullholland Research & Consulting (2003) Perceptions of privacy and density in housing. Report on Research Findings. Prepared for the Popular Housing Group. (Unofficial)**

### Research Background and Objectives

The requirement of the research was to understand consumer perspectives on privacy in housing and how to achieve higher densities without undesirable effects. The Popular Housing Group was concerned that regulations on density are often based on assumptions of what constitutes good practice rather than on empirical evidence from consumers.

The new policy planning guidelines on density of housing are having a considerable impact on the design of the new housing. There is concern, however, that developers may now be storing up problems for the future unless the planning regulations are tempered by feedback from owners and tenants. The research was designed to help in developing guidelines for truly sustainable housing that both meets density criteria and also the privacy requirements of residents.

The research set out to meet two objectives:

- 1 To understand which issues are significant in household and personal perceptions of privacy in housing. These issues were examined across a representative range of social groups, family units and household locations and densities.
- 2 To identify what design elements are effective in achieving privacy in higher density housing from different environments. What features should be incorporated in the design of new housing to create desirable perceptions of privacy?

### Methodology

- 1 **Expert briefing:** The study was undertaken in two stages. First, a focus group was convened of seven experts in high density housing. They helped select a balanced sample of housing and provided valuable insights into current thinking on higher density design and planning considerations. This group was also contacted about the implications of the research findings for future housing design. The study's recommendations incorporate their views.
- 2 **Qualitative fieldwork:** A series of depth interviews and focus groups were conducted with people who lived in different types of housing. All the research was conducted in people's own homes. This was helpful to the respondents in explaining the privacy issues they faced and also to the researchers in terms of understanding and interpreting the implications of the findings. Within any one type of neighbourhood, one day's fieldwork was undertaken. This included depth interviews with individuals, couples and, where appropriate, entire households. In each area a focus group of representatives from a range of householders was also organised. The interviews lasted for about 45 minutes and the focus groups for one and a half hours. All the interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. A visual record of the homes and their context (digital photographs) was kept. These have been used to illustrate the report and assist in analysis.

### Summary of findings

- The most important problem identified in the research is sound transfer between adjoining properties: neighbours being subjected to noise from next door and feeling at risk of being overheard.
- Not having sufficient space was also a significant privacy problem for some housing sectors. Those most seriously affected were some families living in lower-cost private housing and social housing.
- There were three problems: the rooms were simply not big enough, there was not enough separation of adult from child space and there was not enough storage.
- Perhaps surprisingly, there were few privacy problems caused by homes being overlooked. In most of the case histories, occupants felt well screened from the gaze of the general public and their neighbours. Large, floor to ceiling windows did however prove problematic in high density housing as did the surprisingly widespread practice of installing clear glass in new build bathroom windows.
- Privacy from being overlooked was a problem in some private gardens and communal outdoor spaces. Residents wanted good screening from head height walls, fences or landscaping so they could relax in private.
- The safety and security of people within their homes emerged as a core privacy issue. Break-ins were experienced as an invasion of their physical and emotional space. Designing for privacy also implies designing out, not designing in, crime.

The research confirms that the English do value privacy in their homes and gardens. In higher density living, however, this privacy is necessarily underpinned by a strong sense of community responsibility. In every neighbourhood researched, the study found that a degree of community organisation and agreement on shared values was crucial in ensuring household privacy.

### **Mumford K. and Power, A. (2003) East Enders: Family and Community in East London. The Policy Press, Bristol.**

The book is a study of two low-income areas in the East End of London and the lives of a hundred families who live there. "It is about the experiences of 100 families bringing up children in dense and 'difficult' urban areas."(p.2) The focus is on how families interact with their neighbourhoods and how family life is shaped or troubled by neighbourhood conditions, rather than on how kinship patterns and contacts are sustained within urban communities.

The two areas in the East End of London ("West City" in Hackney and "East-Docks" in Newham) were chosen as part of a larger study of poor neighbourhoods throughout the country. The East End has the biggest concentration of poverty in the capital. While the families are Londoners, their day-to-day experiences and attitudes reflect much wider patterns of neighbourhood life, as many works in this field show. The authors use the term "neighbourhood" to describe the areas, although they are much larger than what would normally be considered to constitute a neighbourhood (they could better be described as "mega-neighbourhoods"). The term neighbourhood conveys a sense of "home" and people talk about their very local part of the area as being where their neighbours live and where they identify "home".

*"Inevitably, area definitions are not fixed and people have different views (Chaskin, 1997). Families showed us street maps where their neighbourhood or 'home area' was. It was*

usually within a 10-minute walk or half a mile of their front door, although most families used some shops and facilities that were further afield. 'Home areas' were a series of overlapping spaces, creating our 'mega-neighbourhoods.'" (p.10)

### Selected conclusions by topic

- 1 Open spaces:** Parks, and the environment more generally, play an important part in families' sense of place and connection with their neighbourhood, and can reinforce the advantages or disadvantages of urban living. Even when families identify serious shortcomings with their local parks, most (84%) still use them. Yet parks and other public spaces become a focus for anti-social behaviour and criminal activity, particularly in the absence of effective supervision. There is clearly no definitive set of characteristics that makes parks work. But the main features of these popular parks closely match the families' suggestions for changes to the other parks they use, and the finding of other studies: "interesting things to see and do, where everything is clean and well cared for and there is visible stewardship." [Barber, 1995].
  
- 2 Sense of community:** Despite problems such as high levels of crime and a strong feeling of insecurity (and maybe partly because of them) an unexpected conclusion according to the authors was that "community" seems to matter a great deal to these families, and more so in these areas than in more privileged places.  
*"The areas are rich in local social links, even though the communities are changing rapidly; many families move in and out, and many new groups are constantly forming within the East End. Kurds, West Africans and East Europeans are among recent arrivals into traditionally white working-class East End areas; the sample families reflect this diversity. Racial tensions are sometimes high and certainly almost all families, whatever their origins, are acutely conscious of the changing community, and the competition for space and for other resources, such as housing, schools, jobs and state benefits. However, even within the sometimes fraught arena of interracial communication, the idea of community is extremely important to over 90% of the families."* (p.265)
  
- 3 Proximity and community:** The authors found that proximity is a key aspect to build up local links and social support. Many of the families rely greatly on other relatives. But for the majority, having a nearby community acquires special significance. Most are in almost daily contact with other local families, people very near that they can call on and trust.
  
- 4 Community and ethnic diversity:** The authors stress the dual nature of ethnic relations in multi-cultural and deprived neighbourhoods such as these, i.e. their potential either for cohesion or for unsociability:  
*"An essential part of community relations in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods is the opportunity for people from different ethnic backgrounds to relate to each other. Here many complex factors come into play. On the one hand, competition for scarce resources, particularly housing and education, generates considerable tension. On the other hand, proximity and interdependence generate a level of contact and shared experiences that can create harmonious relations and a positive view of other groups."* (p.268)
  
- 5 Neighbourhood and community:** There is a big difference between people's sense of place or neighbourhood and people's sense of belonging or community, although the one depends greatly on the other. The sample neighbourhoods generate both

loyalty and alienation. Physical improvements (such as regeneration initiatives) are the most popular and the most conspicuous examples of neighbourhood change. However, the positive views of change are tempered by the bigger problems of inadequate core services, lack of local supervision, litter, vandalism, and generally poor environments. Threatening behaviour appears to be connected with poor physical conditions as signs of damage, disrepair and neglect generate an undefined feeling of beleaguered incapacity among families.

*“There is a lot more crime in these neighbourhoods than the London average, and people report far more rough and disorderly behaviour than is common elsewhere (Home Office, 2000). Families can end up feeling trapped within their homes, unwilling to let their children out, worried about unsupervised parks and play areas, and anxious to move away from trouble. Poor environments, inadequate services and sometimes racial tensions also play a part in these feelings. Nearly 40% of the families would move out if they could”.* (p.269)

Largely because the supply of council housing within the areas is used as housing for populations with extreme needs, these areas are experiencing an influx of refugees from abroad. They also house above-average proportions of other low-income groups, including many families dependent on state benefits.

**6 Housing:** Council housing has a major impact on community and neighbourhoods. Local councils have a duty to respond to acute housing needs, particularly of vulnerable families with children, by offering homes as they become vacant to the most needy or highest priority households. However, instead of filling up organically as flats become vacant with the families that already 'belong' or are in some way connected to these communities, they are used as a way of shouldering societal responsibility for the very poor. *“If only the most needy are allowed in, then the exclusion of communities that already exist and the excluded character of the new communities being created may become inevitable.”* (p.275)

**7 Neighbourhood and social breakdown:** The core argument of the book is that the causes of breakdown are far wider and deeper than local communities can single-handedly control; the neighbourhood conditions they face are the result of many wider social changes, played out and concentrated heavily in the poorest communities.

*“Therefore neighbourhoods, a physical and spatial reality, so closely tied to social conditions, foster or undermine a sense of community depending on the social pressures the wider world exerts on people at the bottom. (...) East End neighbourhoods are experiencing a breakdown in social conditions, despite a strong attachment to the notion of community and constant efforts by public bodies to engage with and support those communities. (...) Proximity can only help if there is sufficient stability and sufficient support to allow social networks to operate without fear.”* (p. 273)

**8 Residents' dissatisfaction and community spirit:** The study found that there are there are powerful reasons for the apparent contradiction between families adhering strongly to their local community, yet clearly articulating their fears, dissatisfaction and desire to move: *“Their micro-communities are neither big enough nor strong enough to contain the wider needs, fears and hopes they hold. So people are bound to try and escape to safer areas if they can. (...) These rapidly changing areas generate a surprising level of solidarity among neighbours despite serious undermining of the idea of community by sometimes intolerable social conditions. The result is both strong communities and weak neighbourhoods.”* (p.274)

**Paivanen J. Helsinki-Espoo: The impact of urban compaction on urban inhabitants. Urban compaction as a sociological issue: two case studies. Helsinki University of Technology. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies.**

*<http://www.arbeer.demon.co.uk/MAPweb/finland.htm>*

The aim of this paper is to outline density and compaction from a social and (Finnish) cultural perspective. Two examples of compaction in the Helsinki Region are highlighted, the first of which exemplifies the “old” way of planning, the second a new experiment in citizen participation.

Finland is an exceptionally sparsely-populated country. However, even in Finnish cities and suburban areas, space and nature are scarce and, therefore, valuable commodities. Since World War II, the population has concentrated by migration to Southern Finland, particularly to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. The concentrating process has now accelerated again, after an interval of 15 years. This large-scale concentration process is occurring simultaneously with a spreading-out of the existing urban structure. This relative suburban sprawl is going on especially around the Helsinki Region. Both processes add to the pressures for increasing densities within the cities, which work in parallel with the ideal and practice of urban compaction.

Of all the Helsinki Region's municipalities, Espoo is probably under the greatest pressure to intensify its urban structure, which is very scattered. It adopted a consolidating strategy in its 1996 Master Plan. The city's fast growth since the 1960s has caused many debates and conflicts, as a substantial part of the established population lives in spacious low-rise suburbs. Lately, residents' organisations have blamed the compaction ideology for packing in people and traffic too densely and for not taking the local identities and use of places into account. According to opinion surveys, living in a spacious and natural environment is one of the Finns' highest priorities. The Finns often think of themselves and are represented as “forest folk”, who although only superficially urbanised, long to return to nature. Therefore, they would choose to live by a forest or a lake if possible. The planners, for their part, have often regarded active residential associations as a nuisance: as a conservative and reactive force opposing any progressive and active development in their neighbourhood.

The 1980s and 1990s have seen the social construction of urban sprawl as an environmental problem. Texts promoting compaction as a remedy such as the Green Paper for the Urban Environment or the Newman & Kenworthy studies, have had an impact in Finland. Influential institutions, such as the Finnish Technical Research Center and the Ministry of the Environment have investigated and published on the subject. Starting from comparisons showing that Finnish cities are very sparsely built, even compared with other Nordic countries, which results in high energy consumption, this team has promoted solutions to increase density of development. However, in applying the ideas put forward by Thomas et al. [1996] in their article “The compact city: successful, desirable and achievable?”, the Finnish research has so far been mainly of an economic and technical nature, trying to clarify the achievability of the compact city: how to densify the city's structure.

According to the author, compaction has become a sort of dogma, which is portrayed as a technical solution to environmental problems instead of analysing the complex societal structures and socio-cultural meanings that condition urban development.

Densification may be a poor means of reducing traffic because it presupposes a monocentric urban structure (with perhaps a system of sub-centres) and in any case regards the “city” as an entity that is controllable by planning. However, as Castells [1996] points out, this hierarchical structure is getting weaker and new spaces of flows are taking its place.

As to the desirability of intensification, bearing in mind the general low density within Finnish cities, it is plausible that their structure could be intensified with fewer risks and “side effects” than the more compact cities in, for instance, Britain. There are, however, the risks of increasing segregation and building in less desirable areas. There has also been an almost systematic opposition to new urban developments.

#### Case study I: The case of Lintukorpi, Espoo

Through thematic interviews with planners and residents and walking around the area with outside experts, the study found that the public reaction to compaction depends greatly on how democratically the planning process is conducted and to what extent the residents are and feel able to influence the outcome.

#### Case study II: An ideas competition for densification

In 1997 the city of Helsinki arranged an “ideas competition for new building projects”, as a new approach to the challenge posed by urban growth in the region. It was an effort to enable residents to participate in city planning. The competition entries show that support for compaction exists, which is a way of thinking possible only when people are encouraged to consider the pros and cons of a denser structure.

Through the interpretation of the context material, the author found the transformation of the notion of an “efficient city”. The entries show the rejection of a notion of efficiency based on a car dominated society (mainly arising from the predominance of transport planning in the 60s) in favour of lifestyle-sensitive notions of social efficiency, where land use should respond effectively to present and ever changing values, providing diverse dwelling in valued environments. “Where and how you live has not always been considered as significant an urban function as it is today”. Other notions of efficiency were: “ecological efficiency” (having enough “green structure”, but not so much that it lengthens travel distances) and “socio-technical efficiency” (building in an area is efficient if there is no or very little opposition, and therefore no conflicts and delays).

#### **Parkes A., Kearns, A. and R. Atkinson. (2002) What makes people dissatisfied with their neighbourhoods? *Urban Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 13, 2413–2438.**

A logistic regression model of individual neighbourhood dissatisfaction was developed using data from the 1997/98 Survey of English Housing. Housing satisfaction and the general appearance of the neighbourhood were closely associated with neighbourhood dissatisfaction, although perceptions of noise, friendliness, community spirit, schools and crime were also important. Although socio-demographic factors were much less important than residential perceptions in helping to predict dissatisfaction, the type of neighbourhood remained a significant independent predictor of dissatisfaction even when residents’ views were taken into account. Some factors were more important in different areas: in particular, residents in less affluent areas were more sensitive

to unfriendliness and crime. There were also indications that owner-occupiers were less satisfied in areas where they had a lower tenure share. The paper concludes that neighbourhood policies are required that have a broad spectrum of goals, and that pay careful attention to residents' own assessments of local conditions.

## Conclusions

The research used the 1997/98 rather than the 1994/95 SHE data-set and, while it did not examine exactly the same set of socio-demographic variables, confirmed Burrows and Rhodes' findings of greater dissatisfaction among lower-income groups, those in higher-density and those in social rented housing. However, in their further analysis, the authors found socio-demographic background variables alone to be relatively poor predictors of neighbourhood dissatisfaction, suggesting that policy makers should be cautious of such a neat, short-hand approach to the problem of quantifying acute residential dissatisfaction. The work shows that perceived neighbourhood attributes are a much better guide than personal and housing background variables to understanding residential satisfaction. The authors also suggest that local-area-type variables, such as ACORN, may be used to greater advantage than individual socio-economic variables in predicting dissatisfaction.

Regarding density and residents' dissatisfaction, the authors concluded that *"Of more concern, perhaps, is the Urban Renaissance agenda's dependence upon the use of higher residential densities as a means to recovering urban vitality. Our full Model A (controlling for area type) found that those people living in higher-density built forms—namely, flats and terraced houses—were a quarter more likely to be dissatisfied with their neighbourhood. Thus, at a time when lobby groups advocate and trust the use of ever-higher residential densities, relying upon a hoped-for adoption of modern forms of the medium-rise flat and terraced housing, albeit with higher-quality public spaces alongside (see, for example, CPRE London, 2001), we should take care to examine more closely the interaction between densities, design and residential satisfaction. The effects of higher-density dwelling types disappear in the full Model C and it is likely that they have been channelled through the effects of residents' views on matters such as feeling safe in the home, noise, neighbours and friendliness, although more research is required to investigate these possibilities."* (p.2434)

## **PRP (2002) High density housing in Europe: lessons for London. East Thames Housing Group.**

The study visited a total of six occupied high density housing schemes in four European cities; Stockholm, Copenhagen, Amsterdam and Paris. The schemes were completed in recent years and were perceived as being successful.

The study concluded that there is little evidence that families in European cities are any less likely to desire their own house and private garden than their London counterparts. However, pressures on land and consequent shortages of housing within the inner city are common to all of the cities visited, regardless of the overall housing situation within the country as a whole. This makes all the case studies relevant to London's situation. The schemes visited show how high density housing can be designed to provide attractive and popular homes. In Amsterdam, and to a lesser extent in all of the cities visited, the importance placed on planning, housing and design by the city authorities is remarkable.

It was apparent that where densities are high and opportunities for private open

space are limited, the provision of high quality landscaped communal open space provides both visual and actual relief. In most cases these spaces were well used and well maintained, with little sign of vandalism or graffiti.

The main conclusions are summarised below:

Attractive and popular high density housing can be achieved when a number of interrelated factors apply, including:

- An overriding objective is to achieve long term sustainability;
- A partnership approach is taken to masterplanning and implementation;
- Adequate infrastructure exists or is provided;
- Mixed tenure is included and is indistinguishable;
- High quality design is achieved;
- High design standards are agreed and funded;
- An integrated approach is taken to providing high quality landscaping;
- Residents are encouraged to respect their environment;
- High standards of management and maintenance are in place;
- Residents can generally exercise choice about where they live;
- Internal space standards are generous;
- Sufficient storage space is provided;
- Adequate facilities for children of all ages are provided within the neighbourhood;
- Spacious balconies are provided where private gardens are not.

The report's recommendations are:

- All larger schemes are based on a masterplan that takes account of all the relevant interest groups, where the local authority has to depend largely on its planning powers to influence the masterplan, adequate resources are devoted to understanding the issues, preparing its case and to ensuring that the requirements of all the players are taken into account;
- Masterplanning to create a sustainable neighbourhood is balanced by greater architectural variety in detailed design for individual buildings;
- An outline brief is agreed for achieving successful high density housing that could be adapted to specific circumstances during masterplanning;
- The importance of good masterplanning and maintenance is recognised as a critical factor in achieving successful high density schemes and is properly planned and considered at the masterplanning stage;
- There are responsive neighbourhood services providing effective management support to residents where they cause nuisance to neighbours and do not behave within acceptable norms;
- At the concept stage the financial needs of implementing the above requirements are seen as an integral part of the brief;
- For affordable housing residents should want to live in the accommodation and that this is achieved through an appropriate choice-based letting system that allows for an element of under-occupation and gives some priority to existing social housing tenants;
- There is an objective of achieving a balanced community in respect of family size, income and employment status, which is supported by lettings plans for the social rented housing;

- Building regulations and planning standards in London are reviewed to explore whether they are needlessly restricting high quality high density housing;
- Affordability must take account of both rent and service charges. Where service costs exceed affordable levels they must be subsidised.

**Rapoport A. "Toward a redefinition of density." *Environment and Behaviour*, June 1975.**

The core argument in this article is that although density has not been adequately investigated, it clearly constitutes more than the number of people per unit of physical space, although this must be the starting point. The author elaborates on a number of propositions with regard to this main argument:

- 1 The great complexity of the concept of density;
- 2 The central role of perception in transmitting sensory data to people and hence in their evaluation of density in terms of information processing;
- 3 The existence of cultural and other differences in the desire for, and tolerance of, interaction and involvement, in the definition of 'unwanted interaction', and in the ability to control and cope with various levels of interaction, hence the differential judgement of affective density (crowding or isolation);
- 4 The presence and use of a large number of physical and social mechanisms which modify density in terms of people per unit area and provide the basis for the cues whereby density is perceived and judged.

The author suggests that density is best seen in terms of its perception and in terms of information processing and that crowding is a specific case of excessively high affective density (excessively high social or sensory stimulation rather than lack of space). Similarly, isolation is a condition of inadequate social and sensory stimulation.

These two extremes of affective can only be interpreted in terms of cultural contexts. Therefore, the author remarks that it would be "extremely hazardous" to use data on density from one context to judge effects of density in another context.

*"It is essential to consider in detail, and to a high degree of specificity, the relationship of given sociocultural groups to traditional density figures, (people per unit area), the relationship of the particular area to the larger context, the specific activities taking place and their meaning, the detailed layout and design of the setting in terms of privacy (...) the facilities available, the social characteristics of the area in terms of life style, homogeneity, the social rules available and uses, and so on before density can be defined and the next step of evaluating it is tackled."* (p.153).

The two major components of perceived density are information from the environment directly and human interaction. Rapoport argues that in a dense area the effects of social interaction are compounded by sensory inputs and cues from the physical environment (light, sounds, noises, smells, movement). In dealing with the negative effects of density, one should bear in mind that the variable is perceived density. This is basically the way people "read" the cues indicating the number of people per unit area. Therefore, it is necessary to clearly understand the relation of the various physical cues and the effects of social and cultural factors such as homogeneity and life style on the perception of density and on its evaluation.

Finally, Rapoport concludes that while much of the literature stresses the negative effects of high densities, there are also undesirable effects of low densities. A useful analogy may be with sensory overload at one end and sensory deprivation on the other. Somewhere in between, for any given group and context, there is a limited range of acceptable and preferred densities as perceived. Any definition of density must allow for this factor.

**Rogers R. and P. Gumuchdjian (1997)**

**Cities for a small planet. Faber & Faber, London.**

The book addresses urban sustainability from an approach that reinterprets and reinvents the 'dense city' model. Dense cities can bring more ecological benefits (in the context of de-industrialisation of cities, especially in developed countries). Dense cities can be designed through integrated planning to increase energy efficiency, consume fewer resources, produce less pollution and avoid sprawling into the countryside. The authors define the compact city as *"a dense and socially diverse city where economic and social activities overlap and where communities are focused around neighbourhoods."*

They also acknowledge that compact cities mean complexity, e.g. mixed-use buildings create complex tenancies which local authorities find hard to manage and developers find hard to finance and sell. (pp. 33-35) Attributes of compact city: proximity, the provision of good public space, the presence of natural landscape, the exploitation of new urban technologies.

The author draws a diagnosis of the problems of contemporary cities: sprawl, dominance of the car, etc. The compact city is presented as a solution to these problems. Characteristics of the compact city include:

- Grows around centres of social and commercial activity located at public transport nodes – focal points around which neighbourhoods develop.
- Compact city is a network of these neighbourhoods, each with its own parks and public spaces and accommodating a diversity of overlapping private and public activities – London's historic structure of towns, villages, squares and parks is typical of a polycentric pattern of development.
- Mixed-used brings work and facilities within convenient reach of the community, and this proximity means less driving for everyday needs.
- In large cities, mass transit systems can provide high-speed cross-town travel by linking neighbourhood centres with one another, leaving local distribution to local systems. (Local trams, light railway systems and electric buses become more effective, and cycling and walking more pleasant)
- Integration of new developments with local cultural and social life tissue
- Safeguarding new developments from the boom-bust cycle of the international office market (e.g. bankrupted single-function developments such as Canary Wharf)
- Emphasis in public transport and network of parks and public spaces.
- Flexible hierarchies of different modes of transport, ranging from safe sidewalks to high-speed trains and planes, affording seamless mobility for all citizens.

Amongst the environmental benefits from compact cities are:

- Interventions might trigger further opportunities for efficiency
- Overlapping activities mean a more convivial city and can reduce the need for car journeys, which in turn dramatically reduces the energy used for transportation.
- Fewer cars mean less congestion and better air quality, which in turn encourages cycling and walking rather than driving.
- Urban heat reduction by more green spaces e.g. parks, gardens, trees and other landscaping that provide vegetation that shades and cools streets, courtyards and buildings in summer. Reduce need for air conditioning.
- Energy waste reduction. Local combined heat and power plants can be used both to distribute electricity and, due to their proximity, to pipe hot water directly into buildings.

### **Tunstall R. (2002)**

#### **Housing Density: What do residents think? East Thames Housing Group.**

This study is a review of existing research. It covers available evidence on resident attitudes to housing density, on the links between housing density and resident satisfaction, mental health and wellbeing, and residents attitudes to physical features of housing often associated with higher density. This evidence is drawn from academic research and studies by housing developers and social landlords.

This research focused on residents' (generally those in social housing) perceptions of density. It concluded that density preferences are not a significant choice factor, with home type and the characteristics of the neighbourhood's residents being considered to be much more important:

*"...when choosing areas to live in people were attracted by low crime rates, good health facilities, low cost of living, good shopping and good race relations."* [Todorovic and Williams, 2000, quoted Tunstall, p.17]

*"... factors which were not necessarily related to density appeared to be the most important in their priorities: the size of home, its design details, the quality of construction."* [New Homes Marketing Board/Halifax, 2001, quoted Tunstall p.17]

Further key points include:

- The acceptability of density changes in people's own neighbourhood appears to be conditional on assurances that residents' concerns will be met
- Supply affects housing preference and patterns, there may be "latent demand" for other types of housing than are available in a local market.
- High or higher density housing might be acceptable to residents if it is in a good location, well designed, well managed, if well located services are provided, if resident profiles are appropriate for the density, and if consultation and resident / management interaction occurs.

- A balanced population or certain mixes (of household types) were more important in making neighbourhoods attractive than housing density.
- Good practice in developing at higher densities includes: developing trust between new and existing residents with well explained options relating to development/intensification; recognition of residents preferences; designing to minimise the perceived density of the development; engendering a strong sense of resident control supported by appropriate funding; following design advice on avoiding crime and antisocial behaviour and on space standards (see below); and by developing effective management and allocation policies.

*“...the findings suggest that to promote opportunities for privacy within households and to reduce conflict over use of space within and outside households there should be more space within the home, more facilities outside and plans for how public space can be used to supplement them, for example by young people.” (p.41)*

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