

CS1 ◀ INNER LONDON: CRISIS IN A CAPITAL CITY ▶

What are the aspects and effects of the inner city crisis in London?

1. Hackney's regeneration, a solution to the inner city crisis

Structure



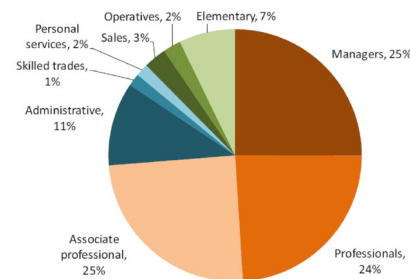
The Holly Street estate, Levitt Bernstein Associates, *Urban design & housing*, 1992. Its bleak five-storey 'snake blocks' and four 19-storey towers quickly became a sink estate with homes in disrepair, high crime rates and socially isolated residents.

In 2012 after a two decade regeneration, Holly Street provided 1,000 new build and refurbished homes. Three quarters of them are affordable social housing. Other facilities include a medical practice, a sports hall, two shops and a centre for excluded young people between nine and 19 years.

The tenants of the old estate were involved in the design of the new neighbourhood and most wanted to live in ordinary houses on ordinary streets that would not be perceived as obviously social or experimental. Many of the tenants had moved onto the estate with young families in the 1960s and then 'aged in place'. They were persuaded to stay to form the nucleus of a more stable and buoyant local community. According to its current managers, this has been a success, with 93% of residents now wanting to stay.

Source: Hackney's official website, 2016.

Key notions



Employment by occupation 2010-11, Annual Population Survey, ONS.

Unemployment in Hackney represents 7.0% of the working age population (London: 4.1%).

Albion Drive is next to what has become London's Silicon Roundabout technology district and London's new nightlife hub.

Six years ago, I met Alex Rossiter, a 29-year-old freelance radio producer, in his parents' house there. His father, Alan, a community arts worker, who had bought the house for £9,300 in 1977 nearly fell off his chair when I told him "it's probably worth £800,000 now."

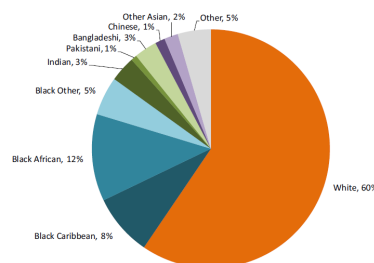
Six years on, Alan Rossiter says "it's absolutely nuts" when I point out that a similar-sized home to his recently sold for £1.25 million ; his son Alex, now a press officer for the TUC, admits, frustrated, "I'll never be able to buy in the area."

'Albion Drive: Hackney super-gentrification', Carole Cadwallad, *The Observer*, 27 October 2013.

Silicon Roundabout has fallen off the top spot in terms of new business creation, it is a victim of its own success. The Silicon Roundabout area gained popularity with internet companies originally due to its historically low rents. Now that rents have soared, the area has lost its competitive advantage.

'Silicon Roundabout: Startups moving to new tech hubs', Sam Sheard, *Business Insider*, Jan. 16, 2017.

Vocabulary



Ethnicity of Hackney residents, 2010, Greater London Authority, 2012.

Hackney shows the divisions of one of the most unequal cities in the Western world. Some of the richest people in Britain in super-gentrified Hackney, are living next to some of the highest levels of youth unemployment. In the year following May 2011, long-term youth unemployment in the borough rose by a stunning 186.4 per cent. Coupled with continued police harassment of ethnic minorities, this was a recipe for disaster despite the progress which undoubtedly has been made between the police and communities. One veteran Labour MP warned that a "toxic mix" of poor policing of black and minority ethnic communities and social deprivation was a key factor in fuelling the violence.

Last month riots were not race riots. Behind the violence, young people in Hackney told of their frustration over being able to afford to study and find work. They justified the riots as protests against social exclusion, continuing deprivation, growing unemployment and a feeling of lack of opportunity.

Dogus Simsek, *The Guardian*, 8 September 2011.

CS1 ◀ INNER LONDON: CRISIS IN A CAPITAL CITY ▶

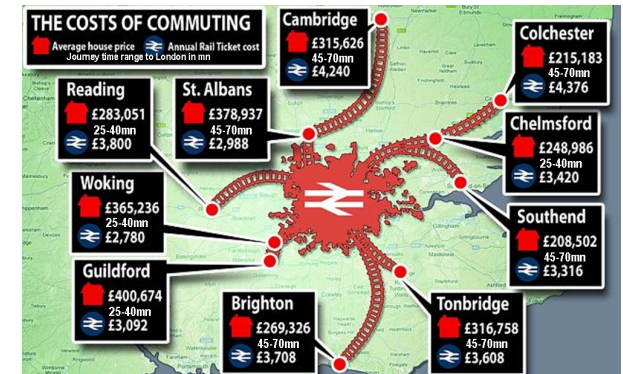
What are the aspects and effects of the inner city crisis in London?

2. Urban sprawl, a consequence of inner city crisis

Structure

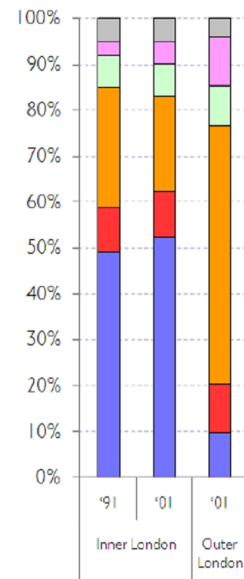
After World War II London population grew, household size declined and affluence rose faster than predicted. Since the 1990s, land and house prices have skyrocketed, creating an unprecedented crisis in housing affordability. Development jumped right over the Green Belt which was supposed to contain urban sprawl. The ultimate result was that much of southeastern England has been urbanized. Moreover, because of the greenbelt, many car trips are longer, contributing to the worst traffic congestion in Europe. Certainly sprawl has created many problems such as increasing property prices in commuter towns -but still significantly less expensive than the city. But the reason it has become the middle-class settlement pattern of choice is that it has given them much of the privacy, mobility and choice once enjoyed only by the wealthiest and most powerful.

'In Defense Of Sprawl', Robert Bruegmann, *Forbes*, 6/11/2007.



Source: *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 December 2012.

Transport modes share to London, ONS, 2010



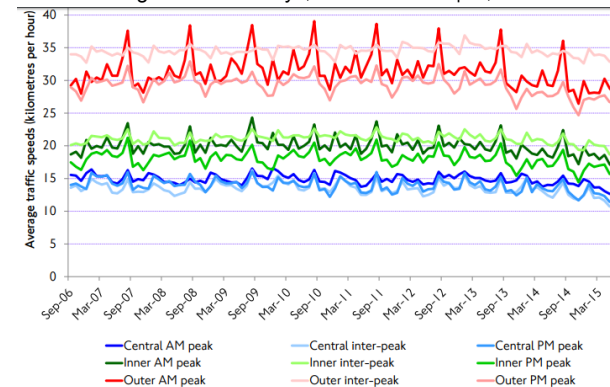
Other (taxi, bicycle)
Works at or from home
Walk
Car
Bus
Rail (train, underground)

Since 2000 Transport for London has integrated different public transport modes to provide end-to-end services. TfL manages the bus, Docklands Light Railway and London Overground networks and runs the London Underground. TfL is also in charge of cycling, taxi regulation and congestion charging in London streets.

This led to the significant growth (12%) in public transport usage. Since 2003, with Mayor Ken Livingstone congestion charging in central London, the percentage of car users has dropped by ten points. With 'Boris bikes', the self-service cycle hire scheme launched by Mayor Boris Johnson in 2010 cycling doubled. Consequently air quality improved.

'Transport for London's success', Nicole Badstuber, *The Conversation*, June 16, 2015.

London congestion weekdays, TfL Surface Transport, 2015.



Although overall services are improving they are still unreliable particularly on the roads, and often inconsistent and overcrowded. Shortcomings on public transport include overcrowded and unreliable services, slow journey times services and concern about antisocial behaviour.

The key role of London's transport system is to provide access to jobs and services so that its economy continues to grow. However, Londoners already struggling to afford housing and household bills face some of the highest public transport fares in Europe and the cost of travel has become a barrier to work. In the long term the answer lies in more self-contained communities with better transport network and land use planning.

'Travel in London', report 8, Transport for London & Mayor of London, 2015.

Key notions

Vocabulary

CS2 ◀ MANAGING LONDON'S URBAN SPRAWL ▶

Can urban sprawl be managed?

1. Management on a local scale: BedZed (Sutton, 2000-2002)

Structure



The Beddington Zero-Energy Development (BedZed) was built in 2000-2002 in the London Borough of Sutton on a former brownfield sewage works site.

The original plan was to design an urban cluster of homes and offices with a mixed tenure but also a mixed use project with 18 live/work units, commercial workspaces, and several on-site facilities.

However, live/work units in acclaimed environmentally-friendly housing project BedZed in south-west London, have had to be repackaged as residential accommodation after failing to attract buyers. David Tannahill, head of commercial initiatives at the Peabody Trust, admitted that the scheme hadn't been successful: "In Clerkenwell, Camden or any City fringe site or Croydon itself, this offer would have sold like hot bricks, but in this part of suburban Sutton the offer of working from home has not taken off."

Lee Connor, *Regeneration+Renewal*, 7 November 2003



A 'green box' scheme, *BedZED impact*, BioRegional report, 2009.

Promoting local production for local needs help support farmers in the region

Key notions



BedZED has been designed to encourage alternatives to car use thanks to a green transport plan promoting walking, cycling and use of public transport. A pedestrian-first policy set up good lighting and a road layout that keeps vehicles to walking speed. Public transport links include two railway stations, two bus routes and a tramlink. A car sharing pool is used by one-third of the residents and charging points for electric cars are available onsite.

BedZED shows it is possible to reduce reliance on cars. However, a 2009 survey asked residents to identify what they disliked about BedZED. Location came up the most frequently and comments included "Area is isolated" and "lack of retail amenities".

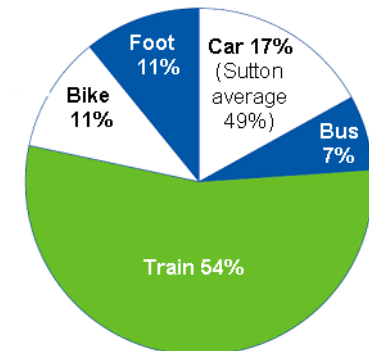
John Widdon, 'Sustainable living', *Geographical Association*, 2010.

Vocabulary

BedZED is a deliberately high density settlement, with 82 homes on just 1.6 hectares, including a large green open space, and yet every home has either a conservatory, and/or a private rooftop garden

The 82 residential homes include flats, maisonettes and town houses with a mixture of tenures – 34 for sale targeting the upper-income group (senior executives and professionals), 23 for key occupations (nurses, teachers, policemen benefitting from public financing), and 25 at affordable rent for social housing targeting low-income groups. Nearly all of the units were sold within 6 months, and the result is a mix of people and ages experiencing a very satisfactory sense of community although most community facilities, including a nursery, sports club house and football pitch, were short-lived.

BedZed report, *Best Practice Programme*, March 2004.



Travel to work
BedZED impact, BioRegional report, 2009

CS2 ◀ MANAGING LONDON'S URBAN SPRAWL ▶
Can urban sprawl be sustainable?

2. Management on a regional scale: the Thames Gateway (2003-2013)

Structure

The Thames Gateway project with the top ten housing sites and job generating programmes.



Covering the whole Thames estuary region, the Thames Gateway is the largest regeneration initiative in North West Europe and the largest area of brownfield land in South England.

The Prime Minister promised 160,000 new zero-carbon homes, 225,000 new jobs and better transport links. By regenerating town centres with new business space, shops, schools, parks and transport links, the idea is to create thousands of new jobs and to relieve the massive demand for housing in London and the south east. However, many people are concerned about building so close to the estuary given projections of rising sea levels, about the wider environmental impact and the strain on water supplies and the transport infrastructure.

'Thames Gateway explained', BBC News, 05/06/2008.

Key notions



Barking Riverside, 'Regenerating London's Thames Gateway', New London Architecture, 2006.

Close to Barking town centre and set to be home to more than 26,000 people, it includes schools, shopping, parkland, healthcare facilities, access to the river and improved transport connections.

Vocabulary

"It can be a hard sell", admits a spokesman for Barking Riverside, a new housing estate being built on the site of an old power station on the banks of the Thames. To get to the smart, Scandinavian-style houses, buyers must pass through acres of warehouses. Across the river sits a sewage treatment plant and nearby a derelict gas works.

The Thames estuary is a hard place to live. From the Docks to the Essex coast, the riverbanks are lined with factories, warehouses and rubbish dumps. The housing is mostly a mix of tower blocks and brick council houses, built to accommodate the masses moved out from the overcrowded East End. A new four-bedroom house on the Barking Riverside estate sells for £270,000, less than one-bedroom flats in inner London.

'The post-industrial banks of the Thames still await regeneration', *The Economist*, 4 May 2013.

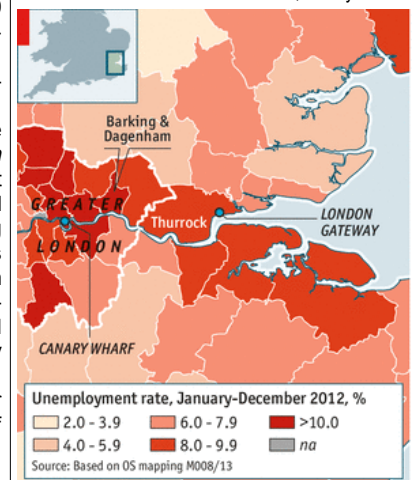
The Gateway now feels madly ambitious.

There was (and is) a strong social need as estuary communities are deeply deprived. It proposed 42,000 new homes a year, when current figures for the whole country are 98,000.

Economic aims are even more unrealistic. London's economy has been moving eastwards for years but the Gateway tried to shift the entire urban system to the east – and to change it from commuting to self-contained communities. This kind of rebalancing takes decades, not 15 years. Besides the area includes disparate sites from key economic areas (London Docklands) to declining industrial towns and struggling seaside resorts. This is why only some local projects succeeded, like London Gateway new container port, an answer to the growth of global trade in goods.

'A more realistic plan for the Thames Gateway', Max Nathan, London School of Economics, 30 May 2013.

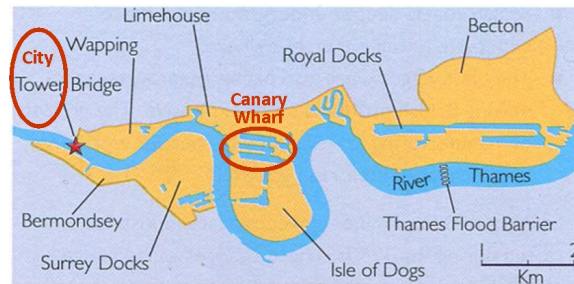
Thames Gateway unemployment
Source: *The Economist*, 4 May 2013.



CS3 ◀ LONDON DOCK-
LANDS: A TARGETED RE-
GENERATION (1981-2001) ▶
Was London's Docklands re-
generation sustainable?

1. An economic success

Structure



The former Port of London, now London Docklands

Structure of Local Employment - Key Growth Sectors,
London Docklands Development Corporation, 2000.

Standard Industrial Classification (SIC 1980)	Number of Employees (Number of Employees)		Absolute Change
	1981	1997	
Energy/Water Supply Industries	645 (9)	888 (13)	+243 (+4)
Other manufacturing Industries	7,901 (98)	11,321 (169)	+3,420 (+71)
Construction	1,964 (89)	2,083 (112)	+119 (+23)
Distribution, Repairs, Hotel & Catering	4,220 (269)	10,440 (686)	+6,220 (+417)
Banking, Finance, Insurance etc.	1,452 (80)	34,369 (725)	+32,917 (+645)
Other Services	2,851 (168)	11,961 (500)	+9,110 (+332)
TOTALS	27,213 (1,014)	82,300 (2,690)	+55,087 (+1,676)

Key notions

It is easy to forget how isolated and unattractive to investors Docklands was in 1981. The site had always been isolated from London's transport network. Access to the rest of London was poor. The main road serving the area was heavily congested. Public transport on the island was limited to a single bus route with no direct rail or underground service. Although close to the centre of London, the Thames peninsulas and the lack of any good connections, reinforced the negative image of the area.

For London Docklands to be successful in attracting investors, home buyers, tenants and employees the area had to be both more accessible, and to be perceived as accessible. So the key question was: What transport schemes would both actually regenerate Docklands and promote a better image?

The Development of Transport in London Docklands, London Docklands Development Corporation, 2000.

Canary Wharf, August 1982, LDDC, 2000.

The dock, its cranes and warehouses



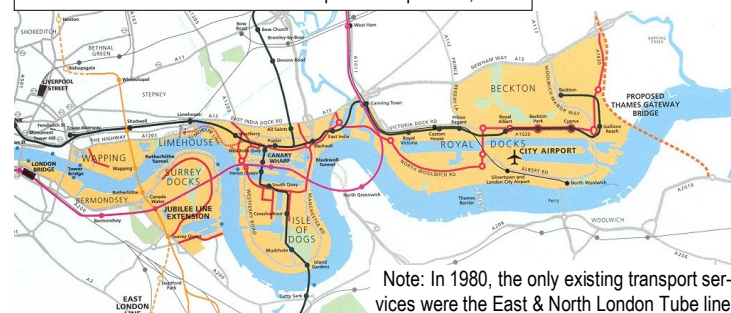
Canary Wharf today, London Wiki, 15 Nov. 2008.

Left: the Marriott hotel ; right: Canary Wharf tower (offices) & HSBC world headquarters (bank) ; in the square: upper-end retailers, cafes and restaurants.

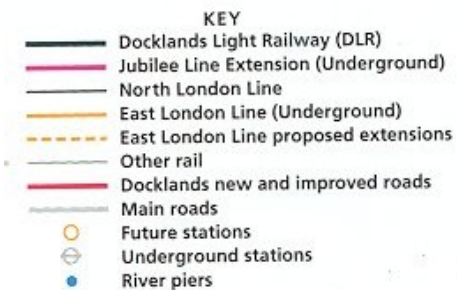


The reaction of the City

Vocabulary



Note: In 1980, the only existing transport services were the East & North London Tube lines



**CS3 ◀ LONDON DOCK-
LANDS: A TARGETED RE-
GENERATION (1981-2001) ▶**
*Was London's Docklands re-
generation sustainable?*

**2. But unshared social and
environmental benefits**

Structure

Key notions

Vocabulary

Isle of Dogs housing estates in the 1980s,
London Docklands Development Corporation, 2000.



In 1981, the population of the Isle of Dogs had shrunk to 15,500. Employment was declining: by 1985, only 7,600 people were in work on the island. There was a general air of dilapidation. Worse still was the sense of isolation. The housing estates felt separate, with the dock estate deliberately cut off behind high walls. This inaccessibility reinforced local deprivation because of the lack of access to jobs elsewhere in the capital.

Over 95% of the housing was rented. Much of it was concentrated in large estates, dominated by high rise blocks. The main problems were due to large numbers of difficult-to-let housing and the stress of high rise living.

Shopping facilities were limited to a number of small parades. There was a significant shortage in both the quantity and quality of local open space and indoor and outdoor sports facilities. Modern primary health-care facilities were limited.

Isle of Dogs completion booklet, London Docklands Development Corporation, 2000.

In 1981 there were only 203 owned houses, representing 4% of all 5,687 households. By 1996 owner occupation had risen to 37% and privately rented homes rose from 12% to 22% while the percentage of households renting from the Council fell from 85% to 48%.

But Docklands success proved its undoing. As prices rose, affordable houses and flats, despite substantial subsidies, became unaffordable to many of the residents. The incomes of too many of the original East Enders, even those who had jobs, were simply too low.

So since 1981 the LDDC has spent over £20 million on some 2,500 council and housing association homes, improving the environment and conditions for existing residents, and supporting the development of 423 units providing for those most in housing need.

Isle of Dogs completion booklet, London Docklands Development Corporation, 2000.

Local opposition to the Dockland regeneration, Becton, 1987



Rare Docklands warehouse flat for sale: open-plan, industrial-chic home near Custom House Crossrail hub for sale for £465k.* Ride the Air Line cable car to Docklands, seconds from a selection of restaurants and the Ex-CeL centre**, and enjoy this warehouse conversion flat on the Thames. Nearby Custom House rail station will soon be on the Elizabeth line.

Industrial styling adds character to this Docklands one-bedroom flat. The open-plan reception room/kitchen boasts lots of industrial appeal, with exposed brick, beams and metal columns. Big glazed doors lead to a balcony overlooking the river, and the bedroom has an entire wall of sliding wardrobes plus a sleek en suite bathroom. A guest shower room, a large mezzanine and private parking are added enticements.

Source: Home & Property website, 2 May 2017.

* price of a 9-bedroom house in Leicester

** exhibitions and international convention centre

CS4 ◀ THE 2012 OLYMPICS IN STRATFORD (NEWHAM): SUSTAINABLE REGENERATION (2005-2015) ▶
What are the challenges and effects of Newham regeneration?

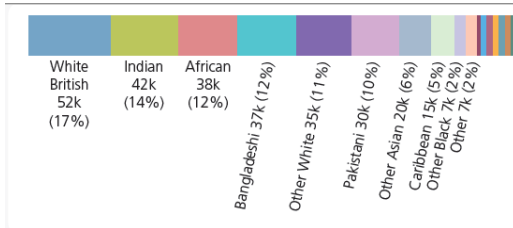
1. The need for regeneration

Structure



The Olympic Park in Stratford, in the London inner borough of Newham

Newham, Britain's most ethnically diverse community, "Does Britain have plural cities?", Dynamics of Diversity briefing, January 2013



There is a great deal that is fantastic about Newham. We have a vibrant and diverse community with dynamic and talented residents; recent years have seen improvement in educational attainments and thousands of people working for our community as volunteers. We are one of the most diverse places in the UK and yet 86% of people say this is a place where those from different backgrounds get on well, a higher proportion than report this nationally. This is a place where people are active and involved in their community. [...]

And yet for too many of our residents life remains a struggle. Unemployment is stubbornly high at just over 13% and a quarter of our resident live in poverty. Newham residents earn less, dies younger and have lower education attainment than their London and UK peers.

'Building resilience', 'Newham Borough Council, May 2011.

Key notions

Stratford and New Town ward, Office of National Statistics, 2001 Census data

	Stratford and New Town	Newham (London Borough)	London	England
People with a limiting long-term illness	% 18.09	17.32	15.49	17.93
People aged 16-74: Unemployed	% 7.38	6.72	4.36	3.35
Households with no cars or vans	% 58.94	48.86	37.49	26.84
Accommodation type: Flat; maisonette or apartment	% 48.00	31.14	33.04	13.96
Accommodation rented from: Council (local authority)	% 36.41	25.44	17.12	13.21
Owner occupied: Owns with a mortgage or loan (Households)	% 19.14	27.79	33.51	38.88

Along the Lea river, Homer Sykes, London Photos, 2000. The Lea river is down in the right-hand corner (in green).



Vocabulary

Marshgate Lane industrial estate, Rachel Bowles, *geograph*, 11 February 2007. The 207 manufacturing and low-end service companies employed 4800 people with limited opportunities for higher wage employment. They relocated and were compensated.



Income deprivation in the Lower Lea Valley, 2004, PirceWaterhouseCooper, *Olympic Games Impact Study*, Dec. 2005.

Ranking	Olympic Zone	London	England
> 10 – 15	13%	8%	5%
> 5 – 10	20%	9%	5%
> 1 – 5	38%	6%	4%
Up to 1	4%	1%	1%

Areas are ranked relatively to one another from least deprived to most deprived downwards: a rank of 1 indicates the most deprived

CS4 ◀ THE 2012 OLYMPICS IN STRATFORD (NEWHAM): SUSTAINABLE REGENERATION (2005-2015) ▶

What are the challenges & effects of Newham regeneration?

2. The impact of sustainable regeneration

Structure



Building Olympic venues and new transport links, Olympic Park Legacy Company, *The Future of the Park*, 2010.

Key notions

A report found there was "exemplary" practice to ensure temporary jobs during the games went to local people. The study also found that employment programmes by Mayor of London Boris Johnson had failed to deliver long-term Olympic jobs. His jobs initiative was set up to target long-term unemployed in the six Olympic boroughs. Mr Johnson promised it would get 5,000 people into work. So far 2,026 have been helped, with a little over half of those still in their jobs six months later and 735 in employment after a year.

Olympic Park with its new connectivity and amenities, however, was more successful in attracting established IT and engineering firms. Many universities, like King's College, also plan to open new campuses to train more computer scientists. Stratford has all it needs to become an attractive digital and tech hub complementing Silicon Roundabout's start-ups and entrepreneurs in Hackney.

Tim Donovan, *BBC News*, 19 July 2013.

Vocabulary



East Village, the former Olympic Village, *London Living*, 1 August 2013.

More than 2,800 properties, from one-bed flats to 5-bedroom townhouses, are ready for occupation not by sporting superstars but by ordinary Londoners. It is the first phase of a development that will eventually see 14,000 new homes. The new community comes with advantages that many London residents would covet. Stratford is one of the best-connected hubs in the city with 14 public transport train, tube and bus lines - and 4 'Boris bikes' docking stations. A 2,000-place school has already partly opened, the health centre opened on Monday and a dentist, optician and other services will shortly follow. [...]

All homes will be either rented or part-owned, with half of its first wave let to tenants nominated by local authorities, at rates equivalent to council house rents. A further quarter of tenants will be able to rent at an "affordable" level set between 20% and 30% lower than market rates. The rest represents thousands of properties rented at a lucrative full market rate.

« Residents start making homes in Olympic village », Esther Addley, *The Guardian*, 26 November 2013.

A fundamental principle of the Games was to enable access via low carbon mass and sustainable transport.

During the Games approximately 86 per cent of spectators to the Olympic Park are estimated to have travelled by rail services including London Underground, Dockland Light Railway, London Overground and National Rail. It should be noted that there were variations in these figures by day of the Games.

Around five per cent used car-and-ride, private/chartered coaches, direct coach services or Blue Badge parking. An estimated four per cent walked or cycled to their events. The remaining five per cent used other modes including local buses, river services, taxis and private hire vehicles.

« Delivering a sustainable and accessible public transport Games », *Learning Legacy*, Jan. 2013.



The Olympic Park after the games.

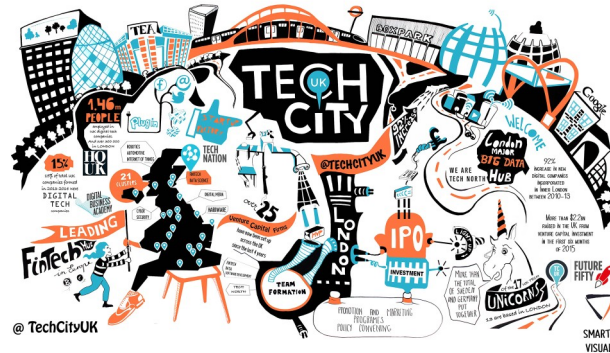
"Vision: To conserve biodiversity, protect wildlife, create new urban green spaces and bring people closer to nature" from *London 2012 Sustainability Plan*, December 2009.

CS5 ◀ THE IMPACT OF REBRANDING ON A GLOBAL CITY ▶

What are the assets and challenges of a global city?

1. Positive effects

Structure



London, a creative and digital hub competing with New York's Silicon Alley, TechCityUK, Smart Visuals, August 2015

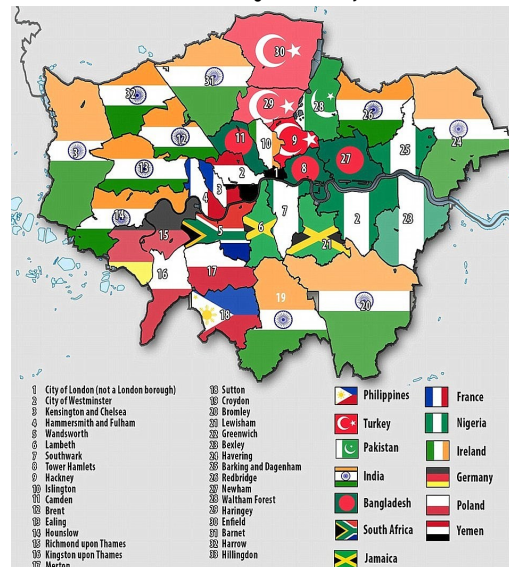
Canary Wharf, the Docklands business district, will overtake the City of London, the capital's traditional financial centre, in the next two months to become Europe's biggest employer of bankers. The combined power of these two CBDs will ensure London's leading position as a global finance centre ahead of New York's Wall Street.

JPMorgan Chase is moving around 8,000 jobs from offices in the City to its new European headquarters in the Docklands. Once the move is completed, the total number of jobs with the UK's 16 biggest banks in Canary Wharf will be 44,500, while 43,300 will be located in the City which will keep the headquarters of 10 of the 16 banks.

Londonlovesbusiness.com, 14 May 2012

Key notions

The united nations of London: the largest foreign born populations by borough as capital's population hits record 8.6million with one-third foreign-born, *Daily Mail*, 4 Jan. 2016.



Vocabulary

The challenge that now faces London is twofold: How does the city convert media exposure into real visitors and how does it maintain the relationships that it built with the media?

LONDON™
NOW SEE IT FOR YOURSELF

"London: Now See it For Yourself" is the global campaign I put in place to convert "viewers into visitors" immediately after the Games. It may deliver £4m of incremental visitor spend. As a result of the city's raised media exposure, the 2012-2017 legacy phase is expected to see an additional 1.1million visitors worth £900m.

Martine Ainsworth Wells, marketing and communications director for London & Partners before and during the Games period, *Travel*,

Today's London is a perfect hub of the globe. It is home to over 30 ethnic communities of at least 10,000 residents each. In this city tonight, over 300 languages will be spoken by families over their evening meal at home. [...]

Our cultural diversity is one of the reasons why Britain continues to be the preferred location for multinational companies setting up in Europe. The national airline of a major European country has recently relocated its booking operation to London precisely because of the linguistic variety of the staff whom it can recruit here.

Speech by the foreign secretary Robin Cook to the Social Market

Foundation in London, *The Guardian*, 19 April 2001



'This is Great' global marketing program 2011-2015, *VisitBritain*, March 2013.

CS5 ◀ THE IMPACT OF REBRANDING ON A GLOBAL CITY▶

What are the assets and challenges of a global city?

1. But negative impact too

Structure

The new challenge for urban policy is to spread the benefits of growth to a wider population. Yet, the capacity of regeneration to do so is contested. Although major projects are often located in the poorest urban areas, they do not necessarily lead to the creation of much needed adequate low-skilled jobs and instead cause increasing polarisation.

Housing has traditionally been the driver of urban regeneration. In recent years successive governments have disinvested in social housing. The consequences of this policy has led to a highly polarised housing market where the economically inactive, the working classes and also many of the middle classes are now unable to consider home ownership and continued residence in London.

There is a danger that for many Londoners urban regeneration is experienced as urban degeneration because they pay more and more of their salaries for less and less accommodation and live in private squalor surrounded by public affluence.

Imrie, Rob, Lees, Loretta and Raco, Mike, eds. *Regenerating London: Governance, Sustainability and Community in a Global City*. London, 2009.



A united community marches against gentrification: Reflecting the multicultural diversity of Brixton residents, protesters ranged from fashion students to fishmongers. Reclaim Brixton, photo study by Alex Bartsch, 24 April 2015

Key notions

Mayfair, Aesum, *The Conversation*, July 31, 2015.



The trend is clear. In Camden, Kensington and Chelsea where the cool kids of a decade ago moved, the number of creative people has fallen since 2001. West London redoubts are all occupied by bankers now. Instead the young software designers, journalists and artisan bakers are moving eastwards. They are ending up in Tower Hamlets and Hackney.

The best explanation is house prices and rents. Young creative types aren't paid that well. Young management consultants, bankers and lawyers are. And as they've followed the artists into trendy neighbourhoods, they've pushed up prices so that the creative people can't move there anymore.

Is this a problem? It is tempting to think so. There is nothing gentrifiers dislike more than other gentrifiers, especially much richer ones. But on the other hand, the shift reflects genuine social progress as the East End has really improved and attracted middle-class people too.

"Gentrification in London: Chasing cool", Blighty, *The Economist*, Apr 8 2014.

Vocabulary

If we compare London 2004 Indices of Deprivation to the most recent results, we see striking changes. In 2004, London had 462 of England's 10% most deprived areas. By 2015, this figure had shrunk to 274. It shows the apparent dispersal of London's poorest residents over a decade. These changes are most obvious in areas at the forefront of gentrification, such as Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Newham or Camden.

These changes weren't due to individuals escaping deprivation and poverty. Given the influx of new residents in these areas, it's more likely to be a result of changing local populations, particularly in East London. At the same time, we are also seeing increases in the number of deprived neighbourhoods in Outer London Boroughs. It could well be that as wealthier residents move into the more central boroughs, poorer Londoners are being pushed toward the city's more affordable outskirts.

"Here's what we learned from mapping out England's inequalities", Alasdair Rae, *The Conversation*, October 14, 2015

