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***Gentrification and Displacement in Greater London:
An empirical and theoretical analysis***

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Abstract

The thesis involves an inquiry into the little explored nature of the relationship between the processes of gentrification and displacement in the context of the Greater London area. Scant work has been previously undertaken in this country on these processes compared to the wealth of work conducted already on gentrification. Displacement has barely been acknowledged as a component of the British gentrification experience except through anecdotal evidence and acknowledgement of basic causal association.

Three separate but related methodologies were used to piece together evidence to test whether gentrification was a displacing force. First, the 1981 and 1991 censuses were used to examine broad social changes in London at a ward level, second, the Longitudinal Study (LS) was used to examine the linkages between identifiably gentrified areas and the migratory trajectories of gentrifiers and displacees. Finally the use of grounded research was undertaken to look at examples of these processes *in situ* through interviews with tenant's representatives and local authority officers.

The cumulative weight stemming from the use of the three research methods and the view that displacement is a necessary corollary to gentrification is evaluated along with the implications of findings on the need for the retention of affordable housing and the potential costs of urban social restructuring. The evidence suggests a need for a wider set of social and economic costs to be considered in view of the damage that may be done by gentrification. Accurate quantification in the future will not result without the identification and monitoring of gentrification and displacement activity by local authorities via the monitoring of the housing histories of the vulnerable. The work concludes that the study of gentrification and displacement is theoretically and empirically problematic but that the results of the work also form a positive introduction and lever into wider work on such processes in the future and that such research should be continued in the future.

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Gentrification and Displacement in Greater London: An introduction

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Chapter One - Introduction

“No one has yet been willing to tell me to my face that people with low incomes and no chance of a mortgage have no right to occupy valuable space in the city.” (Ward, 1989:75)

We are little closer to a systematic understanding of the kind of problems that Harvey was writing about toward the end of the sixties when she wrote;

“It is an astounding fact that no government department or authority is responsible for recording the number of people who are forced to leave their homes, or for collecting information about malpractices by private landlords” (Harvey, 1964:11)

Yet it is clear, if by logic alone, that people experience a number of forces which may contribute to the need or desire to move from their homes. This work is devoted to a greater understanding of the nature of one particular such force namely; gentrification. While this process manifests itself in a number of forms and comprises a multitude of factors it is increasingly a recognisable feature of the urban, and latterly rural, environment.

The so-called ‘gentrification’ of cities across the globe was initially coined in 1964 by Ruth Glass who observed an influx of the middle classes into the east end of London. The term has gained widespread currency since then as the process has proliferated and the characterisation and explanation of gentrification has provided academics with a rich and debatable field over the past thirty years. Its distinctiveness as a new social force in the regeneration of the urban environment and the displacement of indigenous communities has made it worthy of such attention but often this focus has tended toward the epistemological and theoretical explanation of gentrification rather than a more rounded surveying of the theories and processes at work.

However, this theoretical work was often produced on the back of criticism which argued that gentrification research had been overtly empirical in nature (Smith and

Williams, 1986) so that it is possible to see the need for a more balanced approach. Within this country there has also been a deficiency in the amount of attention given to the anti-social results of the process in terms of displacement and its impact on communities. It is easier to understand the biasing of gentrification research in the context of inadequate data on the subject. This work starts from the premise that some work is better than none and that such efforts can cumulatively contribute to our knowledge of such areas.

In view of the social harm that gentrification *can* lead to it can in turn be argued that there is some moral worth in undertaking research in this area were it not for fear that such 'moral' research agendas can, in themselves, be viewed as a form of bias. On the other hand, it is possible to see the initial theories that guide research as forms of bias in their own respect although the highlighting of an area to examine can be considered desirable in the sense that preconceptions are essential in guiding research to the fruitful understanding of an area.

This work, however, is concerned with both the set of problematics arising over the explanation of gentrification *and* the social ill-effects that gentrification may have given rise to over the years; displacement. The time period covered reflects the use of the 1981 and 1991 censuses and the updating of that data through the use of other means of data collection so that a temporal and geographical level of analysis, from aggregate to grounded levels of enquiry, are considered. Finally, the context for the research was restricted to Greater London, even though it was understood that this would mean considering its connections with outside areas.

The idea of gentrification, wherein run-down inner city neighbourhoods are transformed by the middle classes, is rooted in the notion that a neighbourhood change in a certain direction and at a certain pace constitutes a 'novel' urban process. It will become clear that this process is not, however, simply a neutral process of social change; certain amounts of social exclusion and hardship and a 'displacement' of the indigenous people in gentrifying neighbourhoods can occur as a result and it was also this that was sought to be explained.

The research was initiated and inspired, in part, by the input of social theory into a grounded and empirical application and was geared toward an understanding of the gentrification and displacement processes through a research agenda characterised by a symbiotic relationship between theory and method - the conceptual and the empirical. Further, this relationship is reflexive, as one proceeds theoretically this enables and deepens an understanding of external processes and these, in turn, feed back into the clarification of the theoretical constructs used. The research was also driven by the view that the issue of displacement as a result of gentrification is one of social justice such that a valuable contribution might be made in that area.

It is intended that the theory behind the empirical examination of gentrification is also questioned and advanced; what are the implications for these theories when complex external and causal webs re-aggregate and rearrange themselves? How can one make sense of this conceptually fuzzy area? To deal with these problems with any degree of conceptual clarity requires a degree of 'rigid flexibility'. Rigidity to be assertive enough to recognise what does, and does not, constitute gentrification, and flexible enough to recognise that unbending theories are incapable of intuitively discovering new and hidden elements of processes in need of description and understanding.

The thesis has been written by adhering to the chronology of the research and this reflects the shift both from theoretical to empirical knowledge of the gentrification phenomenon and displacement processes and from aggregate to micro levels. In some respects it can be argued that any knowledge of displacement is an improvement on nothing although it became clear that this was, in part, related to the way in which the process is not labelled as such by various agents.

There are three key components to the work; a review of the preceding literature, a theoretical anticipation of the later grounded work and the empirical work itself. Each of these stages is divided into two chapters which detail the methodological issues and development of each stage followed by a chapter which details the results of the research

The work is designed to be read as a description of the methodological as well as theoretical and empirical results of the overall research. This follows the chapter which looks at the past literature. The literature review serves the important purpose of surveying the past ideas about gentrification and displacement and lending insights into a methodology and the theoretical antecedents which make it up. With the research described the work moves on to a fuller assessment of the conclusions found in each of the results chapters. Here more ideas are added which contribute to a debate about the relationship between gentrification and displacement in London.

The following paragraphs offer an overview of the layout of the thesis in more detail and illustrate the development of the research concepts and the interrelationships between the theoretical and empirical ideas.

Part One - Literature Review

An assessment of the location of the present work within the context of previous work is made. The review covers the salient points dealing with the gentrification and, related, displacement literature over the past thirty years. The fundamental theoretical views and criteria of what constituted these interrelated phenomena were extracted to facilitate the construction of adequate operational definitions for the empirical work. The most striking feature here was the almost total lack of available data on the subject of displacement in Britain and the relative wealth of literature from north America which much of the work was then based upon.

Part Two - Theory and Method

The relationship between theory and method runs as a strong theme throughout the research, both as a necessary and logical component of social scientific work and as a relevant part of the research process dealing with gentrification due to its highly theoretical nature. Gentrification, as a highly theorised area of research, can be viewed

as a product of both its complexity and difficulty of operational definition. It is not possible to measure 'gentrification' per se since it does not refer to a visible or coherent social process; one is lead to the use of more creative methods which use proxy indicators to inform us of the occurrence and extent of the phenomenon.

This forms the background to the empirical work proper. The purpose of this work is to conduct stronger research based on an examination both of preceding ideas and theories and their contextualisation in the research being attempted. These stages were critical for the strengthening of ideas about the theoretical underpinning of the research and the way that a methodology might be devised to examine issues which were as complex and difficult to measure as gentrification and displacement.

Part Three - The empirical work

Each of the three main stages of the empirical work is described via two chapters, the first illustrating the methodological tools and course of the research the second dealing with the analysis and presentation of results from that part of the research. After covering the operational research itself wider ranging conclusions in the final chapter are made which bring together the conclusions derived from the overall research.

Use of the census

The research began with use being made of the 1981 and 1991 census data for the Greater London area. This was done with the purpose of measuring social changes which might be used as indicators of the gentrification and displacement processes by identifying changes in the levels of these groups over the decade. The results of the census analysis found a strong negative correlation between increases of working class and professionals. Use of three multiple regression models, each based on a different 'definition' of gentrification, were used to highlight the linkages between displacee and gentrifier groups. This formed the most important part of this stage of the research and it was possible to provide a number of insights about these processes at a metropolitan-wide level. However, contextual and more sensitive elements of the processes were clearly insufficiently analysed at this level and it was not possible to determine whether there was a real linkage between the events labelled as gentrification and those of displacement. This was largely due to the recurring problem of inadequacies and limitations in the data extracted and the insensitivity of the statistical tools to detect real differences between replacement and displacement. To better understand this other methods had to be used to evaluate whether the results could either be corroborated or expanded in any way.

Use of the Longitudinal Study

The various methodological problems stemming from the use of the census led to the search for more corroborative evidence, yet still at a relatively large scale of spatial analysis. Use, therefore, was made of the Longitudinal Study based at City University; the linked nature of the dataset allowing corroboration of the results of the census data. A new method was used which created re-aggregated areas constructed from the gentrification geography realised in the census data analysis. This approach used four areas taken from the gentrified wards of Greater London, identified in the census data, and used them as the critical geography for the interaction of the gentrification and displacee variables.

Use of grounded research methods

The final stage of the empirical work reflected an attempt to get as close as possible to the processes of gentrification and displacement because of the aggregate nature of the data examined so far. Such proximity was extremely difficult to achieve but the various materials collected were very helpful in constructing a more detailed picture of the processes going on behind the external view that both journalistic and aggregate views of the phenomena had provided. The approach adopted included use of a key borough identified through the census data (Wandsworth), interviews conducted at private tenants rights organisations in north London, interviews with developers and estate agents to examine their role in the process and the attempt to get displacee interviewees. The last of these approaches was unsuccessful and possible reasons for this are examined later.

This stage highlighted the difficulty of ‘observing’ gentrification and displacement as contextual, grounded events. A search for displacees was fruitless (within the resources of the research, always an issue in the development of methodologies) but in-depth interviews with professionals working with private renters in three key locations revealed a wealth of information on the mechanisms of displacement and the characteristics of the displacees themselves. It was only at this stage that the issue of displacement appeared to be tangible since all other work had been ‘abstracted’ and it was difficult to ‘hold the faith’ in pursuing a phenomenon which appeared to be absent. This was largely due to the absence of subjects since, by definition, a displacee is someone who is no longer to be found at the location where the event has occurred.

The final chapter brings together each of the sets of results from the empirical work to make sense of it as a coherent and interconnected body of work having, as it does, implications for the theoretical antecedents which informed that work. There are also conclusions related to the overall discoveries and limitations of our knowledge about displacement. The ways in which the research has expanded our knowledge of the

processes of gentrification and displacement are detailed and, in doing so, the degree to which the goals of the research were met are assessed.

Conclusion

This short preview hopefully serves as a guide to the rest of the thesis, what follows is essentially an account of the struggle to conduct research in an area of theoretical stasis and of empirical constraints; the lack of data, the difficulty of establishing a relationship between two events and the 'chaotic' nature of the phenomena under study which made clear analysis a consistently hard task. It is quite possible to conclude that displacement from gentrification is an academic label given to a variety of processes, that the actors involved would not describe *themselves* as displacees, while this may appear to be true the difficulty of gaining direct access to displacees made such a conclusion premature.

The covert nature of displacement both from the point of view of data collection and as apprehended by us in everyday life requires, to some extent, a 'leap of faith' into an abyss with few reference points or data of any kind. This point is also directly linked to the undeniably value laden and 'political' nature of research of this kind which further complicates assessment of the data to hand. As will become clear it is not possible to remain value neutral in the research of such an area because of the ideological construction of the subject area itself; one example is the observed magnitude of displacement dependent upon political affiliation (Lee and Hodge, 1986). It is perhaps better to account for ones own biases at the outset than to leave them unsaid; one cannot hope for truly objective work but one can strive for it.

One of the themes running through the thesis is that, just as gentrification has been used as a legitimation for the appropriation of previously working class areas by those of the middle, it is possible to descend into an ideology of territoriality due to fear of the stranger. However, rather than viewing 'anti-displacement' as an ideology of territoriality one should, instead, see it as a view which seeks the protection of affordable housing for those who wish to live and work near their friends, family and

place of work. These issues are not simple, however, it may be that those with more money are also expressing such desires through market mechanisms. The basic requirements of the lower paid and resourced are, however, broken down by the impact of a distended housing market which has the effect of pricing out residents from where they might choose to live and there are a variety of routes by which this can happen, shown later. The apparent cosmetic appeal of gentrification belies a reality which supplants and displaces rather than healing the problems of the cities we live in.

Chapter Two - A review of the gentrification and displacement literature

Introduction

This chapter provides an account of the literature dealing with gentrification and, in particular, the displacement process which is sometimes seen as a corollary to the gentrification process. The review examines the nature and extent of work which has focused on understanding these related phenomena. It also examines those trends within the literature which identify the need for re-conceptualisations of the direction in which the gentrification/displacement agenda is moving. The review concludes by arguing that a more policy oriented area of study is needed in order to escape the stasis that exists in the predominantly theoretical literature.

Often reviews are undertaken without any evident advance being made in the study of a respective field. The purpose of a review must be to provide an analysis of what has been written to establish a benchmark. Zukin has argued that the continual surveying of the gentrification literature reveals a 'worrisome stasis in the field' (Zukin, 1987:132) which points to a circularity which has failed to generate fresh ideas. However, in this situation it is very difficult to make progress without first defining clear goals and contextualising such goals within a framework of preceding work, both theoretical and empirical. Such goals are clearly important because they establish criteria against which progress can be measured as well as giving meaning to the process of attempting to understand the phenomenon.

The central goal in this research is the production of an account of gentrification-related displacement which is *rigid* in-so-far as it delineates a definitive area of study yet *flexible* in that it should be capable of highlighting contingencies, differences and underlying processes. The review is divided into three distinct sections which are interrelated via the theme of gentrification and, contingent upon that, displacement. The first part details an overview of the gentrification literature to facilitate an insight into its

nature, themes, and the range of work that has been undertaken. The second examines what Smith (1996) has called 'gentrification-induced' displacement. This seeks to analyse two main issues; first, the nature of the displacement process and the debates that surround its measurement and manifestation and, second, to ask in what way this literature and its conclusions can be related to the research context. The final section considers gentrification and displacement in terms of contemporary debates emerging from the literature and examines the implications of these debates on displacement in London today.

1. Gentrification

What is gentrification? It has been observed by many writers, considered shortly, that it is very difficult to distinguish temporally, qualitatively and quantitatively the nature of gentrification. Indeed there are many similarities between the two tasks of defining these areas. When gentrification was first described by Glass in 1964 the process of class invasion and take-over she described was shown to facilitate the displacement of the original working class inhabitants by the refusal to renew leases on rented property. As already suggested, the study of gentrification as a radical counterpoint to the older ecological assumptions about the urban environment (Hamnett and Williams, 1979:1) have been superseded by equally rigid and orthodox assumptions about gentrification. The literature, however, has done little to consider the exact appropriateness of a term which has become latently, rather than explicitly, defined. What was a 'new' and radical urban process has become a more mundane and better understood event. Further, it appears that change has occurred, both in the factors which drive it and its explicit concrete effects on the surrounding urban environment.

Smith and Williams have suggested that gentrification is 'not amenable to overly restrictive definitions' (Smith and Williams, 1986:3) and this has become more evident as the study and diversity of gentrification has flourished. Just as the study of gentrification appeared as a counterpoint to the older ecological assumptions of the

Chicago School (Hamnett and Williams, 1979:1), it now appears that a certain orthodoxy has sprung up around the study of a dynamic and processual phenomenon. Not only is gentrification difficult to define but its very definition has never appeared to be an important issue to analysts. As argued earlier, its definition is a *latent function* stemming from the production of a large literature base from which researchers make the assumption that they are all talking about the same thing.

Since Glass's work, a proliferation of books and papers have been written examining the gentrification of properties and areas of the inner-cities of the first world (notably, London and Palen, 1984, Smith and Williams, 1986 and Van Weesep and Musterd, 1991). Gentrification has been defined around a core set of ideas about class replacement and invasion in a given area, these have resulted in definitions such as 'the movement of middle-class and upper-class residents into working-class areas of the inner city' (Munt, 1987:1175) or more commonly 'the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighbourhood.' (Smith and Williams, 1986:1). As Bourne argues;

"definitions of gentrification vary widely...the movement of middle- and upper-class households into neighbourhoods occupied by lower status (working-class) households; in effect, it represents a reversal of the invasion-succession process typical in the classical ecological literature." (1993:189)

In earlier research on the subject it became apparent that areas and populations were moving and changing according to, as yet, unobserved factors which were in need of comprehension. As Hamnett and Randolph later remarked;

"something unusual was happening. After decades of neglect and decay, houses were being rapidly renovated and the long established population of working class private renters was being slowly replaced - or displaced - by a new population of middle class home owners" (Hamnett and Randolph, 1988:3)

Why and how this was occurring were clearly the foremost questions in analysts' minds yet it soon became clear that not only were areas being renovated for middle class consumption and use but there was also an impact on former and existing residents.

A variety of sub-labels of gentrification have been applied by commentators seeking to make a distinction between the various routes by which gentrification may occur. Merrett (1976) for example posited the existence of two routes by which gentrification could occur; mediated and unmediated gentrification. These types were based upon a political-economic distinction between a process whereby landlords, estate agents and developers take a part in the rehabilitation and sale of the property (mediated) and the latter in which a rentier sells into owner occupation a property which is acted upon by the gentrifiers themselves (unmediated). In the latter position there is no intervention by the entrepreneur.

Hamnett (1973) in the same vein describes these types as indirect and direct gentrification respectively. Indirect gentrification corresponds to mediated gentrification in Merrett's model with direct referring to activity which was gentrifier led. This latter type of gentrification has also been referred to as 'sweat equity gentrification' (Munt, 1987:1195) and has usually been associated with pioneer gentrifiers who have had to put more work into the rehabilitation of property than subsequent occupants. These two types of gentrification provide the basis for one of the crucial dichotomies in the gentrification debate; is gentrification an issue of production or consumption? To date this duality has not been fully reconciled (but see Clark, 1991 and 1994) indeed the debate continues while post-modern elements (Mills, 1993) have fragmented the area further into one of subjective meanings and mythic categories.

Other work has been done which has shown the development of gentrified areas in strongly middle class areas and in which the existence of the 'ultra gentrifier' becomes apparent. In Dangschat's (1991) analysis of Hamburg (one can see the parallels with areas of London like Islington) it is the ability of these wealthier groups to outbid even the original gentrifiers that marks them out. Hamnett and Williams (1979) reported that original gentrifiers in Hackney mentioned cheapness as important in their decision to move there showing that times have indeed changed; that the price of gentrification has gone up.

Clark by comparison has described gentrification in terms of it being a process of 'backward filtering' (Clark, 1992:16). Clark describes gentrification as a process of replacement through residential mobility; filtering is the replacement of higher by lower residents whereas gentrification is the reverse of this process. The application of this analogy as a definition of gentrification is limited because it ignores those cases where gentrification is not simply a case of replacement. In the case of lower groups replacing higher this is indeed correct yet it is the market power or 'dollar vote' (Merrett, 1976:45) of the higher groups that allows them to displace or replace previous residents. Further the absence of previous residents may in certain cases be directly attributable to the potential for land to be used at a higher level of revenue thus facilitating the eviction or 'pricing out' of previous residents by landlords and other agents.

Many typologies have been drawn up which try to achieve a taxonomy of the various approaches to gentrification, for example, political economic, socio-cultural and institutional (Munt, op cit.). While such typologies enable us to understand the differences in the outlooks of researchers they tend to strengthen the dichotomisation of debate around gentrification. Gentrification, as a research agenda is therefore subject to a tension between the demands of different approaches (which prioritise the relevance of certain factors) and the need for an understanding of gentrification which is simultaneously universal and contextual in its application.

The gentrification label has been applied to a variety of examples of physical upgrading, the gentrification of pubs and shops for example (Anson, 1981), yet it is the social dimension which is of primary concern and represents the critical location of gentrification activity. The physical upgrading of buildings may be carried out by various agents but gentrification is the ability of higher occupational groups to occupy lower occupational group's property because of their higher income. The mediation and enabling of the process via market mechanisms indeed creates cause for concern over whether the process is based on income differentials or class structuration. This means that physical upgrading of property through gentrification is associated with a change in the demands upon it, usually expressed in the form of rehabilitation or redecoration, even though it is not a *necessary* part of the process, indicated later.

What appears crucial then in any definition of gentrification is that it involves a discrete geographical area and an associated movement of higher class/income/occupational groups within it. It is theoretically unnecessary, although usually inevitable, for rehabilitation of the property to take place. Neither is it necessary for displacement to be a fundamental part of a definition, though clearly this is important where it does occur, since gentrification often does not induce displacement. If gentrification were defined only by virtue of the pre-existence of displacement it would necessarily be a less prolific phenomenon. Gentrification may or may not involve displacement depending on contextual factors but inevitably involves the appropriation of space previously under a 'lower' use.

The gentrification research agenda

Smith and Williams have described the life course of gentrification studies as stemming from an initial curiosity, which produced many empirical studies, with a shift in the latter part of the seventies toward a more theoretically informed analysis of the phenomenon. Since that time it is still apparent (Van Weesep, 1995, Smith, 1991) that writers wish to assert the need for certain directions to be undertaken in future work on the subject. However, such calls have arguably not resulted in boundaries being pushed back in research on gentrification.

Gentrification in London has continued to receive attention; papers have continued to examine the phenomenon (Lees, 1994, Lees and Carpenter, 1995, Bridge 1993a, 1993b, 1994, 1995, Lyons, 1995, Butler and Hamnett, 1994, Warde, 1991, Bourne, 1993) indicating a process resistant to boom and bust property patterns and in need of continued understanding. Just as rising property prices lead to the sale of rented accommodation into owner occupation, the current stagnation and problems associated with a property market in recession allow continued benefits to those looking for investment opportunities. This is almost certainly true in view of the opportunities afforded to more 'moneyed' groups who have been able to buy cheaply while remaining

in well paid employment. Thus the emulation of higher class lifestyles by purchasing architecturally desirable property and renovating it has continued into the nineties.

The gentrification research agenda as set by academic, political and civil organisations is reflexively linked so that the perception of its qualities and directions for future research work are based upon work which has already been carried out which provides a stepping stone forward. Research done in a vacuum of reference points and other work is hard. These points are also intimately related to the research agenda for the study of displacement in Britain, writing in 1990 Fielding and Halford, on behalf of the DoE, suggest that it is now known where gentrification occurs, who the gentrifiers are and the occupational and tenure changes which accompany gentrification. This is a confident and orthodox summary of the gentrification literature which strengthens certain directions of future research based upon past understandings. It is arguable that the inner city, white, male, renting to owning image of gentrification is outdated, yet this image contributes to future work. Perhaps more crucially, these images are used to exclude those from the debate if they do not accept these notions as the starting point for debate.

In Fielding and Halford's resume is little mention of displacement and nowhere by name. Gentrification is summarised as the 'growth of the service class in producing change in the inner city' (p.60) and yet, they argue, it is still not known whether gentrification is a permanent feature of the urban environment (this also begs questions about its occurrence in the rural dimension) and 'the social impact of gentrification, especially on working class households' (p.60) and the political effects. While these are clearly stimulating academic questions the obvious potential for anti-social effects are not considered and one can only assume that work which highlights these elements does so to the detriment of other key questions about gentrification.

Even so, it is clear that the process has declined or diversified with the passage of time. The use of industrial property in warehouse and loft conversions in London along the lines of those in New York (Zukin, 1982) shows the exploitation of the investment value of derelict or little-used space in the inner city. The resale of council property on the other hand, bought under right to buy and sold into higher socio-economic ownership

(Murie, 1991) shows a need for us to re-conceptualize the boundaries of a phenomenon which was once thought to involve only near upper-class professionals in Georgian or Victorian property.

The history of gentrification

While it may be impossible to pin down the beginnings of gentrification, Wiener (1980) has described the purchase and habitation of rural cottages in the late nineteenth century to fulfil the ideal of a 'rural idyll' for the upper middle classes of that time. Familiar definitions have developed more recently as the subject matter has been better defined. It is possible, however, to be more certain about the beginnings of its documentation; in 1964 when Ruth Glass first coined the term to describe the changes occurring in the East-end of London at that time;

“One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes-upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages...have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period-which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation-have been upgraded once again...Once this process of '**gentrification**' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964: xviii)

According to Van Weesep the word 'gentrification' was used by Glass;

“because the process resembled the old habit of the 'landed gentry' to maintain a house in the city in addition to their country seat” (1994:76)

Gentrification was then intended as a term describing an essentially social process linked, by association, with past aristocratic housing traits; however, it seems that the similarity, between the aristocracy and the middle classes, may have been pushed too far.

Little is written about why the term was selected, this may appear a trivial matter; any word may be used to describe a phenomenon, yet the power of connotation must be recognised. Gentrification implies agency on the part of a certain social group, the gentry, who act upon something. As defined above, it is the action of the middle classes upon working class or derelict dwellings to incur a social and physical transformation of that environment. However, this hides many problematic theoretical and empirical problems in terms of its definition and measurement respectively. It has been argued that gentrifiers are a homogenous group (Smith and Williams, 1986, Bridge, 1994) but others (Beauregard, 1986, Dangschat, 1991) have shown or argued that it is the very heterogeneity of these groups which marks them out.

In a more simplistic way it can be argued that it is the replacement or displacement of a lower class population by one of a higher category which defines the boundaries of the process. It may still be that it is the process of 'income displacement' that refers to a subset of gentrification and that gentrification itself should retain an element of cultural differentiation in the way that Zukin has used the term (1982) to connote a culturally homogeneous group. Either way, it is unlikely that these groups will exhibit such consistency over time and space even if underlying similarities are observed. Yet more problems are incurred by expounding this argument.

First, how does one define class, whether in Britain or across national boundaries? It is all very well to suggest that middle replaces working class but these categories are not universally understood and may obfuscate the real groups involved in the process and their diversity. Reference has been made for example to a New Middle Class (NMC) (Bell, 1973, Gouldner, 1979 and Ley, 1994) which, composed of professional and managerial groups, has formed the main vanguard of gentrifiers. This group, while being closely associated with gentrification in the past are no longer 'new', the relevance of these groups may wane as gentrification activity has decreased to leave smaller groups taking particularised advantage of certain areas.

Second, a fundamental point which will be returned to later, is the issue of the mechanisms through which gentrification takes place, for example, it may not simply be

the activities of the middle class which drive the process of gentrification, for some gentrification is a process based upon the dictates of capital shifts and uneven urban development. If one accepts Smith's account (1979b, 1986, 1991, 1996) of gentrification it becomes a process reduced to the disinvestment and reinvestment patterns of the inner urban environment or a supply side argument - this might be called 'capitalisation' with gentrification as an associated phenomenon. If, however, income is a fundamental aspect of the mechanism by which people are displaced, out-priced or derelict property renovated what influence has class on such a process? It may appear more the case that while class and status may come first, it is the attendant income differentials attached to these class and status positions which allows the process to take place.

Turning back to the history of the phenomenon, there appears to be a general reluctance on the part of commentators on gentrification to define what it is that they are looking at. Gentrification has become an assumed phenomenon; researchers take it that what they are studying is 'gentrification' without examining the confusing and irreconcilable elements of difference which exist between research contexts. By this it is meant that the social, spatial and temporal location of research has properties that may be equated with a culture. While gentrification does take place in a particularised area, as Lees explicitly recognises (Lees, 1994), gentrification receives and emits many directions of influence and causation which are by no means uni-directional.

Put simply, the reluctance to define may be due to the plethora of cultural reference points or, equally, the genuine difficulty of defining the process. However, this haziness appears to have led writers into talking past each other, particularly in theoretical debate and the existence of a definition which has gained little explicit reference yet much apparent agreement.

Gentrification, the gentry and income

Wiener (1981) has examined the emulation by the emergent bourgeoisie of the gentry which strengthens Glass's use of the metaphor and yet it has been the middle classes and higher income groups rather than the bourgeoisie/gentry who have taken this emulative stance to property consumption. Further, what appeared to be a copying of the established upper class enclaves may be seen as an investment motive expressed by higher income groups in cheaper areas who will continue to move to maximise this potential (Lyons, 1995).

As Wiener points out, gentrification was also the process whereby the newly formed bourgeoisie class of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries took on the values, attitudes and manners of the more established and socially hegemonic aristocratic caste. Such a process led to the retention of aristocratic social structures amongst the new entrepreneurial class in order to achieve legitimacy in the eyes of the existing elite but also in order to supplant them eventually. Such structures still exist and Britain remains a curiously open yet aristocratic culture in which the achievement of industrial goals has been hampered by a desire to make decisions based upon a model of limited growth. Gentrification was then a process whereby the non-gentry attempted to appropriate the status of the more genteel elite often via the public school system.

One can see, in Wiener's analysis, the roots of class emulation by an emergent class grouping. Such new groupings have been alluded to in the gentrification literature (Ley, 1994). There are parallels to be found both between the emergent New Middle Class (NMC) of the sixties and seventies (see Ley, 1994) and the new bourgeoisie, and in the way that the NMC have partly sought to emulate the location of the established bourgeoisie. However, the process appears to have stopped short of a hegemonic challenge by the NMC which appears to have copied living practice rather than class agency and power. Hamnett and Williams, for example, have suggested that the gentrification experienced in Inner London during the late seventies was related to neighbouring upper class enclaves via the appropriation of architecturally desirable, yet cheaper, dwellings (Hamnett and Williams, 1979:2).

However, the NMC is no longer new and the professional and managerial occupational groups that were taken to represent this class (Ley, 1994) have both grown and diversified such that it can only be a small proportion of these groups that forms a gentrifying class. It does seem odd that the two always go hand in hand in gentrification research. In operational terms at least the identification of these people as gentrifiers led to their measurement as an indicator of gentrification when using census data. Hamnett and Williams (1979) for example saw a 6% rise in the number of professionals and managers in wards in inner London as a significant and gentrifying force at that time.

It is no longer clear however whether such a socio-economic category form the gentrifying force any more, or if a rise of six percent could be taken as significant either. The growth of these groups has stemmed in part from the use of occupational gradings to gain a higher status while not necessarily reflecting an objective change in work relations or class grouping. The use of the word *executive* for example has often been used to 'upgrade' relatively low grade jobs.

It is clear that the theorisation of gentrification has been linked to the methodological tools available. The census has often been used to measure gentrification and the two top occupational categories are that of the professional and the manager. Clearly methodology is often constrained by the tools available so that, in the case of gentrification, it may be that the operationalisation of the concept has rarely been achieved in as adequate fashion as would be desirable because of the constraints of using official data.

The class connotation of the word gentrification clearly applies most closely to British society and yet it has been used in Europe, Australasia and North America. Williams has pointed out that;

“Many American analysts have been uncomfortable with the term ‘gentrification’ (with its obvious class connotations), preferring labels such as the “back-to-the-city movement”, “neighbourhood revitalization”, and “brownstoneing”, all of which were indicative of underlying divergences in what was believed to be central to this process.” (Williams, 1986:65)

In addition the new classes in recent forms of gentrification have sought, seemingly, to achieve the status of the upper classes via the process of conspicuous consumption. On the other hand it is as clear that the part of 'conspicuous thrift' (Lees and Carpenter, 1995), stemming as it did from the anti-materialistic ideals of the 'baby boomer generation' associated with gentrification, has played a part in shaping the nature of that achievement.

The Theorisation of Gentrification

While it was true of the early gentrification literature that it was overly descriptive it is now possible that the literature has become too theoretical. After the numerous empirical accounts of gentrification a theoretical framework which made sense of these developments within a wider arena was necessary for the literature to get any further. The theoretical nature of much of the gentrification literature (Bridge, 1994, Smith, 1979, 1991, 1996 and Hamnett, 1991) supports the earlier view that gentrification has become an orthodoxy which some writers like Lees and Bondi (1995) and Clark (1994) have sought to synthesise, arguably to the benefit of the subject.

In this regard the field of gentrification studies appears to be unable to attain an ordering or repeatable and coherent set of theories which may be applied to policy guidance and insights into the process. The value of the knowledge attached to studying gentrification is related to its ability to say something about the way our various urban environments are structured. That they are relatively unstructured may be a reasonable conclusion to draw from the schisms within the debates.

Theory also plays a crucial role in the measurement and perception of social phenomena through methodological tools (Atkinson, 1994) and the impingement of theory on method or more particularly extent of measured manifestation has been noted (Bourne, 1993 and Galster and Peacock, 1986). A good example of the relationship between theory and observation may be given by citing Bourne's use of the census to measure the extent of gentrification where he showed that use of income as a measurement

underestimated gentrification while use of educational attainment overestimated its manifestation.

These points demonstrate the need for the careful working out, in hypothetical terms, of those factors that one believes to be involved in the gentrification process. If one takes a constructivist view of the research process it is important to understand that a selection of priorities and factors in theoretical terms directly affects the operationalisation and measurement of the phenomenon under consideration. This also demonstrates the need for a strong definition of gentrification. Atkinson (1995) discussed the need for a strong definition that could be used to delineate between what is and is not gentrification by stressing those factors which were contextual and those which appeared universally in its manifestation.

‘Gaps’ in our knowledge of gentrification

A Rent Gap

While it is clear that there is as much divergence within and between cities as countries the existence of a dramatic difference between the gentrification of Britain and Europe and that of North America has been debated by Lees (1994) and Smith (1991). The importance of this debate is in its wider implications for the way in which one conceptualises cross-cultural differences and the ways in which one can overcome the complexities of comparison.

Lees has countered a need to remain contextually aware (1994) with an evolutionary comparative study (Lees and Carpenter, 1995) of the gentrification process in London, New York and Paris. This approach may be criticised on a number of counts. While Lees and Bondi agree with Beauregard (1986) that gentrification is often explained in terms of ‘specific instances’ to ‘broad statements’ Lees and Carpenter adopt such an approach in their analysis of these three arbitrarily chosen cities. Little is explained that might reveal the underlying dynamics of a comparative process since the areas chosen, Park Slope, New York, Barnsbury, London and the Marais in Paris, are remarkably similar in their route to gentrification. The result is that gentrification is again revealed as a homogenous process with little cultural differentiation. Lost then is the potential to reveal a divergent picture that is seen as an important project by some gentrification commentators (Lees, 1994, Van Weesep and Musterd, 1991) who see the emergence of a more complex picture of gentrification. This takes us back to Smith and Williams view that the;

“preoccupation with the *description* of gentrification means that we have little sense of the contextual and compositional forces that ‘produce’ this process” (Williams, 1996:64).

These difficulties, expressed in terms of a need to ‘fit’ the gentrification of one country with another, may yet be synthesised through an examination of the processes

contingencies and constant factors. Both relativistic and universalistic accounts of the process suffer from the criticism that they are either overly restrictive or too general respectively. A mediation between these two theoretical positions is clearly desirable. In order to achieve a truly comparative study of the process of gentrification it is necessary for a reconciliation of both contextual and overarching features to be taken into any account (Atkinson, 1995).

A Rent Gap

Smith's rent gap theory of the gentrification process was developed in an attempt to understand the way in which capital restructuring had led to the gentrification of certain areas of the city at a particular point in time. Smith defined the rent gap as;

“the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use...the rent gap is produced primarily by capital depreciation (which diminishes the proportion of ground rent able to be capitalized) and also by continued urban development and expansion.” (Smith, 1979b:545)

Smith's work has been very influential in the various attempts that have been made to understand the central dynamics behind gentrification. It must be understood that the rent gap is not restricted to the explanation of gentrification, in Smith's own words it is 'a general theory of a very specific set of urban processes' (Smith, 1991:53).

A Value Gap

Hamnett (1984, 1986) developed an explanation of gentrification which is very similar to Smith's work. It appears at first sight that Hamnett and Williams' differences are based upon their location in two different cultural contexts, in which the exact details and dynamics of the gentrification process have diverged in their manifestation. Such differences, if accepted, give added weight to any claim that gentrification diverges between locations across the Atlantic.

Clark describes the value gap as;

“a disparity between the ‘vacant possession value’ of a property and its ‘tenanted investment value’. The measure of the vacant possession value of a property is its sale price to an owner occupier. The measure of the tenanted investment value of a property is a multiple of its annual rental income as rented property, i.e. the present value of future rental income as reflected in the sale price between two landlords.” (Clark, 1992:17)

The difference between the two theories lies in the distinction that they make between land rent and building value, also apparently related to cultural differences from where the theories originate.

Closing the gaps

These gaps indicate divergences in the way in which gentrification has occurred over time and space yet they also point out the way in which gentrification has remained a recognisable phenomenon for all its differentiation.

It may be considered a measure of some success that an attempt has been made to relate the value and rent gaps (Clark, 1991, 1994). However, there remains a lack of consensus within these theoretical areas. Smith is an emissary of the production based school of explanation and any debate over the complementarity of the two theories has been submerged by Smith’s own assertion of the primacy of his own work. In his own words;

“the rent-gap theory remains valid, but that for us to understand both its insights as well as its limitations, the theory cannot remain isolated but must be connected to a much more complicated discussion of urban change.” (Smith in Van Weesep and Musterd, 1991:53)

This point is echoed by Van Weesep (1994) when he asks that the study of this complex urban phenomenon be rooted in context and in a greater understanding of the complexities of urban life. It is worrying, however, that these repetitive calls for an understanding of the complex and chaotic appear as rhetoric, when little has been done within the literature to expand the empirical base while theorising is constantly undertaken with no seeming input into policy.

Smith (1979) asserts the existence of two pivotal concepts which form the basis of the theory, these are 1) the systematic disinvestment in the inner city as a corollary to suburban expansion and 2) a gap between capitalized ground rent and the potential ground rent that could be extracted under the highest and best use. Smith assumes the real world to fit around the theory but two things appear wrong, first, suburban expansion has all but ceased in many cities while the inner city remains under invested and simultaneously invested in and, second, as Smith's preconditions have altered, gentrification has continued such that one cannot explain gentrification in terms of those essential conditions.

Cultural differentiation is not the only weak point of the theory; little theory may be valid at all times in all places yet Smith argues that his theory 'remains valid'. Rather it remains valid when x, y, and z apply; surely they do not. Musterd and van Weesep (1991) argue that "by explaining the essentials (points 1 and 2 above), this theory will have the widest applicability" (Musterd and van Weesep, 1991:13). Yet nowhere do Smith or Musterd and van Weesep argue why these 'essentials' are indeed universal or, even, why they are essential. This is as dogmatic a position to adopt as Smith's claim that the fundamental weakness of consumption based theory (particularly Ley) was deterministic because it suggested that to be correct it must assert that "individual preference change in unison...internationally" (Smith, 1979:540). This debate points out one of the fundamental dichotomies in the literature about those elements of gentrification which are contextual and those which are found in all examples of its manifestation.

These debates and attempts at reconciliation demonstrate a dramatic tension around what is considered to be an adequate explanation of the gentrification process. Both consumption and production side explanations of the phenomenon have failed to recognise the importance of the operationalisation of their ideas within an empirical framework. While both Saunders (1981) and Clark appear to agree on the need for empirical verification or falsification it appears lacking in the literature.

Interestingly Smith invokes Clark's work as the way forward for gentrification theory;

“We should stop asking the one-dimensional question: ‘Which theory of gentrification is true, the rent-gap theory, the post-industrial restructuring theory, the consumer demand for amenities theory, or the institutionalist theory?’ and start asking ‘If it is so that there is empirical support for all these theories, can we arrive at an understanding of the ways in which they stand in a logical relation of complementarity.’” (Clark in Smith, 1991:60)

In Smith’s latest foray (1996) he persists in stressing the fundamental basis of gentrification in production within the context of New York and widens his view to include case studies in Budapest, Amsterdam and Paris. Perhaps the main reservation one might have with Smith is his self-location as a radical in emphasising his production-side arguments as both novel and new and then, simultaneously, adopting those parts of consumption theory which serve his overall argument (Atkinson, 1997).

Progress in gentrification research

It is argued that a survey of the gentrification literature exposes its lack of direction toward a policy goal and a similar lack of empirical backing of theoretical developments within the literature. While goals have been explicitly stated they have been persistently invoked rather than reacted upon.

2. Displacement

Smith and LeFaivre (1984) argue that “capitalism is based precisely on its ability to displace the working class in all sorts of situations” yet as Bridge (1994) points out, Britain has experienced less total forms of gentrification which makes displacement a less direct or observable corollary. That capitalism is responsible is less clear than that the existence of both markets and certain forms of market control (see Albon and Stafford, 1987, on the ill effects of rent control) and it is certainly true to say that the opening up of markets in previously state run conditions has had adverse and rampaging effects in the gentrification of property and the displacement of households (Tsenkova,

1994, Smith, 1996). Areas such as Beijing also appear to be undergoing transformation on the back of the states' willingness to introduce selective markets.

For many it may be difficult to understand how people can be displaced by what appears to be the renewal and beautification of previously run-down areas. When the costs and implications of the introduction of relatively wealthier households to these areas are understood one can see that the desire by rentier and development capitalists to realise the potential profits of an area can lead to both the direct displacement of people through harassment and eviction and the indirect displacement through rent increases and exclusion from 'hot' property markets (Smith, 1996:138). This more enlightened view of the costs and benefits of gentrification highlights the degree to which people with money have power over those that don't.

Attention to the displacement of households through gentrification has been insignificant in Britain. While displacement can be attributed to a number of causes (see LeGates and Hartman, 1981:215) only a proportion of this total figure can be attributed to the gentrification process. While Britain has produced little literature directly related to displacement, except McCarthy (1974) and Lyons (1995), the literature of the US has proliferated due, for the most part, to funding by central government and the use of official and commercial housing survey data. As a bulk of the work on displacement has been conducted from an American literature base this work is examined in relation to the displacement process in Britain and London. This extrapolation is made under the assumption that while gentrification forms a cross-national concept displacement is likely to be manifest in much the same way; both theoretically and empirically.

Defining Displacement

It is not, however, particular easy in coming to a working definition of displacement. While it essentially requires gentrification to have preceded it it can still occur through a number of routes and have a number of different outcomes. The Grier's define displacement, in their HUD (Department of Housing and Urban Development) sponsored study, as happening when;

“any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and which:

1. are beyond the household’s reasonable ability to control or prevent;
2. occur despite the household’s having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and
3. make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable.” (Grier and Grier, in LeGates and Hartman, 1981:214)

Marcuse (op cit.) has developed the concept of displacement that expands the US government’s definition. Policy on gentrification and abandonment (when property becomes so unprofitable that its returns are less than the running costs leading the owner to leave it) in the US was premised upon three assumptions which found a) abandonment to be ‘painful but inevitable’, b) gentrification to be a positive improvement which caused a “trivial” amount of displacement and c) that gentrification was the only real cure for abandonment. Marcuse set out to show how the two phenomena were in fact related and expanded the definition provided by the Grier’s which covered predominantly physical causes such that the following had been excluded;

1. *Economic and Physical displacement* - which may be included as sub-sets within the Grier’s definition whereby residents are priced out of a dwelling through rent increases for example or by physical means such as by heat or by violence.
2. *Last resident displacement* - counting the last resident as the only displacee.
3. *Chain displacement* - when a ‘historical’ perspective is utilised such that counting includes the number of residents over time which have been displaced from that property.
4. *Exclusionary displacement* - An important contribution by Marcuse which radically reformulates the concept of displacement to include those who are unable to move into property which has been vacated voluntarily yet gentrified afterwards such that another similar household cannot move in.

These developments have implications for any methodology set up to measure levels of displacement since it becomes very difficult to adequately operationalise the concepts.

Displacement also affects more people than those who are simply displaced. There is an effect on other residents who, Marcuse argues, see their;

“neighbourhood changing dramatically, when all their friends are leaving, when stores are going out of business and new stores for other clientele are taking their places (or none at all are replacing them), when changes in public facilities, transportation patterns, support services, are all clearly making the area less and less liveable.” (Marcuse, op cit:157)

Methodologically speaking (and from the point of view of displacees) this form of displacement is important because any figure for displacement produced by using before-and-after measurements will lack any measure of this form. The categories which Marcuse sets out are not mutually exclusive and highlight the researcher’s difficulty in measuring displacement when faced with the problems of a longitudinal analysis coupled with the difficulty of treading a path between the underestimate of the pure conservative or the overestimate of an extreme liberal definitions of displacement which are now considered.

It is possible to identify different types of displacement in relation to certain key factors in the process. Lee and Hodge (1984) distinguish between *liberal* and *conservative* definitions of displacement (see also Swanstrom and Kerstein, 1989, who distinguish between market and conflict approaches). The latter referring to whether any move may be considered involuntary other than through eviction or destruction of property and the former to any factor which appears to act upon the displacee such as rent increases or harassment. Crucially the dividing line between these definitions affect the perceived magnitude of the phenomenon. As Lee and Hodge point out;

“Beyond general agreement that displacement refers to involuntary mobility instigated by forces external to the household, considerable variation exists in the detailed meanings attached to the term.” (1984:144)

LeGates and Hartman (1981) and Lee and Hodge (1984:148) distinguish further between *private* and *public* modes of displacement in which private refers to displacement which has not resulted from use of public funds; public displacement is clearly self explanatory. These types are also referred to in the British literature insofar

as reference is made to the way in which rehabilitation grants have been used by landlords to gentrify property (McCarthy, 1974, Balchin, 1995:67,) and by the in-movers themselves (Hamnett, 1973, Merrett, 1976:45) but the means testing of grant applicants since 1990 has effectively ceased the relationship. Work has been done on other ways in which the state may be involved in the displacement process, for example planning and local policies which may facilitate gentrification (see Ambrose and Colenutt on North Southwark, 1977, Chambers, 1988 on Hammersmith and Fulham and Cameron, 1992, on Tyneside and London's Docklands).

The public sector has clearly sponsored redevelopment and urban programmes such as demolition and road building which have also contributed to displacement but are not associated with gentrification in which it is the market mechanism which enables the process to take place so that it is market, rather than political power, which may be held to account even though such simplifications may become blurred and overlap in the final analysis. In the public mode of displacement, in which impact assessment, compensation and participation take place one can see a model of arbitration needed to take place in cases of displacement from gentrification so that human rights can be protected (Leckie, 1995).

Displacement in the past

As has been pointed out (Smith and Williams, 1986:2), many of the earlier writers dealing with gentrification were highly empirical and did not get much beyond its outward appearance; that of the physical upgrading of long forsaken tracts of the inner urban environment which were in need of rehabilitating. The ideological and physical desirability of protecting the gentrification process were linked in part to the US taxation system by which operation revenues were generated locally (LeGates and Hartman, 1986, Smith, 1996). Thus the influx of higher income residents moving into an area was seen as positive, as was the rehabilitation of the inner urban environment. It can also be argued that benefits have accrued to owner occupiers in gentrified areas who may have seen the value of their houses rise dramatically. The late seventies brought a more theoretically based set of works which began to show the underlying and anti-

social nature of the processes going on. While theoretical schisms have continued until the present to divide researchers and commentators, this approach to the subject has revealed far more about gentrification.

Writers have previously managed to provide invaluable data yet the ideological manipulation of this data has become apparent (see for example the debate between Sumka, 1979 and Hartman, 1979a, on the divergence between government and academic figures of displacement). These problems aside it has been possible for commentators to establish annual flows of displacement (Marcuse, 1986, LeGates and Hartman, 1981, 1986, Leckie, 1995). Sumka (1979) has shown that annually 500,000 US households were displaced (approximately 2 million people).

The social characteristics and origination of gentrifiers have been identified (LeGates and Hartman, op cit., McCarthy, 1974, Ley, 1994, Munt, 1987, Bridge, 1994, Zukin, 1982, Warde, 1991) and those of the displacees (LeGates and Hartman, op cit., Henig, 1980, 1984, Chan, 1986, DeGiovanni, 1986, McCarthy, 1974, Lyons, 1995, Smith, 1996) - low income, white working class, the elderly, ethnic minorities (less often since areas predominated by ethnic minorities become popular far more slowly (although see Chan, 1986, on Chinatown in Montreal and Smith, 1995, on the emergence of the Bronx).

Chan also summarises the adverse psycho-social effects of displacement;

“effects of forced uprooting and relocation on them are particularly severe partly because they are most likely to be long-term residents dependent on the neighbourhood’s institutions and locally-based social network, and partly because they are low in resources, and, therefore, would be more likely to experience forced relocation and uprootedness as a crisis” (Chan, 1986:66)

LeGates, Hartman and Leckie have also written on the ill effects of displacement as a psychological factor in the gentrification equation. The destination and living circumstances of displacees, post gentrification has been documented (LeGates and Hartman, op cit., McCarthy, op cit., Henig, op cit., Smith op cit.) - to more expensive (80-85% of displacees had to pay more for worse accommodation, Hartman, 1979a:23),

persistent or worse overcrowding, often inferior but frequently adjacent accommodation to their original location this is often because of a lack of resources to move any further and often moves are made to friends or relatives households which accounts for much of the observed overcrowding.

Displacement from gentrification has been defined by Leckie as occurring;

“when households have their housing choices made by another social group and this may be aided by a legislature which often favours the powerful, the moneyed or the landowning” (Leckie, 1995: 24).

This provides a strong baseline definition which shows that displacement is not always, or simply, a violent or harassment based process as was often mentioned in the British literature (Merrett, 1976:44, Hamnett and Williams, 1979:5). Displacement is to be associated as much with constraint, social closure, legislative favouritism and market bias as pure coercion (Marcuse, 1986).

Marcuse's work is important because it reveals the complexity of displacement, its history and its dependence on a variety of factors. The fact that the categories he sets out are not mutually exclusive highlights the difficulty of measuring displacement by the researcher who has to tackle the problems of a longitudinal analysis and the difficulty of treading a path between the underestimate of the pure conservative or the overestimate of the extreme liberal definition. The linking of methodology and ideology in these developments is important in understanding both the meaning of the concept of displacement in relation to the gentrification phenomenon and in understanding how such conceptualisations may be linked to the research process.

Displacement in London

As has already been mentioned, little work has been done on displacement in London yet the increasing polarisation and occupational change of that area has been noted (Hamnett, 1976, Hall and Ogden, 1992, Harloe, 1992). In combination with the British work done on gentrification in London with international literature on displacement it is

possible to gain some insights into the nature of the process in a grounded location such as London.

In Britain the Department of the Environment carried out a survey in twelve inner London boroughs (McCarthy, 1974) to find out three things, first, to what extent existing residents were benefiting from house renovation, second, if they were not, why did they move away, where to, and to what end, and third, did outward moving households have different social characteristics to in-moving ones. The final aim was based around the hypothetical involvement of gentrification in the renovation process. In addition the study traced the residents in those properties as far as was possible.

The study found that household movement before renovation was marked such that “the improvement of living conditions did not benefit the original residents.” (McCarthy, 1974:3). In total 68% of applications sampled had been preceded by the outward movement of at least one household, almost three quarters of all households had moved away. Of those leaving 80% were tenants, as might be expected.

A sequence of vacation, sale and then improvement appeared prevalent. Interestingly, very few households were dissatisfied with their new accommodation - this may have been due to the escape from harassment and eviction, rather than a real improvement in living standards. By far the largest reason for moves was landlord harassment (43%). Most importantly McCarthy described this process as one in which the “housing costs associated with improved (and improvable) dwellings in inner London...tend to act as a social sieve” (McCarthy, op cit:19).

Lyons (1995), study examined the effect of gentrification on displacement in London over the census period 1971-81, in particular looking at the socio-economic, geographic and migratory aspects of the process. As with McCarthy, Lyons finds that local migration is associated with low status households while longer range migration may be associated with those of higher status indicating their relation to constraint and choice respectively. For Lyons displacement is linked to gentrification and consumer choice for

the gentrifiers but for the displacees, because of their lack of market power, they are subject to constraint and coercion in their moves; or pull and push factors.

Research in the US (Galster and Peacock, 1986) has taken this approach further using census data, regression analysis and four dependent variables selected as key gentrification variables; percentage black, percentage college educated, real median income and real median property values. These were then analysed with regard to a range of other variables to see which had an impact on the level of incidence of the gentrification variables. The research found that the different measures and levels of stringency applied lead to varying levels of the manifestation being identified according to the different operational definitions used.

These three studies formed the inspiration for this research which needed to use a longitudinal analysis to study a before and after situation and which acknowledged that use of the census would be *the* unrivalled data set to use (see limitations later). The study was to examine a number of variables as the key dynamics behind gentrification - professionals and managers, those with some form of higher education and owner occupiers. These were selected because of the weight of empirical and theoretical evidence suggesting them to be key characteristics of gentrifiers and gentrification activity. It was not possible to elaborate the concept of gentrification any further because of the restrictive nature of the census questions, a question on income for example would have been invaluable in this respect. The research then sought to examine the relationship between these variables and a set of key displacement variables taken predominantly from the North American literature on the justification that the two countries' forms of gentrification were not wholly incommensurable.

Hamnett and Williams (1979) have pointed out the difficulties of obtaining data on the displacement phenomenon. However, the vast outpouring of studies, reports and assessments of displacement in countries like America, Canada and Australia demonstrate that this work can be done on the initiative of government, academics, neighbourhood and national groups. In the tighter budgeting being pursued by governments world-wide it is not surprising that the funding and the research in this area

has declined since the late eighties, especially in view of the resources needed to undertake this research; the Grier's report of 1978, for example, examined displacement in eighteen cities. It is equally probable that the results of such surveys are held to be unsavoury by the power brokers and gentrification agents whose interests are compromised by such work.

While the issue of displacement may be defined as one of social justice, since it involves the constraint of housing rights of those who have been identified as the weakest or poorest groups of society (see LeGates and Hartman, 1986, but also Lee and Hodge, 1984 who dispute such an 'underclass' thesis), it must be quantified in order to assess the magnitude of problem. This is problematic on two counts; first, it is difficult to measure gentrification over, or at any point in, time and, second, the exact quantification has been subject to debates surrounding definitions and the social positions of the debaters (for a classic example of this see Hartman's, 1979a, response to Sumka, 1979, and Sumka's counter-response to issues of method and measurement).

The problem of displacement in America has been given little weight by the government who have perceived it as being too small to worry about, especially in the context of the perceived good that neighbourhood revitalisation has done to the inner city environment. It may be considered no coincidence that while the US government sees only positive benefits (also possibly due to the taxation system in which revenue is collected 'locally' so that benefits are to be gained from increasing the status of an area), researchers on behalf of neighbourhoods and legal aid projects find large scale injustices.

Marcuse, for example, finds displacement in New York to be estimated between 10,000 and 40,000 households *per year* (Marcuse, 1986). Such figures are obviously linked to the prevalence of gentrification activity at any point in time. LeGates and Hartman (1981 and 1986) indicate that an 'approximately and conservative' total annual displacement figure for the US amounts to 2.5 million persons, compared to the approximately 2 million people implicated in Marcuse's work. LeGates and Hartman also cite the growing awareness of the problem by the government at that time which reported to Congress that 2.4 million people were being annually displaced based on

only a 'private' definition of the phenomenon. Smith shows that Redevelopment Authority files from Society Hill in Philadelphia give a figure of 6,000 residents displaced since 1959 to make way for gentrification.

Figures for Britain have nowhere been forthcoming but tentative figures have been indicated by Leckie (1995) who estimates an annual figure of 144,000 people being forcefully evicted each year. He estimates that a further 60,000 or more will be evicted annually in the future, only a certain proportion of these figures, however, will relate to gentrification-related displacement because of their relationship with eviction. However, it is evident that the former figure is taken from an OPCS commissioned study (Pickering and Rauta, 1992) which gave the figure of 1 in 10 tenants being harassed each year (see also Jew, 1994). This was, however, based on a question which asked if the tenant had been made in any way uncomfortable which cannot be directly related to displacement per se. In fact 2% of all tenants in the survey had experienced landlords who had tried to evict them in other ways, a euphemism for harassment. These figures are not an adequate foundation for a comparison with the North American literature but indicate some quantification of the contemporary phenomenon, an enormous research hiatus which also hinders further work.

While the policy impact of research may be considered limited (Bulmer, 1986) according to factors such as receptiveness, finance and ideology it does not make the project of understanding and quantifying displacement any less worthwhile. The exact relationship between gentrification and displacement has been rarely explicated and the attempt to do so remains an important social scientific quest. In many respects displacement is more easily understood than gentrification even if it is harder to measure. The clustering of a group of diverse phenomena labelled as gentrification is complex but more directly visible whereas displacement can only be measured directly by looking at those agencies which may come into contact with such people. Even then it is not always going to be the case that displacees end up at some form of help centre, local authorities only keep records of those that approach them as homeless for the unintentionally homeless, pregnant women, families, disabled and the elderly. This means that local authority records will be an inadequate way of measuring displacement.

A displacement research agenda

Gentrification was beneficial to the middle class in-migrants who took advantage of low priced and well located inner city residences. However, while large gains were to be made there were also negative consequences which have been subjected to ideological treatments which have only served to confuse understanding of the scale of such effects. This can be clearly seen in work like that of Lee and Hodge (op cit.) which describes displacement along the lines of the conservative definition of displacement which they propose;

“Within the context of revitalization, the displacement of poor and powerless residents through eviction, condominium conversion, and massive rent or property tax increases constitutes an unfortunate side effect of middle class reinvestment in central-city housing...residential displacement is thought by some to signal a new era of urban health.” (Lee and Hodge, 1984:141)

The degree to which both replacement and displacement then can be seen as neutral and ‘natural’ courses of the life history of the urban environment is questionable. Dislocation may still require a policy response and the gentrification boom years of the eighties have not been assessed with regard to their impact on displacement, in America and Britain.

LeGates and Hartman (1986) have identified the need for a comparative research agenda which identifies the similarity of patterns, the possible identification of a global pattern and the explanation and understanding of displacement. A fourth point may be added; the understanding of displacement in relation to a measured policy response dependent on the magnitude of the problem. Now, most clear of all is the need for research to be done in Britain in order that any of these aims be achieved.

Many writers have alluded to the existence of research agendas which need exploring (Van Weesep, 1994, Smith, 1991) yet few have attempted to tackle the issues which they identify as being needy of attention. Lees and Bondi (1995) perceive the inability of gentrification research to provide any synthesis as a weakness and an artificial position of intellectual power by denying the commensurability of the different theoretical

positions i.e. that theories, in particular the rent and value gaps, are portrayed as being based on radically different epistemological grounds. Clark's work stands as a refreshing approach among those theorists (1992, 1994). While Smith and Hamnett make nodding acknowledgements of the roots of each others work no real conciliatory work has been written.

Research in gentrification may be viewed as orthodox. It has set up new laws which dictate that the process has an underlying and non-divergent homogeneity. References to the inner city as its only location of existence are a good example of this approach. Its demise has been prematurely predicted (Bourne, 1993) when it has persisted in its class/income forms continuing to replace and displace working class populations. Debate has become stale. Writers are still debating the merits of the theoretical aspects to an approach to gentrification (Warde, Butler and Hamnett, Bourne, Smith, Hamnett) while an empirical agenda has been shifted to one side. In other words it is not going anywhere. The lack of effect of this body of literature upon the enlightening of decision making and policy processes is stunning; writers are flogging a dead theoretical horse and achieving little by doing so.

Agendas are clearly worth asserting if they are utilised to forward and expand knowledge to inform both social science and policy makers actions in whatever context this may be. In this climate a certain amount of time needs spending on the defining of what gentrification and displacement are and what is aimed to be achieved by identifying these phenomena.

While writers such as Clark have chosen to describe gentrification as 'backward filtering' (Clark, 1992:16) or, rather, a reverse of the sub-urbanisation process there is no evidence available to suggest that renewed filtering of this kind is occurring. Lees and Bondi (1995) frame the de-gentrification debate in terms of a 'revanchist anti-urbanism' (Lees and Bondi, 1995:249) in which as Smith (1995) concurs 'race/class/gender terror' is experienced by middle and upper class whites who feel threatened and disenfranchised by an imagined theft of the city from them.

The de-gentrification debate is clearly to be contextualised within ideological references to the residential and working environments of the city in which power is not just expressed through control over residential choice but also over manipulation of the imagery of the city by which a moral panic of decay and violence is expressed by those who have appropriated areas of the city. As Lees and Bondi argue it is not possible for writers to suggest that a gentrification has halted in order to provide a basis for a de-gentrification debate, rather, it is necessary for hard evidence to be put forward indicating a reversal of the process.

In the context of a gentrification saturation point (Atkinson, 1995:17, Lees and Bondi, 1995:248) it is possible to understand the current gentrification scenario as one of stasis through satiation rather than a full cessation being reached. Advocates of Smith's rent gap approach see gentrification as a phenomenon contingent upon a flux of investment and disinvestment by capital in which gaps appear where disinvestment occurs such that profits can be made from higher and more profitable uses coming into play. Of course the value judgement used to legitimate the revalorization of land for the middle classes *is* that it is a better use and that it aids the revitalisation of the inner city. In cases of gentrification outside the city (see Parsons analysis of the process in Nottinghamshire and North Norfolk, 1981) revitalisation is less important than in the decayed inner cities. Appropriation of well located and relatively cheap housing, usually through resale rather than tenure transfer, does little to benefit local communities who have been out bid from purchasing in their own area.

In the context of the de-gentrification debate the issue of displacement remains high on the agenda because of two questions. The first relates to the issue of displacement as an urban legacy which has neither been defined nor examined. The second relates to the need for an extension of a historical knowledge of the phenomenon with regard to the continuing possibility of gentrification related displacement in the future.

New urban forms or gentrification?

The definition of gentrification and displacement already given actually allow a diverse variety of urban practices to be included under these umbrella terms. Marcuse (1986) for example has shown that the existence of a variety of different kinds of displacement makes only a *range* rather than a precise quantification possible. Going further LeGates and Hartman (1981) have shown that displacement can be caused by a variety of factors. Of that sub-set of figures, of displacement related to gentrification, this is further complicated by both the definition and measurement of the gentrification itself.

Murie (1991) has examined the gentrification process in terms of the resale of property bought under the right-to-buy. Some of this property previously owned by the public sector may be seen as desirable by gentrifiers. However, these are not gentrifiers in the classic sense. Rather they are gentrifiers by virtue of their being of a higher socio-economic group than those they buy the property off. In addition they may not need to renovate the property nor do they displace the original residents. While some would argue that this shows how the gentrification process can be as positive a process as negative it must be seen that this is a reformulation of the traditional process of gentrification.

Conversion activity in areas of London of previously industrial, ecclesiastical and educational property has led to developments trying to cater for and provide a metropolitan imagery similar to that of the Manhattan style lofts in which space is ample and personal expression is maximised. Zukin (1982) has described such a process occurring in New York. While clearly acknowledged as gentrification this form requires property which may not necessarily have ever been in residential use, only that there is plenty of space.

The descent into post-modernity

Recent accounts of gentrification, predominantly from the other side of the Atlantic (Mills, 1993 and Wheeler, 1995) are beginning to adopt a stance related to a deeper shift in social scientific thinking in which the cultural and economic status of the event of

gentrification is critically examined. Post-modernism is a paradigm in which the possibility of asserting a paradigmatic view of the world is questioned. The breakdown of hierarchies and the certainties of a period of 'modernism' has resulted in a contemporary situation in which certainty, truth and authority are relativised and the grand theories and narratives of past years become questioned to a point in which fragmentation is the only eventuality (Bauman, 1992).

Wheeler has directly associated post-modernism with "white people moving into the neighbourhood and brown people having to move out" (Wheeler, 1991:1). Gentrification for Wheeler goes hand in hand with post-modernism which is seen as covering up the realities of the process by appropriating and destroying, simultaneously, the history of the urban landscape in which it takes place.

Interestingly Wheeler's rendition of the phases of the post-modern image bear a marked resemblance to the phases of appropriation described by Wiener of the gentry's succession by the bourgeoisie. First, the image is part of a culture [the gentry], second, the image is rejected as outmoded [the rise of the bourgeoisie], and finally, the image is brought back to life self-consciously as part of a new style of living [the emulation and use of a gentry aesthetic by the bourgeoisie]. What then can be made of this similarity? Post-modernism appears to reflect a constant process of appropriation like the Victoriana of Melbourne (Jager, 1986) or the 'conspicuous thrift' of Islington (Lees and Bondi, 1995)

The problem with these important developments is their reliance on relativised truth which renders empirical analysis powerless to assert any 'real' picture of a phenomena. The heart of a subject becomes a question of ideological and social constructs. Rather, the assertions of post-modern literature on the subject, questions the ability of the researcher to undertake any form of empirical analysis of a phenomenon other than through qualitative accounts.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to examine gentrification in its current forms through the available literature. This has been done via the typology of historical, theoretical and empirical headings in order to add clarity and structure to what is essentially a diverse and 'chaotic' literature. The self-referential nature of the literature is due in part to its inability to find a common thread in the study of its subject matter in terms of the people involved, the social structures at work and means in general by which the process takes place.

The history of gentrification has two sides; First, gentrification has been going on for a certain amount of time as a discreet social process among others and, second, a body of literature and analysis has grown up around that social phenomenon in order to try and understand it. As three decades have passed since Glass first wrote on the subject the phenomenon itself has diversified under the broad heading of gentrification. It has been the task of gentrification theories, stemming from broad social science perspectives, to come to terms with these developments.

Like the study of housing in general, as argued by Kemeny (1991) gentrification has adopted the theories of the social sciences in all their diversity; from economics to sociology. It is equally true that theories have been developed that have been specifically designed to understand and model the process in its various facets. This has placed the study of gentrification firmly within the realm of the urban theorist and may be equated with a sincere desire to produce a theoretically mature account of the process.

Chapter Three - Theory and method in gentrification and displacement research

Introduction

Having conducted a survey of the components, theories and research within the area of gentrification and displacement the relationship of theory to the empirical work which follows is examined. This is addressed for two reasons;

- (a) It has been argued (Rose, 1984, Beauregard, 1986, Hamnett and Williams, 1979, Bridge, 1994) that gentrification is a theoretically, and empirically diverse and complex process so that some attention must be given to our preconceptualisations and the construction of the phenomena under study, and;
- (b) Theory itself is a key component of empirical research which informs and underpins it and which demands specific consideration prior to operationalising the research.

1. Theory, gentrification and displacement

To some extent it is possible to define theory by its function which Craib describes as 'the interpretation of whatever facts we might be able to discover and agree on...indeed...we need a theory to tell us what the facts are' (1984:10). Craib talks of social theory as having three dimensions, that is, that theorists are doing three different things at the same time. These dimensions are; *cognitive, affective* and *normative*;

- 1) The cognitive dimension refers to theory as a way of establishing knowledge about the social world.
- 2) The affective dimension 'embodies the experience and feelings of the theorist (since) any theoretical debate involves more than rational argument' (p.19).
- 3) The third dimension, the normative, refers to the way theory makes implicit or explicit assumptions about the way the world should be. In other words certain

proposals and a degree of criticism will come out of the theory since it is not possible to be unbiased or take a neutral stance on a subject.

One needs to be aware of these dimensions when pursuing research. The perception that displacement is unjust shows a value bias in the research based upon certain assumptions, later expanded. This quality of theory can be summarised through the use of a somewhat kaleidoscopic analogy given by O'Brien; namely social theory provides the means to conceive that which might only be perceived since it;

“involves the continual generation of new questions about social life so that our ability to explain and understand what is happening in society improves [as the] components of the world being investigated combine and recombine into new patterns as they are viewed through different theoretical perspectives” (1993:11).

The debates surrounding the extent to which social theory may be considered to be ‘scientific’ are largely based upon people’s conception of science or whether social theory should in fact be concerned to follow the western scientific model at all (Keat and Urry, 1982). The result has been the questioning of a positivist view of social science in which natural science was emulated (Winch, 1960, Kuhn, 1970).

The ‘realist’ notion of the purpose of social theory is now relatively commonplace, it asserts that theories;

“enable us to give causal explanations of observable phenomena, and of the regular relations that exist between them. Further, such explanations must make reference to the underlying structures and mechanisms which are involved in the causal process. It is these structures and mechanisms which it is the task of theories to explain.” (Keat and Urry, 1982:32).

Rather than viewing theory as having a direct correspondence with an external reality Domingues (1996) has argued that theory has a ‘sensitising’ character and that one cannot ‘know’ the complexity of social reality since it is always shifting and concepts can rarely, if ever, be said to have a universal quality. In the observation of gentrification the;

“experienced “spotter” can detect brass door knockers, pastel colours, paper lanterns, bamboo blinds, and light, open interiors of the inner areas of many cities.” (Williams, 1986:57)

Theory is advocated by Williams as a preventive for such superficial observation because of the over-simplifying picture that it presents and its lack of depth. One should question the degree to which such features are true indicators of the underlying economic features of the process, or any kinds of indicators for that matter. These ideas are advanced in the next section.

Gentrification theory

Problems of adequately understanding gentrification have often involved its theorisation; its comparability over cultural and research contexts, the various levels of analysis that this implies and understanding the novel or constant forms that should or should not be included under the term (Carpenter and Lees, 1995, Clark, 1994, Smith, 1991, 1995). Theory is crucial to the way one may conceive, and therefore perceive, gentrification through the methodological tools at our disposal. To bridge the gap between mind and social world, data collection forms the basis of any substantive empirical claims about what is ‘out there’.

Smith and Williams provide us with a good starting point for a discussion of the constitution of gentrification which they define as;

“the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle class neighbourhood” (1986:1)

Many writers (Williams, 1986, Beauregard, 1986, Clark, 1992, Saunders, 1981, and Bridge, 1994) have highlighted and tried to come to terms with the under-theorised nature of the study of gentrification, either in terms of its conceptualisation or in forming more strongly theorised research methodologies. Kemeny’s (1992) work also relates to the study of gentrification where his broad argument is for the development of stronger theoretical concepts in examining housing issues instead of borrowing those from other

disciplines on an ad hoc basis. It is this development that is more explicitly considered here.

Towards a theory of gentrification.

In considering theories of gentrification it is necessary to be aware of some guiding criteria as to the adequacy of such theories. As Saunders argues 'empirical testability is an essential condition of theoretical adequacy' (1981:280) and that the prerequisite of theoretical dependency does not undermine this claim. This means that any theory, in this case of gentrification, should be verifiable by looking at the phenomenon itself. This may be explained by using Saunders' argument that 'explanations that are inherently immune from empirical evaluation, even on their own terms, in effect explain nothing' (p.285). Theories should therefore be open to challenge from contradictory findings when tested empirically otherwise one may be

‘layers of meaning’ each of which penetrate deeper towards the most important processes needed for a non-ideological interpretation of the process.

Beauregard gives three levels on which theory may operate with regard to the gentrification process. He states that at the thinnest layer of meaning one may see the journalistic and promotional representations, each with their interests in increased economic activity in the city. They present, misrepresent and convey an ideology designed to perpetuate gentrification. The second layer is the empirical layer of assessments, also argued against by Williams as inadequate, working from a scientific methodology using empirical regularities as causal explanation. These accounts tend to ignore the dynamics and the changes involved in gentrification by ignoring the multiple contingent actions and occurrences that combine to produce this activity. The third layer on which gentrification explanations may operate is a level of more theoretical analyses. This level attempts to get at the underlying structural forces which ‘have created and currently drive the process of gentrification’ (1986:38).

In order to appreciate the varying forms that gentrification may take it is necessary that any theory takes account of these differing forms to produce a more accurate account. In Loretta Lees (1994) comparative study of London and New York the fundamental feature of the analysis is its gearing towards those elements which may diverge across time and space (although see Lees and Carpenter, 1995 for a more convergent picture of the progress of gentrification). The contextual boundaries identified are locality, city and country. Within this wide-ranging framework it is then possible to look at the specific aspects of the gentrification process occurring. In terms of the legislative aspects of these two countries, it is possible and necessary to be context specific whilst recognising the power of an interpretative framework to be applied to other situations and ‘filled in’ with the subsequent details. This means that an adequate theory of gentrification will be one that utilises contextual detail in a more inclusive frame stepping from the abstract to the specific.

In Bridge’s (1994) reappraisal of the class and residence dimensions of gentrification he argues that current accounts are often inadequate because of their omission of specific

detail, in particular the attachment to neighbourhood over time and the gender dimensions (see also Warde, 1991), in addition to the older concerns such as class or area. These accounts show a need for the theorisation of gentrification to be addressed in terms of comprehensive and often small scale phenomena and processes which may well fit in with a broader frame but are concerned specifically with those details which are vital to a more complete explication.

As Williams argues, the nature of theory that has focused on gentrification has been inadequate in two main ways. First, discussion has concentrated upon people and places with little regard given to their relative importance or the processes underlying them. Second, attempts that have been made have emphasised production-based elements (the requirements of capital) or consumption based theory in which urban politics and housing classes have been the main concerns (Williams, 1986). As with many theoretical problems the solution lies in the synthesis of such ideas in this case Marxist and Weberian ideas, about the nature of gentrification as in the project carried out by Clark (1994) in his analysis of the rent and value gap theories.

Gentrification: Its comparison and definition

One can come to a better understanding of the theory of gentrification by looking at the phenomenon in a comparative context in which the common and divergent features can be seen more clearly. It is possible to distinguish between manifestations occurring longitudinally (over, or at different points in time), and horizontally (in different geographical locations). Debates about what can be considered gentrification are not new:

‘Does it apply when working-class households in peripheral housing estates are gradually displaced by a group with marginally higher incomes? Must a neighbourhood be entirely transformed? How elastic is the term?... How portable is the concept? Can it be applied in a meaningful way to cities around the globe, in their diverse societal contexts? Is there an ‘Atlantic gap’?’ (Musterd and van Weesep, 1990: 11)

As other urban forms have emerged these questions become more complex but although the dynamics of the process may vary in different places and times it is likely that certain fundamental elements of its constitution show a greater degree of inflexibility and it is these factors which form gentrification's defining features.

An analysis of gentrification definitions shows those elements that are essential and those that seem to show what is peripheral to the process. Smith and Williams (1986) begin with a strong definition, introduced above, which allows derelict property to be included. This is important because it shows that non-displacing/replacing succession by middle class immigrants may also be called gentrification.

Any definition which included renovation or physical upgrading, often seen as an integral part of the gentrification process, would be invalidated where it did not form a part of the process, as would any other context sensitive characteristic. One should therefore be aware of which components of gentrification are contextual and which are more rigid or persistent. Take, for example, a situation where a middle class family move into a previously working class property, even if they decide not to renovate the property it is still quite clearly a case of gentrification since it is fundamentally a social process. Gentrification shows the action by this upper status grouping acting upon a physical environment occupied by a lower social grouping than themselves. Robson (1975) considered that filtering should be measured as a process based on devaluation and revaluation such that rental and price measures should be used to measure the process, rather than social or status measures.

Reference to the more widespread influence of affluent in-migrants came earlier in accounts such as that by Hamnett and Williams who described it as;

‘the colonization of working class inner areas of certain cities by the middle classes [that] commonly involves the physical renovation of houses that were frequently previously privately rented up to the standards required by the new owner occupying middle class residents who generally bring with them a distinctive life style and set of tastes.’ (Hamnett and Williams 1979:1)

The applicability of a class-based analysis began to be questioned during the mid-eighties when Smith showed that transatlantic-Atlantic divergence existed over what to call this phenomenon;

‘Many American analysts have been uncomfortable with the term ‘gentrification’ (with its obvious class connotations), preferring labels such as the “back-to-the-city movement”, “neighbourhood revitalization”, and “brownstoneing”, all of which were indicative of underlying divergences in what was believed to be central to this process.’ (Williams 1986: 65)

Such definitions and disputes have not come any closer to a universally accepted definition but have revealed the complexity of the dynamics behind it. It might be suggested that such a definition is tacitly understood between researchers and that it is important that such a definition is made explicit to provide a concept with given criteria so that cases can be distinguished. It can be argued that it is not rigorous enough to suggest that a tacitly agreed conceptualisation is adequate.

There is a contrast to be made between accounts that have stressed what Beauregard has described as an ‘ideal type’ approach (Beauregard 1986) where the uniformity of the phenomenon is observed and those accounts that acknowledge that differences in its manifestation may be included under a central conceptual heading. It is, after all, such differences that provide both a more realistic picture of cultural differentiation and illumination than accounts which stress uniformity. Elaborate definitions are more specific in their referents that pinpoint it longitudinally and horizontally, it is therefore important that a baseline definition does not include those factors that may diverge over time and space. Contextual factors would be included according to the particular area under study and should be acknowledged as contingent.

Gentrification and novel urban forms

Contemporary phenomena are now considered which are beginning to manifest themselves that force attention on contradictory elements which create questions in relation to a definition of gentrification. These phenomena have been included under the

conceptual heading of gentrification as defined above and need to be assessed and explained.

Although the ebb and flow of gentrification in Britain today appears to have declined, it is important to understand what form it takes when the factors that would be thought to halt the process have not done so. Recent observation has shown gentrification to be occurring in London (Warde 1991, Bridge 1993a and 1993b, Lees 1994) and the north-east of England (Cameron 1992)¹. Later interviews with estate agents confirmed that having climbed out of the recession certain parts of the market in parts of London, notably gentrified areas and the upper end of the market, were as buoyant as they ever were.

One can look for gentrification in other areas, such as the effect of the 1988 Rent Act that has deregulated tenancies so that low income tenants are being replaced by high income tenants as deregulation has led to insecurity of tenure (Jew, 1994). Housing benefit changes have also pushed down the ability of tenants to pay high rents.

Lower levels of gentrification today may be due to a “gentrification saturation point” (Atkinson, 1995). In such circumstances supplies of gentrifiable property and gentrifiers are exhausted leading to a temporary cessation. However, even if this is the case occupational restructuring and changes in taste, about what property may be deemed gentrifiable, may lead to new movements being made at any time. Recent trends in the conversion of schoolhouse, ecclesiastical and industrial property in working class areas are examples of this redefinition of gentrifiable property and may open new avenues that lead to the gentrification of surrounding housing.

The extent to which the ‘right to buy’ legislation has led to incumbent upgrading through a tenure shift from public rented to owner occupied has not been speculated upon and is clearly an issue of what constitute class and status boundaries. If class may be defined by tenure then the right to buy legislation has created the largest single

¹Journalistic accounts have been much more prolific in their identification of gentrified areas but this may be as much the desire to create as to observe patterns of gentrification.

example of non-displacing gentrification in the world. A nation of home owners, however, does not equal a middle class nation even if many may believe that the rights of ownership confer greater social status. It is more likely however that the *resale* of council stock has engendered something approaching gentrification in some areas (Murie, 1991).

It looks as if this area may continue to be worthy of some attention. The debate surrounding the resale of formerly housing association properties in areas like the lake district and fears of a retiring middle class flood of migrants toward the south west have provoked interest in a purchase tax to help finance housing schemes for the local population. Fears have also been expressed by those not wanting to see business investment be hindered in what are some of the poorest parts of Britain².

The 'state facilitation' of gentrification was argued by Chambers (1988) to have occurred in area action projects in London where often the result was significant shifts in tenure from renting to owning after concentrated rehabilitation grant activity had occurred. Grants for landlords remain available although compulsory letting is required for a period of five years. There is no reason to assume, however, that this precludes the possibility of the rehabilitation of a property in preparation for owner occupation with an obvious time lag.

Cameron noted that area activity by urban development corporations resulted in 'disbenefits' accruing to those who had been targeted as benefiting from renewal activity in both the Docklands of London and Tyneside (Cameron 1992) state facilitation may then need reconceptualizing in terms of the gentrification process. Rehabilitation has become less prominent in recent accounts (Warde 1991, Bridge 1993b, Lees op cit. ad Smith, 1996) but is likely to be involved if a change in the taste and/or demands of in-movers is different from the original inhabitants or if disinvestment in the property has occurred.

² Gibb, 1997, "Incomers face tax on sunshine homes", *The Guardian*, April 8

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Gender has been argued to be an increasingly important component involved in the gentrification of certain areas of Hackney (Warde, 1991) although the extent to which this was an overriding concern was debated by Butler and Hamnett (1994) who argued that class was still the dominant characteristic although the increasing market power of female headed households was becoming more significant. This clearly needs more analysis particularly as women become a larger and better paid proportion of the professional and managerial groups.

If Castells is correct in asserting the major cleavage in class relations to be based around access and non-access to information (Castells, 1994) this may mean that in combination with a particular taste in housing the 'open-collar' worker may form a new gentrifying group occupying new areas in 'electronic cottages' located in any area due to the ability of information technology to be located anywhere. In view of what has already been argued is it possible that gentrifiers as an identifiable group are a highly fragmented and heterogeneous set that require more sophisticated analysis - in which case it is possible that their definition should surround price and resource measures rather than more cultural measures.

With reduced investment motives it may be possible to conclude that other 'gentrification benefits' provide as big a motive; for example, the desire for green space, shorter journeys to work and a cheaper house centrally located. It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that many of London's 'loft' conversions are taking place in areas not previously associated with gentrification. Ironically it is in the current property recession that areas such as Southwark, which have always been well located vis-à-vis access to the city of London, have only just begun to be gentrified in a property recession. It may well be that Smith's ideas on the 'rent gap' theory of gentrification are only just being realised as these areas are clearly profitable because of the devalorisation of land due to industrial decline.

The definition of gentrification

Through an analysis of the gentrification literature one can see two continuous or essential components to the process, these are; (i) Class or socio-economic group movement within (ii) a discrete geographical area. This leads us to the definition: *'Gentrification is the movement of middle and upper class households into discrete areas occupied (or previously occupied by) by lower status (working-class) households.'* It should also add that it is recognised that contingent features of the phenomenon are in abundance and this is considered later on. Of course what this does not do is explain why or when such movements should occur, however a definition serves as a way of identification of phenomena amongst a plethora of diverse and unrelated processes.

There is a tension between the differing scales at which gentrification may be defined. Although there has often been a reference to the area or neighbourhood basis of gentrification it is clear that the process is essentially constituted of households and individuals. If one defines gentrification as an area based or group phenomenon one loses sight of its make up and this also poses the problem that if gentrification is an area phenomenon it makes it difficult to suggest that there is such a thing as a 'gentrifier' since such a role may only be accorded to someone when a neighbourhood or area reaches a gentrified state. Similarly it is difficult to suggest a cut off point at which such neighbourhoods shift from being non-gentrified to gentrified since this would impose a numeric formalism that would be out of keeping with its shifting and processual constitution even though such criteria have been set (see Phillips, 1993).

This makes gentrification a reified concept. Its structural definition belies its constitution through human action. The only solution to this problem is to view gentrification as a household phenomena. While it can be argued that gentrification is a neighbourhood process it is clear that is made up of individual household movements. If one can accept this then it is possible to acknowledge the existence of gentrifiers as the building blocks of what can become neighbourhoods with varying degrees of gentrification rather than gentrified areas which contain gentrifiers.

Gentrifiers

The later use of census variables relating to the occupational structure clearly clouds as much as it elucidates such a group and is theory dependent. The groups identified stem from both the literature and the logical selection of those occupational groups which are higher than others. This necessarily suggests that all professionals and managers are gentrifiers in the context of the operational research. The use of owner occupation as a measure was fatally flawed because of the extent of right to buy policy and degree holders were not a separable group from those with any form of higher education.

The 'cultural' element alluded to in the literature is difficult to operationalise and thereby quantify. As mentioned before, it may be possible to provide some form of measurement scale by reference to various cultural 'artefacts' such as antiques, coloured doors and so on but this relates to the idea that these are strong signifiers of gentrifiers, liable to be an erroneous assumption. It is persistently likely that theoretical ideas about the nature of gentrification will be more complex and comprehensive than operational measures designed for the measurement of such phenomena.

2. Theory and data collection in the research process

Many theorists have argued (Bulmer, 1984, Craib, 1984, Ackroyd and Hughes, 1993, Gilbert, 1993, Ritzer, 1996) that there is a very strong link between the way one conceives of society and social artefacts and the way research is subsequently engaged. While not all theory is applied all research is, necessarily, theory based; it is widely recognised that research into social life is 'theory dependent' and that our 'ability to make connections between action, experience and change is based on the explicit use of theory' (O'Brien, 1993:10).

To view research as a foundationalist enterprise in which the collection of data leads to inevitable conclusions has come to be viewed as an erroneous picture of the progress of research (Hammersley and Gomm, 1997). Cicourel (1964) has shown that research is constantly mediated by theoretical concerns and social pressures, and, more importantly, that categories are social constructs and not objects objectively available for scrutiny.

The later use of multiple regression models and statistical significance tests show that theory is still an inherent part of what appear to be value-neutral mathematical processes. However, it is clear that both the interpretation of results and the use of theory in guiding the hypotheses and assumptions of such models are an essential component (Abelson, 1995).

The chronology of gentrification and displacement

In relation to the later use of theoretical models and the better conceptual understanding of gentrification and displacement a clear problem existed surrounding the precise timing of both gentrification, but also displacement. Gentrification cannot, itself, displace people, property must be vacant before moves are made by gentrifiers; in other words, how can gentrification be seen to *cause* displacement. In the chronology of events displacement must logically occur prior to any act of gentrification; it is *necessary* for displacement to occur before gentrification so that dwelling spaces can be

made available. Of course it is possible that gentrifiers might purchase property with sitting tenants and wait for them to leave³ but this is relatively rare.

It has frequently been held that gentrification can cause displacement but in actual fact this can only be true in terms of an anticipation process in which developers and landlords see that profits can be made by a change in use, occupation or through sale. It may be that this comes from a relatively low level of activity in which some junior professionals, students or artists promote the viability of the gentrification of an area. This implies that such a chronology helps hide the causal relationships between the events since displacement is absent by the time gentrification takes place, thus softening the impression that it gives of displacing people.

Gentrification represents a self-fulfilling prophecy for the speculator landlord or developer who both create and react to market potential and opportunity. The gentrifier or professional's conscience is clear, "we didn't do it, it had already happened", why it happened is another question. It will later be seen that this has ramifications for the direction of causality assumed within regression models and correlations.

It is the anticipation by developers and landlords that a profit can be made that *may* lead to harassment, eviction or notices to quit. Where displacement occurs because an area becomes too expensive the move may appear to be made on a voluntary basis, obfuscating the real reasons for the move. Finally, it is possible that moves are also made because of an inability to enter the market in a gentrified area. These moves may be near impossible to empirically chart but will still be due to the same factors.

With regard to the role of preconceptions and hypotheses in the research these were neither used to confirm or refute the existence or nature of displacement in relation to the gentrification process in London. This cautious yet open approach reaped rewards through its lack of orthodox assumptions. For example, in exploring the constitution of gentrification within the capital no assumptions were made about the geographical location of the phenomenon and this lack of guiding hypotheses (itself guided by

³ Spittles, 1996, "Boom market has investors sitting pretty", *The Guardian*, May 26

more open hypotheses as to the nature of gentrification) yielded results which one will later see contradicted previous research which had asserted the primacy of the phenomenon in the inner city.

The Theory Dependency of Research

One may visualise the use of theory in method as a circular process. As argued earlier, the first stage of the research process involves the drawing up of hypotheses which are used to select which phenomena are instrumental and the way in which they are related in order to later explain these processes. At this stage nothing is concrete and the engaging in research will be of vital importance to the confirmation or otherwise of these initial theories. Having served their purpose they may either be reinforced and added to or discarded. It is possible to indicate three stages which may be repeated in a circular route;

- i) Hypothesis construction and selection of area to be studied.
- ii) Research of that area using methods appropriate to that area.
- iii) Collation of results with confirmation/alteration or rejection of initial hypothesis.

This process is not the only way in which research may be engaged in but it represents a clear model which is regularly used in the social sciences. It will be noticed that the specification of method is completely left out for the obvious reason that theory, as mentioned before, does not entail a particular method. It is from our theorising that one may then go and extract data from the social world based on our previous prioritisation of those phenomena involved and clearly this is an important part of the concerns of methodology in the research process. In the language of Ackroyd and Hughes, data is ‘created’. This means that our preconceptions about the world are being used when one collects data.

As a concept and an area of study, gentrification has received far more attention than related processes such as filtering ‘which takes place when in-movers are of lower

socio-economic status than the out-movers they replace' (Clark, 1992:16). This is not only because it has occurred on a smaller scale than gentrification but also because the research environment has affected the selection and prioritisation of salient and researchable phenomena and constructed theories whose main concern is with gentrification, as Saunders notes, 'theory determines where we look, (and) to some extent governs what we find' (p280, 1981).

Theory neutral research?

In the case of gentrification and displacement, as Beauregard has observed, one is dealing with complex conceptualisations that are not reducible to single dynamics. This creates more problems for the researcher that wishes to make operational such concepts because it is by no means certain that such a working definition can be found based on the tools at our disposal. In fact if one takes the idea of an operational definition to its logical conclusion one must replace all non-observable terms with observable ones (Keat and Urry, 1982). This implies that it is possible to have a theory neutral language about the world; that in actual fact concepts like gentrification can be measured in a way which does not rely on non-observable terms. How then does one measure a gentrifier, a gentrified area, a rent gap, a value gap, an act of displacement? The answer is that one cannot in fact say anything about the external world without some recourse to unobservable or conceptual phenomena.

Later on it will become clear that the methodological tools used, such as the census, are not in fact best suited in performing this task. In itself the census is a socially created tool which relies on people to carry out surveys, to code and to input but, most importantly, to *interpret*. One should not therefore invest too much in these methods but, rather, use them with a careful understanding of their strengths and limitations within the context of the above considerations. Our understanding of gentrification is both illuminated and constrained by these tools.

The study of gentrification has never really specified a definition in the true sense of the word; a statement that precisely delimits its nature. Rather, gentrification has been studied in a way that has resulted in an emergent definition arising which has become assumed rather than defined in such a way that a criteria for its existence may be applied. This is cause for concern; the lack of some form of benchmark means that it is possible to distort the meaning of the word and indeed question whether the word has in fact any connotative meaning at all! Common elements to be found in the literature reveal gentrification often to be a male, white, professional, owner occupier and inner city process. This leads to an emergent definition which guides enquiry to these processes and not others. It may be argued that the class replacement and displacement dimension of gentrification has been left in the background while researchers have examined those processes which most closely match the emergent definition of gentrification.

By focusing on the nature of the process rather than typical symptoms of the process it is possible to understand that gentrification may occur as easily in the suburbs or rural environment as in the inner city, that it could be constituted of black middle classes as white. What has actually happened is that gentrification has been defined in terms of its most likely or frequent occurrence leading to a stereotypical theory of the 'archetypal' case rather than an understanding of its contingencies and varieties of its manifestation.

Levels of analysis in the study of gentrification

As Williams notes 'gentrification is a complex and varied process which can be conceptualised at a number of different levels' (p65, 1986). Williams argues that the dominant mode of analysis in the study of gentrification has largely been at an empirical level which has lacked an appreciation of the processes involved.

Levels of analysis are more clearly demarcated when carrying out research proper, for example the census has provided a key methodological tool (Galster 1986, Bourne, 1993) for gentrification research in the past. The smallest level of analysis in the British

census is the ED (enumeration district) that consists of only two hundred households but at this level measurements of social variables such as class (which are ten percent sample variables) may lead to high levels of inaccuracy due to the preservation of anonymity. At an electoral ward level significance is stronger yet blunter in its pinpointing of certain areas as size is much larger and variable. There is therefore an interaction between levels of analysis and the validity and bias of research.

As an example, one can visualise a situation where the researcher hypothesises a picture of low levels of gentrification activity while many individual households may be moving undetected. This is an extreme hypothetical situation but worth bearing in mind, it may be that contemporary gentrification is made up of a large number of individual households that remain in obscurity while researchers complacently announce the death of gentrification. While theory can remain aware of gentrification activity it may be more difficult to operationalise a definition and provide empirical evidence for such theories.

As can be seen in the discussion in the first part of the chapter, the definition of gentrification is made at a fundamental micro level of analysis with specific reference to an abstract household's movements. This is not the same as saying that the study of gentrification may only be carried out at this level, rather, it shows the micro-foundations of what may form a much wider phenomenon. It is precisely this examination of the basis of gentrification that may lead to a better understanding of the forces at work behind its outward appearance and from which bigger units of analysis may be built.

Recognising that 'levels' of analysis exist is important in structuring accounts and theories of gentrification. Loretta Lees (1994) has noted that gentrification can be studied at three distinct levels; nation, city and locality. Lees observed the areas of property transfer in understanding national differences in gentrification between London and New York at these different levels. What is particularly interesting about Lees' work is that it demonstrates the way accounts may differ according to the level at which analysis is carried out. Focusing on broad aggregated levels such as national data sets for

example may reveal very different and divergent pictures to research that looks at a micro level. While the revealing of the dynamics and population involved may be better understood within a locality this does not suggest that all research should be pinned at this level.

It is clear that wide approaches cannot exist in isolation from an approach which observes the phenomenon directly. Such levels of analysis and conceptual headings could be extended and more widely applied in understanding differences and similarities between other contexts. Problems do exist however in such analysis, Dangschat (1991) has shown that it is immensely difficult to understand the interrelationships and directions of causality between different levels of analysis since the interpretation of those directions may often be open to question.

Levels of analysis may also be culturally bound, for example a regional level may be more useful in a European context as used by Dangschat but would more likely be seen as a city level in America or in Britain as used by Lees whose attention is directed between these latter two countries.

Little consideration in the literature has been given about what scale of gentrification activity should be considered a defining characteristic; if a middle class couple move in to a working class home this by definition is a case of gentrification but as a single case is unlikely either to be considered gentrification as popularly conceived (as a group phenomenon) or identified through the methodological tools available to us. The area needed to be able to study gentrification may often be bigger than the area needed to fulfil the requirements of the definition since, by definition, one instance may count as an 'act' of gentrification while certain research may need larger samples to observe the phenomenon.

If one defines gentrification in the way offered above it suggests that it may occur at any level, from a micro to pan-global level at which contingent factors could be vastly different. Writers have also acknowledged for some time that gentrification by 'pioneers' has paved the way for more cautious and investment seeking gentrifiers.

Dangschat has also shown the existence of an 'ultra-gentrifier' type whom may effectively displace these pioneers and gentrifiers. Gentrifiers themselves may become vulnerable to the process that they initiate and that the gentrifier becomes the next higher socio-economic group to displace or replace one of a lower status. Gentrification may then be defined through upper and middle classes just as much as middle and working classes or, more simply, where higher replaces lower.

Hypotheses

The later statistical analysis was informed by the use of hypotheses, most obviously stemming from ideas contained in the literature and other ideas stemming from its interpretation. This was most clearly demonstrated in the selection of the variables within the census work. Both 'gentrifiers' and 'displacees' were operationalised on the basis of previous work and continued a tradition, if one may call it that, of viewing gentrifiers as essentially the upper occupational groupings; professionals and managers. In addition, and as yet uncharted, was the selection of the displacee representative variables which had to be justified according to the outcomes of previous research which had found that after gentrification had taken place certain groups of displacees had certain common characteristics; they lived nearby, paid more for their accommodation and tended to comprise white working class, the unemployed and unskilled, ethnic minorities, single parents and the elderly (LeGates and Hartman, 1981 and 1986, Henig, 1984, Smith, 1996).

Two sets of hypotheses were identified. A set of coherent ideas was examined (1) and used to guide the overall research stemming from a reading of the literature while another set and (2) consisted of a simple statement, or assumption, regarding the overall relationship between gentrification and displacement which was used specifically with regard to the statistical models used in chapter five.

1. The following hypotheses were drawn up which related to the guidance and operationalisation of the concepts of gentrification and displacement. Gentrification

consisted of high occupational groups and could, therefore, be potentially found anywhere within the greater London area. While gentrifiers can be considered in relative terms it was necessary to set an overall benchmark (especially when using the census data). Clearly a gentrifier is a professional in a working class area rather than a professional in a professional area (although this may be expanded to include vacant or derelict sites, 'absolute gentrification'). These are simplistic classifications but one should be aware of the way that occupational groups may take on new roles by virtue of the migratory housing moves that they make.

Gentrification was defined, as earlier, as the '*movement of middle and upper class households into discrete areas occupied (or previously occupied by) by lower status (working-class) households plus X.*' Contingent factors (X) were to be examined in the final grounded research, the rest of the definition was used as a criteria for the identification of gentrification on occupational grounds. In addition to this definition two other operation definitions of gentrification were used in the census research; increases in owner occupation and educated workforce (as a proxy for degree holders). Other groups might also be identified in the grounded work but a cut off point had to be used in relation to the census work in order for the analysis to be clear.

Displacement was defined in relation to gentrification. Displacement could only be considered as such where it had occurred in gentrified areas. In other words, all cases of displacement outside of gentrified areas were to be excluded from the analysis insofar as this was possible. It was therefore critical to self-consciously analyse the theoretical constructs that defined these areas and these people since any research effort would be guided both by our preconceptions of who gentrifiers were and their location.

Such ideas may potentially not directly correspond to the 'real' locations of gentrification. However, gentrification only exists where it is seen and labelled - it is a socially created label, but, it also might be possible to see a divergence between the identification of gentrified areas using different definitions and empirical tools (Galster and Peacock, 1986) a task undertaken through the use of the census data and

proxy indicators. This point is raised again in chapter nine in examining divergences between the grounded and census research.

Displacement would take place before gentrification since the vacation of dwelling space was a logical necessity and precursor to the moving in of other groups (the gentrifiers). The precise location of both gentrification and displacement could be anywhere within Greater London subject to criteria of growth i.e. gentrification, specified in chapter four. This can be summarised as; gentrification may occur anywhere within the identified area (Greater London) but displacement, in the form that is of interest here, can only logically occur in areas where gentrification also occurred. In relation to the operational research this could pose problems because of the cross-sectional quality of census data so that if gentrification were not observed (if, for example, the gentrification had come and gone in the intervening period) any displacement in *that* area could not be defined as such.

2. The hypothesis used for the interrogation of the census data are specified in chapters four and five. Unlike a liquid displacement, the social dynamics of the gentrification-induced displacement process, although clearly structured, are not so directly corresponding - people can become overcrowded or delay moving. The act of gentrification, on whatever scale, cannot be held to be a law-like and necessary event for displacement to occur, nor would any piece of social research hold such to be the case (Hage and Foley-Meecker, 1988). Gentrification can occur without displacement as a corollary effect while both displacement and de-gentrification may only be partial events which can make our thinking about the two processes more conceptually fuzzy and discussion is based upon probable rather than law-like terms.

In fact it is not actually possible to achieve a state of resolution on these matters; one must be aware and flexible as to the interpretation of empirical data on the subject of gentrification so that the the implications of such haziness are understood. The processes that set other kinds of displacement activity into play may be triggered by a whole host of factors; therefore not all displacement is gentrification related and not all gentrification causes displacement (understood as an involuntary household movement). Other contextual and cultural factors may displace people, war in Bosnia,

genocide in Rwanda, dam building in China (1 million people evicted) (Leckie, 1995), natural disasters and so on. What is particularly clear about that part of displacement which *is* due to gentrification is that it is a peculiarly market based phenomenon. It is perhaps unwise to suggest some scale of legitimacy; which reason for displacement is worse than another, yet it can be held as a point of social (in)justice that households are moved away from quiet enjoyment, and often, family and friends, to a new place or no place at all in the case of those that go into homelessness. Unlike Archimedes less clear routes were searched for an explanation of the mechanisms by which, if the analogy may be extended, our own bodies may displace that of others.

A displacement typology

While gentrification is a heterogeneous phenomenon, displacement is no less so. It is important that one is conceptually clear about how displacement is constituted. Presented here is more detail about the different ‘types’ of displacement and notes about the differing ways in which these definitions impact upon empirical method and measurement.

1. Economic and Physical displacement - which may be included as sub-sets within the Grier’s definition whereby residents are priced out of a dwelling through rent increases for example or by physical means such as by heat or by violence.
2. Last resident displacement - counting the last resident as the only displacee.
3. Chain displacement - when a ‘historical’ perspective is utilised such that counting includes the number of residents over time which have been displaced from that property.
4. Exclusionary displacement - An important contribution by Marcuse which radically reformulates the concept of displacement to include those who are unable to move into property which has been vacated voluntarily yet gentrified afterwards such that another similar household cannot move in (Grier and Grier, in LeGates and Hartman, 1981:214).

One should also ask, who are the displacees? While this has been cursorily covered in the preceding chapter it is necessary to expand this idea since it is these people who are looked for in the empirical research so that the decision as to who is a displacee becomes a critical methodological decision. Smith argues that;

“there is a very clear polarization (“structural” or otherwise) between people who participate as gentrifiers and those thereby displaced” (1996:104)

Rose (1984) argues that it should not be assumed either that gentrifiers are a homogeneous group nor that they are ‘structurally polarized’ from the displaced. In other words, it is possible that those people who take on the ‘role’ of gentrifiers may be separated by relatively thinly veiled differences of class, status and/or income from those they necessarily displace.

In more concrete terms it can be seen that there is a need to engage with those works which have sought to characterise the displacees themselves. Unsurprisingly the groups follow a fragmentation line of vulnerability. Smith shows that of the 6,000 displacees in Society Hill they were ‘disproportionately poor, white, black and Latino working-class’ (1996:138). A factor in the ensuing tag for urban renewal as ‘Negro removal’. It is therefore essential that an awareness of different displacement types in relation to the later methodology and to the nature of the process itself is maintained.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed two main features to the research. First, the theory of gentrification itself has been examined; what constitutes it, where does it occur, when does it occur. This is used as a springboard into the research proper which needed to have a strong definition for the purposes of identifying, as accurately as possible, gentrification and displacement. Second, the role of theory itself in the research process has been examined and it has been observed that a healthy balance can be maintained between theory and operational research because they are mutually dependent and reinforcing. This complementarity is carried over into the research itself and it is felt that

this chapter serves as an important clearing ground for the issues tackled in the rest of the work.

The documentation and analysis of gentrification has shown that while forming an identifiable pattern and phenomenon it has metamorphosed over time and in different geographical locations. The scale and particular nature has diverged around a fundamental set of processes in which higher classes move into vacant or derelict property previously lived in by people of a lower social class/status. The specific and many details of the process have been widely described yet the common denominator has often not been made explicit although theories have attempted to understand what has *caused* gentrification and this relates to the contextual and contingent factors of the phenomenon.

Moving on from the micro foundations of the study of gentrification the chapter examined the relationship between the way gentrification may be studied at a variety of levels and the specific problems of operationalising a definition in the research environment. Testing theory is crucial, both to make it useful in the outside world and to test its validity but difficulties when using the methodological tools available need to be acknowledged.

The study of gentrification can only stand to gain from strengthening and questioning its own foundations particularly in the light of new urban forms which hold the same basic characteristics which need to be dealt with under the conceptual heading of gentrification.

Chapter Four - Examining gentrification and displacement using the census

Introduction

This chapter details the methods and their application to developing an understanding of the relationship between gentrification and displacement via the use of the 1981 and 1991 population censuses. This, of course, presupposes that such a relationship can be discovered at all. In common to much research it was proposed that the best route from the outset would be to look at the most general or abstract picture of gentrification by using aggregated data sources. In keeping with such a level of analysis the censuses provided two qualities in particular; first, the ability to provide accurate data at a number of levels of aggregation and, second, when combined, the two sets of census data provide a longitudinal view allowing the process-like nature of gentrification to more fully emerge and, crucially, enabling some inferences to be made about the changes that had taken place over that time.

The chapter explains the structure and peculiar features of the 1981 and 1991 census data and the problems of trying to use them to study social change. The results of the analysis of the manipulated dataset highlights the issues surrounding the validity of inferences drawn from the data. The overall aim of this part of the research was not simply to examine gentrification and displacement from an aggregated view, a critical concern was the creation of a methodology using a dataset of this scale to try and examine the linkages between proxy measures of social phenomena.

Starting from a point of generality and working downward the census provides a good introduction and feel for the nature of social processes at various levels. It was always intended that this part of the research would be biased toward informing rather than performing the task of characterising and understanding both gentrification and displacement yet it is believed that such goals were more than exceeded. Ecological

approaches have highlighted fallacious reasoning based upon geographical units which were inappropriate to found such inferences.

The 1981 and 1991 censuses provide a wealth of invaluable information regarding the housing and social situations of the entire population of any area under examination; it is in this sense that it can be argued that it is not a sample at all, rather it is a population but one which can be delineated at a number of levels. Its use was therefore seen as unrivalled by any other single dataset. Limitations do, however, apply and these will be discussed later in this chapter. Of particular note is the translation of social concepts such as class, displacement and gentrification itself into a measurable phenomena whose interaction is sought to be understood. In quantifying these conceptions it is further necessary to understand the social causality of the processes under study and to question the ability of these techniques to separate out confounding factors which may not have been scrutinised. It is, after all, the job of the researcher to calculate in what way a phenomenon is best measured and to defend what is essentially an arbitrary process of variable selection, albeit a well informed arbitration! In addition, it should be noted that the interaction between the conceptual and the empirical may become blurred when official data like the census are used; the construction of such data is itself a social process utilising relatively complex concepts and interpretative processes on the part of the respondent and enumerator.

In using the census care must be taken with both the techniques of extraction, analysis and any inferences made. The difficulties and intricacies of census analysis have produced volumes detailing such aspects (Rhind, 1983, Dale and Marsh, 1993, Openshaw, 1995) but will generally be dealt with in more depth in the chapter detailing the results of the census work.

1. The extraction of the census data

Practical considerations

After registering the research with the ESRC purchased data at the Manchester computing centre a course was undertaken in the methods used to extract census data so that personal use could be made of the data. Use was made of the 'Telnet' and 'File Transfer Protocol' (FTP) procedures using networked UNIX computers to extract and download the data. This enabled the direct accessing of the census data in whatever configuration or detail was required by the demands of the research 'on line' and the subsequent appropriate manipulation of the data in both Excel, initially, and SPSS.

Careful selection of variables was made according to two broad criteria;

- First, with regard to the displacement and gentrification literature in order to understand the theoretical and empirical manifestations of the central dynamics behind the process and in order to make such a selection a less arbitrary process (more of this later). This meant the reconsideration of the theoretical and empirical literature with a view to the operationalisation of these variables. It was possible to translate the results of preceding literature into a theoretically informed analysis using similar variables to those identified as salient by previous researchers. This aspect is revisited when dealing with the selection and precise details of each variable.
- Second, selection was carried out with care and attention being paid to the use of the census as a longitudinal tool for the purpose of analysing social change. While the census is essentially a cross-sectional survey (each census is not linked; it is not possible to surmise that people identified in 1981 are the same as in 1991) it may be used to show changes in the incidence and frequencies of any particular variable in an inter-censal period. It will be shown later that this has important implications for our ability to infer causality or association. Clearly limitations apply as to the degree to which inferences may be made about the nature and extent of such change. Again this aspect is further explored later in the text.

In addition to other problems regarding social change, developments occur which affect the composition and size of the frequencies of variables to be found in certain spatial areas. The boundary changes of wards alter the political and census geography of areas but a package has been designed by to approximate 1991 boundaries to those of 1981. Although this was employed, caution should be used in an unquestioned acceptance of resulting frequencies as entirely error free. This does however mean that a degree of error must be accounted for in these findings in addition to problems of changing subjective and objective definitions.

Clearly the correspondence between social 'units' and wards is debatable. Notions of locality and community are difficult concepts to extricate and need further clarification (Warde, 1989). Keller (1968), in an examination of numerous definitions of neighbourhood, holds that they commonly refer to two elements; the physical characteristics of the territory or the social characteristics of its inhabitants. However, it is inadvisable to attempt to make a match between the subjective notions of people's sense of belonging and the arbitrary patterning of areas through division into wards.

The SAS census data

For both the 1991 and 1981 censuses output was provided in tables of so-called Small Area Statistics (SAS) as distinct from the additional output of the 1991 census of the Local Base Statistics (LBS) which were more detailed but only exist for this census alone. To achieve comparability between the two censuses only the SAS can be accessed and care must be taken to ensure that like cells are compared. A 'cell' represents a particular census cross-tabulation, such as the number of male professionals. This will have a particular cell number which is then accessed at a certain geographical level; in this case all data was analysed for all wards in Greater London.

Essentially the distinction between the two forms of census output, SAS and LBS, relate to their detail due to issues of confidentiality and time spent coding. SAS data is

available at county, local authority (London Borough), ward and enumeration district units. An enumeration district is the basic building block of the census and is usually made up of roughly 200 households (except for Special Enumeration Districts (SED's) such as hospitals, and institutions). Wards vary in size but there are usually about 20 to 30 wards to a London borough except the City of London which does not have a political geography even though it is split into 25 wards with a population of only 4000.

The SAS data has only 9000 cells compared to the 20,000 of the LBS. This relates to the level of detail with which one is able to examine census data using the SAS. To preserve anonymity cells which have less than 50 usually resident persons *and* 16 resident households are withheld from extraction. This proves problematic when looking at ten percent counts at ED level. Counts of ten percent are given in the SAS when coding may be highly time consuming e.g. for relationship to head of household, occupation, industry, workplace and higher qualifications, two of which were being used in the research.

10% counts and ED's

In many ways the study of gentrification and displacement readily lent itself to an analysis pegged at the level of the ED. This smaller area would then make it possible to make clearer analyses of the changes over time in such areas. ED's usually have approximate mean values of 200 households (roughly 500 persons) highlighting their small size. The desirability of this scale is due to their restrictive size such that most migratory moves would lead to relocation outside of the ED. The point can be highlighted by contrasting it with a ward level analysis in which it would be possible for households and individuals to relocate within the same ward thus tempering potential observed social changes.

Such an analysis was not possible though because of the problem of using the census longitudinally which meant that boundary changes could, in certain cases, lead to total mismatches between boundaries for 1981 and 1991. Due to conditions of confidentiality

small areas are subject to careful protective measures which make access at this level potentially error laden. There are a variety of effects on the data when it is accessed in an ED where there are very few counts of the variable being accessed, this can lead to;

- suppression - the data is not released
- perturbation - random noise, the data is altered to prevent identification of individuals by the addition of and subtraction of counts throughout the data
- rounding - where digits are grouped according to a pre-defined formula or their sum is made to equal the sum of the raw data
- suppressed ED's are subsumed with adjoining zones

These factors do not prevent access at ED level but they make it more 'risky' with regard to the level of errors involved. ED's must have at least 50 "usually resident persons" *and* 16 resident households for SAS data to be released to protect anonymity. The 10% count makes analysis at ED level even more difficult and is usually avoided by the researcher (Openshaw, 1995). ED's are also subject to redefinition at each census. The perceived advantages of using a micro scale of analysis were quickly rejected because of these problems.

Sampling error (although stratified at all levels) at this level of analysis would also have been too big a problem, analysis when using the ten percent counts as a reliable figure for individuals, as Marsh (in Dale and Marsh eds., 1993) demonstrates, a "clustering effect" can occur because people with similar characteristics tend to live together e.g. ethnicity.

Other units of analysis might have been used but by this time it was recognised that to survey London using such micro level data would be beyond the time scale and remit of the research and there was always the possibility that it would not prove any more fruitful than the ward level analysis. All work was therefore conducted with the base unit of ward and these were grouped by district i.e. by the London borough that they were in. The City of London was not selected because its tiny population (4000) in a few wards would produce potentially dramatic changes which could distort any findings. Initial data analysis using scatter plots showed this to be the case when City

wards showed up as outliers and with sudden and dramatic changes between 1981 and 1991.

Dangers when analysing change through time with the census

Expanding on the preceding methodological points Warde gives detailed warnings regarding the problems that may arise when using more than one census in order to examine social change;

“such are the problems and pitfalls of comparing the results of separate censuses that only extremely good reasons can justify all the effort and care required” (in Openshaw ed. 1995:310).

The desire to investigate the relationship between gentrification and displacement hopefully provide such a worthy rationale. Warde goes on to summarise the problems encountered when using the census to assess social change;

Variation in the topics covered

Change in the topics covered by the census has made comparisons impossible in certain cases. The 1991 census also included four new questions - ethnic group, limiting long-term illness, term-time address of students and weekly hours worked, it will not be until the 2001 census that comparisons over time will be possible with these questions. Interestingly, though not directly relevant, is the possibility of longer term analyses when certain questions arose for the 1971 and 1991 censuses, but not for the 1981 census. Comparability can also be made viable through re-aggregation where such reconstruction is possible; a technique followed closely for the creation of comparable ‘cells’ for variables. The positive side to these developments is that although comparability cannot be ‘backtracked’ where questions are added problems are not encountered where existing questions have been changed.

Definitional comparability

As Warde points out, the seemingly comfortable position in which coverage is given for questions in both 1981 and 1991 does not prevent other changes from preventing comparability. First, the form of a question may change and, second, output tables may change - a significant problem for the census user. The direct relationship between these issues and the specific data extracted are presented in tandem with the description of the variables themselves later on.

Variation in census coverage

Reliable analyses of change also depend upon the simple accuracy of the number of heads counted, not just those located on the census night but also those *usually resident*. This means that;

“any calculation of change between censuses will include artificial as well as real changes if the level or type of coverage varies between censuses” (Warde, 1995:325)

This means that assessment of such enumeration errors must be made, such errors can also be concentrated in certain sub groups.

The main conclusion to be drawn from such points is that, while the census is unrivalled it is not flawless. Some problems seem to cluster in certain areas; by socio-economic group, in terms of the level of analysis employed or due to problems of definition. It is therefore with caution that the methodology was constructed and with such caution that the results of the analysis should be viewed.

Previous work

Although the underlying aims of the research were biased toward an exploration of displacement based upon gentrification activity, as a necessary precursor, work has been done which has examined gentrification through the census. Galster and Peacock (1986) and Hamnett and Williams (1979) have both sought to understand the factors behind

gentrification and its growth and manifestation respectively. However, neither had the goal of quantifying or establishing a relationship between the gentrification process and displacement. It must be acknowledged that the attempt to observe such events as related processes requires the 'creative' use of static data like the population census. While the next stage of the research, the Longitudinal Study, was dynamically geared to such investigations the censuses formed a logical theoretical and empirical informant to a more carefully ordered inquiry with that dataset.

The two pieces of work are summarised concluding with consideration of the additions and changes made in the actual research done here. Hamnett and Williams (1979) used 1961 and 1971 census data to examine the growth in the professional and managerial groups which they asserted were the fundamental operational exponents of gentrification in Greater London at that time. They argued that by;

“Using increases in the number of economically active males in socio-economic groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 13 (SEG I) as the key indicator of gentrification a number of areas were identified...(but that) There are dangers in using a single variable as the indicator of a process that is as complex as gentrification” (1979:10)

The earlier use of professional heads of household (Hamnett and Williams, 1979) may well have been applied at a time when female professionals were a relatively small fraction of this occupational group yet it has been shown (Warde, 1991) that women are not only a very significant part of the professional classes but also they are a significant part of the gentrification process. With this in mind a simple number of professionals was taken as a percentage of the total number of the working population in any one ward rather than a head of household figure, although this was not elaborated into the gender breakdown of these groups.

The complexity of the phenomenon of gentrification itself has already been observed and the empirical constraints posed by using a dataset like the census do not help to alleviate accusations of reductionist techniques and uni-dimensional portrayals of its complexity. Equally it must be recognised that the empirical tools available for inquiry inevitably lead into such representations.

Where is the gentrification?

Hamnett and Williams indicated that a 6.0 percentage point (not percentage) increase figure was an adequate “arbitrary cut off figure” and that this could be used as a proxy measure. This criteria was only allowed to be realised within wards which were less than 20 percent professional/managerial at the beginning of the time period, in order to indicate that gentrification was not already underway. While this may appear to be a reductionist technique it must be acknowledged that the measurement of gentrification is very difficult. While it is hard to argue that it is reducible to a single empirical measure or indicator such an aim is desirable for the researcher who acts within the constraints of the empirical tools available. Hamnett and Williams also failed to acknowledge that the period in question also experienced a large increase in the numbers of these occupational groups thus making their growth less than novel and possibly misleading in any analysis of the phenomenon. In other words, there is no reference by them to comparative levels of occupational increases in the city. Their paper was also based upon a male definition of gentrification which, in the light of increasing numbers of women occupying these occupational groups, appears a less valid approach today.(Warde, 1991)

What causes gentrification and how much is out there?

Galster and Peacock (1986) used a set of linear regression models to illustrate the interaction between differing operational definitions of gentrification and the factors contributing to it. The extent and nature of gentrification varied according to the definition used and this also affected the extent of the gentrification observed. Using a methodology to prove the existence of gentrification was superseded where the remit of past research was often the characterisation of gentrification where it had been more contentious. The current research aimed to go further in exploring not only the extent of gentrification over the time period observed, although this clearly was of interest, but also the interaction between the phenomenon and social groups who have been previously identified as the “displaced” (LeGates and Hartman, 1981, 1986, London and Palen, 1984)

Galster and Peacock's work had been based on the idea that different definitions of gentrification, when put into empirical practice, would affect the magnitude of the phenomenon observed and clearly highlight differing dynamics behind the process. A key part of their methodology used a criteria of eligibility for gentrification to take place in census tracts by eliminating those wards which were above the baseline median in terms of each of the gentrification definitions. The logic of this relates to the idea that if a tract was above the median it had already been gentrified to some degree or was already an established middle class areal unit. This differed from the approach adopted here which allowed all wards to be available for 'further' gentrification regardless of the extent of current occupation of 'gentrifiers' at the baseline period. This stemmed from the argument that even some of the most apparently middle class areas may experience continuing levels of gentrification; a point made by Dangschat in his empirical survey of Hamburg (1991). Another clear divergence from Galster and Peacock's work was that whereas they had used multiple regression models to look at the factors influencing gentrification such models were used here to explain gentrification in terms of a reduction in the displacee groups as a proxy for the displacee process itself.

Whereas Galster and Peacock had looked at the underlying reasons for gentrification the explication of a set of models which would look at the 'space clearing' processes underlying the availability of urban space to be gentrified was now of critical concern. Limitations inherent in this approach are discussed later and it is possible to conceptually see a two-way linkage between gentrification itself and displacement; while displacement must happen first in order to vacate the space for gentrification (although not all gentrification is necessarily displacing), gentrification may similarly impact upon future rates of displacement and 'cause' displacement.

Establishing a data baseline; Measuring social change

While gentrification has been proceeding since the middle of this century this work had to use a discreet time band over which the process could be measured, both in terms of

the aims of the thesis and also due to the dates of the censuses themselves. Much work has been done covering the period up to the beginning of the eighties, as gentrification was peaking at this time. This meant that the use of the 1981 census as the earliest data point might be interpreted as the non-existence of gentrification before this time when in fact the following paragraph indicates that such an interpretation is not sustainable.

It should also be stressed that the methodology used incorporated measurements which allowed for these problems to be compensated for; wards in which there were already a large number of professionals were not discounted. This showed an approach in which non-gentrified areas were available for gentrification and gentrified areas could be gentrified *further*; both hypothetical possibilities, as argued earlier. Considered in this way the need for an accurate baseline becomes translated into the need to acknowledge that gentrification can move in a variety of directions, both up and down, although our own aims were related to the upward movements of groups identified as gentrifiers..

In establishing a mean growth for this occupational group for the whole of London for the 1981-1991 time period this left the unfortunate possibility that wards might be left out which began to show some change late in the period. This was only one of many problems in using the census. The importance of the use of the mean as an indication of growth was that it allowed for any area to be considered to be *gentrifying* regardless of the situation that area was in before. This point relates to the difficulty of using largely inadequate operational statements about what constitutes a gentrified area over time in abstract or statistical terms - it simply is not possible to say that an area is gentrified when X proportion of the population is of a professional background (for example, Pacione cited in Phillips, 1993:124, argues that an increase of 40% of SEG's I and II would indicate a significant degree of gentrification). The general fuzziness of these issues should be accepted rather than forced into uncompromising conceptual boxes.

Invariably the issue centres around the scale or context of the research. At a London borough level those which appear to have gentrified could have been used to characterise the process, Islington for example, but such a crude view would change if looked at at a ward level - here changes would be felt more acutely and would be more

directly observable. Such observation is carried out by a variety of means and the use of the census was replacing the direct use of our eyes in looking at the whole of London before a scaling down could later be identified.

Any ward was held available for gentrification regardless of location and socio-economic composition at the baseline period, 1981, or reasons which will become clearer in the final analysis. Suffice to say, it was hypothesised that a process of socio-economic and tenure restructuring could take place anywhere and therefore should retain the same label even though many commentators have described gentrification as a purely inner city phenomenon. Second, even in the most polarised of wards there is invariably room for gentrification, that is the replacement of lower socio-economic groups by higher, the setting of an arbitrary 'saturation point' appeared too insensitive when considering areas such as Kensington in which such saturation may appear evident yet demand may persist even under such conditions.

2. Measuring 'gentrification' and 'displacement'

Gentrification and displacement are written in inverted commas in the section heading because when these concepts are talked about what is really referred to are multiplicitous phenomena which are given a label which includes this diversity. This has already been discussed in relation to past research work. In terms of the current research transferring concept into, what might be termed, 'social object' is discussed below. Certainly this was one of the main methodological tasks of the work; a recurring theme of the work was the input of theory into the empirical research process as mutually dependent exercises.

It was anticipated from an early stage that the detection of gentrification was considered to be an easier task than that of displacement, indeed this was one of the main aims of the work and the difficulty of extracting pertinent information to the displacement process was inactive of the lack of research that had been done in the area already.

Proxy measures to identify the gentrification dynamic and the constitution of displacement

While little work has been done on displacement occurring due to gentrification in London much has been learned from the work of academics and government research, predominantly in the US, which has countered claims by central and local government that revitalisation was a purely beneficial phenomenon which expanded the tax base and revitalised the inner city environment. Working in such a ‘blind’ situation inevitably lead to innovation regarding the use of available data so that the use of indicators was required to detect gentrification-related displacement. Such indicators are defined by Carley as;

“measures of an observable trait of a social phenomenon that establish the value of a different unobservable trait of that phenomenon” (Carley, op cit:128)

In other words, by measuring the increased visible incidence of professionals and managers in electoral wards what is demonstrated, by reasoned extension, is that the unobservable concept of gentrification is proceeding. It had yet to be seen whether such reasoning could extend so far as to make a direct association between this and something to be labelled as ‘displacement’. Clearly these are as much operationally defined concepts as indicators but in many ways the two terms are interchangeable albeit the use of an indicator does suggest that the phenomena are to some degree invisible which concurs with earlier ideas about the difficulty of using single dynamics by which to measure gentrification.

Debates over class analysis in the study of gentrification (Bridge, 1994, 1995, Ley, 1994) have addressed little of the empirical difficulties of making operational a definition of gentrification. Scales of class measurement used in the census are based around, in general, a Weberian class definition in which the Registrar General’s scale is founded upon status and income rather than being based upon a single criteria. In relation to the gentrification literature the persistent allusion to a professional/managerial class is well catered for by the census (Hamnett and Williams, op cit.) as one is able to distinguish these groups with reasonable precision using the census.

The lack of extensive or geographical data on income is a major shortcoming which allows only a uni-dimensional image of gentrification which may not adequately reflect income differentials and purchasing power of the groups involved. It would be possible, for example, to have, relatively speaking, poor professionals and well paid manual workers. The link between gentrification and distinctive cultural and taste groups (Zukin, 1982, Jager, 1986) also remains to be resolved within the context of the measurement of these groupings and their involvement in the gentrification process. Both of these questions are highly significant yet little addressed in the literature in general. Empirically the resolution of such deficiencies would be both difficult and contentious - how does one measure such concepts 'cultural capital', for example.

The result of these difficulties is a situation, in Britain at least, in which the use of professional and managerial definitions are the best primary proxy indicators of gentrification. Use of educational measurements of the phenomenon have been said to overestimate the phenomenon and income measures to underestimate it (Bourne, 1993) but occupation remains a reasonable estimator of both income and educational background which led to the use of a higher occupational classification as the primary gentrification indicator.

Translating the many phenomena that constitute gentrification into a measurable event is an ideological act in which an individual asserts the primacy of certain factors over others and measures the phenomenon according to those factors. Such biases should always be apparent in the readers mind for whom the presentation of a picture of gentrification and displacement is based upon the lead given by the author. In other words, even if empirical measures are used it should be understood that choices lie behind the selection of both research methods and methods of representation of the data and the phenomenon.

As has been mentioned, the increased sophistication of a methodology that could also include income data would be more desirable. In some ways this would be less of a 'proxy' variable and more of a direct measure of the ability of certain groups to out bid others in any one area. This would, however, not be strictly true - gentrification

has often been viewed as something other than a simple population transfer, it appears to contain an element of culture and difference. Gentrifiers, it is suggested, are groups of housing consumers looking for investment opportunities but in areas normally considered 'dangerous', or off the beaten track, to such groups. This was the whole point of coining the term gentrification in order to refer to a process which was noticeably distinct from the consumption patterns associated both with traditional middle class housing purchases and ecological urban theory. It is perhaps less novel to make such assertions as the gentrified areas of old, like Islington and Fulham, have taken on their own persona as established expensive middle class areas. The interaction between consumption choices and income is however a complicating factor and if such data were available it is uncertain how this new problem could be overcome.

a) Gentrification

The operational measures of gentrification were split up into three areas professionals/managers, owner occupation and educated workforce. These were exploratory attempts to understand the manifestation of gentrification more fully and to observe the way that different operational measures may alter the observed extent of gentrification in the capital. Often asset measures have been utilised as a measure of affluence but there are two main problems with using this measure as a proxy for gentrifiers; a) London's transport network complicates the use of car ownership as a measure since those in the inner city are less likely to own cars in most SEG's because of the widespread availability of good public transport b) the gentrification of many areas, such as Clapham, has been directly associated with the availability of tube networks.

All variables were taken as percentages of their total relevant population (e.g. total lone parent households as a percentage of households, total professionals as a percentage of the working population (16 years old and more)) in order to account for any changes in ward size over the decade under examination. This ensured relevance and clarity

throughout the work and was necessary to gain insights into the changes in each variable over time.

i) Gentrification as a growth in the number of professionals and managers

The use of 10% counts coincided with using professionals and managers as the fundamental indicator of gentrification. The SEG's used to construct the 'gentrifying class' have been used by Lyons (1995) and Hamnett (1987), although Hamnett had not included the artists and ancillary workers (SEG 5.1) which was felt to be an important segment of the gentrifier class and was therefore included. To produce a non-sexist view of gentrification all professionals and managers were included; anyone working in that occupation. Previous work had used increases in head of households in this category, a notoriously sexist view of labour and one ignorant of the female contribution to gentrification (Warde, 1991) and to the professional class in general (Davies, 1996, Crompton, 1996). In particular Phillips (1993) has argued that one of the distinctions between rural and urban examples of gentrification is that there are symmetrical (dual earner/couples) and asymmetrical (single) household structures respectively which only serves to highlight the salience of single female gentrifiers.

The approach used is to be distinguished from a 'dominance measure' (Watt, 1996) which takes the highest occupational category of a household regardless of sex. Since this would inevitably lead to an undercount in the number of professionals observed the use of a working population figure simultaneously overcame this problem but, unfortunately, ignored household structure in the analysis. It was not possible to construct one single measure which would not have some deficiency in this respect. The group selected comprised the following Socio-Economic Groups (SEG's);

- 1.1 employers in large establishments
- 1.2 managers in large establishments
- 2.1 employers in small establishments
- 2.2 managers in small establishments
- 3 professional workers - self employed

- 4 professional workers - employees
- 5.1 ancillary workers and artists
- 13 employer/manager farmers

The ten percent count was particularly unfortunate in this context because it prevented an accurate analysis at the enumeration district level because of the increased levels of error when using 10% data at this level. This unit of analysis was initially to be used to provide a picture of those wards which had gentrified. Gentrification could, however only have taken place in those wards in which some form of displacement or replacement had occurred, or in which redevelopment of previously working class property had taken place according to the working definition adopted.

Another important aspect to the selection of *all* professionals and managers was a lack of age breakdown. Other writers (Hall and Ogden, 1992) have alluded to the importance of young single and dual earner couples and, indeed, this has been a significant theme of the gentrification literature as a whole which has contemplated the demographic changes leading up to the gentrification of cities. While it is fully accepted that this group (young gentrifiers) are a significant driving force other diverse elements in the literature showed that both relatively older groups both acted as gentrifiers (Parsons, 1980) but also as 'ultra-gentrifiers' (Dangschat, 1991) who are able to displace earlier waves of gentrifiers through a greater market power - they are capable of pricing out students and other pioneer gentrifiers.

It is also necessary to speculate to some degree on the changing social values and aspirations during the eighties in that perceptions at the time were producing a social desirability bias so that the professionalisation of the workforce at large may have accounted for the growth in this occupational category. On top of subjective concerns there is the problem of considering professionals to be a homogenous group. The range of professional occupations is large, from librarian to judge, so that one can reasonably hypothesise that certain groups such as teachers or media workers may have distinctive taste preferences for housing and location, details of which have not been analysed because of the time associated with such an analysis.

Setting a criteria for 'gentrification'

It was argued that for gentrification to have taken place the rate of occupational change in any single ward would have to exceed the general rate of increase for London as a whole. In some ways this was an arbitrary decision yet this was held to show a rate of 'abnormal' change in wards even though it was similarly acknowledged that growth would be dependent to certain sectors of the capital - e.g. the inner area of London might have an overall greater increase than outer. An overall benchmark was required and this gave a reasonable level for estimating above average growths in the wards. Similar measures of above city-wide mean were used for all three of the gentrification variables.

The use of the mean lead to the exclusion of all wards with a growth rate of less than 5 percentage points, the city-wide mean for professionals and managers. This facilitated the observation of a 'real' rate of increase for the occupational group and meant that the varying size of metropolitan wards could be taken into account by taking a relative rather than an absolute figure. Although the figure of 6 percentage points was used by Hamnett and Williams in their work they had not included females in those occupational scales. Lyons has also used heads of household (a predominantly male figure) to measure gentrification on the justification that mortgage lending practice was biased toward this group, ignoring the simple hypothetical possibility of female gentrifiers. This research seeks to fully recognise the increasing female presence within this occupational group and to incorporate them as "potential gentrifiers". This follows the example of Warde in East London (Warde, 1991).

Additional criteria

The recognition that approximately 50% of London's wards had experienced a rise of roughly 5 percentage points and more showed that a more restrictive analysis of wards was required. It was also established that many of those wards which showed increases, sometimes dramatically, had experienced an absolute decrease, so that while professionals and managers had moved from that ward, they formed a relatively larger

group within that ward. Dealing with the problem of possible confounding factors such as incumbent ward changes is difficult to account for in any methodology using cross-sectional data since one cannot ascertain to what extent the population of 1981 is related to that of 1991. It is also not possible to make any assertions about any changes which might have taken place in the intervening period - or since 1991 for that matter!

In wards where professionals had increased relatively but declined absolutely it was argued that they could be seen as examples of gentrifying wards since it would be a perverse argument to suggest that gentrification had occurred in wards where an outflow exceeded an influx. Growth was only apparent in percentile terms because the number of professionals had only increased because of a decline in the number of other groups. These were therefore eliminated leaving 133 wards which were considered to demonstrate gentrification to varying degrees. The increase in the remaining wards was in the range 5 to 22 ppi (percentage point increase), excluding three wards in the City in which increases of 11, 25 and 33 percentage points respectively had been recorded - often through very small numbers of individuals entering these very small wards. The City was, however, excluded in the analysis because of its unbalanced and tiny population even though anecdotal and journalistic attention suggested that loft living and the growing popularity of surrounding central areas like Clerkenwell were significant factors in the gentrification of that area. What remained was a set of wards which were considered to be examples of gentrification, to varying degrees.

The general growth in managerial groups may reflect as much a change of subjective definitions of occupational status as a real increase in the number of people in these groups. With regard to displacement (as noted by Lyons regarding district analyses, 1995) the movement of households and individuals within a ward, which could easily happen given a ward's usual size (approx. 20,000 people in a large metropolitan district) and the indication in the literature that displacee moves were made locally (LeGates and Hartman, 1986), meant that a certain proportion of displacement would not show up. In fact this led to the identification of a need for case study work, of a qualitative nature, to be undertaken in certain identified gentrified wards because of the inadequacy of an approach which used comparative cells for 1981 and 1991.

While, to a large extent, much of this stage of the research was concerned to understand the interplay between theory and operational research it was understood that the hypotheses surrounding the research led most strongly down this particular avenue. Professionals and managers have, for a long time, been seen as the main protagonists in the gentrification saga. As Beauregard (1990) points out the privatised modes of living by the 'yuppie' have formed a focal point and, indeed, to some degree a scapegoat for the problems and challenges that gentrification poses.

Some discussion of the nature of Inner and Outer London is also important. The artificial construction of London into a political and administrative set of areas can misinform analysis. The concept of Inner London has been used to imply a homogenous group of districts which share common characteristics. This is clearly not the case. In a more informed geography it is the location of areas, communities and services which divides up a gentrified London. The City and other workspaces are good examples of occupational magnets while the existence of parks and distinctive forms of architecture are similarly popular with gentrifiers. This means that research must remain aware of both the diversity of the capital while acknowledging the existence of other features which help to construct the gentrification cityscape.

Even though this work identified the top occupational groupings (Class I) as being the fundamental dynamic behind gentrification in theoretical terms a series of other measures were used to elaborate and understand further what other factors, already associated with gentrification, might be influential on the displacement process. As Lyons has noted (1995) junior non-manual workers have been identified as a migratory force in inner London which are not included in Class I yet *may* have a market power exceeding that of potential displacees. Preceding Lyons work Hamnett and Williams (1979) argued that 'a substantial minority [of gentrifiers] fall into the self-employed and junior professional categories' (p.3) further complicating the adequacy of the indicator identified. It is inevitable, however, that one must take some cut off point and that in using census data one can never be sure that the member of any one SEG can be

considered to be a gentrifier per se, rather it expresses a degree of potential and for a measure of the rate of social change insofar as this may be determined.

It is also important to give some thought to the way in which one sees these variables as being indicative of underlying causal processes in the gentrification and displacement occurring in areas. In selecting these variables it is suggested that, in probabilistic terms, they are conditions are created wherein displacement may occur although it is equally clear that displacement may not be a necessary corollary of gentrification.

The issue of class clouds, to some degree, one of the fundamental hypothesised dynamics of the gentrification-displacement process; that of income differentials. It is not possible to use census data to analyse the income or, more importantly, the spending power of the various occupational groups. This means that it is not possible for us to gain an insight into the way in which income differentials between different occupational groupings has an impact upon the way in which higher groups are able to outbid lower ones. This means that the researcher must make arbitrary, yet informed, measurements of gentrification by using a variety of quantities which appear to reflect the empirical manifestation of the gentrification phenomenon. Second, the way in which such defensible measures are used reflects the way in which theory feeds into the research process. As Hage and Foley Meeker argue;

“theories themselves are inside our heads and...are constructed to apply to observable events, but (they) are not the events themselves.” (1988:8)

As has been argued, the occupational groups representing the professionals and managers of the gentrification literature, were identified as the fundamental indicator of gentrification. No restrictive definitions were made between inner and outer London since it was felt that any operational hypotheses about the geographical spread of gentrification should be as exploratory as possible so as not preclude the location of gentrification activity. Many have implicitly assumed gentrification to be almost exclusively an inner city phenomenon which would preclude its existence anywhere else in London. The SEG's measured were taken at ward level for both 1981 and 1991 tables which are both ten percent tables. Warning has been given about re-aggregating these

data by multiplying by a factor of ten to avoid further error. However this proved unnecessary since to counter the variable size of wards, percentages of the economically active population were taken at both points in time. From the 1981 data mean percentage was derived from which it was possible to eliminate first, all of those wards which were already to some degree gentrified by virtue of their being already of above average numbers of these occupational groups. The remainder were therefore available to be gentrified over the coming decade. The 1991 data therefore elicited those wards which had experienced varying degrees of growth in these groups with a range of 5 to 22.2 percentage points.

ii) Gentrification as an increase in the educated workforce

After wards had been selected according to a criterion of occupational grouping, other census variables were selected to expand this conception of gentrification and expand an operational definition of gentrification. It should be emphasised, though, that each definition was mutually exclusive although technically they could have been linked. Following Galster and Peacock (1986) an indicator of professional, vocational or higher education was used to show the occurrence of gentrification even though it was understood that this would probably overestimate the presence of gentrification (cf. Bourne, 1993). In addition education might prove to be of more significance in terms of displacement than occupational position if a causal link between education and income existed which, as argued earlier, will be viewed as a facilitator of the gentrification process in a market economy. However this effect was tempered by the inability of the data to separate out only those who held degrees.

Others have alluded to the characteristic of gentrifiers as being of a college or well-educated background (Bourne, *op cit.*, Ley, 1994). When using the census data to establish whether large influxes or growths in these groups have occurred at ward level a number of problems arise. The political and income characteristics of this group make a measure of degree holders of interest; they may be viewed as being less

connected to orthodox modes of lifestyle and so on, it was unfortunate, therefore, that this particular group could not be singled out.

For 1991 to be comparable with 1981 data was constructed in the following way. In 1981 the census aggregated all persons with degrees, professional and vocational qualifications for all of those aged eighteen or over. Unfortunately there was no 'population' cell from which a percentage could be established, neither was there another ten percent cell for all persons 18 plus. This meant that a figure from the 100 percent table of age was taken for all persons over the age of sixteen - not a very satisfactory situation, but the only one available.

For 1991 a similar 'qualified manpower' figure was obtained in the same way but this time a 'population' from which this group could be expressed as a percentage existed. In fact, had the cells been less condensed into a single category of persons with all qualifications the 1991 census would have allowed us to look at the change in the number of degree and higher degree holders for all wards. This was not, however, possible. A similar population had to be created that could be compared with that of 1981 so that a figure was taken which included all qualifications as per 1981. For 1991 it *was* possible to find the relevant population figure.

The main problem with the measure used for educated workforce was the strong possibility of error entering the data. This was due to the lack of a direct available ten percent 'population' from which to calculate the necessary percentages so that another ten percent count, from another table, had to be used and re-aggregated to a one hundred percent count. There was also a problem with the way that this variable comprised an aggregation of all forms of qualification in 1981 so that degree holders could not be separated out.

Criteria for 'gentrification'

Again a mean level of educational achievement was taken for 1981 so that wards could be identified which were available for upward educational movements. Once a mean rise in the percentage of educated people had been calculated over the decade it was similarly possible to observe those wards which had experienced an above average rise in the numbers educated to this level. It must be acknowledged that the absence of a separation between the differing levels of higher education in 1981 made it impossible to conduct a reliable comparative analysis over the decade. All kinds of vocational and higher qualification had to be included leading to the possibility that changes in vocational and higher educational sectors may have led to the incumbent upgrading of certain areas of London. It may also be the case that the inclusion of these other forms of education make this indicator less applicable in terms of some link between education and income but the need for a proxy measure of some kind in this area overrode these concerns.

The period of 1981 up to 1991 saw the largest inter-censal growth in the higher education sector and this makes it more than likely that education as a proxy variable for gentrification will overestimate the process since a large amount of incumbent upgrading will have occurred. This problem is heightened by the fact that the figures obtained were not restricted to degree holders.

It can be reasonably be postulated that the projected growth in the eighties of higher education and qualifications in general will have further been inflated from the 1981 starting figure because of taking the number of qualification holders as a percentage of a larger population. This further lead to the use of this proxy measure being viewed as relatively undesirable.

iii) Gentrification as tenurial transformation; Owner occupation

The final indicator used for gentrification was that of owner occupied accommodation. Much has been written in the literature, particularly the British, which shows that the trend of conversion of tenure from renting to owning was associated with the

gentrification of certain areas of inner London (Hamnett and Randolph, Hamnett and Williams, 1979, Munt, 1987, Warde, 1991, Bridge, 1993b, Glass, 1964). Such a link has also been made with reference to the housing grants system (McCarthy, 1974, Hamnett, 1973, Chambers, 1988) yet it has become clear that the means testing of these grants since 1990 has led to the elimination of this problem although the continued availability of these grants to landlords has yet to be evaluated. However, these concerns aside, it is clear that owner occupation is the favoured tenure of the gentrifier from literary and anecdotal evidence even though the possibility that rented property may be gentrified through a social restructuring of tenants may be a fruitful avenue of research in the future. While not explored directly the open ended use of the professionals indicator made it possible that renting would be included.

It was not possible to say directly to what extent sales under the right to buy influenced the growth in owner occupation over the period, although it would have been significant (1.7 million homes have been sold under RTB since 1979, Balchin, 1995). Privatisation of housing was certainly significant over the decade and inseparable under the use of census data.

Criteria for 'gentrification'

The number of owner occupied households was measured as a proportion of the total number of households. The average ppi for Greater London was 8.99. As with the professional/managerial figure the figures were checked to see that no gains in ppi were due to a growing proportion rather than a real increase but it was found that an insignificant number of wards showed this trend. In fact only one of the "gentrified" wards had experienced a real decrease in the number of owner occupied units there - Campbell ward in Barking; this also hid the fact that well over a third of the properties in this ward were owner occupied over the ten year period. In using 1981 and 1991 SAS data it was necessary to aggregate the breakdown of buying and bought figures to make them comparable with 1981 figures.

The number of wards gentrified according to an above mean increase in dwellings owner occupied was 346, or roughly just under half of London. Clearly this large number was derived from using simple averages to determine growth. The range was quite dramatic; -7 to 41 percentage point change. In 1981 about 46%, at ward level, of Greater London's housing stock was owner occupied, but this figure had grown to 55% in 1991, an average increase of 9 percentage points. As with any mean figure though this hides regional and micro diversity which are often important to a fuller analysis.

It is difficult to suggest what is a realistic picture of the extent of gentrification. If one takes all those wards which had a lower than median (45%) percentage owner occupied one finds that, when the criteria of growth is applied (9%), 261 wards appear to have gentrified. This is perhaps a better picture; it selects all wards on the criteria that they are not gentrified at the beginning of the time period and then applies a criteria of above mean growth to determine gentrification.

Further remarks

Clearly gentrification cannot be represented by a single variable and this has been alluded to by Beauregrad and others many times over. The difficulty is that what makes common sense regarding the constitution of gentrification in theoretical terms is necessarily different from what is considered adequate in empirical terms. Essentially what this means is that empirical accounts of gentrification will have looked down upon by the apparent but sometimes groundless sophistication of gentrification and displacement theory. This is the value of such indicators and proxy variables; they challenge us to reduce concepts into 'real' artefacts that can be measured. While it cannot be suggested that one equals the other they still inform one another. It would have been possible to combine the gentrification variables in some way but it soon appeared that professionals and managers would be the single most reliable indicator of gentrification since owner occupation was too widely experienced by many occupational groups over the period which would over-estimate gentrification. Education on the other

hand has been shown to be an unreliable indicator and largely insufficient as an indicator of gentrification because of its inability to discern degree holders.

b) Displacement

Seven displacement variables were derived from the literature. The displacement literature is almost exclusively North American and has been covered already in chapter two. Drawing on this body of work and the only pieces of work done in Britain (McCarthy, 1974, Lyons, 1995) a set of variables was identified which it was believed would represent displacement. These variables identify displacement as a multifaceted phenomenon, although in many ways the variables overlap just as the gentrification variables are available to overlap. The non-mutual exclusivity of these characteristics does pose problems and the results highlight how the interaction of exclusive categories showed the strongest degrees of association and correlation.

The selection of displacement variables

The displacement variables selected were;

i) Working class - A measure was selected quantifying the number of people of SEG's 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 15 (junior non-manual workers, personal service workers, foremen and supervisors - manual, skilled manual workers, semi-skilled manual workers and agricultural workers respectively). The reconstruction of the socio-economic groups has been used in this combination before (Lyons, 1995 and Hamnett, 1987). These were selected because of their strong inter-censal comparability but were based, like all the SEG's upon a 10% count which meant that the ward level was the smallest geographical unit which could be achieved without the risk of introducing large errors. In terms of traditional definitions of gentrification the idea that middle class gentrifiers displace or replace the working class renter is assumed to be a keystone of gentrification theory. The relationship between this variable and that of professionals was therefore of key interest. The percentage of economically active people (above the age of sixteen) was

taken as the relevant ward population. The difference in this figure between 1991 and 1981 provided an indication of the change in this population - but, it must be remembered that long term structural decline could equally be held to be a cause of any decline in this group, unless it could demonstrably be shown that a greater decrease in this occupational group was experienced in so called gentrifying wards compared to an expected stasis in those which had not been gentrified.

ii) Unskilled labour - SEG 11 was used; the number of unskilled manual workers (a measure of unskilled labour held to be vulnerable because of the short-term contractual nature of this kind of work). This group showed a marginal decrease over the 1981-1991 period in Greater London. This group was selected because of the suggestion in the literature and, supporting empirical evidence, that they are a vulnerable and low paid group, and thereby susceptible to housing market changes such as increased rents and changes in local services. Social networks which have traditionally supported the working and unskilled classes (Young and Wilmott, 1957) may be as effectively broken down by displacement as redevelopment. However, more sophisticated analyses of peoples social networks have shown that gentrification may not impinge as much as might be hypothesised (Bridge, 1993) yet this refutes no less the hypothesis that gentrification may cause *displacement*.

iii) Renting - Regularly cited as an indication of gentrification when in decline since many of the gains to owner occupation from this tenure have been argued to be cases of gentrification (Hamnett and Randolph, 1981, Murie, 1991). Households renting were simply taken as a percentage of the total number of households.

iv) Ethnicity - Ethnicity was intended as a measure of minority groups who have been traditionally viewed as having an unequal opportunities in the housing market (Morris and Winn, 1990, Balchin, 1995) but the restrictions of the cells available to measure this in the SAS tables meant that a cruder figure had to be employed; that of a person's country of birth. Although a question on ethnicity had been added for the 1991 census its absence for 1981 meant that neither re-aggregation nor comparability could be achieved in this way. While problems of changes in a countries name are dealt with at

the coding stage other problems existed in that ethnicity's replacement by country meant that a proxy measure of ethnicity was used in the form of those who were born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan in 1981 and simply the New Commonwealth, which included Pakistan in 1991.

Another feature of this variable is the possibility of a relatively significant number of siblings born to British parents in 'colonial service' which are now part of the New Commonwealth. This was clearly not very acceptable and highly arbitrary but was the only suitable measure available.

v) Unemployed - While debate has raged over the exact quantification of unemployment figures this was thought a useful indicator. The unemployed are frequently to be found in rented accommodation and their existence on state support may logically make them vulnerable to changes in the price structure of the surrounding area and of their dwellings. To achieve comparative figures (in as far as this is possible, due to the frequently changing definitions of unemployment) the following cells were selected. For 1981 it was necessary to take a figure of those 'seeking work' and 'temporarily seeking' as a basic figure of unemployment, but in 1991 students who were unemployed were counted in the basic 'unemployed' figure so that their exclusion in 1981 meant that they had to be subtracted to achieve comparability in the 1991 figures. This does leave some room for doubt as to the validity of these particular figures.

vi) Elderly - Writers such as DeGiovanni (1984) and LeGates and Hartman (1981, 1986) have strongly indicated that elderly households have formed a large part of the out-moving households from gentrifying areas. DeGiovanni has also performed correlations between gentrifying inflows and elderly outflows indicating a strong relationship between the two. An overall figure was taken as a percentage of the total population in each ward at an age of 60+. This would then include all pensioners, but also some males who had not reached their retirement age of 65.

vii) Lone parent - While the majority of lone parents are female a figure was taken that included both sexes as heads of a household with children up to the age of sixteen as a percentage of the total number of households. It was not possible to find out the proportion of this group who were of professional or working class SEG, which was unfortunate but, again, this was the only measure of this family structure available.

Unconsidered variables

In deciding which variables were the most pertinent to the displacement process a decision had to be made in terms of which to select and also which to drop in the analysis. Two particular suggestions need dealing with in this respect; Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs) as an indicator of displacement and young single professionals as a measure of gentrification.

HMOs provide an essential segment of the housing market for those with little resources for their housing costs (LRC, 1994). Their decline has been associated with the conversion of property for gentrification purposes but the desirability of using such a measure was prevented by the near impossibility of obtaining comparative definitions between 1981 and 1991.

Some discussion has been provided of the way in which overly restrictive definitions of gentrification could lead to a definitional formalism which might ignore important groups. Of course, it can be argued that using young single professionals might be a more accurate representation of the 'gentrifier' but it has been shown (Zukin, 1982) that artists, for example, have been strongly associated with the advent of gentrification. Although unlikely, it would be possible for all age groups and household structures to be gentrifiers so that an open definition was, again, employed in this respect.

The displacement variables were viewed as being dependent on the gentrification variables although in necessary logical terms, or in time series, displacement would have to be a precursor for gentrifiers to move into. Some process of mediation would

always have to occur before gentrifiers found property and this had important implications for the data analysis which follows.

Final remarks on the use of the census

While the analysis of the data produced by this part of the research is the remit of the next chapter it is worthwhile describing the relation between this part of the research and the next which sought to amplify the findings of this initial research.

These respective problems cannot necessarily be overcome by any particular methodology; the census' output is fixed in terms of the way it is constructed and the biasing of data through too high levels of aggregation can only be overcome by resorting to the smallest spatial level of analysis available to us. In this case the need to use SAS data longitudinally meant that the smallest usable unit was ward rather than enumeration district (which would clearly have involved problems of analysis and interpretation because of the size of such a dataset for London).

Conclusion

The use of the 1981 and 1991 censuses has been discussed; how they are constituted and how data can be accessed and selected. A theoretically informed empirical analysis has been constructed in order to assess the impact of gentrification, in its operational form, upon displacement, in terms of its representation as the seven selected variables. The problems and constraints of the methodology have been analysed and some mention has been made of the degree of certainty with which one can view the outputted data with.

Chapter Five - The extent and location of gentrification in London and its relationship to displacement

Introduction

Having detailed the extraction of census data and the rationale behind the methodology the ways in which the data was analysed are reported along with the findings of the census research. There were two main themes behind this work. First, what relationships could be discerned between the phenomena of gentrification and displacement. Second, where could patterns of gentrification be observed to have proceeded and, contingent upon that, could displacement be seen in the same locations.

The chapter is divided into the two main phases of the analysis that was undertaken;

1. *Descriptive analysis of the dataset* - looks at the initial exploratory techniques used to assess and understand the composition of the data. Also incorporated is geographical analysis which looks at the grounded location of the phenomena;
2. *Statistical analysis* - describes the use of appropriate statistical techniques to look at the strength and direction of the relationship between gentrification and the displacement variables and goes on to produce a multiple regression model to further elaborate the nature of these processes.

A summary of the findings of the census research is given in conclusion and with a precursor to the next stage which used an expanded model of gentrification from the census research.

1. a) Descriptive analysis of the dataset

Initially a variety of measurements were used to get to grips with the broader characteristics of the data gathered from the censuses. This stage was also key in determining the magnitude of social change over the decade in both greater London

and at ward level across the capital. The data is, however, presented at the level of greater, inner and outer London at this stage with some comments later on some of the location features that the data displayed.

Measures of central tendency and dispersion

In order to provide a preliminary and exploratory analysis of the data measures of central tendency and dispersion were examined for London as a whole and then along the artificially constructed boundaries of inner and outer London. Annotated results are presented in the table 5.1 below (see appendix A, part one for further details). Table 5.1 shows the mean percentage point change for a range of variables in each of the three areas together with the standard deviation. The table describes data for all London boroughs except the City of London. As has already been mentioned the City was excluded because of its insignificant resident population and the dramatic swings in the respective ward population sizes because of this.

What conclusions can one draw from this level of aggregation and the changes in the variables observed? One should be wary of making any strong inferences for two reasons, first, because of the nature of the data extracted the apparent longitudinal reference that the data seems to make is not directly accurate because people may change their categorical positions over the decade e.g. from working class to professional. This means that replacement or displacement may be conclusions derived from data which is really showing occupational and other kinds of mobility. These incumbent changes may lead to the false inference of dynamic pictures of migration.

Table 5.1: Showing the mean percentage point changes for each variable in differing areal segments of London

	Greater London		Inner London		Outer London	
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev	Std Dev	Mean
Gent						
Prof	5.31	5.47	8.33	5.09	4.78	3.35
OwnOcc	9.15	6.72	11.19	5.78	6.95	7.82
Degree	5.51	4.19	7.42	3.92	3.88	4.27
Disp						
WC	-11.32	4.94	-13.96	4.56	4.38	-9.60
Renting	-2.81	4.68	-4.88	5.25	3.69	-1.46
Old	-1.27	2.61	-2.31	2.11	2.68	-0.6
Unskld	-0.96	2.20	-1.84	2.54	1.72	-0.38
Ethnic	1.33	2.80	0.78	3.03	2.58	1.68
UB40	10.19	4.79	13.70	4.62	3.28	7.90
LPar	3.08	2.28	4.19	2.19	2.03	2.35

London, as viewed in the data, may be seen as a discretely identified area even though this is not the case. Any migratory changes may occur within that area but also from outside London into it and vice versa. The problem of this 'real' movement and that created by apparent moves, but really through some form of occupational mobility or otherwise, are confounding factors that make inferences guarded and also came to be important concerns in the construction of the multiple regression models. The later use of the Longitudinal Study was intended as an antidote to this measurement inaccuracy. Inferences from the data at this level should only be utilised at that level and not at smaller spatial distributions which would make such inferences less able to cope with the contextual features of such areas.

The first thing that one notes about the data is the basic rates of change for the variables as a whole in the three areas defined. Mean ward level changes give an indication of the average percentage point rates of change for the spatial areas given in table 5.1. The most dramatic initial changes were the increases in unemployment (likely to be subject to many problems of measurement error) and owner occupation. These changes would appear to fit the period from which the data was taken in which council house sales, house sales in general and structural declines in various industries were taking place. The large increases in unemployment are matched in each area by decreases in working class occupations although one cannot assume that one accounts for the other the similarity of the figures would suggest a relationship born out by a correlation of -0.41 showing that roughly 17% of unemployment is explained by the decreases in working class occupations for Greater London as a whole (with p less than 1 in 10,000).

It was interesting to note a fairly clear correspondence between rises in each of the gentrification categories for each area, becoming more pronounced in inner London, and general decreases in the displacee variables for London as a whole, again becoming stronger declines for the inner areas. This seemed to be taking place with the exception of associated rises for unemployment and for lone parents (later shown to be positively correlated with increases in professionals). It is plausible to suggest

that lone parents have become more widely distributed across socio-economic groups which would account for these effects.

Clearly change was more pronounced in inner London. Inner London¹ drew larger increases in the gentrifier variables and greater reductions in the displacee variables. This is significant even though a direct link between the two cannot be made, it shows that the division of the data into these areal subsets does have an effect on both the relationship between gentrification and displacement and the extent of the observed changes in the variables. This could be for a number of reasons. The decrease in the size of the population of inner London over the years makes the increases in the gentrifier variables all the more significant. While working class groups sharply dropped in inner London there was also a large mean ward increase in the number of unemployed which might be accounted for by the large scale structural decrease in working class employers in the centre of the city.

An analysis of the data re-aggregated into quartiles using professionals as the grouping variable showed these effects more strongly, see table 5.2 below, but one can lose any idea of the location of such effects (see appendix A, part two for the full details of the quartiles). These abstract areas also formed the basis of the LS research which utilised four areas on the basis of increasing levels of gentrification, defined as an increase in the number of professionals above the city-wide mean.

¹Inner London is defined as the following boroughs; Camden, Hackney, Hammersmith and Fulham, Haringey, Islington, Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Lewisham, Newham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth and the City of Westminster (Same as the OPCS's classification of inner London)

Table 5.2: Showing the mean percentage point change for each gentrification and displacement variable for each quartile (ordered by increases in professionals)

Variable	Top Quartile	Second Q	Third Q	Lowest Q
Prof	15.10	11.06	8.93	7.26
Ownocc	12.38	12.06	11.12	8.87
Degree	10.76	9.37	7.01	6.18
WC	-17.69	-15.84	-14.70	-13.23
Renting	-6.12	-6.12	-3.75	-3.24
Old	-3.04	-2.28	-1.71	-1.75
Unskilled	-3.01	-1.82	-1.23	-1.19
Ethnic	-.66	-.06	.54	1.19
LPar	3.91	2.94	3.96	3.54
UB40	12.59	10.88	11.82	11.58

In table 5.2 one can see the linkages between the displacee variables and the gentrification variables in the wards when divided into quartiles. The ordering variable is increases in the percentage points of professionals by ward for Greater London. The data, ordered in this way, provides a demonstration of an inverse relationship between the gentrification and displacee variables, except for the lone parents and unemployed which always appeared to increase where gentrification increased. There appears to be strong correspondence between increases in all gentrification variables by quartile, as there is for working class, unskilled, ethnic, renting and elderly; all of which decrease by ascending quartile.

Each displacee variable's mean ward percentage point change decreases as the number of professionals increase (apart from lone parents and unemployed). However, if one looks at the range for working class it is possible to see that although the arithmetic mean's decrease over the quartiles remains relatively stable so that one cannot view this reduction as being due to the increases in professionals. For renting it would appear that the second quartile was the most significant 'location' for what might be seen as displacement.

The dramatic decreases in working class could be for a number of reasons. First, fewer people may be employed in these occupations. Second, such occupations may have migrated from the capital to areas with something to offer for such groups. Third, part of the impact of increasing numbers of professionals may be a displacement of working class. In reality it is likely that a combination of these factors is responsible.

The quartile analysis was too abstract to be conclusive since the mean ward decreases masked relatively small differences between each quartile for the displacee variables. Strictly speaking one could not say that increases in the number of professionals was the key factor in reducing the frequency of the displacee variables. However, it should be noted that this is only a crude measurement and one which had little intuition toward contextual changes. That all of the gentrification variables showed marked increases and that five out of the seven displacee variables showed decreases can be

considered a starting point in the evidence for a process of replacement and displacement.

1. b) *The location of gentrification and displacement in London*

Whereas the later correlation and regression models are based upon the use of all of the data extracted for London as a whole (see later), the analysis of the data in its geographical distribution utilised an idea of ‘abnormal’ change more strongly. Inner and Outer London provide artificial boundaries with which the data can be divided whereas use of the arithmetic mean (with the additional criteria indicated in the methodology) indicates a division of the total area into a new social geography based upon a notion of the abnormal growth of particular characteristics. This cut off point provides a well-used method for establishing the proxy occurrence of gentrification as an event signified by numeric change over a discrete time period.

Gentrification definitions based upon owner occupation and educated workforce were left out since professionals were the most accurate variable in the measurement of gentrification activity and in terms of the variables extraction from the census. This phase of the analysis used the relationship between gentrification (measured as the increase above mean, of professionals and managers) and the various displacement variables. In taking a mean growth for London this left 130 wards which could be considered to have gentrified to varying degrees, from just above the mean to extensive gentrification. A criteria of elimination was applied for all wards which *appeared* to have gentrified but whose increase in the number of professionals had come about because of relative decreases in the other groups in that ward - in other words gentrification could not be seen to be occurring in wards where there were actually fewer professionals in 1991 than 1981 (A list of these wards and their respective changes is provided in appendix B).

In simple numbers there were more ‘gentrified’ wards in outer (79) than inner (51) London, which is an interesting result in itself showing that, in general, the wards with more than average growth were expanding more in the outer than inner areas of London.

However, if one takes these numbers of gentrified wards and express them as a percentage of the total number of wards in each area one finds that similar ward areas of inner and outer London had been gentrified (17.1% and 17.2% respectively). This shows that the concentration and proportion of gentrification in inner London is actually no more than that of the outer area. On the other hand, if one looks at the number of 'gentrified' wards in a borough like Wandsworth one can see that fully 21 out of 22 wards had gentrified to some degree showing an uneven distribution of gentrification in the larger areas that comprise London. The social and political centrifugal forces that shape this distribution are considered further in chapter nine.

Key locations were also observed. In particular the riverside in the Docklands areas appeared to be heavily gentrified, a result consistent with the other views of that area (Hall and Ogden, 1992). More unexpected locations were also observed. South east London revealed a number of wards in which gentrification had taken place and outer London, as previously noted, had seen dispersed but widespread gentrification by professionals and managers. Areas that had been *further* gentrified like Richmond, Kingston and Blackheath highlighted places that would have been excluded from an analysis which used a criteria of exclusion since their starting percentages were above the mean. In other words, areas which were already gentrified or established middle class areas could be gentrified *even further*.

Displacement

What then of displacement? If gentrification can be said to have visible referents displacement appears more perplexing in this respect. To talk of visible displacement indicators is difficult since if it has occurred it will necessarily be in the form of an absence or space found in the area where it has occurred. In fact, there are a whole series of confounding factors where moves made due to displacement are concerned. In terms of visibility it might be hypothesised that there would be a lack of groups of people at the 'lower' end of the occupational scale, but how can this be determined? The question of how one measures such social dimensions is an inappropriate

excursion for this piece of work but may provide a fruitful avenue for research in the future, the question of tracking has often been seen as *the* problem for displacement research (Hamnett and Williams, 1979, McCarthy, 1975).

The variables used as proxies for the displacement process can also be seen on their own terms as simply referring to lone parents, the unemployed and so on. These categories become transformed into displacee variables under conditions wherein gentrification has occurred according to the proxy variables used for that process. Where there is a decline in the percentage point occurrence of the displacee variables and not an increase in ‘gentrifiers’ they would have been excluded by definition from the picture. This leads to two important possibilities not covered by the methodology. First, displacement might have occurred through gentrification in wards not identified by the gentrification variables. Second, what sense can be made of declining numbers of displacee groups in de-gentrifying wards? These questions fall outside the remit of the present research agenda outlined above but are nevertheless important considerations in an assessment of the limitations of that methodology.

What signs could be used as visible indicators that displacement had gone on? In short, displacement is not observable; it is an absent process since, by definition, where it has occurred due to gentrification displacees will no longer reside in an area. When walking the streets of Hackney, Islington or North Southwark it is not possible to be struck with the view that people have been moved out to make way for those that are now there. This is similar to the interpretation of the census data which showed that it was not possible to causally link the gentrification to the displacement variables.

De-gentrification?

It is worth mentioning, briefly, the possibility of decline in the number of gentrifiers in wards across London. Other writers (Lees and Bondi, 1995) have indicated the need for debate around issues of de-gentrification in the context of an outflow of displacees

and those people who colonise gentrified areas initially. The data revealed that 114 wards had fewer professionals in 1991 than 1981 (just over one seventh of the wards in London) with a range of -0.1 to -13pp. This is less significant than the number and rate of increase of the wards with growth in professionals but if one looks at this data as a subset and alter our direction of focus for a moment it is possible to see that the ward average increase for inner London was greater than for outer London indicating that the majority of losses of professionals were coming from outer London.

This interpretation is subject to a number of provisos; first, migratory moves might be being made by those from outside London or from these locations to the wards that were gentrified in outer London. Second, the derived figures are affected by deaths, occupational changes, births and migration means that it is not possible to be sure that the data relates to the same people in 1991 as for 1981. This means that apparent relationships between the figures may be based upon underlying deficiencies in the data.

Table 5.3: showing the mean ward changes for the professional and displacee variables in wards experiencing a loss of professionals

Prof	Ethnic	Old	Renting	Unskld	WC	UB40	LPar
-3.0	2.6	-0.3	-1.2	0.3	-5.8	7.7	1.8

De-gentrification, as a theory, implies that a process of filtering would be taking place in these wards so that an influx of displacees would be expected to some degree. It is possible to, briefly, examine this by looking at the mean changes for the de-gentrifying wards (table 5.3). That displacee variables were still experiencing reductions in these wards supports the notion that factors, other than gentrification, were leading to their reduction since one would expect higher rises in these variables in the de-gentrified areas in particular.

As a counter to this the literature points to the displacement of groups to locations adjacent to gentrified areas - quite possibly within ward sized areas, this would explain the lack of movement to such wards in decline. It is also possible that there is a large amount of equilibrium between wards with small changes in the number of gentrifiers and displacees. Further, it may be that moves are made to areas outside London.

2. Statistical analysis of the dataset

Following the descriptive and geographical analysis of the data the data was examined in such a way that observable relationships between gentrification and displacement might be elucidated. The techniques selected to perform this task were correlation, linear regression and multiple regression. Inferential techniques were not used since the data being analysed was essentially a ‘population’. Each stage is analysed in detail except for the multiple regression models relating to the educated workforce and owner occupation gentrification variables.² A critique of the techniques is also contained along with further conclusions.

The raw data obtained from the censuses is included in Appendix B. Essentially the overall hypothesis being explored was related to the impact of gentrification upon displacement. For each working definition of gentrification and test carried out the null and alternative hypotheses would be; H_0 : Gentrification would not have the effect of decreasing any one of the displacee groups. H_1 : Gentrification would have the effect of *decreasing* the number of any one of the displacee groups. A confidence level of the statistical significance of any of these tests was set at 1 in 20 (0.05%) as the lowest possible level of confidence since it was believed that the ‘fuzzy’ nature of the analysis required a lower level of stringency in this respect³.

In the event the significance of the results was much higher than predicted (often with p values surpassing confidence levels of the 1 in 10,000 mark), this is likely to be due to the large size of the dataset. However, the significance tests should be viewed with caution since they are usually used as a method of inferring the probability that

² The educated workforce and owner occupation models were later seen to be largely inadequate in exploring both the gentrification and displacement dynamics because of measurement and prediction error contained in the models.

³ Atkins and Jarrett (1979) have argued that significance levels have often been set at arbitrary levels, often on a post hoc basis, and that researchers often forget that they are still only expressing a probability level so that even if this is fulfilled we still cannot be sure that the rejection of the null hypothesis was the correct result. They also go on to describe how samples are often so far removed from the ideals of random selection and representativeness that a test of significance as an inferential technique becomes meaningless. It is presupposed that these problems were eliminated by the use of the census data although a discussion of measurement error is contained in the analysis of the multiple regression models

sample results are obtained due to chance yet when using census data one is not using a sample as such. While the occupational data is used with a 10% sample the data still has nearly complete coverage, it is therefore best to use the p values as a guide. The directional nature of the alternate hypothesis meant that one-tailed tests were used⁴.

i) Correlation

To begin with interest was shown in the magnitude and direction of the relationship between the gentrification variables and each of the displacee variables. A correlation matrix was produced using SPSS which related each of the displacement variables with each of the gentrification variables for the areas of greater, inner and outer London so that one could see if differing strengths of association varied when area was controlled - this is not to say that the area was a factor in relation to the amount of gentrification, rather it may be the characteristics of an area draw gentrifiers so that displacement takes place. In other words, geographical distinctions were controlled to assess their impact as intervening, or explanatory, variables⁵.

It was envisaged that this criteria, though artificial would add some explanatory weight to the coefficients observed; the hypothesis being that while gentrification might occur in outer London that of inner London would be both more evident and more capable of displacing. While an area cannot actively affect people as a 'causal' force gentrifiers have traditionally been interested in the inner city and it is therefore important to control for this variable.

⁴This means that the possibility of achieving an adequate level of confidence is enhanced since only one 'tail' of the sampling distribution is utilised thus giving it a value of 5% rather than 2.5%

⁵Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient was used since the data was of ratio level

Table 5.4: Showing the correlation coefficients for the gentrification and displacement variables for Greater London by gentrification type. The coefficients displayed are for those relationships with a 0.05% confidence level or greater

Displacement variable	Gentrification by professionals	Gentrification by owner occupiers	Gentrification by an educated workforce
Ethnic	-.3536	-.1472	-.3484
LPar	.2551	.2672	-.0854
Old	-.3515	..	-.4512
Renting	-.3500	-.0847	-.5209
UB40	.3161	.1614	..
Unskld	-.4343	-.2614	-.2280
WC	-.7713	-.5153	-.2323

.. denotes failure to fulfil confidence level

Bold denotes positive correlation or potential contradiction of hypotheses

It is possible to see in table 5.4 that increases in the proportionate numbers of professionals and managers in wards across the entire Greater London area happened as losses of those in the category of working classes occurred. Further, gentrification, operationalised in this way, occurred extensively in certain areas within London but the locational effects on the potential displacee populations was variable.

There is a potential problem in looking at the correlation between changes in one occupational group and another derived from the same scale. Because of the extent to which the SEG scale was used with the gentrification and displacee variables changes in one of the groups to be correlated with changes in another would be expected, subject to a degree of fluidity and flexibility through mobility between positions, death, migratory moves and so on. This would appear to flaw the use of such correlations here and in the multiple regression models but, in fact, although hypothesised increases in professionals would lead to decreases in working classes there is no reason to expect that across the capital any such *aggregate* relationship should be observed. These comments should also be considered when examining the results of the multiple regression analysis later.

Therefore the strength of the association and its direction is still very much of interest. It is surprising that over the decade the level of change has been skewed in this direction to this extent. Even though the separation of replacement and displacement is not identifiable these relationships suggest that a dramatic and widespread number of socio-economic changes have taken place.

Having calculated the correlations it was observed that only the null hypotheses for LPar with professionals and owner occupation had to be accepted since the observed correlations were positive which was counter to the anticipated direction of the effect that gentrifiers were predicted to have on the displacee groups. It may perhaps still be considered significant that only these two categories contradicted our theory about the relationship between the variables.

Table 5.5: Showing the correlations between all variables for inner and outer London

Displacement variable	Inner London			Outer London		
	Prof	Own Occ	Educ W'force	Prof	Own Occ	Educ W'force
Ethnic	-.3216	..	-.4660	-.3206	-.1893	-.2028
LPar	-.3792	.1804	.3028	-.1934
Old	-.1688	..	-.3102	-.2929	.1447	-.4177
Renting	-.1378	..	-.4812	-.3221	..	-.4303
UB40	-.1035	-.1769	-.3718	.2469	.1723	..
Unsklld	-.3819	-.2450	-.1008	-.3111	-.1723	-.1502
WC	-.6356	..	-.3790	-.7757	-.1951	-.4563

.. denotes failure to fulfil confidence level

bold denotes positive correlation

Table 5.6: Qualitative presentation of correlation coefficient

Correlation coefficient	Professionals	Own Occ	Degree
Very Low <0.19		Ethnic Elderly Rent	Lone Parent
Low 0.20-0.39	Ethnic Lone Parent Elderly Rent UB40	Lone Parent Unskilled Working Class	Ethnic Unskilled
Modest 0.40-0.69	Unskilled		Elderly Rent Working Class
High 0.70	Working Class		
Very High 0.90-1			

The contrast between inner and outer London, though an artificial distinction, is always of interest. In table 5.5 the effect of location on levels of gentrification and displacement, as a related set of events is reduced to binary relationships but while it was less often possible to fulfil the confidence limits in inner London effects were also surprisingly weaker. In particular, working class was negatively correlated with the gentrification changes in outer London on a noticeably stronger level than that for inner London. Growths in the number of members of an educated workforce in both inner and outer London appeared to show a significant relationship but correlations were stronger for inner London this time.

Using the classifications for differing strengths of correlation given by Cohen and Holliday (cited in Bryman and Cramer, 1997) table 5.6 has been used to elucidate the strength of the negative correlations between the variables for Greater London. The table shows only negative correlations since these were of most interest in testing our one-tailed hypotheses that gentrification in each of its manifestations would have a negative impact on the numbers of potential displacees in wards.

The table gives more information to the less-than-expressive number obtained through Pearson's correlation. This helps to give us a rule-of-thumb rather than a definitive indicator but immediately shows that gentrification when measured through growths in the numbers of professionals shows the strongest associations with a negative influence being felt by most of the displacee groups. This does not mean to say that gentrification has *caused* displacement, it shows that the two events are related to varying degrees.

Table 5.7: Tables showing the coefficient of determination (R^2)

Displacement variable	Professionals	Owner Occupation	Educated Workforce
Ethnic	-12.5%	-2.1%	-12.1%
LPar	6.5%	7.1%	-0.72%
Old	-12.35%	..	-20.35%
Renting	-12.25%	-0.71%	-27.13%
UB40	9.99%	2.60%	..
Unsklld	-18.86%	-6.83%	-5.19%
WC	-59.49%	-26.55%	-5.39%

Figures are for Greater London

Bold means a positive relationship between X (gentrification) and Y (displacee variable)

The interpretation of coefficients and those of determination is problematic⁶, what is a significant figure? The highest coefficient obtained was for working class and professionals shows a value of R^2 equal to 59.4%, see table 5.7. This figure is dramatic showing, as it does, that approximately sixty percent of the reduction in the numbers of working class in wards across the capital is related to the increase in professionals while only forty percent is due to other factors. Of course, what these other factors are is open to interpretation and are discussed below.

Unskilled labour also appeared to more affected by professionalisation than the other proxies for gentrification. This may be because of the size of this group and their lack of even spread across the capital in general. The positive correlations observed between lone parents and the unemployed (except for the educated workforce proxy) was curious and difficult to explain. It could be that unemployment rose in areas of gentrification because of the shifting nature of the locals service economy in these areas.

In showing that Y is due to X by 59% a theoretically informed direction of causality is implied where displacement variables (Y) are predicted by the gentrification variables (X). The direction of causal association or the fulfilment of prior occurrence to another event really depends upon the theory being used to examine the phenomenon. While gentrification is held to 'cause' displacement the chronology is more complex, as discussed in chapter three.

⁶ Caution has often been advised when examining correlation coefficients (Bryman and Cramer, 1997, Pagano, 1994). When coefficients are looked at on face value a value of 0.60 can appear to be double the strength of association for a correlation of 0.30. The converse is also true - when examining R^2 we should not view low figures with dismay. This is not true however, to illustrate this we can square the value of r and multiply by one hundred. We can then tell the percentage of variability in Y attributable to X.

ii) The construction of multiple regression models to examine displacement

The final stage of the data analysis was the construction of three multiple regression models based around the different operational definitions of gentrification that were used; Professionals and Managers, Educated workforce and Owner occupation. In each model the following objectives were explored;

1. To assess the relative explanatory power of each displacement variable in terms of each of the dependent gentrification variables, thereby assessing the explanatory strength of each definition of gentrification in terms of the displacement variables selected
2. To predict and quantify levels of displacement through a reversal of the causal direction of the model
3. To calculate the error term (lack of explanation) and assess its own weight as an unexplained component of the gentrification process and the reasons for this. It was never perceived that the models would explain 'gentrification' completely but a knowledge of the amount of error would indicate how useful the models were. Error is useful as a spur to further theoretical thinking on what other factors may have taken a causal role in the processes.

Multiple regression may appear to have turned the causal direction of the process in reverse. Such models require a single dependent variable (DV) with a number of independent variables (IV) so that, for the purposes of this research, it would be necessary to view the displacement variables as a set of IVs for each model and each operational definition of gentrification as a single DV. In fact this fitted well with the logical and necessary linkage of displacement and gentrification as events - the one preceding the other.

Important considerations; The nature of multiple regression

Multiple regression is one of the most commonly used statistical methods in the social sciences where one seeks to explain a dependent variable (DV) via a number of

independent, or explanatory, variables (IV). The model cannot be visualised in the same way that normal linear regression can, one can only think of a regression surface or plane which stretches between the various IVs, but it provides an invaluable tool in assessing the degree to which explanation of a DV can be given by the selection of a number of IVs. This would, at first, seem curious in relation to the stated goals of the overall research on gentrification on displacement since it was asserted that gentrification was the IV acting upon each of the displacee variables (dependent variables). However, logical necessity dictates that the timing of these events would mean that displacement would have to take place *first* in order to vacate dwellings for gentrifiers to subsequently occupy.

This meant that multiple regression was a suitable explanatory model to explore and also opened up the possibility of reversing the direction of the explanation by showing that an increase in X (number of professionals and managers, for example), would necessarily be based upon a decrease Y in the number of displacees with varying weights attached to each of these variables. Figure 5.1 gives a simple visualisation of what the regression models were trying to explain. The various displacement variables are given varying arrow lengths to give a hypothetical indication of their relative explanatory weight in the model. Gentrification would be represented by one of the definitions used.

In figure 5.1 each of the IVs (representing unitary aspects of the displacement process) is seen leading to the proxied gentrification process. Some explanation of the modelling of the causal relationships in this way is needed at this point. By using the multiple regression model it was hoped that gentrification could be explained as a process built on the antecedent process of displacement. Galster and Peacock (1986), for example, have used a similar model to explain why gentrification itself occurred and also to examine the interaction of differing operational definitions with the extent of gentrification in Philadelphia. The model used here was concerned with gentrification being explained by a process of displacement plus a margin of error. Seen in this way displacement or replacement has to occur to allow gentrification.

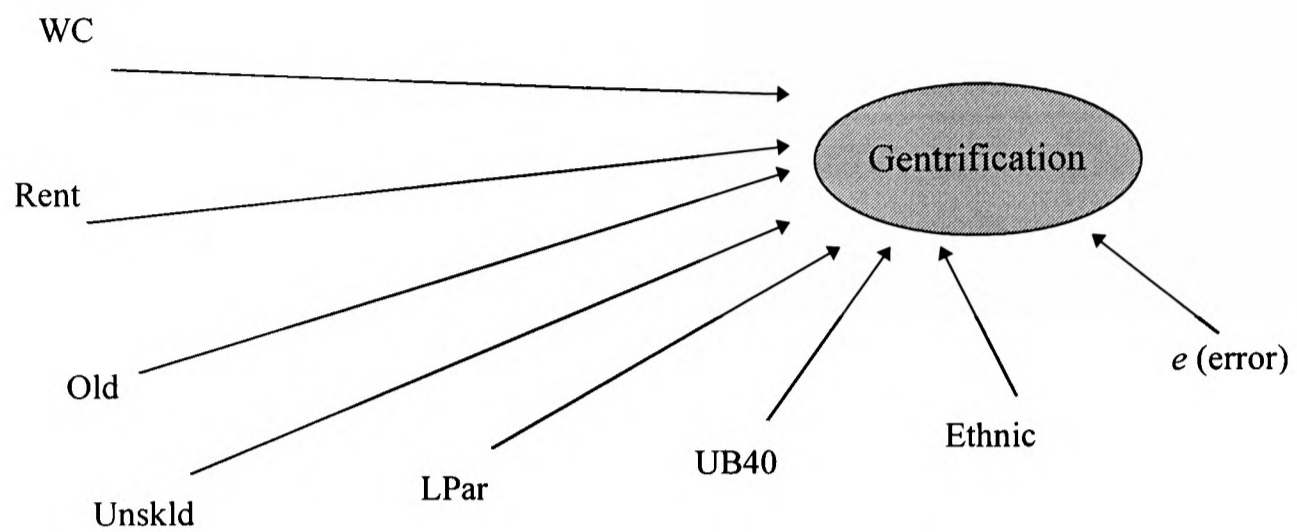


Figure 5.1: Illustrating the composition of the multiple regression models and direction of causality implied in the models

While Galster and Peacock's work had been used to inform the research as to those variables which positively influenced the amount and area in which gentrification occurred these models were looking at the negative influence of factors such that gentrification had a 'space' to take place in after their reduction. Explanation of gentrification was sought in terms of those preceding factors which might allow it to take place - the groups who might have to move, or would have moved anyway, for gentrification to take place. Galster and Peacock employed a similar methodology to investigate variables explaining the presence of gentrification itself.

Just as any set of paired numbers can be correlated it would be possible to construct a multiple regression model explaining any one factor via a set of any IVs with some degree of success, indeed the addition of successive IVs can only add some degree of explanation to the DV with a range of zero or above. It is therefore the theoretical guidance of the model into logical realms of explanation that is needed and it would appear plausible to assume that a form of displacement or replacement had to take place prior to the gentrification of an area. In numerical terms this would be seen as a reduction in the percentage points a displacee group had in a ward and an increase over the decade in the gentrification variable. The idea of causality confuses these issues since the model makes it seem that displacement is 'causing' gentrification, rather it is anticipated that explanation of the logical course of events is achieved by setting up the model in this way with inevitable addition of an error term which includes those factors not accounted for.

Gentrification, as a social process, occurs for a number of reasons but it certainly doesn't occur *because* displacement has taken place, this can rather be seen as a necessary precondition which may have occurred because of the potential for gentrification. Seen in this way an interpretation in which gentrification *causes* displacement may be warranted from the models drawn up; there are theoretical grounds for supposing that although gentrification can only occur *after* property has been vacated that vacation will, where displacement occurs, have been caused by eviction, pricing out and so on which are linked to the *potential* for gentrification.

This is an important detail since, while theoretically plausible, it is not possible to assert its empirical relevance by the use of the models.

To summarise; while causality in the social sciences is usually viewed in terms of probability the models used implied that the direction of causality was contrary to assertions made about the way that gentrification *caused* displacement. This has been elaborated to demonstrate that, logically, displacement would have to be a factor *prior* to gentrification plus error (a number of unidentified variables). It is possible to go further and suggest predictor (IV) and response (DV) variables since it is a decrease in the displacee variables which enables the response of gentrification to theoretically take place in the models set up.

Marsh suggests that ‘since causes occur before effects, knowing which variable occurred first can help’ (p230) and this underlies the logic of the model so that rather than overly stressing the ‘causality’ of such a model its chronology is stressed. However, it should be noted that in the models used there is no chronology and neither is there any fixity to the geographical and social locations of the population used because of the transference of the data into ppi’s. The chronology, then becomes one of logic rather than reference to actual events occurring in the data.

Regression assumptions and the data;

i) True models

In assessing the power of the model to explain change in the DV the equation consists of the varying contributions of the IVs plus an error term which expresses that part of the model which is not accounted for by the IVs. A ‘true model’ is really a theoretically conceived model in which there is no error term, this is a goal rather than a realistic achievement of any multiple regression model since it is not really possible to completely explain the causal processes underlying a process like gentrification. As Berry (1993) notes;

“It would be incredibly naive to believe that in a concrete social science application, the true model would be known, but perhaps it is more plausible to presume that this model exists, yet is unknown by the researcher.” (p.341)

The model is, then, a heuristic device rather than an object and Berry goes further, suggesting that;

“It is pointless to try to assess whether a regression model conforms to some “true” model; realistically, we must confine ourselves to an analysis of whether a regression model accurately specifies *our theory* about the factors influencing some dependent variable” (p.341)

This also neatly encapsulates a further dimension of the relationship between theory and method in which the method itself becomes confined to the dictates of the theory. In other words, the models constructed from empirical data become theoretical constructs related to ideas about the causal mechanisms underlying that empirical reality. The relationship is mutually interdependent and impossible to disentangle.

Another point should be raised concerning the use of independent and dependent variables. It is difficult to use these labels when attaching them to fixed categorical data, such as a person's occupation. This is overcome by taking percentage point changes and yet the problematic remains that suggesting professionals are an independent or dependent variable

ii) Measurement error

An assumption concerning the data as they are fed into the models is that they are error free, so far as this is possible. Discussion has already been held over the issues of reliability in the extraction of the census data, so this should not concern us here, but it should be borne in mind that subsequent quality of prediction and correlation stemming from the models will be tempered to the extent that the data itself contained a degree of error.

iii) Prediction error

A lack of explanatory power of the models would also be due to the fact that rises in the numbers of gentrifiers could be due, in each definition, to new build or previously vacant accommodation providing the dwellings (i.e. the gentrification was non-replacing or displacing). Replacement is a key issue. Replacement could ‘naturally’ occur through death, a decision to move (although such decisions might be to varying degrees considered to be due to coercion) and so on so that it is not possible to view the reductions in the IVs as simply due to displacement.

The power of the models was not such that the breakdown between replacement and displacement could be quantified since these would be down to contextual conditions - in all cases only a reduction in the observed frequency of displacees and an increase in the number of gentrifiers would appear to be displacement whereas an increase in the number of gentrifiers *and* displacees would not. However, it is not possible to make a distinction between an amount of *displacement* and an amount of *replacement*. To some degree it was only possible to assess the degree to which the IVs ‘explained’ each DV yet theoretical considerations would clearly suggest, and logic dictate, that a certain proportion of the explanation would be due to displacement.

The existence of error in any model is inevitable but the possibility is faced that gentrification is an intervening variable which appears to represent the causal agent for displacement but is apparent where other factors are the ‘real’ agent for the observed relationship or pattern. Other factors clearly at work would be structural decline in certain industrial sectors, right to buy of council property, natural migration rates and so on. While it is difficult to speculate the overall role of these other agents of change they have been considered to be part of both the lack of the explained variance in the models and as errors in the construction of the models.

Using proxy variables in multiple regression models

Use was made of proxy variables in order to understand concepts whose manifestation was not comprehensible through other means. There are two levels on which this use

of indicators can be understood, first, using certain indicators as proxies of more conceptual phenomena can be assessed as an approach in itself and thereby as a deficient, yet necessary, methodology. Second, one can view the indicators as phenomena in their own right which can be analysed without recourse to the metaphorical allusion of the variables as indicators.

Berry (1993) makes some pertinent points relating the use of proxy variables to multiple regression models which extends our knowledge of the nature of prediction error in regression models. While so far Carley's (1986) definition of indicators have been used as a working definition of proxy variables Berry suggests they are "assumed to be correlated with the concept of interest that is used to measure the concept when it cannot be measured directly" (p.391) and this underlines the approach adopted in the research. Such an approach was undertaken out of necessity since there are no census variables which measure 'gentrification' or 'displacement'. It has already been argued earlier that it may be valid to suggest that approaches which reduce such processes to unitary variables are inadequate *but* that such concerns should be noted rather than be used as a preventive to initiating research.

Returning to the proxy variables; Berry cautions the inferences of regression models constructed with proxy variables since it cannot be assumed that any findings directly apply to the conceptual phenomena which the proxy variables are supposed to represent. Berry summarises this point thus;

"researchers must be alert to two possible sources of measurement error when proxy variables are used as indicators: (a) random or non-random error in the measurement of the true score for the *proxy* and (b) non-random error resulting from the inability of the true score on the proxy to reflect perfectly the concept being measured." (p.392)

Point (a) relates to the accuracy with which the census data was collected, an issue which was considered in some depth in the previous chapter, what concerns us here is that, such error of measurement apart, inference from the results of the models should be made guardedly due to imperfect correspondence between gentrification and displacement and their counterpart proxy variables. This may appear to complicate the

approach adopted but it is a common problem relating to method and measurement which needs to be considered rather than used to invalidate such an approach.

Of course this leads to the ultimate question, 'is this really gentrification?'. In many ways it would be possible to be assertive and suggest that gentrification is occurring anywhere where there is a growth in these proxy groups but, apart from being dogmatic, it is uncertain whether at the level of conjunction these indicators actually refer to a process of gentrification. Confounding factors like incumbent upgrading are important, as are subjective changes in the way that people perceive themselves. Perhaps more important of all is the inability to draw inferences about linkages between the population of 1981 with that of 1991 (see chapters six and seven which look at the way in which these problems may be overcome) since the census is a cross sectional survey.

Finally, some of the different ways in which displacement occurs have been discussed and one of the most important of these routes is through a perceived or realised appropriation of the income difference between higher earners or those with more resources. In many ways then professionals and working class may correspond more closely to such differentials such that as proxies for displacement activity they are more accurate indicators than for gentrification.

It is possible to give some credibility to the view that this model gives a better approximation of the dynamics of the *displacement* process than gentrification itself. This is because the occupational scales used will reflect income differentials better than would a pure measure of gentrifiers which are the critical location for market disparity and a process of displacement. It has also been shown earlier that pioneer gentrifiers can technically include students and artists who may initiate the process leading to displacement and suffer from that displacement themselves.

Results

Each model had strongly different outcomes and are described in more detail individually followed by a more general set of conclusions (see appendix C for the SPSS output for each model). The three models are presented in order of their ability to explain gentrification from the displacee variables; in other words, in terms of their explanatory weight - success of each model can only be considered in these terms within the remit of the research. Beyond an overall level of explanation it was also of interest to see the relative contributions each variable made to the overall level of explanation provided by the models.

1. Professionals and Managers model

This particular model had the highest overall explanatory value, although this is not the same as saying that it explained gentrification and displacement ‘best’ because of the use of proxies for such concepts and since it is not possible to know whether an intelligible model has been used or one that *appears* to explain events. Even so, it remains likely that this model was superior because of greater perceived levels of measurement and prediction error to be found in the other two models, discussed later.

The coefficient of multiple determination

To begin with it is possible to take an overall figure which correlates all of the IVs with the DV at one stroke. This figure is known as the coefficient of multiple determination (R^2 , as with Pearson’s coefficient) and can be used to establish the overall closeness of fit between all of the IVs and the DV. It might be possible to assert that this is also an indication of the overall success of the model but it must be remembered that if our only goal were to produce a high R^2 one could take a larger number of variables (see below). The error term (e) is also of interest since it tells us the amount of variance not explained by the IVs and therefore draws our attention to other factors which will not have been included in the model. Finally, the relative influence of each variable within the model is examined (also see below) since this will give an indication of which IVs are most salient in the processes looked at.

In order to calculate the overall explanation of gentrification from displacement or replacement one can see that R^2 for the overall model was 0.73845. Just as the coefficient of determination was used when correlating the variables it is possible to employ R^2 for the multiple regression model which is the coefficient of *multiple* determination. This figure gives the proportion of the gentrification variable that is explained by *all* of the independent variables. The higher R^2 is the more complete is the explanation of gentrification via the displacement variables (with certain guarded exceptions, see below). It is important to note, however, that adding IVs cannot decrease the value of R^2 and is likely to increase it to some degree. Lewis-Beck (1993) observes that 'rather than entering variables primarily to enhance R^2 , the analyst must be guided by theoretical considerations in deciding which variables to include' (p. 45).

In fact the professional regression gentrification model had a particularly high adjusted R^2 value of 0.73635 so that one can say that the variables explained 74% of the variance in gentrification (where gentrification is seen as the percentage point increase in the number of professionals and managers in any one ward). Of course this also means that 26% was due to other factors (i.e. the error term - e). The adjusted R^2 represents a more conservative estimate of explanation used in order to counteract the effect of different units of measurement and different ranges for the variables. R^2 itself was only a fraction higher than the adjusted coefficient because in each case percentage point change units were being analysed, though the ranges of each variable were different.

Of course with R^2 its square root can be taken to find the multiple correlation coefficient, as with Pearson's r , which gives us a correlation coefficient for all of the IVs to the DV. For the professionals model this figure was 0.85933, a very high level of correlation indeed. The figures of multiple determination and correlation are significant because they suggest that the model was comprehensive in its ability to explain gentrification through the variables selected and to show a distinctively strong relationship between the two 'events'. Clearly this correlation level is much stronger

than for the variables taken on their own but the model also shows us (see below) that this high level is predominantly due to the contribution of working class and unskilled. A fuller discussion of the error term follows later.

The relative contribution of the IVs to gentrification

It is clearly of interest that the variables, in each of the models, are examined to see which had the most explanatory weight as a component of the overall explanation represented by the adjusted R^2 coefficient of multiple determination. After this the contribution of each variable was examined separately. An examination of the output generated by SPSS revealed that for the professional's stepwise model the variables were entered in the following order of significance; WC (0.59440), Unskld (0.11195), Ethnic (0.01692), UB40 (0.00598), Old (0.00591) and LPar (0.00198).

This reveals each variable's contribution to the overall R^2 statistic. It is now possible to see the order in which the model 'selected' the variables according to the magnitude of their explanation of gentrification and the value of that magnitude. Within the overall coefficient (R^2) only WC makes an apparently dramatic contribution, Unskld a minor contribution with the remainder of little significance. This helps to focus our attention on the variables of most interest even though it conflicts with other hypotheses relating to the relationship between the decline of HMOs and the gentrification process.

It is here that a flaw in the model may be observed since two of the IVs (Unskld and WC) are derived from the same scale (SEG) as the DV (Professionals). This means that one can already anticipate a negative correlation between them *a priori*. This resulted in these two variables being the two variables with the largest level of explanation in the model. In defence of the model it should be added that, while such an outcome may be anticipated, this in no way invalidates such an approach for an investigation of the *strength* of the association between these variables which one would envisage would change over time - a key concern of the research. The

following two models might, therefore, be regarded as more realistic models but the central theoretical focus of the research was firmly rooted in the relationship between professionals and the working class occupations. Further, the degree of inverted correspondence between professionals and working class is bound to be tempered by a degree of fluidity between the categories because of two key factors. (1) Because the data was cross-sectional a certain amount of mobility in terms of geographical and social positions was inevitable. (2) These two groups did not form the entire range of the scale so that other groups would create a ‘dampening’ of any correlatory effects observed over the period.

The influence of the IVs

The stepwise multiple regression model used gives us information about the order of influence that the displacee variables have on the gentrification DV, this method is specifically used to make such an assessment. It is the statistical criteria for exclusion in the stepwise method which can create problems for causal theories where variables are not included but remain important and appropriate to an explanation.

Table 5.8: Showing the standardised contribution of each IV to the DV (professionals) where all other variables are controlled

Independent Variables	Unstandardised regression coefficients	Standardised regression coefficients
WC	-0.779	-0.703
Unskld	-0.842	-0.338
UB40	-0.197	-0.172
Old	-0.2	-0.095
LPar	0.198	0.082
Ethnic	-0.272	-0.139
[intercept]	-2.805	-

Table 5.8 gives the standardised regression coefficients for each of the IVs to illustrate their relative explanatory weight within the model. There is a distinct difference between the two coefficients. Bryman and Cramer advise the use of standardised coefficients because of their greater accuracy in determining change by controlling the effects of the other variables so that they use the same standard of measurement to enable comparison, both are shown for the purposes of comparison. The standardised coefficients indicate by how many standard deviation units the DV will change for a one unit change in the IV. This can be contrasted with R^2 which gives the coefficient for all of the IVs related to the DV. The difference between tables 5.7 and 5.8 is that while the former describes the *relative* contribution of the variables to the overall multiple coefficient of determination, the latter gives *standardised* ‘weights’ for each variable where all other IVs are partialled out (controlled).

Typically one would be looking for unit rises in the IVs as predictors of the increased value of the DV, this assumption is reversed in the three models described here based on the ideas about chronology discussed earlier. The standardised regression coefficients were taken and then employed them to predict rises in gentrification by virtue of unit *decreases* in the various IVs. While it is not possible to call the reduction in any of the displacee variables displacement per se it is clear that the significant decreasing levels of these groups would support the hypothesis that social restructuring in the capital was going on and that this was leading to a combination of displacement in its purest form plus a number of other intervening explanations whose proportions cannot be quantified in the model.

The stepwise model of multiple regression used with SPSS to elucidate the relative merits of each variable’s power of explanation became theoretically problematic since it rejected renting. This is the case because the model works on statistical rather than theoretical criteria, as one would expect. However, from a theoretical viewpoint one would have expected renting to have been a key explanatory variable judging by both its prominence in the literature and the observed decline from the descriptive analysis of the data.

In using the stepwise method renting was not included in the model hence the “enter” method was employed to examine whether an explanation was possible. In fact this had no greater explanatory impact since the T value for renting and professionals was greater than 0.05 i.e. it was not statistically significant. Therefore, although renting may appear theoretically significant this was not confirmed by the model.

It was surprising that **old** and **renting** did not achieve greater prominence in the models, two groupings who have clearly been shown to be related to the displacement process (LeGates and Hartman, 1981, 1986, Henig, 1984, Leckie, 1995) and who are also referred to in the case studies later on. It is only possible to explain this through statistical criteria and speculate on the degree of correspondence between the model and the ‘reality’ of gentrification and displacement. Further, the reliability of the initial measurements and the reliability of these as indicators of the phenomena under study is open to question, a persistent problem!

Prediction error in the model

As has been mentioned, approximately 26% of the variance in gentrification in the professionals model was attributable to other factors. This should not, however, be viewed as an inadequacy in the model or of its overall explanatory power, rather it helps us to focus attention on those potential factors may have not hitherto been included in the models. The IVs selected were based upon on an analysis of the literature which suggested that these were the key factors driving the displacement process. It is not possible to expect to unequivocally account for the variance in gentrification to be based on these informed choices for reasons discussed below.

The model is, to some extent, difficult to assess in terms of causality because of the inherent problems of extracting data which has a temporal component and its transfer into an a-temporal form (percentage point changes). From this data inferences on the rate and direction of change had been sought stemming from the view that dynamic statistics had been created. Combined with the division of the models into IVs and

DVs one can see that an explanation based on the models explains variance in the response variable via the IVs but it cannot reveal the true time ordering of these events. It is also possible that gentrification can be considered as a prior factor to displacement so that it does become an independent variable. The circularity of such logic makes it difficult to assess the impact of such a suggestion on the models, clearly it is not possible to explain gentrification through gentrification but gentrification may be a prior causal factor in terms of displacement.

The most important thing to remember is that the coefficients relating the gentrification variable to the IVs is, although posited as being causally directed towards gentrification, a two way relationship; if 59% of the variance in professionals is explained by that of working class the relationship is mutual. The data suggests that the direction of causality is being directed from professionals toward the other groupings. This can be seen if working class is then regressed on professionals (in other words, if the reduction in working class is now explained by changes in the numbers of professionals) which gives the same coefficient of determination as when the reverse is the case (R^2 equals 59%, i.e. still the same). The result is the same but from the theoretical background begun with the reduction in working class in a ward was viewed as being due, to some extent, from increases in the number of professionals and would hold that it would be unlikely for the reverse to be the case i.e. lower occupational groups may be able to filter into areas but they cannot dislodge higher occupational groupings.

Perhaps the most important factors relating to unexplained variance stem from the way in which rises in professionals and managers can occur through the occupation of vacant dwellings over the time period i.e. increase in the incidence of professionals comes with no change to the socio-economic profile of an area just as moves which replace professionals and managers with more professionals and managers would similarly be shown this way. This is what the model was suggesting was *not* happening in 74% of the overall change; change was due to a significant reduction in other groups which one might interpret as being composed, to a degree, of moves made from an area because of a displacement pressure brought to bear by the

gentrification gatekeepers, particularly landlords, and, later on, by the increased costs of living in the area.

It must be remembered that the models were not capable of discerning the difference between replacement and displacement per se, they were only powerful when looking at the relationship between rises in gentrifier groups where reductions in displacee groups were found (at a ward level of analysis). The inference that this was in fact displacement may be spurious and the extent of this cannot be determined from the models themselves. It is possible, however, to reason that a certain amount of the rise in professionals will have emerged for reasons other than occupational restructuring and migratory changes. Reasons for displacement hidden within the data would include being priced out of an area, being harassed, social network change and being evicted. The subtler forms of displacement, predominantly exclusion from local housing markets which rise suddenly, cannot be seen in the data since these are potential moves prevented by exclusion and thereby do not take place.

Another confounding factor leading to prediction error is incumbent upgrading; where the inhabitants of an area change status over a given time period leading to false inferences being made of the nature of social change in an area. This is a particularly important point in relation to the use of censuses given that they represent cross-sectional surveys. This means that one can never be sure if someone who was working class in 1981 was not a professional by 1991. Such occupational mobility would exacerbate 'gentrification effects' just as moves downward would also counteract such effects. The main point to bear in mind is that it is not possible to say how much change occurred in this way and to what extent our models are therefore confused by such changes.

It may be argued that a 'cancelling out' effect may have operated in the capital over the decade but to ascertain such a view would demand more detailed analysis. It is possible then that associations between displacement and gentrification are exacerbated or depressed by changes in mobility over the period, leading to an error in estimation of the effect of one variable over another since respondents could

effectively contribute to one variable in 1981 and another in 1991 - mobility, both geographical and social, makes these positions fluid.

Because London is not a discrete area it is also possible that error in prediction arises when moves are made to and from areas surrounding London - it maybe, for example, that a respondent in 1981 lived in London and in 1991 moved out which would overstate certain effects. However, similar problems are encountered when moves are made between wards which may counteract the directions of change in that ward - for example, if a gentrifier in ward Y made a move to ward X and a gentrifier in ward X moved back to ward Y they would effectively cancel the effect.

Finally, it is eminently possible, as Lyons has argued (1995) that other groups are capable of displacing such as junior professional workers who have the market power to outbid other groups but who have not been considered in these models. It is arguable that these groups are not gentrifiers in the sense originally meant, they do not form a novel cultural group with a characteristic set of tastes and preferences or a distinctive lifestyle and yet their ability to displace may be as apparent. It is unlikely, however, that such groups account for any significant amount of displacement because of their lower spending power than professionals and yet it might be an area worthy of future attention. It is similarly apparent that, with the lack of currently available data on any kind of displacement it is necessary to restrict the focus of the research.

The majority of the problems stemming from use of the models derives from a fundamental flaw in the data - namely it was not longitudinally linked. Were it possible to produce a 100% London-wide longitudinal data set it would be possible to distinguish with certainty whether moves were made to vacant dwellings, whether incumbent upgrading in an area has occurred and so on. The use of the data in the analysis so far described was carried out because of a lack of data of this adequacy but the size of the data set utilised make wider inferences more reliable.

It should be borne in mind that the inferences to emerge from this data refer to social processes affecting real and vulnerable people's lives. While it has not been possible to develop a methodology capable of discerning the difference between displacement and replacement, social change and mobility, as indicated earlier, that there are strong connections between events which were labelled as gentrification and displacement.

2. Educated workforce model

Less time is spent discussing the two remaining models since it was considered that, in addition to providing less powerful tool for analysis, they contained relatively high levels of measurement and prediction error that would significantly bias the results. A brief presentation of the main findings is given of the models and a discussion of some of their problems.

The multiple correlation was .73 giving a coefficient of multiple determination (adjusted R^2) of .54, or more accessibly stated, 54% of the variance in the educated workforce in any one ward was explained by a hypothetical decrease in all of the displacee variables. This still offers a relatively high level of explanation. The main problem with this finding, however, is the lack of fit between the educated workforce variable and the target population of degree holders (in addition to the error of finding an accurate ten percent population for degree holders). Given the level of explanation afforded in the professional model by the linkage with the working class variables the correlation becomes even more significant.

The mean ward increase for educated workforce was 5.51pp for greater London and 7.42 for inner London. The relative contribution of the IVs to gentrification was as follows; renting (.27032), working class (.13103), elderly (.0463), lone parent (.04258), ethnic minorities (.02639), unskilled workers (.02275) and the unemployed (.00221). This is illustrative of each IVs component part of the overall R^2 from which it is possible to see that there is a completely different ordering of the variables in relation to the DV of educated workforce. Renting, critically, now becomes the most

important variable. It is possible to infer from this that where gentrification takes place due to influxes of 'educated gentrifiers' renting suffers greatest and so on but it is not possible to be so sure. The adjusted regression coefficients altered the contributions of each IV when all other variables were controlled showing that working class remained the highest displacee group.

The predictive capacity of the model is tempered by the error in the measurements taken from the census data. These have been discussed several times in the course of this and the preceding chapter but it is worth noting in relation to this particular model that one can observe two key issues namely;

(a) The model lacks a correspondence with a notion of gentrification which is founded on being synonymous with degree holders. If the model lacks such correspondence its necessary modification to that of all individuals with some form of qualification appears too vague to equate with gentrification.

(b) If this is the case one can surmise that degree holders were not a displacing group since they would necessarily be a smaller part of the qualified working population. It is possible, however, that this group may have shown a far stronger correspondence with those wards which had declined in their displacee groups so that the possible negative correlation between the groups might be relatively high. It is unfortunate that these points are not verifiable.

3. Owner occupation model

In many ways it was not surprising that this model explained least about a relationship between gentrification and displacement. A key contributory factor was the impact of the right to buy (RTB). This, it is argued, confounds the view that renting to owning, as a tenure shift, can be viewed simply as gentrification. These problems with the data aside the results of the regression model are given as used for this group and the displacee variables.

The multiple correlation for educated workforce was .42 giving a coefficient of multiple determination (adjusted R^2) for this model barely more than .17 possibly demonstrating that the displacee variables had a low explanatory value in explaining rises in this group. This would appear to suggest that these groups explain little in the rise in owner occupation across the capital. In looking at the adjusted correlations for each variable with all other IVs controlled it was observed that LPar (.39) and Old (.13) had moderate positive correlations with owner occupation and Rent (-.08), UB40 (-.27), Unskld (-.23) and WC (-.22) had similar negative correlations, although the correlation for renting was very low. This differed from the order of their relative contributions to the coefficient of multiple determination. In other words, if this figure is multiplied by 100 their respective percentage explanations of the variance in owner occupation are derived, these are; LPar (.07019), Unskld (.03944), WC (.09119), UB40 (.06843), Old (.0996) and Renting (.07258). Ethnic could not be included in the equation. The figures in brackets show the variable's contribution to the overall adjusted R^2 coefficient of .42 which explains why they do not decrease as each is entered given that the figures have already been adjusted by this stage.

An analysis of the possible levels of displacement was not undertaken based upon the adjusted coefficients and mean levels of change for the owner occupation model because of the apparent lack of correspondence between the model, gentrification and displacement. It seems possible to conclude that owner occupation is not a displacing causal agent but this would be a simplistic analysis when it is known that the right to buy has intruded upon the clarity of the data collected. This also raises further questions about the validity of using owner occupation as a signifier of gentrification in particular and of socio-economic status in general.

Some final remarks

It was novel to be using a set of displacement indicators as IVs in the regression models. This was because (a) from an analysis of the literature there is no reported use of this technique to explain displacement and (b) since gentrification is often viewed as the causal agent rather than a response indicator the reversal of this method to explain displacement was similarly a new route into the understanding of displacement.

The least generous interpretation of the data would be to infer that the results were due wholly to chance and that the apparent observations were not indicative of any underlying regular or systematic events. The theoretical background to the work and the results stemming from the empirical data make such an interpretation implausible but neither can one directly quantify the amount of displacement and replacement and other 'noise' inducing problems in the data. This aspect is frustrating yet the correlation between the events as observed through the census data markedly suggests that displacement had gone on over the decade.

The problem of establishing whether chance or systematic factors contributed to the overall research question is less in doubt than whether the relationship over time is causal or simply chronologically adjacent. There is always a point of departure from any data which have been obtained or from any statistic at which the researcher must make an interpretation of the underlying processes and reasons for the derivation of such figures. Statistics in themselves give an unmediated view of these processes wherein many factors may not be self-evident. The increasing weight of evidence stemming from different methods suggests that the relationship observed here is, indeed, causally linked in the sense that gentrification induces losses in the displacee groups.

3. Conclusion - Does gentrification lead to displacement?

Two main areas of analysis have been examined in the analysis of the 1981 and 1991 census data; the statistical significance of the data extracted in terms of its ability to tell us something about the causal links between gentrification and displacement as abstract phenomena and insights into the more grounded location of these processes.

The theoretically informed statistical analysis postulated that an increase in the number of professionals and managers would lead to decreases in the displacee groups and this clearly did occur. On the other hand, it was not possible to answer more inquisitive hypotheses about the rates and nature of the processes. The data was absent of reference to the specific timing of these events although logic would dictate that removal of what would *later* be defined as displacees would have to take place to allow vacant possession.

The adequacy of the measurements used

Some discussion has already been provided of the use of proxy variables in the models but it is interesting to return to these details having assessed the value of each model. It is not possible to say that one model was more successful than another, rather they tell us different things about the data and its reconfiguration in each model, that is, that each model of gentrification explained more or less displacement/replacement than another.

Increases in professionals may have brought about wider levels of displacement than gentrification ever could, such a view is reliant on the degree to which one accepts that professionals are gentrifiers or that gentrification has occurred when professionals replace or displace lower status/class groups. This is complicated by what one can view as the central displacement dynamic; income differentials. When examining income differentials the critical question behind displacement becomes one of propensity to migrate by groups with *relatively* more resources than indigenous

groups and the role of 'gatekeeper' landlords. This leads the way for the hypothetical displacement of any group by those who have a greater income and takes us back again to the apparent truism that higher occupational groups tend to be those who migrate most and for investment reasons.

The statistical analysis

Clearly from the models and data analysed rises in the number of professionals were strongly linked to the, sometimes dramatic, decline in certain other groups, particularly the working class displacee variable. These groups may be associated with being less wealthy and have fewer resources so that, combining this information with their reduction, leads to the conclusion that at least some displacement had taken place. Gaining a fuller understanding of the interaction of intervening circumstances, such as structural industrial decline, could not be included in the models so that the error term was indicative of the need for wider social explanation.

At the level of the housing market itself a logical result of greater numbers of professionals and managers will be the inflation of house and rental rates in such areas (Williams, 1976, Dangschat, 1991, Smets, 1994). This process is just as much displacement (Marcuse, 1986) as that which comes from landlord harassment and eviction yet its outward veneer is of the market 'allocating' housing in this way rather than it being a conscious effort on the part of gentrifiers to displace individuals. Whether intent is proven or not the effect is the same - relatively poor people are moved on.

The hypothesis to be derived from these points is that the impact of income differentials between various groups of people introduced to certain housing sub-markets is the key motor for displacement and may cut across class boundaries. Put in this light the professionalisation of London may be a better proxy for displacement (because of the stronger correspondence with income differentials) than it is for

gentrification per se which might be considered to be constituted of a more culturally distinct professional subset (Zukin, 1987).

The observed rise in the number of professionals in the urban centre can only take place (assuming a relatively fixed supply of dwellings and an increased use of space by middle class households) if households are moving away from that area for whatever reason. Inner London has had historical losses of population since the 1911 census, between 1981 and 1991 the inner London boroughs lost 6.6% (OPCS, 1992a) of their resident population which further highlights the significance of migratory moves by professionals to this area and working classes from that area (Hamnett, 1976).

Displacement can occur where redevelopment, housing policy and entitlements are changed so that, when gentrification occurs, it is possible to scapegoat it as *the* causal agent. However, it is perhaps better to err on the side of those with fewer resources than those with more but in terms of the research one should be wary of the many processes and their disentanglement.

A complicating factor is where vacant property has been made available or been built for professional groups. This was evidenced in areas like north Southwark where the conversion of warehouses into 'loft apartments' allowed a large group of professionals to move into the area but which will not have displaced people as such, although price shadowing and the previous economic and political history of the area make these developments less innocuous (Ambrose and Colenutt, 1977, Hall and Ogden, 1992). Simultaneous structural changes in the docks industries led to large decreases in the number of manual workers in the area mirrored by industrial changes in other areas. Without such contextual knowledge it would be easy to view north Southwark as a paradigmatic case of displacement.

Clearly gentrification refers to a distinctive phenomenon which is very broad and variable in its constitution. It is therefore necessary for a theatrical suspension of disbelief to be held in order for the models to make sense in terms of both their

referents and conclusions since it must be assumed that gentrification consists of separable and unitary characteristics.

The use of statistical tools did not take account of contextual factors so that an awareness of error must remain. While it is not possible to show that gentrification (as measured as professionalisation) and displacement (shown as a decline in vulnerable groups) are *causally* linked the strength of their correlation strongly suggests that an unspecified amount of displacement *will* be due to gentrification. Having conducted statistical analysis one cannot be fully sure that the way the relationships were modelled either (a) fully corresponds to the phenomenon under observation or that (b) causality between the phenomena is a meaningful or observable possibility.

A theoretical orthodoxy based around the idea that gentrification is predominantly an inner city phenomenon was at odds with the location of gentrification which emerged from the use of the census data. There is no reason why gentrification cannot be seen to take place in the outer metropolis or in rural areas, it is more likely that this preconception stems from the predominance of activity in the inner areas of cities rather than its exclusivity to these environments.

The scale of the data employed and the correspondence between the results of the analysis and the wider literature point to a logic in asserting that some of the apparent linkages are due to displacement. In addition, the magnitude of the association between the variables similarly adds credence to the view that these events are strongly related. Although it is not realistic to see losses of working class and renting as displacement the simultaneity of the *two* events gives heightened plausibility to the belief that the two are related.

Chapter Six - Using the Longitudinal Study to 'track' gentrifiers and displacees

Introduction

Analysis of the displacement based on the use of the 1981 and 1991 census data was followed by a similar evaluation based on the use of the Longitudinal Study (LS), based at City University providing as it did the next logical step in the research. The census data had provided a thorough overview of gentrification and a broad characterisation of the displacement process but, because it was cross-sectional, it was not possible to tell whether ward changes were due to various types of mobility or whether migratory patterns and processes (i.e. gentrification) had taken place. The linked data of the LS provided the opportunity to explore this problem further since the data is linked so that it is possible to 'track' the movements of a 1% sample of the census.

While the census data gave an indication of the strength and direction of the relationship between gentrification and displacement (as operationalised via proxy indicators) the LS was a tool which could refine our knowledge of these processes. An original methodology was utilised in which the census data informed an analysis and re-aggregation of the LS into newly defined areas based around a gentrification geography rather than the administrative units which are more often used. Previous research on gentrification using the LS (Lyons, 1995) has used borough units which may well be less sensitive than a re-aggregated approach, more of this later.

It should be stressed that the results of this stage of the research were contingent upon the definitions and results of the census data so that, if these measures and predictions were in error, it could be anticipated that this would be mirrored in the results from the LS data. It is important to remember that the definition and measurement of gentrification via proxy measures relates to assumptions about its constitution, these assumptions critically affect the amount and spatial distribution of the phenomenon.

This theory dependency is both necessary and desirable since it guides the research and is unavoidable since it is not possible to measure gentrification as a single event.

This revised and innovative approach examined the interaction and flows of the same/similar variables used with the census data but in relation to new areas derived from the census ward data to give four 'G' areas indicating differing extents of gentrification. Although this was not directly testable because the 'G' areas were not compared with 'non-gentrified' areas there were already grounds for viewing these areas *a priori* as critical gentrification locations because of the results of the census data. The LS also made it possible to see whether or not the areas that appeared to have gentrified to greater or lesser extents were the location of such migratory flows. That gentrification *had* occurred might also be supported by observed increasing displacee outflows corresponding to increasing levels of gentrification over the decade.

The causal linkages between the two events were more difficult to establish. Whether it was gentrification that was *causing* migratory moves of 'displacee' groups could not be established but the increasing weight of evidence might indicate that the two events were likely to be strongly associated.

1. A brief description of the Longitudinal Study (LS)

The LS is a unique set of data that allows the life-course of a 1% sample of individuals and their families from the census to be examined in much greater detail than can be obtained from the basic census data alone. As a random sample it is very reliable in its replication of the distributions to be found in the larger census. Key events such as cancers, deaths and migrations are added to the sample so that a number of detailed research questions can be examined in depth. The original rationale for constructing the LS was to examine occupational mortality over time beginning at 1971 (Dale, 1993) but the LS has also been widely used for other health and migratory applications because of the data's ability to link location and health over time with a number of other census derived social characteristics. The time consuming and detailed nature of the

information held makes it necessary to hold such a small sample. Its application to this research was the way in which it provided a potential tool in corroborating or rejecting the apparent simultaneity of increases and decreases in the gentrification and displacee categories in wards discovered via the census data. The critical research question was, therefore, an understanding of whether these events were due to *incumbent* changes or whether *migratory* moves had been made to and from the gentrified areas, showing that it was genuinely gentrification and that displacement/outflows were thereby associated with these phenomena.

The LS provided a number of advantages over deficiencies to be found in the census data. These can be summarised as follows;

- Apparent changes over time may be due to incumbent up or downgrading. Residents may have not moved but, rather, ‘changed’ socio-economic status or any number of social characteristics. These changes could be monitored over time using the LS data and in relation to geographical location so that a number of salient trajectories could be examined in relation to our hypotheses about the changes over the period.
- Displacement may have occurred but not be detected if that move was made within the same ward within the decade. This is problematic since the close proximity of moves made due to displacement pressures has been acknowledged in the literature (LeGates and Hartman, 1981 and 1986). This could be overcome to a certain extent using the LS which could reveal the location of movers and non-movers in relation to the salient areas delineated.
- In the standard census data moves from one borough to another may appear spatially and qualitatively more significant for the displacee but may hide moves that were only made over small distances (Lyons, 1995). This fault, however, is evident in the LS which preserves anonymity of the 1% sample by allowing disaggregation only to borough level. This was overcome via the dispersed constitution of the ‘G’ areas which were made up of wards. The disconnected constitution of the ‘G’ areas meant that there was an increased likelihood that moves would be made into another ‘G’ area to one of the other areas. This aspect is discussed in more detail below.

Limitations when using the LS

Although the LS has many advantages over the normal census data and in expanding knowledge obtained from the census it has a variety of limitations, discussed here;

1. The data is geographically restricted to England and Wales so that any flows to or from Scotland or migratory moves abroad are omitted. It can be anticipated that the majority of moves would be contained within England and Wales in relation to the gentrified areas but there is bound to be a degree of error and losses from the sample to other countries over the period. It is necessary to make a note of this limitation and one should consider the number of non-British residents who have often been observed buying properties in the gentrified areas (see chapter nine).
2. There is no information about the sample population in any intervening period. This means that one cannot tell how *many* moves a migrating LS member might make between 1981 and 1991, only whether they moved from/to or within the defined areas. This is no more restrictive than the use of the census data although, in using the LS, it *is* possible to see where people end up in geographic and social terms.
3. For the purposes of the research a subset of the LS had to be used. This consisted of those LS members who were traceable at both censuses under scrutiny. The analysis therefore would only include (apart from other restrictions contained within certain variables, such as working age) those LS members who would be ten years old or more at the end of the period, would exclude those who had died during the intervening period, those resident outside England and Wales at either census point and any whose records could not be matched.
4. Moves *within* any pre-defined areas (in this case areas constituted from 'gentrified' wards) are only counted as a move but one cannot know the beginning and end locations within those areas. In the case of the 'G' areas moves made within them could actually hide relatively large distance moves. This is more advanced than the census data where it was not possible to know if a move had been made or whether a person had simply altered various characteristics via occupational mobility, for example.

Because the LS was being used in such a way that the areas ‘created’ were constructed from ward level data (for a list of the ward constitution for each ‘G’ area see appendix D) one could be more certain about the precision of the data regarding moves compared to that which examined moves in boroughs, even though the four derived areas were of borough size. Although it was possible to gain information regarding the fact that moves had been made within gentrified areas it was not possible to describe the distance of the move. The dispersed pattern that made up each ‘G’ area meant that a move described as being made within an area could, potentially, be over a relatively long distance.

Confidentiality

The strict rules governing the anonymity of the LS members means that analysis is restricted to geographical units no smaller than districts (in this case London boroughs) in order to prevent the identification of individuals. This usually leads to analytical units of boroughs or districts being used, however, it *is* possible to ‘build’ or re-aggregate new areas from ward units which, so long as the new areas are sufficiently large to retain anonymity, may correspond to geographical patterns based upon certain key factors (e.g. gentrification) rather than administrative areas. The construction of the new areas is described in more detail below.

2. Aims of the research and methodology

Having outlined the main question which this work aimed to address; understanding in greater detail whether the areas identified as gentrified in the census data had actively been gentrified (had migratory moves by professionals been made *to* these areas in the intervening period as distinct from occupational and other forms of *mobility* in those areas) the second, but still important, aim was to look at the new picture of displacement and replacement. This was also related to the aim to see if rises in gentrification levels were correlated with rises in displacee moves from those areas.

In addition to the above it was also of interest to examine the housing and occupational changes of the gentrifiers and displacees pre and post the moves which they made over the decade. Did gentrifiers rent before buying into gentrified areas? What was the tenure of 'displacees' after their move? Did displacement increase with gentrification? The role of gentrifier was one arbitrarily attached to professionals moving into the 'G' areas since the definition of gentrification that had been used originally had been as *a growth in professionals and managers in wards*.

The use of the LS followed the 1981 and 1991 census data for Greater London which attempted to measure gentrification-related displacement using an operational variable of professionals and managers for gentrification (SEG's 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.1 and 13) and seven displacement variables (lone parents, ethnic minorities, renters, working class, unskilled and elderly). The 130 wards which had been gentrified above the mean London figure and certain wards in which "displacement" appeared to have occurred were applied to the LS analysis.

Following on from this element of the research similar variables were used in the LS (see below) but with a longitudinal referent which made them more sophisticated in their ability to elaborate social changes observed only superficially in the census data. The work was differentiated from earlier work on gentrification and migration by aggregating the gentrified wards into four areas (to fulfil the criteria for anonymity) and the rest of London into another area. A sixth area of the south east and seventh, of the rest of England and Wales, were added to examine the flows between and within these areas. The areas used were designed to get around the difficult issue of confidentiality when using the LS (see later) yet also avoid the blunter instrument of a borough-wide analysis. It was not possible to divide up the remaining area of London into boroughs because of the wards which had to be taken from these areas in order to 'build' the 'G' areas. To some extent the detail gained from the 'G' areas was lost in this way but the critical aspect to this part of the methodology was the use of the 'G' areas as a scene for the play of gentrification and displacement to take place.

3. The geography of gentrification and the LS

The construction of the 'G' areas from the earlier census material is now considered in more detail. In the first stage of the research wards had been used as the fundamental level of analysis because they corresponded closest to social units and because they were the smallest unit of analysis available if both 1981 and 1991 data were to be accessed. It was only one step further to expand these units into borough sized areas to circumvent the anonymity problem.

Based on the quartile analysis and those wards which had been 'gentrified' above the city-wide mean, in terms of a growth in the number of professionals, it was possible to build four new areas which corresponded to increasing levels of gentrification. The top 130 gentrified wards were taken and divided them into four equal sized, but non-contiguous, areas. These four areas were ranged from and were labelled G1 ('ultra-gentrification'), G2, G3 and G4 ('marginal gentrification') (32 wards in each 'G' area¹). The use of the data to inform this part of the research was viewed as invaluable since it would greatly enhance the accuracy of the LS in its correspondence with gentrified areas instead of having to resort to borough areas which would necessarily entail the crude characterisation of 'gentrified' and 'non-gentrified' boroughs on arbitrary criteria.

A few of the lowest gentrifying wards were removed to leave an equal number of wards in each gentrification area. The areas were not based on percentiles (i.e. the 'G' areas were not strictly quartiles) but it was envisaged that this would not create any problems or that the arbitrary division by equal number of wards rather than equal levels of gentrification would skew the results. While ranked by the extent of gentrification the key concern, in relation to the LS anonymity rules, meant that the size of the areas, rather than level of gentrification, was the primary concern in the construction of the areas.

¹In fact one ward could not be located longitudinally, Perry Hill ward in Lewisham, located in G2 - this was therefore left out

The other areas from which flows could come or go were the remaining area of London excluding G1, G2, G3 and G4, hereafter ROL. The rest of the South East (ROSE²) and the rest of England and Wales (Scotland is not included in the LS), hereafter REW. The main innovation was the use of the 'G' areas which were based on a geography of social change and the uni-dimensional characterisation of those areas in terms of professionalisation; argued to be a key feature of gentrifying areas.

The remaining areas, after the 'G' areas, were large but adequate for their function; to explore the location for migratory moves made before and after moving to the 'G' areas. Clearly, many moves would be contained within the specified areas and a large number of people might not make moves between 1981 and 1991 (a group that was considered separately) but the critical purpose of the areas as defined was to see if apparently progressively higher levels of gentrification were due to migratory, rather than incumbent changes, and whether such progression was associated with progressively higher flows of people from the displacee groups.

The question of the correlation between increasing gentrification and displacement had, to some extent, been addressed via the use of the census but in the case of the larger 'G' areas such a correlation could not be derived from the data due to the number of paired flows which could be observed. In addition, it was envisaged that higher levels of gentrification might not actually lead to increased levels of displacement of the identified groups where those groups were to be found in less abundance in 1981. This uneven clustering might lead us to assume that low levels of displacement were the result of high levels of gentrification.

The 'G' areas were therefore initially theoretical constructs and secondarily based upon the empirical realisation of those constructs through proxy measures. Corroboration from the regression models, that professionalisation was the key indicator of gentrification, was used to as the primary developer of the gentrification

² ROSE comprised Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, East and West Sussex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Oxfordshire and Surrey. Hampshire was not included because of its geographical distance and its hypothesised high level of distance decay from London.

geography as created through the use of the LS. It was of interest to determine the final degree of overlap between migratory moves to these areas by professionals and any overlap with moves made by degree holders. Tenorial changes were less under scrutiny than the social characteristics of displacees. Investigation into the movement of socio-economic groups to and from the 'G' areas would be the paramount arbiter of the existence of displacement whereas tenure in itself would say less about the nature of displacement than that of gentrification.

The work of Lyons (1995, 1996) had attempted to look at gentrification and displacement from a borough level of analysis and used the characteristics of boroughs to establish which were gentrifying and which were not, over the period of 1971 to 1981. It is apparent that the characterisation of such large areas is unsuitable since it relies upon a broad characterisation of gentrification or non-gentrification as a borough-wide phenomenon.

These areas and the methods used formed an 'ideal-type' analysis which is also a fruitful way of conceptualising the 'G' areas and can be observed in our use of the proxy indicator variables. An ideal-type may be seen as the;

“one-sided accentuation of specific features that an object, or class of objects, may have. No concrete phenomenon precisely corresponds to an ideal-type, for three main reasons. First, any such phenomenon will have many features that are not included in the ideal-type. Second, those features that are included are represented in an idealised or 'purified' form. Third, not all the features of the ideal-type are present in each concrete example of it.” (Keat and Urry, 1982:198)

With regard to the census data and borough data it was observed that ecological fallacies might operate. In terms of the LS data this problem was twisted into a different conundrum; to what extent could these aggregated areas be considered to be coherent entities at all? Each 'G' area was constituted of dispersed wards across the Greater London area. There was a tendency for the more strongly gentrified wards to be located in the inner London area but, even then, the pattern was dispersed. This was a necessary evil and yet this was beneficial since any moves made were more

likely to be into a different area unless they were made locally. This point would, however, be affected by the proximity of the starting point to a ward boundary.

It became clear that in using the LS data a contradiction was opened up. While the LS allowed the more detailed examination of the roles of the gentrifier and displacee trajectories over time the research was still operating at an abstracted geographical level of analysis. The essential point of the use of the LS was one of theoretical corroboration as much as geographical identification. In terms of a geographical referent the best that the 'G' areas could offer would be an *indication* of those wards in which the observed flows were occurring; it was known which wards made up the areas but not which wards were the concrete location of the displacement and replacement.

4. The construction of new gentrification and displacee proxies

The LS allowed for more detailed cross-tabulation of a member's social characteristics which allowed us to be more specific in our enquiry. It was thereby possible to construct variables which were very similar to those used for the census analysis but which were in many ways more detailed and closely related to what were perceived to be the key gentrification and displacee variables. The proxies constructed with the census data were, relatively speaking, conceptually bland due to the complexity and difficulties associated with comparing 1981 with 1991 ward level data.

It cannot be stressed too much that the use of both the census and LS data wholly rested on the *assumptions* (based as they were on observation and theory) that the phenomena were constituted predominantly from these indicators. Another way of tackling the potential mismatch between indicator and reality is to view the indicators on face value and the interactions between them observed as processes in their own right without any conceptual trappings. A synthesis of these two extremes is perhaps the best way of interpreting the outcome of the use of the LS since it was not realistic

to adhere to the implications of either of these two stances in their entirety. The various variables are now described in more detail.

All of the variables that were selected were for LS members and were therefore provided individual counts. While it would be possible to look at which part of a household they formed this line of enquiry was avoided since the interplay between individual trajectories and household changes over time in relation to movement through space would complicate the analysis with little added value to the resulting data. The variables that were selected as the proxies for gentrification and displacement are now described in more detail in relation to the particular demands of the LS.

a) Gentrification measures

Although the geography used was based on the changes in the numbers of professionals in wards it was still desirable to examine the interaction between professionals, owner occupation and renting in these areas and the possible inflow of degree holders (which were now specifically identified without the difficulty, found earlier, of conflating many other qualifications into a generic group) into these areas.

The overlapping of social and tenorial census roles for LS members makes definition of gentrification more complex. In order to prevent the need for some form of factor analysis, often seen as inappropriate when using census data, the measure of professionals was used, divided into renters and owners before and after their moves, and then degree holders as a separate group. It was decided that the following variables would be examined as the gentrification variables in relation to the 'G' areas drawn up on the basis of increases in professionals. The geography of gentrification was one of professionalisation but one would expect some overlapping of roles previously separated in the earlier operational definitions of gentrification which needed to be examined in greater detail.

Professional renters and owners: In relation to the gentrification areas it was of interest to us to examine the relationship between occupational and tenure mobility in relation to the 'G' areas to see the breakdown between professional renters and owners. While many have considered gentrification to be a phenomenon based purely upon property ownership the later interviews with tenants rights workers revealed that renting as a part of gentrification was a vital aspect of the process. Based on this hypothesis it would be interesting to find out the housing tenure positions of the majority of gentrifiers before and after their moves to the 'G' areas, especially in comparison to the moves of displacees in relation to the 'G' areas.

Finally, it was of interest to discover the extent to which incumbent changes in the 'G' areas led to a growth in the number of professionals or owners from the indigenous population in comparison to the number who were migrating to the 'G' areas. This point was critical in coming to an understanding and corroboration of the earlier observations of the gentrified areas - were these changes based upon migration or internal change. The variable was derived from those LS members who were ten years old and more in 1981. This meant that it would be possible to observe the changes for all LS members who would be of working age by the 1991 census and who have had time to express a certain degree of housing choice. It also encompassed a variety of younger groups who might well be renting in the 'G' areas.

Degree holders: With the census data the problems of comparability between censuses meant that it was not possible to identify only those people who had a degree in 1981 and 1991. That is, a similar cell did not exist for 1981 making comparison impossible without the inclusion of a more general educated workforce figure which encompassed HND's and so on. It was therefore possible to examine the relationships between this group and the 'G' areas to see if there was a significant flow of such LS members to those areas.

This group was separated out because it was clear that while many professionals would have some form of degree but not all degree holders would go on to be employed in 'professional' occupations. Having a degree is also a constant variable,

one does not lose this attribute as one can with having an occupational characteristic which may be lost through unemployment or retirement. This variable was also purposely used as a means of alluding to the more subcultural or marginal elements of gentrification such as the pioneering of early gentrified areas by artists and the similar moves by graduated students into the surrounding area (Zukin, 1982, 1990, Smith, 1986, Dangschat, 1991).

These two groups were of vital interest in the determination of whether the gentrification areas had in fact been gentrified as distinct from a host of incumbent changes which may have given these areas the appearance that they had been gentrified. Of course, all of this work relies on the theory and set of assumptions that gentrification is constituted in the way that has been described. If another definition had been used the observed pattern would have been very different.

Displacement could only occur, by definition and in relation to the aims of the work, when gentrification had also occurred although it was always possible that where gentrification took place little or no displacement took place. While mathematics and a fixed supply of property would indicate that an increase in one group would lead to a decrease in another the way in this would be achieved could be based on both voluntary moves from the areas as well as those coerced moves that were hoped to be quantified in some way. It was the job of the LS to try and make a greater estimate moves made a) by coercion (displacement) b) voluntary moves, though these categories overlap in subtle ways and c) mobility moves of various kinds over various social categories.

The main way in which the identification of displacement was envisaged to occur was through an apparent correlation between inflows of gentrifiers and outflows of displacees in the critical 'G' areas which would add weight to the idea that *these* moves would be more likely to be some form of displacement whereas those moves made by the displacee groups in other parts of London would be more likely to be voluntary due to the absence of gentrification. Certainly, where displacement was apparent and gentrification was not one would envisage that other factors were

responsible or that the interpretation of these reductions as displacement would be erroneous.

b) The displacee variables

The displacee variables used were constructed along the same lines set out in the use of the census data. The view was taken that an increased probability operated in relation to the 'G' areas and that moves made by these groups *from* the 'G' areas would more readily lend itself to an interpretation of displacement, rather than replacement (although clearly there would be a number of such moves included in the figures. Since displacement is contingent upon gentrification the use of areas defined via professionalisation made a critical location for the events of gentrification and, thereby, displacement.

One should bear in mind the possibility that any kind of aggregation, in terms of social groups and areas, will not be sensitive enough to pick up on micro scale examples of gentrification and displacement but this was inevitable and had been observed in the use of the census data. Those problems aside, those variables corresponding to those groups linked to displacement are concentrated upon;

i) Working class - Following the most significant displacee variable from the census data analysis it was desired that a measurement of this group using the same classification found in the census data was used. LS members who were 18 years old and above in 1991 were selected plus all those who were in this occupational category in either 1991 or 1981. It was therefore possible to look at the interaction between the census of the LS members living in the 'G' areas and to look at these social positions for those members moving to and from the areas. This variable was also examined in relation to tenure to see if incumbent rises in ownership in the 'G' areas was evident.

ii) Unskilled labour - The next most significant variable in the census analysis, the same groups as in the census data were used for all those LS members in this category

in 1981 and 1991. This group was also examined in relation to tenure and the 'G' areas.

iii) The elderly - Elderly had previously been defined in terms of pensionable age for males and females i.e. 60 plus years for females and 65 plus for males. Of course, when applying a longitudinal dimension to these groups one should recognise that those who were 60 in 1981 will be 70 in 1991 and so on. Based on this all those LS members were taken who were 55 or over for men in 1981 and 50 and over for women in 1981. This meant that pensionable age would have been reached by 1981 for both sexes. The main problem with this measure was that this youngest cohort would not be expected to be a 'vulnerable' category up until the 1991 census, and possibly not by that time. Owing to this problem the data was read cautiously and yet some cut off point in the longitudinal dimension had to be found and the measure selected was seen as the most inclusive.

iv) Lone Parents - Lone parented households formed one of two variables which had behaved in an unexpected way in the census data in being positively correlated with increases in professionals, albeit weakly. This would suggest that the distribution of lone parented households are spread more widely across socio-economic and geographic positions. In order to retain a sense of continuity in the work this group was retained in the analysis, this was also done to see if a distinction could be made between flows of lone parented households moving to the 'G' areas and others moving out. The group was comprised of all those households that were lone parented at 1981 and/or 1991 to analyse family structure alteration over that time period and in relation to moves made from and to the 'G' areas.

v) The unemployed - Figures relating to the unemployed are always contentious and the unusual weak positive correlation between professionalisation over the decade and unemployment on a ward basis lead to a briefer analysis of what was perceived to be a weaker indicator of displacement. Again, the variable of unemployment was applied to all LS members at both time points and in relation to the 'G' areas.

Having again specified our gentrification and displacement proxy indicators and built up new areas based on the census analysis it was now possible to look at the interaction between gentrification and displacement³.

5. Analysis of the data

Although it was possible to construct models and tests for the census data such projects are made more complicated by the spatial and temporal design of the LS. In fact, in relation to the previous research the LS's main purpose was to enlighten and corroborate or falsify the results of the census data so that further evidence might be gathered on whether the association between gentrification and displacement was valid. This led to the use of the LS as a tool for examining the flows of the identified groups in the areas constructed, in other words as a tool for the better visualisation of the data.

The analysis of the data was pinned at essentially a descriptive level since this was deemed, and advised, to be the most appropriate route to take. While it is possible to perform relatively complex statistical analysis with LS data (Plewis, 1990) the data extracted lent itself less to such analysis. The analysis was therefore restricted to the examination of the flows of the gentrifiers and displacees to, from and within the 'G' areas (and in comparison to the rest of London and the other areas) to see if higher levels of gentrification were associated with higher levels of out-migration by the displacee groups.

The main aim of the use of the LS was to establish the magnitude and direction of the flows between the areas established in the research design. Although abstract entities, the gentrification quartiles established key areas that would identify, by magnitude, the location of gentrification and displacement evidenced by inward flows of gentrifiers to these areas and outward flows from the areas by those labelled as

³Ethnicity was no longer used as a variable for investigation because of the problem a) of selecting which ethnic groups to draw out of the LS sample b) the general undercount in the LS associated with minority ethnic groups and c) because of the apparent low level of displacement that appeared to be associated with this group as evidenced by the use of the regression models in the census data.

displacees. Separate tables were constructed on the basis of those LS members who were movers and those who were non-movers over the decade.

It was of critical interest to find out if the 'G' areas were strongly gentrified which could be tested by seeing if they exhibited high levels of inward migration by professionals rather than incumbent upgrading by residents. The second key question was whether a greater degree of 'displacement' occurred in the higher 'G' areas than in the less gentrified areas. As a form of control the other three areas Rest of London (ROL), Rest of South East (ROSE) and Rest of England (ROE) were checked to see if they produced any patterns of their own even though their different scale would clear patterns emerging. The sensitivity of the 'outside' areas was less than that of the gentrified areas since the 'G' areas were constructed of ward level data whereas the ROL, ROSE and REW areas were simply massive areas with little discernment of location. This may be an avenue worth taking in the future; to see if displacement and gentrification appear to have start and end points which are geographically clustered.

Concluding remarks on using the LS

The most important feature of the LS is its ability to tell us more about people over time and to establish if apparent changes observed earlier were the same or had migrated from or to that place. This means that one can distinguish between social change based upon migratory moves (i.e. gentrification) and incumbent change (changes *within* an area rather than gentrification). The innovative use of four new areas derived from the 1981 and 1991 censuses allowed the informed construction of an scattered geography of gentrification since the gentrification areas were made up of wards which were often not near each other. This was necessary because of the need to adhere to confidentiality rules yet created an innovative and new way of looking at gentrification and one which would allow us to see patterns of occupational and housing mobility combined with the identification of flows of gentrifiers and displacees within and between the salient areas identified.

Chapter Seven - Tracking displacees and gentrifiers

Introduction

The starting point for the use of the LS was based on an innovation in the way that the data could be re-aggregated such that analysis using fixed districts (boroughs or counties) could be dropped in favour of a more flexible approach using areas made up of the wards identified from the census data thus avoiding an ecologically flawed picture of gentrification at a borough level (see Lyons, 1995, for example).

A distinction can be made between the spatial, temporal and correlative results of the census data and the expansion of these results of the census by the LS. The four 'G' areas devised were abstract geographical entities based upon a common experience of gentrification, defined by an above average increase in the number of professionals and managers entering a ward. This could then be used to examine the flows of the gentrifying and displacee groups.

The chapter presents results relating to two critical questions;

First, were the observed changes labelled as gentrification in the 'G' areas verifiable examples of such processes or could they be held to be accounted for by changes incumbent on those areas. If the changes *were* due to migratory changes over the period where were such gentrifiers from? Was it a 'back to the city movement' as has previously been suggested or was it an intra-urban phenomenon that could be related to London only? The identification of a clear movement of professionals to the 'G' areas rather than the upward occupational mobility of those people in the 'G' areas would confirm that the 'G' areas indeed represented gentrified areas and could then be used to see if displacee flows were significant from those areas. This also rested on the continued assumption that gentrification was synonymous with professionalisation in the operational research, while a gross simplification it provided the most valued

and reliable single indicator of gentrification as seen in the results of the use of the census data.

Second, if the changes were based on migratory moves to these areas by professionals was there an apparent corollary of outward moves by other groups previously identified as salient displacee groups? The identification of displacement was measured by comparing the net flow of these groups to and from the 'G' areas and comparing these levels of mobility to that experienced by the rest of London. In this way it was possible to contextualise the findings from the 'G' areas and achieve an impression of the relative scale of these flows compared to other areas. This method thereby allowed us to whether the flows from the 'G' areas were any greater than that for the capital as a whole and to then conclude whether gentrification could be attributed as a significant causal factor in the movement of the displacee groups.

1. Incumbent upgrading or gentrification?

An assessment of the validity 'G' areas, was carried out using the notion of 'abnormally' high levels (above metropolitan wide arithmetic mean for the decade) of professional migration/growth over the period of 1981 to 1991 in comparison to the static occupational upgrading of people in these areas and combining this cross-sectional knowledge with the linked LS data which could highlight whether these high changes were based within or occurred from moves *to* the 'G' areas. The apparent growths in the number of professionals in these areas was therefore checked to see if migratory moves *had* been made to these areas and that gentrification had taken place. If this had occurred (and this was observed to have been the case) one might rest more easily with the notion that the 'G' areas really corresponded to 'ideal types' of gentrified areas of borough size. Of course the possibility remained that incumbent upgrading combined with residential migration could similarly lead to displacement, regardless of their initial occupation and whether moving to or within the 'G' areas in Greater London.

In addition to geographical mobility another dimension for movement were those moves made by LS members between other social and tenure positions over the period. The interaction between these multiple variables makes analysis difficult and it is only the use of hypothetical insights which enables a clearer dissemination of such information. The most important of these changes in relation to 'incumbent upgrading' is the operation of right to buy (RTB) of which one can make two remarks in relation to the LS data. First, RTB has been identified as a potential route into gentrification via the possible upgrading of previous public tenants to private owners¹. Second, one may view the amount of such activity in the 'G' areas to be relatively low since gentrification has often been observed to have been a process operating away from public housing. Clearly the transference of property may later attract gentrification but depending on the type of property; it is unlikely that tower blocks will ever be viewed in the same way as 'street property'.

Because of the census geography used, from the earlier census analysis, in the re-aggregated format of the 'G' areas this precluded the possibility of seeing if other areas had been gentrified or experienced similar levels of 'displacement'. In areas where our theory lead us to believe that gentrification was the critical independent variable it was not possible to see its occurrence elsewhere. The absence of such 'control areas' was compensated for by the comparison of 'G' area flows with the averaged out flows for the rest of London (ROL) area. Clearly, other areas had not been gentrified in this way over the time period and it would not be possible anyway to establish whether intervening variables such as industrial and occupational changes surrounding such migratory changes like gentrification were involved. This problematic was a necessary result of the approach which adopted the identification of a single dynamic to proxy for the existence of gentrification, the complexity of combing some form of factor analysis with the LS was not a practical option within the remit of the work.

¹The effect of the sale of much Ministry of Defence property may be an avenue for the states facilitation of gentrification dependent on the extent to which we are able to view the potential professionalisation of army proprty as an example of the process. Certainly the impact on local rural communities may be profound. Media interest has already highlighted local angst at the implementaion of the sales

Results

Let us first deal with the incumbent changes in the ‘G’ areas and compare them to trends across the capital as a whole, and then move on to compare these trends to migratory changes in relation to the ‘G’ areas to see if it is possible to see that gentrification had occurred². From the outset it was clear that a great deal of occupational and tenure shifts had occurred across the capital, this was already known from the census data. In table 7.1 these changes are described by looking at those LS members who had not moved in the capital (the area outside the ‘G’ areas) between 1981 and 1991. This gives us a much better idea about wider changes with which a more developed interpretation of the flows over the same period may then be given.

Table 7.1: Social and tenure position for non-movers in ROL

Position for 1981		Position in 1991			
		Professionals		Working class	
		Own	Rent	Own	Rent
Working class	Own	1034	16	2313	18
	Rent	29	158	49	157
Professionals	Own	4841	55	1399	19
	Rent	95	292	27	58

Table 7.1 sets the scene for some interesting changes over the decade. The move between tenures on changing occupational class was very low (examine these using the white boxes) so that there seems to be little evidence that a dramatic level of incumbent tenure upgrading was going on in the capital (this is later compared with the tenure and social changes for the movers). On the other hand one can see that many LS members moved from both professional to working class occupations and

²All of the following data are given in their original format except where specified. The LS is a one percent sample but is presented in this format because of the need for comparability throughout the presentation. Clearly the scaling factor is 100 for those who would like to get an idea of the real numbers involved. The LS is considered to be robust in this respect because of its random sample constitution which has been observed to be representative at all spatial scales so that it is reasonable to perform such a calculation

vice versa (see the darker boxes) in roughly equal numbers. This occupational restructuring was not associated with a tenure change and it might be hypothesised that this would be the case because these were the non-moving LS members so that tenure change is unlikely except where tenants may buy their property. The 49 representing renting working class in 1981 and owning working class in 1991 suggests that right to buy was not a form of tenure upgrading for the most part. If this is checked with the cell of 29 for working class renters who became professional owners it can be seen that this group was not an ‘outlet’ for the working class who had bought their homes and changed their occupational position.

Occupational changes are now examined in relation to the ‘G’ areas a) to see if there is a clearly divergent picture from the wider metropolitan changes and b) to compare these changes with the migratory changes over the decade, both of these factors influence our interpretation of the occurrence of gentrification in the period.

In table 7.2 can see four trends can be observed which have been selected as key examples of the ways in which incumbent upgrading in the ‘G’ areas may have been achieved. This serves as a baseline check to see if the apparent professionalisation and gentrification observed in the census data was really an example of gentrification or another form of occupation change. The table describes the social and tenure changes of the non-moving LS members over the period who remained in the ‘G’ areas.

Table 7.2: Working class non-movers. Left column shows occupational mobility over decade *within* ‘G’ areas (top row)

	G1	G2	G3	G4
Upwardly mobile non-movers in ‘G’ areas (WC to Prof.)				
WC own to Prof own	44	51	63	53
WC own to Prof rent	1	1	0	0
WC rent to Prof own	1	2	0	0
WC rent to Prof rent	17	11	14	16
Occupationally static non-movers in ‘G’ areas (WC to WC)				
WC own to WC own	78	106	120	124
WC own to WC rent	3	1	0	0

WC rent to WC own	4	11	2	6
WC rent to WC rent	4	19	8	14

The darker cells of table 7.2 indicate tenure shifts by SEG for the decade for non-movers in the ‘G’ areas³. These are clearly in a significant minority although the intrusion of right to buy appears evident for the working class renters to owners. Interestingly there appears to be no corollary tenure upgrading for those moving occupations from working class to professionals in these areas. The most significant trend remains a sense of tenure consistency over the period for all groups whether changing occupation or not however, moves by professionals to the ‘G’ areas were clearly associated with a shift from renting to owning where they had been renting in London outside of the ‘G’ areas in 1981 and then moving to the ‘G’ areas by 1991.

The most significant of the ‘upward’ trends was for working class owners to become professional owners, a conclusion one would expect given, again, that this LS subgroup represented the non-movers. In fact roughly twice as many working class remained so in the in the ‘G’ areas suggesting that little upgrading had occurred above the wider London situation which almost mirrored the scale of changes in relation to tenure and occupational mobility with 1,034 LS members moving from working class owning to professional owning and 2,313 retaining both the same tenure and class. This consistency strongly suggests that no more incumbent upgrading was occurring in the ‘G’ areas than in the wider metropolis at this time.

It is now possible to set this table of *non-movers* in contrast with the LS *movers* to the ‘G’ areas to see if gentrification rather than incumbent upgrading is a reasonable conclusion to come to in relation to the ‘G’ areas. While the incumbent additions to the ‘G’ areas were no different from the wider London area it is not possible to suggest that gentrification had occurred in these areas unless one can observe a significant in flow of professionals to these otherwise apparently unremarkable areas. Once gentrification is an established process in the ‘G’ areas the label may be used

³Where cells indicate a tenure shift from owning to renting without having made a physical move this may represent error in the data or an unusual tenure direction

legitimately and flows from the 'G' areas by those groups labelled as displacees may be more accurately defined as displacees.

Table 7.3: Origin of LS Professional movers migrating to the 'G' areas by 1991

Location in 1981	Location in 1991			
	G1	G2	G3	G4
ROL	77	127	149	146
ROSE	58	65	44	96
ROEW	79	89	77	62

Table 7.4: Origin of LS Working Class movers migrating to the 'G' areas by 1991

Location in 1981	Location in 1991			
	G1	G2	G3	G4
ROL	23	40	65	55
ROSE	9	7	8	8
ROEW	5	5	6	9

Table 7.4 shows that the propensity to migrate to the 'G' areas by working class households at the starting point (1981) was far lower than that for the professional groups and would be in accordance with the idea that these were more expensive areas which would generally prohibit entry by all but better-paid groupings. This also builds on previous theories about a back to the city movement by gentrifiers which was later dropped in favour of a within city to others areas of the city theory. LeGates and Hartman (1986) note that the 'back to the city' theory was indeed a misnomer and that in their surveys roughly 64% of in-movers were made within the city. This compares with the 46% in the London research who came from the Greater London area.

In aggregate 240 working class LS members moved to the 'G' areas while a massive 1,069 professionals moved to the 'G' areas. These migratory moves are made even more significant if one looks at the total number of professional moves made to the Greater London area by professionals from ROSE and ROEW which total 1,324, only 255 more than *all* of the moves made by professionals to the 'G' areas. However, the total flow of professionals within the capital came to 2,851.

This provides ample evidence that the 'G' areas were indeed the critical location of migration and, by extension, gentrification activity over the decade. Only 200 LS working class members moved from ROSE and ROEW to the ROL area. It is possible to scale up the number of professionals moves to the areas and see that 106,900 professionals moved to the 'G' areas over the decade.

A comparison of tables 7.3 and 7.4 puts the final piece in the jigsaw regarding the question of incumbent upgrading and gentrification in the 'G' areas. There was a clear flow to the 'G' areas by many more professionals than working class, table 7.3 illustrates how the number of professionals entering the 'G' areas by far exceeds the gains in the professional groups to be found from the working classes in table 7.2 earlier.

If one takes the column totals for tables 7.3 and 7.4 one can contrast the number of new entrants to the professional group from working class occupations with those

professionals entering the ‘G’ areas⁴ to get an additional measure of the extent of gentrification in the ‘G’ areas. Table 7.5 contrasts these figures.

Table 7.5: Showing scale of incumbent and migratory moves in relation to the ‘G’ areas by 1991

Type of addition	Location of incumbent or migratory change			
	G1	G2	G3	G4
New professional entrants	214	281	270	304
Additions to professional group by working class	63	65	77	69

Table 7.5 shows that although a minimal amount of incumbent upgrading of diverse types to professionals could be identified this was low compared to the amount of migratory flows to the ‘G’ areas by professionals. This appears to plausibly demonstrate that the ‘G’ areas were, if not hypothetically, the only key locations for gentrification as born out by these comparative figures derived from the LS data and supported by the preceding census work. While the figures derived are for only two of the occupational categories these were the most theoretically significant and the research was guided by such concerns.

The additional calculation of *net* flows away from the ‘G’ areas provided evidence of further underlying trends as will now be seen by also looking at the LS members who moved away from the ‘G’ areas over the period. In taking the total flows for those professionals in 1981 moving into the ‘G’ areas by 1991 (1,069) and those professionals in the ‘G’ areas in 1981 who had moved to one of the other areas by 1991 (881). A net increase of 188 (or 18,800 professionals when scaled up) may be seen over the period compared to the 999 LS members in the professional class who did not move in the ‘G’ areas representing a roughly 20% increase (excluding additions by working class members who became professionals in the ‘G’ areas). This

⁴ We have not included analysis of the number of other occupational groups entering the areas or changing occupation for non-movers since this would be a small group and we a delineation was needed in order to prevent the data set becoming overly complex while adding little explanatory weight

net flow acts as a salutary antidote to the apparent huge increases observed by simply looking at the moves made *to* the ‘G’ areas in isolation. The total number of moves made by professionals (1,952) to and from the ‘G’ areas formed more than two thirds of the total number of migratory moves made by that occupational group in the metropolitan area (2,851) over the decade.

Education and gentrification

The significance of degree holders in relation to the gentrification process took on a renewed significance when looking at the LS data. Table 7.6 indicates that the number of degree holders (who were degree holders in 1981 and 1991) moving into the ‘G’ areas from ROL was 1,842, a greater migratory flow than that for professionals into the ‘G’ areas, and formed roughly one fifth moves made by degree holders who moved at some point within London over the period (11,096). The amount of migration by degree holders in general appeared to be high since most of the ‘G’ areas also experienced a very high level of outflow of degree holders to the ROL, ROSE and ROEW in inverse levels to that of gentrification. This might suggest that all of these moves simply coincided with the ‘G’ areas or may indicate that sections of the postgraduate workforce were vulnerable to being priced out of the ‘G’ areas. This would indicate that degree holders are not as strong a displacing force as professionals and it is reasonable to assert that professionals would correlate more directly with higher levels of income than would education.

Table 7.6: Showing the movement of degree and non-degree holders in 1981 and 1991 in relation to origin outside the ‘G’ areas and destination in the ‘G’ areas

		Location in 1991							
		G1		G2		G3		G4	
Location in 1981		Degree	No Deg	Degree	No Deg	Degree	No Deg	Degree	No Deg
ROL	Degree	388	7	452	16	488	23	514	11
	No Deg	29	7	64	13	45	20	39	16
ROSE	Degree	94	10	126	3	87	6	90	5
	No Deg	11	1	7	3	11	3	8	2

ROEW	Degree	153	26	160	15	130	12	122	7
	No Deg	8	3	16	2	12	5	13	1

Another curious flow was the large amount of degree holders in general moving from London to ROSE (4,170) in comparison with the in-flow of 1,361 suggesting a significant brain-drain to that area since even if one adds the flow of degree holders from the ROEW area the total flow to London was 3,063. The majority of degree holders moving to the ‘G’ areas originated from the rest of London which gives added credence to the idea that gentrification is less a ‘back to the city’ phenomenon and more a move made within the city.

It may well be that such groups move to London after obtaining degrees and make the move ‘up’ to the ‘G’ areas. The next main starting point for degree holders after ROL was the ROEW but this may well be due to the greater size of this area in relation to the ROSE area although this was not observed for any of the other variables. However, in relation to the size of these two regions the south east fared well in its input into the ‘G’ areas.

Another significant finding was the way in which the moves by degree holders from ROL to the ‘G’ areas increased, also inversely, with the level of gentrification that had been determined by the professionalisation. Moves from ROL in 1981 to G4 in 1991 were 514, to G3 488, to G2 452, to G1 388. The decreasing levels of degree holders moving to higher gentrified areas supports the idea that pioneer and early examples of gentrified areas may tend to be constituted by degree holders - the “trendy ex-student”, whereas the highly gentrified areas were constituted more simply by professionals. This will also be partly due to the construction of the ‘G’ areas according to a criteria of professionalisation in the first place but the interaction between the areas and the degree holders remains intriguing.

Non-moving degree holders in the ‘G’ areas were, overall, roughly double that of the input by migrating degree holders showing that these areas were already well filled by these groups but also highlighting the relatively high migratory flows to the ‘G’ areas.

One might expect a high level of degree holders to leave the 'G' areas to seek work and migrate in general while a similar inflow of degree holders to the 'G' areas might be anticipated because of the correlation between education and income and for the lifestyle implications this may have for many graduates in order to be near where they graduated. Graduates are also often used to living in run-down areas. In fact the net flow at the ROL level is virtually zero showing no net gains to the 'G' areas by these groups at this spatial level.

At a wider level the inflow to the 'G' areas by degree holders in 1981 (plus those who had received a degree by 1991 in the 'G' area) was 3,067 (the majority of entrants to the 'G' areas in the degree holder community were those who had already got a degree, see table 7.6) yet the outflow for all degree holders leaving the 'G' areas was 3,123, a net loss of 56. It is possible that degree holders are constituted of two distinctive migratory groups and to suggest that many degree holder's moves *from* the 'G' areas were related to the gentrification process and some form of economic displacement. The *inflow* of degree holders, on the other hand, might well have represented those who had better paid occupations and related more closely to the upper professional echelons associated with gentrifying areas or to public sector professionals living in the lower gentrified areas, perhaps 'G' 3 and 'G' 4.

2. Displacement from gentrification

The establishing of gentrification as an observed process in the 'G' areas was less problematic than that of displacement since the use of proxy groups here was more scattered meant that other smaller sub-groups might be left out which might more closely correspond to a displacement process. This potential weakness was tolerated and our conclusions were guarded in the context of these problems yet it was equally clear that the *main* groups were being examined based on the review of the literature and the correlations stemming from the census analysis. Perhaps the most significant problem for this stage of the research was the question of what a significant flow was for those labelled as displacees. Indeed, could such migratory flows really be examples of displacement at all? Again, a legal analogy may be used in asserting that the cumulative weight of the evidence gathered and the simultaneity of events in these critical locations (the 'G' areas) adds persistent support of an interpretation in which the events observed could be labelled gentrification and displacement.

The issue of scale is a constant theme, critical and possibly political decisions must be made as to what a reasonable level of flow constitutes a signifier of the existence of displacement. Such decisions were intuitively made in two contexts. First, on the preceding theoretical guiding background and the hypotheses stemming from this and those developed from the results of the census data and, second, in the context of wider observed levels of change across London which acted as a benchmark to establish what might be considered to be significant levels of migration and thereby, what might be more readily described as displacement in this comparative context.

Having established that the gentrification of the 'G' areas had occurred via migration and not large scale changes within the areas this gave stronger grounds for interpreting moves made from those areas by vulnerable social groups as being associated examples of a displacement process rather than tending to be characterised by choice.

As for the other displaced variables a set of through and net flows were analysed in relation to the metropolitan wide picture to get a clearer idea of the significance of these flows. In isolation the migration to and from the 'G' areas could only be examined in one dimension - via increasing levels of gentrification whereas when comparing the flows with the London-wide picture a better idea of scale could be established and thus the significance of the losses from the 'G' areas.

The difficulty of arriving at a sure-fire way of knowing that displacement has occurred from the levels of migratory flows from the 'G' areas has already been discussed. The fundamental logic upon which a view of displacement *could* be founded was on a combination of probability and evidence. It was initially hypothesised that flows of displaced from increasingly gentrified areas would be greater than that of other areas. In each case the net flows through the 'G' areas were compared with overall levels of migratory activity in the capital. If one combined the careful selection of a group of gentrified areas and found significantly higher flows of displaced groups in these areas than others this could be considered reasonable grounds for the view that gentrification was likely to be the causal agent in view of its separation as a segment of social geography away from the rest of London. This would suggest that, if supported, the correlations from the census data were indicating a relationship and one that was most prominently being felt in these critical locations.

The nature of the four abstract 'G' areas made it less likely that moves made would remain within the gentrified areas because of the area's dispersed composition. In other words, a move stemming from G1, for example, would be more likely to end up in another area other than G1 if the move was not local (within ward) because it was unlikely that another part of G1 was adjacent. Of course this does not mean that moves made from one part of G1 could not be made to another part of G1 but rather to indicate that areas constructed in this way have an advantage over those research designs which utilise district/borough constructed areas because these are larger and unbroken in composition thus increasing the possibility that displacement would not be identified or that it would be hidden. Any confounding of the results by moves by displaced being made *within* the 'G' areas would only help to make the observed

resulting displacee flows a more conservative estimate of the real level of displacement/replacement.

Results

In examining the remaining data to see if there were significant outflows of displacee groups from the 'G' areas it was necessary to be aware of the need to examine the interaction between increasing levels of gentrification, in the form of the 'G' areas 4 to 1, and observed levels of outflow.

If levels of apparent displacement did not rise with gentrification there might appear to be a case for suggesting that the observed outflows were 'natural' levels of migration not related to the professionalisation of the 'G' areas but in counter to this it was later observed that different forms of gentrification were occurring in different areas and that non-displacing forms might appear. It was therefore possible that in areas of extensive gentrification in areas that were previously vacant, like north Southwark, high levels of gentrification may not necessarily create high levels of displacement than more moderate examples of the process.

1) Working class

The total number of migratory moves made by working class LS members over the period in the ROL was 1,217 compared to the total number of migratory moves made by working class members to and from the 'G' areas of 673 thus indicating that the 'G' areas formed a hotbed of migration activity for this occupational grouping. It is then possible to provide an approximated ward average for these figures based on the division of the area total by the number of wards it was comprised of. Wards in the ROL area experienced the equivalent of 1.61 moves by the working class group over the decade, whereas those in the 'G' areas showed a rate of 5.6 per ward for working class moves. Also, the number of working class moves within the 'G' areas was almost undetectable compared to the number made to the ROL, ROSE and ROEW.

This appears to suggest a far greater propensity for any moves by this group to be made to areas other than the ‘G’ areas rather than remaining in them suggesting that some form of exclusion or displacement had occurred. It was also possible to see that the stable composition of the areas was predominantly constituted of professional households in the ‘G’ areas.

Table 7.7: Indicating flows of Working Class to and from the ‘G’ areas by origin and destination areas

From				To		
ROEW	ROSE	ROL	To/from	ROL	ROSE	ROEW
5	9	23	G1	60	19	13
5	7	40	G2	57	27	16
6	8	65	G3	52	30	30
9	8	55	G4	66	37	26

Table 7.7 allows us to examine the net flows by ‘G’ area. Earlier it was hypothesised that increasing levels of gentrification might reasonably be expected to exhibit increasing levels of displacement. The net losses for the ‘G’ areas were as follows, G1 - 55, G2 - 48, G3 - 33 and G4 - 57. Clearly the correlation of the two factors, level of gentrification and that of displacement, is not conclusively displayed and there is not enough information to ensure that a systematic factor was leading to the levels of displacement observed. It appears curious that the least extensive ‘G’ area experienced a greater level of ‘displacement’ as the highest, could it be that moves made by the working classes from this area were better characterised as being made from choice than coercion?

It is possible to analyse the data in other ways to more fully examine its significance. Using table 7.7 calculations for the working class entrance and exit flows to the ‘G’ areas were made leading to the emergence of evidence for the existence of displacement over the period. Flows of the working classes in 1981 to the ‘G’ areas by 1991 were only 240 while the outflow for all those who had been working class in 1981 was 433. This would have been greater if one had included all those who had

also shifted to other occupational groupings by 1991 outside of the 'G' areas. The net flow, as an approximation, was a loss of **193** to the 'G' areas. It is thereby possible to interpret this net figure (rather than use a simple outflow figure) as meaning that roughly 19,300 non-LS members were either displaced or made voluntary moves from the 'G' areas. This is also remarkably reminiscent of the figure for the net increase in professionals in the 'G' areas of 188. If one temporarily accepts that the working class figure were purely made of displacees it would be acceptable to remark that the higher working class figure was due to the increased space requirement of the middle class professionals.

One should, however, be wary in the interpretation of such a result that so coherently supports the hypotheses being explored in relation to a displacement process. It is quite clear, for example, that it is not possible to make a critical distinction between replacement of working class moves by professionals made on a voluntary basis and those moves made on the basis of some form of coercion by the working classes. While one could argue that the majority of moves made by these working class groups were all voluntary within the context of a healthy housing market at that point in time this is highly implausible.

The scale and correspondence of the flows suggests that the two events were related since they occurred simultaneously and the geography the results were based upon had been constructed according to lines of gross professionalisation. It is unlikely that a larger proportion of the working class moves were made voluntarily when the outflow of working classes from the 'G' areas was compared to the overall levels of mobility by this group in the capital which were significantly lower. It is unlikely that the 'G' areas could be suggested to have in some way *enabled* moves made by the working class groups, the increased propensity to move by this group is more likely to be due to gentrification and the operation of exclusionary housing markets in the 'G' areas so that it was more likely to be the better paid manual worker, for example, that was able to stay or move to the 'G' areas. It must also be recognised that a degree of overlap must be considered where sub-sets of these groups altered occupation over the decade. Finally, it was unlikely that displacement would have been characterised

entirely of this group so that it is necessary to consider other groups as well in the analysis.

A final remark to be made about the moves of the working class migrators from the 'G' areas was that more than half were to the ROL area (235 of the 433 moves made from the 'G' areas by working class occupants in 1981) which supports the idea that these moves were subject to financial constraint leading to close proximity to a starting point. It may well be that over the decade those working class members moving to the 'G' areas (which, admittedly, could not be conceived of as being expensive throughout over the whole period) were better paid manual workers within the group or that social and association housing in the areas provided an opportunity for moves to these areas.

II) The elderly

Mobility between age groups and the gentrification geography was explored in relation to the pensionable age for male and female LS members⁵. The form of measurement used, all those of pensionable age by 1991, relates to Menard's (1991) notion that longitudinal research may be external or internal to its subjects. Age is clearly internal and this impacts on the ability of the external time frame to make sense of changes over time since internal changes alter the composition of selected sub-groups over time.

The measure used, as described before, was inclusive enough to show a clear trend, that the 'G' areas were losing more of this group than gaining. The net loss was 232 LS members with 264 entering the 'G' areas and 496 leaving. Without a socio-economic breakdown it is not possible to directly suggest that the movement *to* the areas was characterised by higher SEG's and that *from* the areas was by those from lower SEG's yet such a proposal is not implausible. The 'G' areas resembled the other

⁵The elderly category was necessarily a sub-group of the LS in which a proportion people of those who succeeded in being included within the criteria of pensionable age would have died by the 1991 census and would have been replaced in the sample but would therefore not show up in the 1991 data. This is not a problem because this would have been emulated for all areas so that no inherent bias would ensue

areas consistently with roughly half of each area being comprised of the group marked out as elderly.

In table 7.8 these flows can be seen in more detail. Like the degree holders the move to the 'G' areas seems to be slightly predominant in the lower 'G' areas and would suggest that, in general, the higher area's prices exclude more of the elderly than not. Also interesting is the greater dispersal over space of those elderly *leaving* the 'G' areas. It may be that where displacement did occur the result was for local moves to take place but for those moves made with the backing of more resources or equity withdrawn on housing in the 'G' areas that this enabled moves to other desirable areas such as the coast and other areas.

Table 7.8: Flows of those elderly by 1991 in relation to the 'G' areas, showing origin and destination

From				To		
ROEW	ROSE	ROL	To/from	ROL	ROSE	ROEW
2	2	42	G1	44	31	27
4	7	58	G2	34	42	32
6	9	62	G3	57	55	39
6	4	62	G4	56	40	39

The scale of the loss to the 'G' areas may be compared with the non-movers within the 'G' areas. This group totalled roughly 1,200 and indicates that the net loss represented one of 18% from this group in the areas. To get a better impression of the scale of the loss from the 'G' areas one can compare it with that for the ROL as a whole - 200. This shows that the 'G' areas loss was greater than that for London as a whole, a staggering level of change in relation to an area roughly one eighth the size of London. It cannot be concluded that this was all displacement but the immense size of this flow for this group would indicate strong support for the hypothesis that this was a displacee group and that the group experienced significant levels of displacement. This became all the more apparent when tenants rights workers were

interviewed and who revealed that the elderly were a significant part of their workload.

The elderly clearly form a vulnerable group, often with few resources, low levels of familial and neighbour support networks their vulnerability makes them an anticipated significant constituent of any observed displaced flows, as born out by the data. While the relationship between increasing age and displacement would appear logical because of the vulnerability of this group the association is made all the more unsavoury because of the reasons for such a correlation.

III) Unskilled labour

It is not necessary to repeat here the justifications for selecting this group as a potential displacee group however the unskilled workforce has, for some time, been associated with short term and contractual labour which makes them vulnerable to periods of unemployment and low pay in general. The LS data revealed only subtle patterns that might be associated with displacement for this group, but this stems in part from the relatively small proportion of the overall workforce that this group represent. It was also apparent that, probably due to low resources this group could not be strongly associated with migration in general.

The first point of examination in relation to the unskilled labour grouping was to examine the basic flows from and to the 'G' areas. This is complicated by the moves made by LS members over time between occupational positions as well as over geographical space but it is still possible to observe quite clear gross and net flows as long as comparative flows are used. Such flows were taken by looking only at those LS members who were of unskilled occupational status at both census points. This provides a restrictive analysis and one without a sense of mobility, other than geographical, over the decade.

It was held that those unskilled in 1981 who had become professionals or working class by 1991 on moving into or from the 'G' areas would be likely to have moved

because of some form of promotion or migration by choice rather than a form of displacement. Such a measure therefore does have the advantage of comparability and excludes those moves made with the previous problem in mind. The derived figures thereby provide a relatively conservative or underestimated picture of a displacement process over the period. The results of this analysis are presented in table 7.9.

Table 7.9: Shows flows to and from the ‘G’ areas with origin and destination areas of unskilled LS members

From				To		
ROEW	ROSE	ROL	To/from	ROL	ROSE	ROEW
0	0	4	G1	3	0	0
0	0	1	G2	2	0	0
0	0	0	G3	0	0	1
0	0	0	G4	0	0	1

The flows to and from the ‘G’ areas by these groups appear insignificant. This conservative flow from the ‘G’ areas of roughly 700 unskilled workers over the decade after observing an in-flow of unskilled to the ‘G’ areas of 500 leads to a net loss of only 200 unskilled workers when scaled up from the LS data. It is not possible to conclude from such a low figure that displacement was the operative factor leading to such migration. This represents roughly a 9% decline in the numbers of unskilled workers in the ‘G’ areas over the decade

Levels of migration can be then be compared to the LS unskilled non-movers, of whom 23 remained in the ‘G’ areas over the period (roughly 2,300 people), these were evenly distributed across the ‘G’ areas. The figure for the rest of the London was 191 (19,100). This means that the ‘G’ areas were holding a below average number of unskilled workers over the period regardless of any migratory changes. The ward average for the ROL are for unskilled non-moving workers was 30 while that for the ‘G’ areas was 19. It may be that for this group changes preceding the baseline census had already lead to the ‘G’ areas being somewhat expensive or unsuitable for these groups.

If, however, a measure of unskilled workers is used which allows the flexibility for them to move to the category of 'Other' (all other occupations other than unskilled, working class and professional) a slightly different picture emerges. It can be argued that some of these moves will be characterised by a slight upward move in the occupational scale but for the majority any such upgrading is slight. Using this form of measurement total migratory moves *away* from all of the 'G' areas over the decade were 19 to the ROL, 4 to ROSE and 2 to ROEW (roughly 2,500 people). The flow into the 'G' areas by the unskilled who also took on other occupations was 7 (700) LS members. This makes a net loss of 18 (1,800 people). Clearly these flows are enhanced by a more inclusive measure and it is perhaps debatable whether this is warranted but a combination of the two net loss figures may be a closer approximation of the process.

Of the outflow 19, the majority, moved to the ROL area, as one would expect. It may well be that many of these such moves are made to relatively nearby locations having been displaced or making decision to move, especially in view of the low resources derived from unskilled labour.

The net loss from the 'G' areas (1,800) using this measurement can be compared with migration for the ROL area to get an idea of the significance of that flow in relation to overall levels of mobility. One can see that the total number of unskilled workers who stayed in that occupational category over the decade but moved within the ROL region was 37 or 3,700 moves. To this must be added all those who were unskilled in the ROL area in 1981 but were in 'other' occupations by 1991. This total is 8,100. It is then possible to construct a ward-based average of these two levels to make a comparison and see that for the 'G' areas the figure was 15 moves per ward and 12.7 for the ROL area.

This final displaced figure must be tempered with regard to 'natural' rates of mobility, other mobility factors and the preceding measurement of a net flow which was significantly restrictive but much smaller. However it remains that the data provides a

moderate indication that displacement may have occurred for this group over the decade.

IV) The unemployed

The group described as unemployed had previously exhibited a positive correlation with gentrification in the use of the census data, as had lone parents. Discussion of the adequacy of unemployment measures and definitional changes is not entered into, at this stage it is to some extent necessary to accept such inadequacies in order to found any claims without being lost in a mire of such details. Such a critique may well be more suitably applied in the event of strong claims made on the back of observed weak effects.

In the case of working class and other SEG measurements the interaction between occupation and geography had been examined at both census points but unemployment was taken as a 'destination' measurement. This meant taking all those who were unemployed by 1991 regardless of their occupational origin at 1981. This ensured that a comparative set of flows were examined each time. It was unlikely that a majority would be unemployed at both censuses so that a measurement which used such a restrictive definition of unemployment would unnecessarily give an underestimate of such flows.

It was also felt that a destination measure would more comprehensively monitor those LS members who had *become* unemployed and eliminate those who had been unemployed but who found work by the time of the second census which could be viewed as a positive outcome in relation either to the 'G' areas or from them. Clearly periods of unemployment in the interim between censuses could not be accounted for in the derived data.

Table 7.10: Shows flows to and from the 'G' areas with origin and destination areas of LS members unemployed by 1991

From				To		
→				→		
ROEW	ROSE	ROL	To/from	ROL	ROSE	ROEW
7	6	24	G1	29	5	8
10	4	35	G2	32	11	6
7	3	29	G3	21	9	7
5	3	22	G4	27	7	5

Net losses from the ‘G’ areas were more acutely felt within the ROL area but one cannot be sure that this was the case because the use of a net flow figure for these areas only hinders our ability to make sense of start and end points. Yet it can be observed that the move to the ROL area from the ‘G’ areas was greater than the move to it from the ROL area. The total flow to the ROL area from the ‘G’ areas was 109, or 10,900 persons, approximately. The flow inward from the ROL area was 110 (11,000 persons when scaled up).

In fact the net changes in the ‘G’ areas were insignificant overall. The total change in the ‘G’ areas was only an additional 2 LS members, roughly 200 unemployed people. ‘G’ areas 3 and 4 lost only 2 and 1 LS member respectively. From these low figures of change it is neither realistic to conclude that the ‘G’ areas acted as some form of attractor to those seeking work or that this group were a significant displacee group. There is, however, the possibility that changing definitions and the measures used were not sophisticated enough to delineate a significant sub-group of the unemployed over time who may have felt the impact of gentrification more acutely than others.

It is possible to go further and use a number of other measures of mobility in relation to employment status and area. If one now takes the gross flows of those who were unemployed in 1981 and then moved to the ‘G’ areas by 1981 and were still or also unemployed then an in-flow of 30 and an out-flow of 23 is now observed. This leads to exactly the same gain to the ‘G’ areas in those unemployed as the destination measure used initially. Curiously if a measure of those who were employed in 1981 is taken who then *became* unemployed by 1991 (this is different from the first measure which only took those members who were unemployed by 1991 but were from *any*

occupational origin) the figures are respectively 82 in and 108 out. This measurement reveals a net loss of 26 to the 'G' areas over the decade. This figure is attractive in that it supports the hypothesis that LS members who were employed to start with may have been pushed out of the 'G' areas *and* into unemployment by the end of the decade but combined with the other measures one would view this latter figure with some caution.

The results of the unemployment analysis are also curious in that if the *gross* flows to and from the 'G' areas are taken these are extensive when compared to the flows for the ROL area. 312 LS members in all moved to and from the 'G' areas while, of those who had reached an unemployed state by 1991, in the wider capital zone there were 594 LS members who were movers and 713 non-movers. This would indicate a high rate of mobility for the unemployed in general and when the gross flows are contrasted to the 'G' areas it can be seen that the flows to and from the 'G' areas by the unemployed form roughly half of all those made in London as a whole. This might lead us to conclude that the 'G' areas provide a focal point for some form of "unemployment transition zone" relative to their size in the capital.

It is possible that the random selection of any area in London the size of four boroughs would exhibit similar patterns of high rates of geographical mobility by this group. However, in counterpoint one should return to the positive correlation between gentrification and unemployment which adds evidence to the notion that the 'G' areas *were* locations for higher rates of unemployment transition observed.

It can be concluded from this confusing set of measures and contrary outcomes that unemployment cannot be viewed as a dependent variable and displacee characteristic as such. What remains curious is that the 'G' areas appeared to represent a key locus for the high rates of geographical mobility experienced by this group. It would be stretching credibility to assert a synonymy between gentrification and job opportunities or the perceived availability of employment in such areas so that explanation of the observed flows is not forthcoming.

V) *The inactive*

This category had not been explored when the census data had been used. The significance of this group may be realised when it can be seen that it is comprised of the permanently sick and disabled, housewives, the retired, students and persons of independent means. While the latter category is unfortunate the other groups would appear to represent an excellent proxy for displacees. Again, any derived flow *from* the ‘G’ areas by these groups cannot be directly attributed to gentrification or as a displacee flow but the following contributes to the likelihood that a significant part of that flow was attributable to the social and economic restructuring going on in the ‘G’ areas. As with the unemployed a destination measure was utilised - all those who were inactive by 1991. This makes all flows comparable.

Table 7.11: Shows flows to and from the ‘G’ areas with origin and destination areas of LS members who were inactive by 1991

From				To		
ROEW	ROSE	ROL	To/from	ROL	ROSE	ROEW
11	9	97	G1	107	50	45
14	13	16	G2	111	72	57
18	18	114	G3	105	89	65
11	12	125	G4	117	74	51

Table 7.11 shows that the number of inactive persons by 1991 who were moving from ROL to the ‘G’ areas and those moving from the ‘G’ areas to the ROL area were somewhat similar and varied little according to the ‘G’ area involved. However if attention is diverted to the other areas a different picture emerges and when a set of net flows for each ‘G’ area are constructed significant losses for all of them can be observed. The net losses for each ‘G’ area were G1 - 85, G2 - 97, G3 - 109 and G4 - 94. This makes a total loss of the inactive from the ‘G’ areas of 385. When the sample is scaled up this approximates 38,500 persons in these categories.

These dramatic migratory losses are further heightened when contextualised within a London-wide picture, as done for each of the other variables. In the ROL area those LS members who were categorised as inactive in 1991, when split into movers and non-movers, totalled 2,613 and 8,058 respectively. That the two figures should be so close is surprising and indicates a relatively high proportionate level of migration for this group in the capital over the decade. If the movers in the ROL area are scaled up one can compare the net losses intelligibly with the general level of mobility for this group in the capital.

The two salient figures are the net figure of 38,500 who moved from the 'G' areas and the 261,300 for the rest of the capital. This is a significant result indicating, as it does, that an extraordinary level of moves were made by the inactive from the gentrified areas over the period. This result is further magnified when the scale of the area involved in the composition of the 'G' areas is considered - roughly one eighth of London which means an anticipated net number of moves within the 'G' areas of only 32,000. This may lead us to believe that the 6,500 surplus to this may be considered to be an indication of above average and causally linked number to the gentrification of the 'G' areas.

VI) Lone parents

A number of permutations for the analysis of family structure in relation to the ‘G’ areas was available but a focus was retained on the lone parent group used in the census data for the sake of comparability and expansion of the information gained there. This approach was also continued because an unguided interrogation of the data was not an option since it was comprised of highly dispersed and tangled patterns of migration, family structure and social change which could not easily be unravelled in relation to the research question. Since other household structures were not deemed salient in relation to the research question these were not specifically examined.

In the ROL area, of those LS members who were lone parents at both censuses (a necessary sub group to perform a comparable calculation), 344 moved within that area and 1,501 remained as non-movers. One may contrast these levels of activity with that experienced in the ‘G’ areas to see if this grouping were more prone to move out of the ‘G’ areas than around London as a whole, this information is provided in table 7.12.

Table 7.12: Showing flows of lone parents to and from the ‘G’ areas by LS members over the decade

From				To		
ROEW	ROSE	ROL	To/from	ROL	ROSE	ROEW
3	1	14	G1	16	1	0
2	1	19	G2	9	1	2
1	0	8	G3	16	0	0
0	1	16	G4	10	3	2

Interestingly, as with the census data, lone parents showed an apparent liking for the ‘G’ areas with a net increase of 6 LS members. This is by no means a significant number yet previous hypotheses about the general vulnerability of this group would have suggested a reverse result to have been the case for the ‘G’ areas. Again this

provides evidence that a crude characterisation of lone parented households as vulnerable was not adequate either as a working image or in relation to the operational research. It may be that young and relatively affluent lone parented households found the 'G' areas an attractive prospect yet there is no definitive emerging evidence that the 'G' areas held any more attraction than the rest of London as a location decision.

When the non-movers in the 'G' areas were examined it was revealed that 75 had not moved over the decade and retained this familial structure. A comparison of these sub-groups would indicate that it was more likely for lone parents to remain than move out of the 'G' areas, especially as the areas had experienced an overall gain over the decade. The overall net flow to the 'G' areas resulted in an increase of 6 LS members to the 'G' areas, or 600 people when scaled. In relation to the number of lone parent families who were already there or who did not move over the decade this represented an increase of 4.5% to that grouping.

It may be that a sub-group of lone parents would provide a valuable insight into a particular manifestation of displacement by revisiting the methodology and examining the interaction of socio-economic status and migration to and from the 'G' areas. However, it is likely that this group would be so small that it would be impossible to make any assertions as to whether such moves were due to displacement or to other factors. In relation to the ROL area the moves to and from the 'G' areas are unremarkable. It can only be concluded that the relationship between lone parenting and displacement may either be tenuous or that gentrification and the lone parented familial structure are in some way related judging by the overall correlations provided and the LS evidence here cited.

Increasing levels of gentrification but not displacement?

The question was raised earlier as to whether increased levels of gentrification, i.e. low 'G' 4 up to high 'G' 1, could be associated with increasing levels of displacement. Although from the use of correlations in the census data this was much in evidence the results of the LS data did not appear to support this hypothesis. If displacement did not increase with gentrification could gentrification really be held to be the causal agent?

The answer to this important question cannot be given directly in relation to the LS data and the census data results would suggest that much of an answer to such a question is based on the tools of measurement at our disposal and the way in which the phenomenon is conceptualised and re-aggregated. Although the LS data was more sophisticated than the census data it relied on the construction of four areas which were viewed as 'ideal types' of the process. This meant that hidden within each area would be a number of other contextual factors which would, inevitably, make the correspondence between gentrification and displacement necessarily more indistinct.

Gentrification and people are malleable processes, in some areas gentrifiers may have more resources and be able to demand the use of more dwelling space, in others professionals such as teachers may cluster together and have fewer resources and use similar space requirements to the previous occupants. Another obvious confounding factor would be the effect of hidden households where displacees might remain in the 'G' area but in a friend's or relative's house and remain undetected.

The characterisation of the 'G' areas proved to be difficult. The ultra-gentrification developed via 'G' 1 appeared not to produce any higher levels of migratory activity than the other 'G' areas. Contextual features of the process may have confounded the relevance of the ideal type approach whereby a picture of ecological units if gentrification was an inadequate working conceptualisation of a phenomenon and areas which contained much social and economic diversity. It is possible to conclude

from this that future work could concentrate on closer levels of analysis, yet this cannot be realised with the LS data. It is also possible to see that an ‘averaging out’ of the process of gentrification may have occurred in its overall effects in measuring displacement across the four areas but would remain less visible when examining single areas only.

A summary of the displacement evidence

In conclusion, table 7.14 compares the net flows (gains and losses), as a total for all of the ‘G’ areas combined, to get an idea of the comparative scale of the flows for all the variables that were examined. This overview of the data reveals both the individual extent of the losses of the displacee groups from the ‘G’ areas but also expresses this figure as a percentage of the non-movers in the ‘G’ areas to give a better impression of the significance of these flows. Comparisons have already been made with the size of migratory flows for the ROL area in relation to the displacee flows so that these have not been included here.

Table 7.14: Net flows and estimates of displacee activity in relation to the ‘G’ areas as a whole between 1981 and 1991

Net flows (+/-) for all ‘G’ areas over 1981-1991 (scaled up)		
Variable	Net change for all ‘G’ areas	Percentage gain/loss
Professionals	+ 18,800	+ 20%
Degree holders	- 5,600	- 2%
Inactive	- 38,500	- 46%
Working Class	- 19,300	- 38%
Age	- 23,200	- 18%
Unskilled	between - 200 and - 1,800	between - 9 and -78%
Unemployment	between - 1,600 and + 100	between - 4% and - 59%
Lone Parents	+ 600	+ 4.5%

Column three shows the percentage gain or loss for the group in relation to non-moving LS members in the ‘G’ areas. This final piece of information helps to

contextualise the gains and losses in relation to the size of each group more accurately reflecting the degree to which the loss represented a significant part of that group in the 'G' areas concerned. From this information one can see that the most significant levels of displacement may have been felt by the inactive and the working class groups. More ambiguous results stem from the findings relating to the unemployed and the unskilled since the measurement of these groups is difficult for a number of definitional and methodological problems.

The results of the analysis of degree holders would appear to indicate a diverse occupational and consumption constitution in which they form a potentially large proportion of both displacee and gentrifying groups. The overall loss of these groups would suggest that the former, although it is possible that this group represent a particularised manifestation of gentrification themselves and that a unique geography of gentrification can be related to this group in relative isolation from the kind of gentrification represented by the better resourced professional gentrifier.

Problematic in the reading of the data is the issue of non-mutual exclusivity. If an estimate is provided that, say, fifty percent of the losses in the working class group were the result of displacement pressures one would not be able to directly add this to an estimate of the proportion of the other variables since the data does not allow us to see to what extent an overlap exists between the variables.

It is possible to surmise that the overall gains to the 'G' areas by the professionals over the decade (18,000) will have been a significant displacing force. The question as to where exactly these pressures were most felt and by whom is a critical issue that has been attempted to be answered yet the uni-dimensional character of the variables selected makes it difficult to suggest exactly how much and of which groups displacement was a significant problem. An important caveat should be added; that, of the net growth in the professionals group, one cannot be sure of the extent to which this growth was due to new build and 'natural' rates of replacement of both displacee groups and other middle class groups dwellings. However, the entire growth in this group cannot be accounted for by these factors alone and so one is lead to the

conclusion that an unspecifiable amount of displacement must have taken place. A conservative and arbitrary estimate of the levels of displacement might indicate that at least nine thousand LS members and the household structures around them will have been displaced over the decade. Knowing the social location of these groups is a more difficult question.

Conclusion - The LS and gentrification-induced displacement

The LS provided an excellent opportunity, when based upon the use of the census data, to expand knowledge of displacement and gentrification processes over the decade in relation to the theoretical antecedents of the displacement literature and earlier empirical findings. While methodological problems using such data are extensive these can be transcended by the application of theory and empirical knowledge such that it was possible to arrive at figures for the flows of displacee and gentrifier groups and to make an informed assessment of the extent to which such flows could be held to be examples of displacement as well as replacement.

It has been observed earlier that there is a difficulty in using census and LS data to distinguish between moves that could be legitimately labelled as displacement and those moves which form a kind of replacement of lower by higher class groupings. It is beyond this difficulty that one must make a 'leap of faith' toward coming to some quantity theory of displacement. This analogy may stretch too far what both theory and data already suggest to be the case, though a strong critique of the findings might consider that concrete evidence was impossible to derive from data sources which are unable to make a distinction between forced and voluntary moves. The persistent and cumulative weight of evidence continues to be built up in the following chapters so that such critiques may be made more difficult to adopt.

The fundamental reasoning that the observation and quantification of displacement started with the admission no observed flow can be viewed either directly or in its entirety as an example of displacement. That said, the presence of relatively large net loss flows of vulnerable groups and a theoretically legitimate causal factor (professionalisation) along with an observed simultaneity strongly points to an interpretation which sees such flows as examples of displacement processes. This is not to say that all of the flows were due to displacement but rather to argue that all of the above factors must allow for a view in which some part of those flows were due to displacement given their location.

One can see that those groups who one would, *a priori*, hypothesise to be vulnerable in relation to the professionalisation and gentrification of the 'G' areas in London were not necessarily adequately labelled in this way. Both lone parents and the unemployed did not obviously correspond with a displacement dynamic in the same way that the other groups appeared to do so and this had been supported by the positive correlations between these variables and professionals in the census data. Certainly the complicating factor of non-mutual exclusivity operating both in the census and LS data makes it difficult to full draw out those multi-dimensional groups whose multiple characteristics might render them both vulnerable and observable through an appropriate manipulation of the data.

A significant finding of this stage of the research was that increasing gentrification did not necessarily mean higher levels of displacement although it was possible to be sure that displacement was being felt at each level because of the timing of the flows along with those of professionals and the empirical knowledge of the diversity of the gentrification experience in context.

That increasing experiences of gentrification did not always lead to higher levels of displacement might have been accounted for by inadequacies in the way gentrification had initially been measured and contextual features of the process. For example, higher levels of gentrification might indicate more advanced gentrification and thus already fewer potential displacees to be moved on. While the reverse might be the case for what might be termed the pioneer areas of gentrification ('G's 3 and 4) where the less heated housing market might not yet have removed possible displacees. This seems a plausible account of such deficiencies and would explain why degree holders might have been displacees as much as gentrifiers.

The groups apparently most affected by the process of professionalisation were the inactive, the working classes, as anticipated, and the unemployed and unskilled. The results for the unemployed and unskilled were more open to question due to varying levels related to different methods of measurement. The apparent levels of the

displacement of the inactive were both disconcertingly high and also set a new precedent for the direction of the research for the final stage of the research which previously had not considered this as a distinctive group to explore. This stage of the research is now described in detail.

Chapter Eight - Studying gentrification and displacement in context

Introduction

This chapter describes additional research strategies employed following the use of the census and LS data. It was anticipated that a series of semi-structured interviews with displacees would be possible with access being given via local authority housing departments or through private tenants rights projects. It became rapidly apparent that this was considerably more difficult than anticipated, issues of access, availability and suitable data sources were prominent.

The aim of this final stage of the research was essentially twofold, first, to identify the validity of the aggregated data methodology in order to assess its accuracy and, second, to elaborate the empirical evidence of gentrification and displacement. It was anticipated that a variety of methods could be employed, documentary and qualitative, within selected areas, to flesh out the details of the census data. Such an approach, however, had to be modified at an early stage. As will be discussed later, the research proved difficult to contextualise; ways of 'seeing' gentrification were hard to operationalise, ways of displacement, moreso, and the critical issue of access and data availability proved a major obstacle.

This final stage completed our progression from aggregated and abstract data sources to a more proximate knowledge. There is also value in what is known as 'triangulation' wherein a variety of methodologies are utilised in an attempt to see if phenomena look similar from differing methodological and conceptual viewpoints; the argument being that if it does one is more likely to be approximating the underlying reality. It should be acknowledged that the use of different data sources made different demands on the use of a working definition of the concepts looked at. Whereas in the census data uni-variate/dimensional measures had been used as proxies of the progress of gentrification and displacement, in approaching actors and

in looking at documentary data what could be regarded as indicative of these processes was a more interpretative and negotiated process.

It is apparent that gentrification and displacement are embedded in an extending web of causality relating to social, economic and political events which make delineation harder to achieve. Given this there has to come a point where some cut-off point is deemed reasonable. This delineation must be made without compromising the intuition of the research to other relevant processes. In terms of the grounded methodology the ideas and concepts of both the literature and earlier research findings were applied to gain further corroboration or refutation of their validity in the context of geographical and historical locations.

1. Methodological concerns

In order to answer queries raised by the use of and a reliance on the census data it was argued that a closer level of analysis was demanded to give a sense of finality to the research which was seeking to grapple with an essentially abstract conception and aggregated description of gentrification and displacement. It is not difficult to imagine that the account of these processes thus far described would remain insensitive to the various and complex factors that constitute both gentrification and displacement, especially when proxy indicators of the presence of these events had been employed.

The move from a quantitative approach to a qualitative one necessitated a shift from the use of direct hypothesis testing to less specific operational research questions whose relevance remained after a broad characterisation of the processes had been achieved. More searching questions could only be asked by approaching the actors and institutions involved in these processes even though they might be unaware that their involvement existed. It was thought that there would be a mismatch between academic, or theoretical, descriptions of gentrification and displacement wielded by the researchers and the labels applied by the actors involved. This might suggest a

general absence of an agenda relating to displacement which began to develop as a theme in the remainder of the work.

It is possible to argue that, even if gentrifiers and displacees had been interviewed, one would be no closer to “gentrification” which refers to a holistic conception of a number of factors subsumed under a single label. This idea relates to the conceptual possibility yet empirical difficulty of apprehending the totality of gentrification since it is formed of such a diverse and extensive number of acts which spread over a very wide geographical and temporal range. This has important methodological implications and creates a contradiction between the idea of studying dis-aggregated examples of the process and citing these as examples of the wider changes. While it is possible to be aware of such considerations one should also be wary of such pedantry in the face of obtaining extended knowledge of these areas.

While closer knowledge of gentrification and displacement was the ultimate aim of the thesis it was recognised that a broader aim would be to make further inferential insights into the process elsewhere could be made. Indeed the value of both the approach taken and the findings therein would be heightened if it could be shown that further conclusions and repetition of the methodology could be applied to other examples.

The delineation of a social area for study is problematic. While certain areas can be selected on the basis of socially constructed lines, such as wards, two problems exist. First, much of the gentrification literature alludes to the neighbourhood basis of the process of both gentrification and displacement (Smith and Williams, 1986, Munt, 1987) which creates operational difficulties when trying to decide on how a neighbourhood is made up since it is as much a mental as physical characteristic of any discrete area (Kirby and Lambert, 1985b). Bulmer (1986) has considered that there may be a mismatch between areas of analysis and ‘natural’ social units, for example. Second, it is difficult to argue that the spatial boundaries set are capable of containing the phenomenon in some way. Not only do people move over these

boundaries but external influences acting on the area and its inhabitants and vice versa create problems of deciding which of these activities should be included.

Exploratory work was not directly undertaken since the census data had already performed this function, acting as a lever both for the LS research *and* the grounded research since it clearly focused attention on certain geographical locations to be examined. Varying levels of ‘gentrification’ (indicated by an above average rise in the number of professionals and managers in any one ward) above the city-wide mean was used as a method to identify areas which had been gentrified to varying degrees.

While displacement can result from a number of factors our analysis was restricted to those areas in which displaced moves were contingent on the progress of gentrification. It later became clear that insights gained from such a grounded approach informed the use of the census data so that there was a ‘feedback’ between the two stages of research, as one approach unearthed new aspects to the processes not identified by the other. Pilot interviews/studies were not undertaken because it was believed that a significant amount of information about the nature of the processes had already been developed. The most salient actors were therefore focused upon in institutions which it was believed would elicit the maximum and most important information given the aims of the overall work.

Gentrification and operational explanation

In the course of the early research it became clear that for the researcher to talk of a ‘gentrification’ process was problematic since it could be interpreted in different ways by different groups. Other approaches were utilised to explore respondent’s knowledge of and reaction to the process by using techniques which explored the notion of gentrification through its definition rather than using the actual term of ‘gentrification’. This was achieved by discussing processes of class succession in housing, neighbourhood and housing renewal and so on. To use the words gentrification and displacement would pose problems of interviewee interpretation due to the term’s

ideological and mystifying nature. Gentrification was therefore described as a process rather than using social scientific labelling so professionalisation and migration, harassment and eviction were described rather than gentrification and displacement which were already loaded and ambiguous terms when used in a 'lay' environment.

The above issues also expose an important dichotomy which was later seen to reflect the division between political and academic labelling of phenomena. The pervasiveness of market ideology clearly already holds that displacement is a 'natural' feature of the housing market such that it is reified, thereby rendering it unstoppable. It is also a desirable feature of the housing market for those that stand to gain from it. The labelling of a process as displacement reflects an academic pursuit to understand and label novel and new urban and social processes so that taxonomy and political considerations become inseparably linked.

One could argue that the remaining research was defined negatively, however, it was with a great sense of enthusiasm that the last stage of the research was entered into. It has been known from the outset that the issue of displacement would be highly difficult one to tackle and yet through the lack of data a number of insights were developed and the final stage enables those insights to be put to the test both by looking at a local authority perspective and the 'view from the street' by talking to private tenants rights workers. The final stage therefore represented the closest proximity to the problem of displacement and this closeness, no matter how sparse the available data, was viewed with optimism as forming the potentially first stage in a cumulative process of knowledge gathering on the subject.

2. The Local Authority Perspective

The grounded research was started by taking the view of the local authority. The authority is useful because a wider area was apprehended than would be possible under the given resources of the research. It is clearly advisable to approach such organisations to obtain such data, especially when such areas can encompass large tracts of gentrified space, as was the case with Wandsworth. In focusing on one authority it was possible to explore the issue in greater depth and as a result managed to approach all departments who were in some way involved as well as holding focus group meetings in each department and interviewing each officer in charge of that department.

It is acknowledged that focusing on one authority has important implications in attempting to extrapolate results to wider contexts. It is indeed debatable whether one can infer from such work to other geographical areas. That said it has already been acknowledged that this work is seeking explanation via triangulation, attempting to build an explanatory framework from a range of forces. In this context focusing on a small sample or an individual authority, as here, undeniably renders the approach in isolation and open to the criticism that inference is not valid. With this in mind a simple case study was selected (a) because the area in question had widely exhibited gentrification over the inter-censal period and (b) wide-ranging access was obtained. The former factor is perhaps most important in coming to an understanding of the degree to which such results could logically be applied to other political, temporal or geographic conditions. In fact a key aim was to separate out those factors which might be held to have created unique conditions of the gentrification of that area with another set of conditions which could be generally found elsewhere.

Wandsworth provides us with an atypical example of the gentrification process since it was the only area, over the time period, to exhibit such high levels of gentrification in such a concentrated area. This means that it is not a typical example but nevertheless has the benefit of illustrating what may happen in an extreme case. This

must be considered within the aims of the research rather than as a methodological weakness; it is argued that it is highly relevant to evaluate the strongest simply example of gentrification since it has already observed how difficult displacement is to measure. It follows that the use of this, the most extreme example of gentrification, exposes significantly more information about the process, albeit *in extremis*, and that this may be used to infer to other less noteworthy examples.

There was always the possibility that gentrification in certain contexts would be a non-displacing feature of urban restructuring and that further, a large scale example of its manifestation might still retain such a feature. The later use of interviews at tenant's rights projects showed that, in fact, the observation of gentrification was clearly dependent on the method of observation as much as definition which makes this point more salient.

To give a geographically constrained example of gentrification in terms of its being confined to a local authority may appear misjudged since gentrification is an unconstrained example of migration and change. The degree to which this is true is also tempered by the active and passive roles of the local authority so, for example, the influence of a (passive) zero 'poll tax' and an (active) priority group sales policy may be seen to influence the geographical distribution of certain gentrification types which may evolve as much in relation to local political contexts as to the whims of market supply and demand.

As it emerged, the use of the local authority approach proved to be more useful in identifying the features of the gentrification than the displacement processes. It became clear that the tenure and social restructuring of the borough formed a more visible component to the changes over the last two decades in Wandsworth. This may be linked to two things; (a) displacement did not exist for the borough because it was an absent process (where it has occurred there is little or no sign to reveal its occurrence), where it had happened the people were no longer there and were therefore not a problem. Whether this later re-emerged as an increase in housing need was a point that needed to be established, or (b) what later turned up as housing need

was not labelled as displacement from a process of socio-economic and tenure restructuring in the area but simply as need stemming from eviction, harassment, inability to afford private rents and so on. It was these hypotheses which were open for refutation/testing in the work.

A process of displacement did not appear to be evident. While the socio-economic and housing changes that had occurred in the borough clearly appeared to provoke interest by the local authority officers these were perceived to be related to external processes outside of the borough's control or due to 'natural' changes rather than be linked to policies at either a local or central level.

Wandsworth

The gentrification of Wandsworth has been ongoing for some time and its extensive nature has led to significant change in the socio-economic constitution of its environs. The largely Conservative political constitution of the borough, with its zero council tax a key feature for some time, have made it a flagship borough for the Conservative party in the Labour dominated local government arena of Greater London.

Justification of the selection of Wandsworth can be made on three grounds;

1. The borough itself was eminently suitable as initial evaluation of empirical data seemed to suggest significant levels of gentrification across the borough. It was noted that 21 out of 22 wards showed above city-wide mean increases in the numbers of professionals and managers with a range of 5.7 to 18.3ppi. The census data showing the percentage point increases in the gentrification scores and the respective displacement scores prompted interest in the project which in turn led to interest in the nature and location of data relevant to the project
2. The initiation of access via the good will of the chief executive and the resources made available showed Wandsworth to be unique of the Inner London authorities approached.

3. In terms of gentrification and politics the borough appeared to be unique but this did not mean that inferences would not be possible to make and generalisations of some kind observed. Beyond political considerations there were a host of other factors from which wider inferences *could* be drawn - locational, demographic and architectural, for example. It was intended that a control borough would be examined but this proved nearly impossible in practice since exploratory comparative work carried out (in Lambeth) revealed an incredulity on the part of officers to view gentrification as operating in the borough so that displacement was non-existent. The value of pursuing this line of enquiry was debated before dropping it in favour of the adopted approach. The idea of a 'control' environment to see if apparent displacement occurred without the impact of gentrification did not make sense for this type of research technique, it would be more appropriate in a statistical analysis.

Access

Access was initiated via a letter which informed the Chief Executive that a researcher would be visiting various departments in order to gain information on local housing markets and revitalisation processes in the borough in question . This approach adopted ostensibly for two reasons, first, gentrification is a potentially emotive and ambiguous term which might have closed more doors than it opened. Second, gentrification as a term and concept may have inspired a state of confusion on the part of the reader which may have necessitated further time-wasting explanation.

A number of boroughs had been approached initially and while a number refused to co-operate it was later perceived to be of little benefit that they were approached due to the later realisation that the elucidation of the research question was advanced relatively little by the local authority approach in general. Lack of co-operation from Kensington and Chelsea, more interestingly, was linked to a covert policy of gentrification by a member in that borough. Such processes were apparently continuing in code at committee meetings so as to remain invisible to the untutored eye.

Access and data availability were also key criteria for the targeting of Local Authority districts. Even if a sample of Greater London authorities had been used the achievement of data collection at each would be clearly tempered by the willingness of the authorities to take part. In the final analysis it was reasonable to assume that to establish Wandsworth's linkages with a process of displacement meant that willingness and availability of data were primary concerns.

Focus group meeting

A first meeting enabled the making of an in-depth presentation regarding what work had been done to date as well as providing a justification of why the borough had been selected. The good will and interest expressed by the various directorates (specifically housing, planning, environmental health and policy) meant that the research could continue with two main identifiable stages; first, a set of interviews with the head of each directorate and personnel who had relevant expertise in our field. Second, the extraction of data relating to an identification of location and extent of gentrification and displacement across the borough.

This meeting also had the advantage of economy of scale given that officers relevant to the project were appraised of the aims and objectives of the research in one go allowing them to confer and discuss the project with us before data extraction proper began. It also allowed the officers to make inputs and contribute to the identification of further data resources and give their own views on what data would be valuable to the project.

Stage two involved secondary meetings with each directorate's head of service and those officers who had direct field experience to gain a more in-depth assessment of their role and the information already available from them which, albeit not designed for the specific purpose, did monitor the existence of gentrification and displacement. In addition to interviews with individual housing officers, two interviews were held

with the Deputy Director and Director of Housing to obtain the fullest possible picture of the involvement of the housing department together with any personal views and opinions which might have had on the nature of the work. After this an approach was made to the rent officer for Wandsworth and, under the auspices of the housing department, Housing Aid Centre personnel were interviewed.

This approach provided an in-depth and clear exposition of the interrelationships in and between departments particularly in relation to their role in monitoring processes which could offer insights into gentrification and displacement. The results of this aspect of the research is presented and evaluated in chapter nine.

The selection of the case study areas: The case study as sample?

Although the selection of an area for study was not arbitrary the idea that it was in some way 'typical' is misleading because it is clear that the selection of areas because they exemplify the characteristics of gentrification may indeed lead to atypical cases being selected. Indeed, it is this very atypical or unique quality that has been sought in the selection of the case study area. As discussed later, the nature of such research when placed in the context of inferential comments and comparisons, may become problematic because of this atypical viewpoint.

Mention has been made of the difficulty in asserting the discreteness of a case study area. This problem can also be expanded in another dimension, over time, which complicates the issue even further. Use had been made of the 1981 and 1991 census data in order to account for the location of gentrification, the extension of this knowledge via the use of the LS clearly did not extend that time period for analysis. For the purpose of the case studies it was seen as realistic to be searching for evidence, in whatever form, from the beginning of the eighties to the present day. This narrowed down the search for documentary evidence but it was clear that a general fuzziness of the coverage of the data would have to be accepted.

3. Tenants, squatters and the 'Big Issue'

The final stage of the research involved approaches to a series of organisations closely linked to those groups and individuals who might most readily be viewed as either displacees or exhibited the potential to be displacees. This necessarily focused the work on the private renter for whom security of tenure is a contentious issue. Balchin (1995) has noted that rents have always *increased* and never declined in relation to inflation. The squeeze from both landlord, and market, coupled with the diminishing size of the rented sector, has made involuntary moves from the rented sector inevitable but the legitimacy of such changes varies according to some measure of need or level of expediency. Gentrification provides the least legitimate mechanism for involuntary moves to be made either from the rented or owner occupied sector.

It has already been argued that private tenants are most vulnerable and are commodified by the 'natural' mechanism of the market which may then translate into homelessness or forced migration depending on their ability to pay. The housing rights of these groups are therefore open to consumption by those who have power i.e. the landlord. It is the landlord who acts as gatekeeper and the ever increasing levels of deregulation and ease of eviction by non-renewal of tenancy agreements can make the removal of unwanted tenants or the desire to realise market maximisation a velvet gloved process where harassment is no longer needed, only the non-renewal of tenancy agreements.

The market is set at a level where, rather than supply and demand meshing in some way, landlords will extract as much money from as they believe possible. The envisaged possibility that other groups may pay more for the same property is exactly the kind of pressure that translates this maximum extraction of revenues into the desire to evict or price out current tenants, especially when combined with a less regulated rented sector.

This clearly demands that the focus of the final stages of the research was on private renters. The nature of tenure insecurity for these groups exposes them to such 'market abuse' but it must also be remembered that it is not merely the renter who feels a 'push' from gentrification. Those that argue that gentrification is a beneficial force for the homeowner often forget that the benefits that accrue to the owner of higher house values means nothing if the owner does not want to move. This may often be because family/friends/job are close by and dependency on these factors increases as income diminishes since they form ways of maximising living standards and support networks (O'Malley, 1970).

Squatter Groups

A less successful route was taken which used a set of 'underground' sources involving telephoning squatter groups and contacting squatter activists. This was largely unsuccessful because those that were talked to were not directly aware of a linkage between the processes of gentrification and the decision to squat out of necessity even though they were keen to help as far as possible.

Prior to the case study areas it had been deemed desirable that some initial interviews be conducted with 'displacees'. Originally this had taken the form of a primary goal but the realisation of the difficulty with which such contact could be obtained tempered this objective. Any approach to these groups is going to be difficult and a potentially sensitive subject open to suspicion of intent regarding the true purpose of the data. However, even these issues would have been more desirable obstacles than the initial one of simply finding displacees in the first place. This stems from a number of reasons. First, displacees may not identify themselves as such by virtue of not knowing why they were moved or not seeing the causal linkages between wider networks of social change and their own misfortune.

Ultimately it was decided that an advert would be placed in the Big Issue magazine - one with long-standing associations with the homeless and surrounding issues. The

advert elicited two responses, neither of them suitable for interview. While initially disappointing the low response rate could be accounted for by a number of reasons. It is perhaps worth bearing in mind the remarks of Moore (1996) who sought to follow-up a survey that had been done in Liverpool in 1978 who also had problems with obtaining interviewees;

“There is evidence to be gathered in a wide range of social situations that in Liverpool people are becoming weary of being the objects of research by academics, local authorities and consultants. They have answered questions for years but nothing changes” (Moore, 1996)

The two respondents consisted of a professional who had been asked to leave rented accommodation early and a young female harassed by an alcoholic landlady into leaving early to gain possession in order to sell. Both of these cases occurred in areas not readily associated with gentrification. In light of the theoretical possibility that gentrification occurs, in the first instance, at an individual level it could be argued that the two respondents showed the potential to be displaced but this conclusion could not be drawn because of the respondents inability to account for what happened to the property after they had left, a problem that had not initially been envisaged in the research design.

At a more practical level the readership may not have experienced displacement, phrased in this way, may not have been inclined to read the classifieds, or, most importantly, would not or could not make contact for whatever reason. Such simple reasons probably account for the low response given that the Big Issue seemed the most appropriate point of contact and given its circulation of roughly 100,000.

While deference is less often accorded social researchers than used to be the case a combination of “research fatigue” (Moore, 1996) and the inability to change events through talking to researchers may mean that access to groups is constrained. The exploratory research which had aimed to get a qualitative view of displacement from displaced themselves had been unsuccessful so it was deemed important to frame subsequent research on those groups which represented, rather than were themselves,

displacees. Sensitivity to confidentiality meant that it would be unlikely that interviews with displacees could be set up via these organisations.

The Private Tenants Rights Projects

While an effort was made to extract data that related to an in-depth assessment of gentrification and displacement in a specific locale it was soon recognised that a number of sources of evidence existed at a number of levels that overarched the specific area yet impinged, or threw more light upon, the particular area under question. The main aims then in dealing with these groups was to try and identify the main features of the process of displacement from second-hand advice on the matter from practitioners who had contact with displacees

It was not possible to produce a directly repeatable set of questions which would elicit the desired information, instead a number of key themes were identified which could be repeated in relation to a semi-structured set of interviews. This would enable us to tailor the questions to the individual and the situation. It was also envisaged that the nature of the post-holders being interviewed meant that they would have enough information to allow them to run on with their answers so it was important to set neither too restrictive an agenda nor too closed a set of questions.

The information that the tenants rights workers identified as being would be crucial in determining other unconsidered avenues. It was anticipated that this might take the form of the agenda that the agency was working on in addition to the perceived agendas that other organisations such as the local authority and landlords were working toward.

Approaches were made to the private tenant's rights projects in Kensington, Hammersmith, Brent, the Camden Federation of Private Tenants and the Barnsbury Peoples Forum. All of these groups held valuable information relating to the problems of private tenants in those areas and all had been set up because of the many problems

being faced by tenants in those areas. This made them the ultimate source for material relating to harassment and eviction and the potential for rights workers to be able to fill in a wider picture on the causes of such problems.

The Interviews

At the most basic level the intention of the interviews was to gain a greater working knowledge of the gentrification and displacement processes, in so far as they could be shown to be active and ongoing. Clearly wider generalisations were anticipated on the basis of the results. A brief summary of the interview themes is described below. They are related as themes rather than as direct questions since a rigid format to the interviews was seen as being too restrictive and potentially inhibiting fruitful and new avenues.

Gentrification

Where had the gentrification occurred and in which tenures? Who were the gentrifiers? Was the local authority involved? What factors were contributing to its progress? Were developers and other private agents involved?

Displacement

Who and how many people were displaced? In which areas was displacement occurring and what characterised these areas? Where did displacees end up/go to and in what kind of state? Have any particular cases of harassment/eviction or housing rights highlighted the existence of this problem in the borough?

General questions

Was there any form of MP or councillor involvement i.e. was there any political capital to be made out of these situations? Was the process explicitly evident as an agenda in the borough's policy relating to housing affordability and provision? Were

there any wider borne by the borough, the people and a community in general? Were there any wider effects in terms of crime or a loss of community? Was there a relationship between gentrification and homelessness? What was the role of planning with regard to these problems?

All of these questions overlapped with assertions made about the process in the US and in relation to the earlier hypotheses. Their aim was to ascertain whether the previous methodologies had succeeded in their ability to identify gentrification and displacement and to gain a greater insight into the ways in which people were displaced, why and where they moved to. To examine the relationship between the process labelled as gentrification and one labelled displacement. Transcripts of the interviews are provided in appendix E.

Conclusion

To recap, having considered the methodological implications of both the selection process and the use of case studies themselves it was possible to identify distinctive conceptual areas within the boroughs which could be targeted for the extraction of data. The targeted data holders were a local authority and tenants rights projects. The results of the grounded research are now presented.

Chapter Nine - Uncovering the invisible

Introduction

The results are presented in two stages, first, of data collected at Wandsworth and then to the interviews with the tenant's rights workers. The predominant aim of the case study, was as stated, to gain an understanding of the process of displacement. It was also of interest to explore the extent to which the previous strands of the research could be informed and/or corroborated by this last stage. The characterisation of gentrification remained a key aim in the final research, especially since displacement was viewed as a process contingent upon gentrification albeit that the chronology of these occurrences has been described in a way which breaks with past ideas about the process earlier in chapters four and five.

1. The local authority

Introduction

From the census data it was clear that Wandsworth was the borough showing most evidence of gentrification over the decade 1981 to 1991. Twenty out of twenty one wards had shown increases in the number of professionals and managers in excess of the city mean (see table 9.1). The extent of gentrification makes it clearly an atypical example but it is argued that employing an extensive example of gentrification would facilitate an examination of displacement in greater depth. Such reasoning was based on the conjecture that, if displacement was a relatively infrequent or small scale phenomenon, a higher level would be needed to facilitate effective monitoring i.e. high levels of gentrification would be expected to lead to higher levels of displacement.

The table clearly indicates that, particularly for the working classes, the elderly and renting households, the decade in Wandsworth was one of profound changes. While it is not possible to attribute the process of displacement to the figures, curiosity as to the reasons for such extensive changes is necessary in order for such a thesis to be put to rest. In the event it was clear that at least some of these changes were, in fact, due to displacement, this is both logical and plausible but the exact nature of these changes is more problematic as will be seen. The variations in change across the borough are clearly to be related to contingent and contextual differences which may need more in-depth and separate consideration.

Table 9.1: Showing the percentage point changes by ward for Wandsworth over the decade 1981-1991

WARD	Prof	Ethnic	Elderly	Rent	Unskld	WC	UB40	LPar
BALHAM	12.6	-4.6	-4.8	-9.3	-2.9	-13.0	8.7	1.5
BEDFORD	8.9	-4.7	-3.1	-12.9	-1.7	-12.4	9.5	2.0
EARLSFIELD	13.6	-2.4	-4.6	-7.8	-4.1	-10.1	11.2	2.3
EAST PUTNEY	9.8	0.6	0.6	-3.6	1.2	-16.0	7.5	0.9
FAIRFIELD	11.2	-2.3	-3.6	-8.7	-3.3	-12.7	9.4	1.8
FURZEDOWN	5.7	2.5	-2.4	-2.9	-1.1	-13.2	11.3	1.7
GRAVENY	12.7	1.7	-3.7	-3.2	-0.4	-15.6	13.7	2.6
LATCHMERE	8.1	-1.4	0.4	2.4	-4.4	-13.2	16.3	5.7
NIGHTINGALE	13.7	-5.8	-3.1	-11.7	-1.2	-16.0	7.6	2.2
NORTHCOTE	11.4	-3.4	-5.4	-10.3	-4.3	-13.3	7.3	0.4
PARKSIDE	11.7	0.3	1.7	1.2	-0.1	-15.7	9.2	1.7
QUEENSTOWN	8.2	0.3	-3.5	-7.7	1.5	-14.5	14.4	5.0
ROEHAMPTON	0.4	1.0	3.5	1.5	2.1	-10.9	13.2	4.5
ST.JOHN	18.3	-3.5	-5.0	0.7	-6.8	-17.8	11.9	5.6
ST.MARY'S PARK	14.1	-0.5	-3.8	1.2	-2.2	-16.3	12.0	2.7
SHAFTESBURY	13.3	-2.6	-3.0	-6.7	-3.5	-17.0	9.9	0.9
SOUTHFIELD	10.2	-0.5	-5.2	-6.7	-1.9	-17.1	7.7	2.1
SPRINGFIELD	10.8	1.5	-5.7	-8.5	-1.8	-14.1	6.9	1.8
THAMESFIELD	10.2	0.2	-5.1	-10.1	-0.9	-13.0	6.2	0.6
TOOTING	10.2	-1.2	-3.1	-2.0	-0.5	-14.4	13.2	2.7
WEST HILL	10.5	1.4	1.0	0.8	-1.3	-15.3	9.3	3.5
WEST PUTNEY	9.1	1.2	-0.4	-0.5	-1.0	-12.1	7.7	2.0

It is perhaps helpful to put the case study borough in context. Wandsworth has been under Conservative control since 1979 having been something of a Labour stronghold in the past. It is now seen as something of a flagship borough in a metropolis predominated by Labour local governance. It appears that political control has been wrested from traditionally working class areas through right to buy (RTB) policies a unique vacant sales policy (wherein void authority housing is sold off when vacant) and the transfer of property into the hands of professionals who have shown an as yet unsatisfied demand for property in the area as, see below. Wandsworth has had strong associations with Westminster because of its political affiliation, as two islands of blue in a local authority sea of red, and the fact that both boroughs have been the subject of district auditors reports on the allocation of housing.

Although RTB has been highly successful in Wandsworth it is without doubt that other factors have contributed to the gentrification of the area - the phenomenon is as much a social as political evolution. The location of Wandsworth, on the Thames and close to central London, has equally influenced the direction of housing changes over the past thirty years. Its geography means that Wandsworth is well served by both mainline and tube networks which make the central city easily accessible.

Areas like Battersea have been transformed from run-down working class and council housed areas into one of the most sought-after locations, bar Clapham Common itself. The London 'Flat and House Hunter's Guide' (Ross and Ross, 1973) noted at that time that its disadvantages included its heavy industries, its dereliction, the absence of a tube stop and, notably, the many council housing projects. They also prophetically note that the area was becoming an owner occupied area;

'Battersea does not hold much for rent-a-flat families, except for the big blocks on Prince of Wales Drive, and many of these may soon be for sale, rather than for rent' (Ross and Ross, 1973)

The transformation of Battersea was later evidenced by Munt (1987) who examined the former Shuttleworth GIA (in Battersea) as a paradigmatic example of gentrification.

The 'natural' attraction of Wandsworth, or, the birth of Cla'm and Battersea'er

Overheard at a cocktail party:

'Where are you living now?'

'Wimbledon'

'Oh, on the common?'

'Well, not right on it, but near it'

Silence (Ross and Ross, 1973:261)

Wandsworth has a number of geographical and 'natural' locational features which make it a gentrifiers paradise - that is, the higher social groups have found themselves taking on the role of gentrifier in buying property in many of the previously working class and council owned areas. There has not been any monitoring of the resale of RTB properties in the borough although it is more than likely that the boom in property prices and the popularity of the area has meant that many new owners of street properties 'cashed in' the enhanced equity in their property. Indeed, council reports indicate that the stability of property prices in the areas due to its popularity mean that levels of negative equity are much lower than other areas in London.

A wealth of information supporting the existence of gentrification in Wandsworth was found from the rent officer. There are a number of relatively obvious 'attractions' to living within the borough such as the large amounts of green space¹, the river, the transport links (District line, Northern Line, main line to Victoria and Waterloo, and from there to the City on the one stop Waterloo and City line) and the architectural merit of many of the areas (reflected in the emergence of 42 conservation areas) which make it a logical choice for the better-off London worker.

In addition to these features a number of socio-political factors also contributed to the timing and attraction of professionals to the area. The zero poll tax, now a low council tax, has meant that moves to the area make sense in relation to other central boroughs like Lambeth which have some of the highest rates in London. Interestingly this particular factor means that the south of Clapham Common, which is actually in

¹Wandsworth has over 650 hectares of green space including Wandsworth Common, Tooting Graveney and Tooting Bec Commons, Battersea Park and parts of Clapham Common

Lambeth, has seen far less extensive activity even though its location is almost unrivalled. In the eighties estate agents, which became a staple industry in the area, would advertise properties with 'Wandsworth rates'. Similarly an officer in Environmental Health noted that agents had also advertised the existence of attractive levels of renovation grant aid for various properties at times when earlier legislation made state aid more widely available.

The marketing of certain enclaves by agents in Wandsworth was also enabled by the use of "created areas" such as 'Wandsworth Village', previously non-existent, in an attempt to suggest a pastoral and homely feel, and often with great success in terms of the upward social profile of those locations. In the eighties purchasing power entering the borough resided with the relatively young. In consequence the area did not change dramatically until the environment adapted to their lifestyle given that since their recreation and work was often both in the central city and the City of London. Places like Cafe Rouge, for example, effectively brought the market with them, thereby creating an infrastructure enabling the gentrification of the area.

Wandsworth has also been influenced by popular and established areas north of the river. A rent officer argued that Fulham Road market prices could be used as a good barometer of prices in Putney, Battersea and Chelsea. Battersea has long been associated with the overspill from Chelsea who found the latter too expensive or could not enter the housing market there because of the high prices. In addition to the popularity of those areas the fringes of Wandsworth, particularly areas such as Putney, have a value related to the travelcard system in which a substantial amount of money can be saved annually by crossing the river on foot in order to enter the London Transport Zone 2.

It is the case that the gentrification of Wandsworth has been the subject of a number of internal and external factors which have coincided and have, in the aggregate, given rise to a significant restructuring and almost total transformation over the past twenty years. Any continuation of the trend appears unlikely to proceed much further because of the attainment of a saturation point in terms of the gentrification of almost all of the

property that would be considered to be suitable for such groups. Although there is still a high demand for property in the area and prices remain buoyant patterns are less remarkable than the late eighties.

The role of the borough

There are a number of factors that warrant scrutiny with regard to the borough's potential role - latent and manifest - in the gentrification of the area. While it was never the aim to identify any intentionality on the part of the borough in the process of gentrification, there are a number of central and local government initiatives which warrant further consideration inspection and in relation to provision for housing need in the area.

Of course, herein lies one of the critical dilemmas which results from contact with an institution which has a political basis for its actions and dealing with a subject like gentrification which has been given a distinctly political bent in recent years after the Westminster scandal. To talk of 'gentrification', particularly in the post-Westminster era, is a potentially misleading and negotiable concept open to misappropriation and misinterpretation. It is also necessary to make a distinction between the authority as a political entity guided by its members and that of an operational bureaucracy which maintains and regulates a number of activities in an impartial capacity. It is not our remit here to provide speculation as to the 'black box' workings of political machinery behind the scenes.

Right to buy in Wandsworth

Roughly half of the boroughs 40,000 dwellings have been sold since the policy of RTB took effect. In many ways the RTB is dependent upon a positive response by its target population, renters from the council, and the use of discounts is a critical means of determining overall levels of take up. With regard to Wandsworth it appears to be a common assumption, particularly in the press, that right to buy policy has had the

effect gentrifying areas and that an owner rather than a renter or council house dweller will be more likely to be a conservative voter. The housing director was asked his view on this proposition, while supporting the commonly held view he confirmed the inadequacy of such a simplistic analysis;

“There is the assumption, that I have never understood in quite a lot of politicians minds, that an owner occupier is necessarily a conservative voter. There is no proof to establish that - I don't think these things are simple”

However, in the minds of the press, and the then parliamentary opposition, the association between the privatisation of the housing stock and political change was unequivocal. In a piece which discussed the prospects of two councillors in the local elections of 1992;

“Both [Labour councillors] argue that gentrification has slowed and will therefore load the dice against them less than it did in 1987. Cox [a Labour councillor] believes that the Tories cannot count on the yuppie vote. Rising unemployment and the moribund property market have left them ‘very, very bitter’”²

In the event this was not borne out by the election which saw a Conservative candidate returned in Battersea.

Certainly the political changes in Wandsworth appear to be chronologically, and persistently, related to the social changes in the borough. However, it is not possible to separate out the political desirability of increasing the “yuppie right-wing voters” from the locational factors that would have attracted them to that area regardless of any discretionary policies used by the borough (The borough has witnessed increases by almost 80% of those aged 25-29 while those between 55 and 74 fell by over 25%). It is almost certainly the case that previously traditional working class areas *do* seem to have had their majorities undermined by the influx of professionals and by the new home owner council tenants. Whether such owners found it in their interest to ‘thank’ the Conservatives for right to buy or were worried that a Labour administration would shut down such sales are other possible rationales for such political behaviour.

² *Financial Times*, 8 April, 1992, Election 1992: Close battle in the land of zero poll tax, Davis Owen

Other apparent factors help to account for political changes which appeared to accompany other housing policies in the borough. Working class voters at that time were of the opinion that Labour would only put up taxes. There appeared to be a certain amount of alienation in such communities due to Labour's opposition to RTB and support of gays and ethnic minorities. Battersea was turned into a Conservative ward with a narrow majority in 1990 after 52 years in Labour hands. The borough as a whole has been Conservative run now for eighteen years. It may well be that RTB provided an element of security in areas like Tooting and Battersea which were seeing a huge influx of immigrant professionals at the time.

From an academic point of view, to equate RTB policy and processes with gentrification is to obfuscate the issue considerably. Gentrification in this context occurs when tenants who have bought their council home resell to those who have a higher social status. RTB could never have been used as an effective direct policy in itself to bring about the gentrification of an area by simply 'upgrading' council tenants. Rather, it appears that the expected *political*, rather than *social*, shifts produced by RTB *are* the underlying reason for considering it to be gentrification, that some form of political 'upgrading' has been achieved through the act of purchase and thereby implies a voting hierarchy - certainly the deferential working class vote would support this idea. This distinction is essential to an understanding of the political sensitivity of the subject.

In the final analysis gentrification's core lies in a transition of occupier rather than a change of tenure. Gentrification has also become strongly associated with gerrymandering since Westminster in 1994 and it may be difficult to shake this distortion of its meaning into a purely engineered political phenomenon. It is possible to argue that the availability of RTB in architecturally attractive and well located areas is an effective tool for gentrification (see also the debate that surrounded the availability of tenants right to buy of housing association property in rural areas) since tenants who buy in these areas may later find it attractive to sell and make a gain. While this may be seen as beneficial to the tenants the reduction in the supply of housing for those in need can be seen as *disbenefiting* other local residents and as an

opportunity cost in the form of exclusion from the locality and from housing provision where such need could be satisfied by the availability of council lets.

Speaking to some officers it emerged that the pattern of voting was geared to a calculated assessment on two levels of who was wanted in the picture locally and at Westminster. Locally the incentive of zero or very low local taxes was enough to encourage conservative voting in a wider spectrum of voters but at a national level residents in areas like Battersea were perceived to return to more left-wing roots. This studied affiliation to different parties for differing contexts is an interesting contradiction, though remains rational, based on perceived local and national interests.

In Bedford ward, a large private sector estate, the Hever estate, a shift had occurred from controlled tenancies to owner occupation and in Queenstown ward there was anecdotal evidence from officers that the resale of council properties sold under RTB had been sold on leading to gentrification in the area. Such patterns echo Murie's work (1991) which has examined such re-sales and their potential for being dubbed gentrification.

RTB has the potential to facilitate gentrification in two ways, first, through the resale of such property to higher occupational groups' and, second, via repossession and subsequent auctioned resale (a phenomenon which has yet to be quantified or commented upon in relation to gentrification). This latter process could be termed displacement, but not from gentrification per se, although gentrification would be likely to result if cheap properties were being auctioned in desirable areas of Wandsworth.

Estate Privatisation

The sale of estates to private property developers, who then sold the units on, largely to professionals, while tenants were decanted to other properties appears at first to be

a blatant form of displacement resulting from privatisation and a misuse of public resources. To what extent could these processes be explained in these terms?

This kind of activity had begun in the early eighties and was used to raise revenue from estates which had to be decanted to make way for repairs and asbestos removal but were sold rather than reoccupied by council tenants. When asked about any resentment that this may have caused it was argued that the estates were to be emptied anyway and that all tenants were re-housed. It is not possible to speculate on the degree to which community and kinship networks were harmed in this way although there is little evidence of resistance to the proposals at the time. The officer also pointed out that such sales would not occur today given that the housing market is less buoyant and there is limited demand from developers.

The sale of such assets has followed the diminution of the role of the public sector, schools, hospitals and so on. A hospital development for professionals was currently being proposed for example but such developments may be a drop in the ocean compared to the wider influx of professionals into the borough during the eighties yet they are of considerable size in themselves and create focused symbols of polarisation and separation from the surrounding community (Body-Gendrot, 1995).

The Priority Group Sales Scheme

Priority Group Sales Scheme (PGSS) was considered by officers to be unique to the borough and operated as an extension to the RTB policy as a means of opening up dwellings for purchase by borough residents where they fall vacant. In principle this means that if a family were living in a tower block and wanted to buy, not their own flat but a house, they could do so by signing up to a waiting list to do so. These 'natural vacancies' are used in fifty percent of cases to sell to such applicants with a discount. This policy had accounted for roughly forty percent of total sales of public properties in the borough (approximately 8,000).

It would seem that estate sales have altered the socio-economic composition of the borough and further hindered the availability of provision. Indeed, the reduction in the size of the public sector may have affected its ability to cope with housing need that was generated by such policies in the first place. When asked about the nature of PGSS and RTB schemes on the ability to cater for those in need the Director of Housing commented;

“I cannot deny that mathematically if you’ve got one less dwelling to let then you’ve got one less dwelling to let, but the counter to that argument; over the years the problem of homelessness has been no worse in this borough, in fact quite the opposite. Many boroughs haven’t the PGSS schemes. There appears to be no correlation between the problems of homelessness in inner London boroughs and here. But you can argue it many ways”

Of course, perceived levels of homelessness may be due to an outflow of residents to more ‘benevolent’ boroughs, but this is not open to verification here. The system of PGSS and RTB, although transforming the tenure structure of the area, could not be held to account for either direct gentrification due to a variety of mechanisms of control over allocation nor were they to be seen as examples of disbenefiting the local community. However, it is difficult to imagine that a smaller public housing stock will help in the borough’s ability to overcome housing need which itself is a product of tenure and social changes observed earlier.

Area action and private sector urban renewal

The grant regime used to be linked more directly to the gentrification of property than it is today. The crucial distinction in this sense is between pre-1990 and post-1990 systems because of the introduction of the means test at this time. Since to 1996 grants have been additionally restricted to the absolute poorest of households when mandatory entitlement to grants was abolished (by reference to the fitness standard) in an attempt to ensure that reduced resources could be spread further by discretionary approval.

A key dimension of rehabilitation activity has been area programmes developed to concentrate grant spending in key areas of structural and social poverty; General Improvement Areas (GIA's), Housing Action Areas (HAA's) and, currently, Renewal Areas (RA's). Under the latest regime (post 1990) no RA's have been declared and no plans to do so were being considered (in fact only one London borough, Newham, has any RA's, three to date). Housing strategy statements indicate that earlier area action alleviated poor property conditions to the extent that area action was neither required nor possible through the current RA criteria.

It would appear that both grant and area activity had ceased to be prime factors in the gentrification of property because of the means testing of grants, a break from mandatory entitlement as a consequence of a revised fitness standard and the inability to fulfil renewal area criteria. Prior to this, however, a different picture emerges. The link between grants and gentrification has been noted (Hamnett, 1973, McCarthy, 1974) through an association with the movement of property into owner occupation from renting and the displacement of tenants through the greater marketability of such property after renovation. One could argue that one of the key questions regarding urban renewal is how to avoid attracting gentrification or re-sale if projects are successful.

The significance of area-based housing grant spending is in its ability to create what Chambers has called "state facilitated tenure change" (Chambers, 1988) via a process of tenure conversion, from renting to owning, and this was supported via the examination of housing committee reports (see later). Clearly in such circumstances it is unlikely that previous residents will be able to remain when this occurs suggesting that displacement may result from area action and that this may in turn lead to gentrification. It would therefore be inaccurate to suggest that gentrification *causes* displacement in these cases and yet area action may act as a displacement motor prior to gentrification as the opportunity to 'upgrade' becomes apparent.

Committee reports were examined relating to the assessment and closure of a number of GIA's and HAA's in the borough and found that a regular outcome had been the;

“considerable evidence of a return of private sector investment in this area and property prices are climbing markedly”³

Although the increase in property prices might appear to demonstrate the success of area action this will inevitably create a pressure in rented areas due to the greater market returns that an improved environment brings. Indeed, landlord’s contributions, since 1990, have been based on the increased rental return they will be able to obtain after renovation is complete. It is more than likely that increased rents and the decision to move will accompany such initiatives.

Over the period of 1981 to 1991 the number of professionals in the ward encompassing the Shuttleworth Road GIA rose by 14.1 percentage points (i.e. the second most ‘gentrified ward in Wandsworth). In the GIA owner occupation increased doubled from 94 to 170 units while renting dropped by exactly the same number from 187 to 111 units. To suggest that displacement was not a corollary of this activity would perhaps be untenable. By comparison on the completion of the Cloudesdale and Penwith Road HAA’s tenure changes had led to an increase in owner occupation by 100 units (from 330 to 430) while renting dropped by 54 units (from 282 to 226)⁴ housing association units went up by 51 (95-146).

In the context of the above one should remember that one of the stated aims of an HAA was to ‘keep the community intact as far as possible’ i.e. to secure improvement for the persons for the time being resident. In the Kimber Road HAA the then Chief Environmental Services Officer wrote;

“What has been achieved is the reverse of the decline and a restoration of confidence in the future of the area as is demonstrated by the increasing level of owner occupation and the return of private sector investment. All of this has been brought about without the destruction of the community and with the full participation of local people”⁵

³Housing Improvement Sub-Committee, Report by Chief Environmental Services Officer on Shuttleworth Road GIA SW11 (St Marys Park), the Fountain Road GIA SW17 (Tooting) and the Alston Road GIA SW17 (Tooting), 21st May 1984.

⁴Report of the Joint Cloudesdale Road HAA and Penwith Road HAA Steering Panel, 11th December 1989.

⁵Report by the Chief Environmental Services Officer upon the future status of the Kimber Road HAA SW18 (Earlsfield), Housing Improvement Sub-committee, 21st May 1984

Maybe the local people were the owner occupiers and landlords, for later in the report the number of such units are reported to have risen by 39 from 108 to 147 while the number rented privately dropped by 36 from 165 to 129. Indeed, Earlsfield, where the HAA was located was the third highest gentrifying ward. It is odd that tenure changes were not investigated further or that they were not viewed as threatening the community in any way. Certainly increased ownership was viewed as positive. In addition 118 statutory notices were served leading to conversion. One might surmise that this would have similarly entailed the removal of those persons resident at that time.

An attached note to the Housing Improvement Sub-Committee of 29th October 1984 reveals that the Fountainhead GIA in Tooting had also, by now characteristically, shown increases of owner occupation of more than double (91 to 215 units) and losses of private renting by 185 units (from 371 to 177) over a thirteen year period of activity. The project leader of the Lower Earlsfield HAA noted with regret that;

“unfortunately for various reasons as is the normal trend with movement of residents over a period of time, the number of resident members has diminished”⁶

It is unfortunate that more comments are not made about this tantalising remark but it is arguable that a proportion of this diminution was due to the displacement of renting tenants. Interestingly the gains to owner occupation in the area, by 21%, are attributed to ‘prevailing trends’ in the borough;

“Although Wandsworth now has the highest proportion of owner-occupation in Inner London, the level is still well below the average of 69% for outer London and is unlikely to reach saturation point at least until this level is achieved”⁷

However, the re-housing of local people was sought via the nomination rights to the housing association which had renovated units there. Re-housing may thereby have been used for those displaced by the area action in the first place.

⁶Final Report by the Project Leader upon the progress made in the Lower Earlsfield HAA, 17th September, 1991

⁷Wandsworth Borough Council Housing Strategy, 1997/98

The last General Improvement Area ended in 1989 and such area action will not have occurred since, as noted earlier. Officers recounted how before that date grants had been advertised by estate agents for those who purchased properties in Housing Action Areas when 90% improvement grants had been available in some cases. Officers argued that the council's general policy had been to encourage owner occupation, a policy that the borough had believed to be right, a view echoed from within the housing department. One officer jokingly suggested that "whereas Westminster had tried to turn certain wards blue, Wandsworth had tried to turn the whole borough blue", a clear indication that the desirability of owner occupation was not a neutral policy but was one based upon a perceived link between ownership and political survival.

A host of discretionary policies were used to enable the wider targeting of owner occupier grants such as Grant Priority Areas, Special Activity Areas and Publicity Areas in which non-statutory initiatives were used for targeting grants. Of course as less funds have been available such projects have been shelved. Although under the 1989 Local Government and Housing Act the Tooting Project had been used to target grants in that area and to encourage commercial confidence.

Officers were then asked if they thought that the regime subsequent to the 1989 act had driven out tenants through rent increases, since the landlord's contribution is based upon the market rent increase he will be able to obtain from tenants. When the rent levels are low rental increases are relatively large after the application of a grant since a larger rent can be charged from an improvement in a property which was previously below a 'market' rent. In these cases the grant given is low because the landlord can generate their contribution more easily through the rent increases. In the reverse situation a high quality and expensive rented property would have more difficulty charging higher than the market rents that are already being asked for - perversely this can mean that the landlord will receive a low or nil grant. While it may thereby appear that an unfair burden may fall on the low income tenant the borough employ an officer's discretionary definition of market rates in order to help balance

these two extreme situations leading to their belief that tenants should not be pushed out of property through rent rises due to grant activity.

It is possible to conclude that the contribution of grant activity to a process of gentrification or displacement is now over but suggest that the unintended process of tenure conversion in renewal areas will have historically displaced a number of tenants. It is perhaps surprising that more monitoring of this outcome was not undertaken - it may be that environmental improvements were considered more important at that time. It may also be suggested that a perceived transience in the rental sector may have been held to explain those tenure changes, rather than a landlords desire to 'cash in'. Whether renters are considered to be a part of the community is perhaps another question.

Conversion of HMOs: Policy and quantity

Houses in Multiple Occupation have recently been perceived to be a valuable segment of the rental market (LPAC, 1994), offering cheap accommodation for those on low incomes or living on their own. Because of this many authorities have taken on policies reflecting this need, however, it was suggested that the council had "stood back" on the issue of HMO conversion. This was echoed by Environmental Health and housing were keen to stress that the borough had promoted quality in this area rather than choosing to directly regulate it.

From 1991 census data LPAC showed there to be 3,939 HMO spaces in Wandsworth. However, in allowing for under-enumeration, estimates showed that Wandsworth had 6,965 HMO spaces and that 17% of private rented sector households were contained in HMOs. Wandsworth was in the top eight London boroughs in terms of households spaces in HMOs. This form of accommodation is important because of its contribution to affordable housing in an area and also because of its frequent loss by conversion into self-contained or smaller units. Arriving at a figure for the loss of

HMOs via the census is not possible because of definitional changes and planning did not keep figures specifically in this area.

It seems therefore that there have been losses to HMOs and the rented sector in general but also conversion of houses into flats so that both displacement of some kind and re-housing/new provision seem to have been related outcomes of the market changes in the eighties. It is possible that HMO dwellers have been re-housed via the conversions into smaller flats in other areas. On the other hand, the existence of conversion restraint areas, often in conservation areas, would appear to indicate that this form of conversion was often carried out in order to maximise returns by selling two flats instead of one house or to increase rental returns on these units.

The house condition survey of 1984/5 observed that the increase in private sector households resulting from RTB, new build and conversions into flats of large houses had;

“in part, contributed to a decrease in the number of households in private rented accommodation, particularly among the elderly and single non-pensioners. The number of houses in multiple occupation and bedsits has decreased markedly, many having been converted to owner-occupied flats” (HCS:15)

While tenanted property still remained relatively high in some wards at this time it was observed that;

“in Latchmere where, in 1981, almost 90% of the private sector were tenants but, by the time of the survey, the proportion had fallen to 14%” (HCS:15)

In addition census data showed that 3% of families were concealed⁸ a situation defined as “any family in a multi-family household which does not contain the head of household”. In 1991 this amounted to 1,800 households. There were also 4,500 households sharing an arrangement frequently attributed to an inability to afford their own accommodation. These measures provide us with the temptation to suggest that

⁸Work and Families: Information from the Local Base Statistics, Technical Services Department, Wandsworth Borough Council, no date

apparent housing need is being dampened by its concealment in these kinds of situation. Whether this is due to gentrification is debatable.

The LPAC survey on HMOs also examined the impact of renovation on HMOs in relation to the displacement of tenants. The positive aspects to such development may be undermined where losses occur in this dwelling type;

“Overall, three-quarters of the sample would retain the same number of households; only 10% of properties would lose more than one household” (LPAC, 1994:19)

In relation to conversion activity (later shown to be a key factor in relation to displacement via the tenant’s rights workers) the study concluded that;

“conversion into self-contained dwellings will usually result in a substantial loss of household spaces, with detriment not only to the displaced occupiers but also to local shops and businesses who will probably lose trade” (op cit:38) and that;

“there is increasing concern over any further loss, resulting as it does in a reduction in cheap rented housing for low-income households and even homelessness” (op cit:7)

The issue of flats, conversions and HMOs is tricky - the 1993 house condition survey (HCS) observed that flats made up just under 60% of the housing stock and that, of these, just under half were conversions (HCS:5). It would appear, in conclusion, that while conversion activity has increased the stock there has been a loss of HMO-type accommodation required by the affordable rented sector. By the 1993 HCS only 2,741 units were HMOs (usually an under-estimate due to the notorious difficulty of getting accurate figures) out of a total of 91,891 dwellings which would suggest a continuation in the decline of this sector even if sampling error is taken into account. The application of these factors is important to an understanding of the areas covered in interviews with the private tenants rights workers in north London, particularly in boroughs like Kensington.

Conversion activity

One of the key roles in which planning might find itself in with regard to gentrification, and displacement, would be through conversion activity; in particular, from multi-occupied to self-contained or single use dwellings. A housing committee report from June 1996 noted that “Planning permission for conversion tends to be refused in cases incurring the loss of a small family home”⁹. While a large number of new dwellings had been provided through conversion this had now slackened off and was believed to be because of the strengthening of policies to protect small family housing and the slowing of the property market.

The role of conservation areas as part of the gentrification process has never been ascertained yet it was clear that the architectural merit of the areas was an important factor. Certainly there was a significant degree of overlap between wards containing conservation areas and the gentrified wards identified in the earlier census analysis. It is reasonable to suppose that this will have been due to the attractiveness of the properties involved both for gentrification and the awarding of conservation area status. Certain grants were available to owners of property in these areas but it would be difficult to argue that this would be a direct inducement to move into the area. It may be that, on the contrary, the burden of responsibility for maintenance in these areas would perform the function of a push factor *away* from the area.

The majority of conversion activity has been from houses into smaller flats. This has boosted the number of units in Wandsworth by 2,382 (between 1986 and 1995) over the course of 1,591 schemes¹⁰. This represents a significant factor by which new units have been created which counteract the apparent loss of HMO spaces. It is likely, however, that these units were more expensive than the lost HMO accommodation so that the affordable rented sector has been squeezed over the period.

The question was posed as to whether any political considerations were taken into account in the decision to convert larger properties into smaller units, such as

⁹Report by the Chief Executive and Director of Administration on the assessment of housing need in Wandsworth, Housing Committee, 13th June, 1996

¹⁰Housing Land Report, Position Statement at 1st January 1996, Borough Planner’s Service.

hospitals since these must contribute large populations of relatively similar social groups in ward areas. Apparently there were no such considerations to be made, this was left to the boundaries commission, otherwise standard planning considerations on change of use were utilised.

In contrast to the view that conversion activity was unregulated the existence of conversion restraint areas (CRAs) showed that an effort was being made to control activity of this nature. The main reason for resistance to conversion was the epidemic of parking problems being witnessed in those areas where conversion activity had been high. Census maps produced by the borough also indicate a predominance of this activity in the conservation areas which suggests that profitability was increased by housing market pressures.

Over the borough, levels of owner occupation between 1981 and 1991 had increased from 35.5 % of the total stock to 53.5% while renting dropped from 24.1 to 19.2¹¹ (the inner London mean level of renting for 1991 was 20.2%). Projected trends indicate home ownership to reach 59% and private renting down to 17%¹². Projections, in the same document, for household type indicate a persistence in the trend of growing numbers of lone parents (+10.6%) and single persons (+6.1%) with an overall growth in households of 2.2%.

It is impossible to speculate on what has happened to the 3,600 households who were living in non-self-contained accommodation in 1981 but not in 1991. The reduction, from 8,600 to 5,000 would suggest that conversion activity had eroded the number of non-self-contained units and that this had a significant impact on affordability and provision. The Unitary Development Plan (UDP) interpreted this as 'improving in the standard of accommodation provided' and yet, while this is likely, it is similarly the case that people will have found such quality beyond their means. Gains may therefore have come at some cost.

¹¹Borough Profile and Ward Breakdowns (2nd ed.), Technical Services Department, Borough Planners Service, 1993

¹²Report by the Chief Executive and Director of Administration on the assessment of housing need in Wandsworth, Housing Committee, 13th June, 1996

Housing need in Wandsworth

Affordable housing is defined in the UDP as 'housing for sale at a price that can be afforded by local first-time buyers on low and middle incomes and workers in essential local services, as well as housing provided for rent and housing for special needs' (UDP:24) affordable housing yet was not a priority in terms of planned new build or in situations where large developments were being converted into new flats.

Average first time buyer prices in 1995 were the seventh highest in London while rents between 10 and 17% higher than the neighbouring boroughs of Lambeth, Merton, Croydon and Kingston depending on dwelling type - the greatest difference being for a one bedroomed property (based on the lower 50 percentile, used as an indication of affordable rents).

Wandsworth viewed affordable housing provision as essentially desirable but such an outcome was to be achieved through promotion rather than through more prescriptive measures. In terms of new build such a policy could clearly be viewed as being weakened by the strong market pressures on an area like Wandsworth to provide anything but affordable housing. It is unfortunate that, as with HMO policy, such a laissez faire approach had been adopted in a situation where it has been identified that need is often expressed in terms of demand for affordable housing, part of which shows up in the need for HMOs and part for first time buyer units, especially in an area like London.

Homelessness

Of 1,663 households presenting themselves as homeless in 1995/6, 61% gave a reason of intra-household dispute as the reason for their situation. The percentage had decreased from 70% in 1990. The number of households housed for that year was 787. It is not possible to say to what extent the sale of council housing has impaired

the authority's ability to cope with such need. Even more difficult is speculation concerning the degree to which homelessness was an outcome of gentrification activity in the borough as it appeared to be a relatively clear cause in areas like Camden and Kensington (see section two below).

While homelessness was strongly associated as an exit route for displacees at the Tenant's Rights organisations no such link was made at Wandsworth. There was no monitoring of such a process and it had not been seen as an identifiable process. There is always the possibility that such a process was showing up as homelessness but did not involve enough households to be an identifiable trend. Equally, issues of harassment or eviction may be due to perceived gentrification gains yet would only be identified as harassment rather than displacement which implies a wider understanding of housing histories.

Directly connected to the housing department was the Housing Aid Centre. In many ways this took on many of the roles of the private tenants rights projects found in other boroughs (see later) and was of direct interest because of their relationship with landlords via tenancy relations officers (TROs) and their detection of harassment cases.

Group meetings with officers working in this area highlighted harassment as a phenomenon stemming from the lower and worst end of the market or related to the search for vacant possession of property by lenders after mortgage default (now an apparently widespread phenomenon). Cases of harassment were also seen as being a product, in many cases, of landlord ignorance of the technicalities rather than as a desire to directly harass tenants. Such ignorance has been alluded to by authors working in this area of the law (Burrows and Hunter, 1991, and Jew, 1994).

Commenting on the general issue of gentrification in the borough one officer suggested that it had not been a gerrymandering issue, rather one of a desire to alter the composition of the whole borough, an opinion previously echoed by other officers.

TROs were unable to provide concrete evidence that gentrification per se was *the* causal factor which led to their being consulted.

The rent officer

The rent officer was interviewed to get a better understanding of gentrification in Wandsworth and to find out if he was aware of the ‘pricing out’ of residents in the borough over the past two decades (his local knowledge stretched this far). The rent officer acts as an impartial arbitrator in the establishment of fair rents (a market rent without scarcity), the fixing of subsidy for the borough on housing benefit claimants in the private sector and now advises the borough on changes in rent after a landlord has received a renovation grant (discussed earlier).

When asked if people had been priced out of the borough or their homes the officer replied that there were a number of factors to consider. First was that a natural rate of migration existed which might confuse consideration of the issue. Second, many buyers had become renters from 1989 onwards. This was because the quality of the rental market was perceived to have gone up. The officer believed that this process had priced people out of the market and/or excluded them since rent was linked to the mortgage rates and thereby the inflated prices of the late eighties.

Rents had been stable over more recent years but in the past it was believed that a number of people had been squeezed out of the market by company lettings. A point frequently alluded to by the tenants rights workers. When asked if people had been pushed out the officer observed that “Your conclusion will probably be yes, in *all* areas, not just renting”. This widespread acceptance of a process of price-induced displacement contradicts the apparent scarcity of data found elsewhere in the borough. Such prohibitively and displacing high prices can be attributed to two factors; first, the boom of the late eighties which appears to have lead to a certain amount of displacement and, second, the persistent interest in Wandsworth shown by young

professionals (although this slightly slackened as high prices have become established in some areas) which has kept prices high.

The officer drew a comparison between processes of community change in Wandsworth and similar processes in the small towns of northern France which have been impacted upon by second holiday home buyers. It is possible to conclude from the interview with the rent officer that displacement from price increases had occurred in Wandsworth over the past twenty years. The reasons for such increases cannot simply, however, be found in the professionalisation of the area although this was clearly a significant factor. The diminishing number of secure tenancies, the link between high rents and late eighties mortgages and gentrification, in combination, formed a difficult rental environment to survive in. The idea that being priced out was something that was happening in all tenures highlighted the idea that the costs of living in general were creating various forms of displacement

Conclusion

It was clear from the interviews and data collected within Wandsworth that an almost total restructuring of the borough had taken place based on a large influx of young professionals seeking easy access to the city in an area of low taxation, high levels of amenity provision and a quality environment. Political peculiarities to Wandsworth *and* a number of environmental factors clearly feed into a wider debate about the underlying reasons for the timing and location of gentrification.

Having examined the apparent reasons for gentrification in the area the attempt to find out if this had induced displacement was more problematic for two reasons. First, the authority did not recognise a process of displacement and, second, the forthcoming data required an interpretative process by which displacement could be established. This interpretation was also based on the background theory of the gentrification and displacement literature and the results of the census data. It was thereby believed that

the interpretation given was logical and that displacement could be judged to have occurred.

Displacement plays an insignificant role on the local authority's agenda. This may be for one of two reasons (a) displacement *is* an insignificant problem in relation to other needs which the local authority must cater for or (b) it *is* picked up, but in the form of a number of problems which are labelled without giving thought to wider causes for such problems. Issues such as harassment, bad landlords, eviction and apparently voluntary moves to other areas may be due to displacement but are not labelled in this way.

Cameron's (1992) term 'disbenefiting' may be used to refer to the nature of many of the policies directed at the privatisation of housing provision in the borough in which policy is not directed against certain groups yet, by its very nature, does nothing to help them or promotes other decisions which may benefit other groups. The director of housing made it clear, for example, that any welfare agenda would always be skewed toward provision for bigger problems in the first instance and that, further, there was no awareness on the part of the authority that displacement had occurred in the borough over the period. When asked if displacement was identified as an issue the director answered, "not as a tangible issue, unless someone goes out to measure it its not an issue". This highlights what is meant by the proposition that displacement only exists where it is labelled and thereby monitored as such.

The tenure changes from area action were potentially indicative of displacement since it was unlikely that this could be achieved without some form of displacement, whether it be buying out tenants, eviction or harassment. It is unlikely in the extreme that 100% increases in owner occupation occurred in the space of five years by 'natural' rates of migration or through sales to tenants alone.

The director of housing considered that;

"politicians tend to espouse a particular policy not realising that as you squeeze people it has an effect right across the board of tenures"

This remark highlights the greater impact of the tenure changes in the borough. What such effects might be is not clarified yet the large transfers of rented to owned property would suggest that negative impacts have been felt.

The loss of non-self-contained accommodation, transfers of tenure in area based renewal and large scale tenure transfers were considered to be the most likely observable indicators of displacement but would not in all cases be due to gentrification, even though, in many cases, gentrification was an outcome. That these issues did not show up in greater levels of housing need may temper the view that displacement had occurred and yet one should remember that Wandsworth is a discrete area and that movement over its borders by poorer groups is possible and likely, to cheaper adjacent areas like Lambeth or Merton.

2. The tenant's rights projects

Having examined a unitary area, Wandsworth, the interviewing of senior representatives at four agencies for private tenants took place; Kensington Private Tenants Rights Project, Hammersmith Private Tenants Rights Project, Camden Federation of Private Tenants and Brent Private Tenants Rights Project. Questions were also levelled at squatters groups, protesters and other 'dissenters' in order to get a rounded picture of the processes going on.

These organisations were more useful in facilitating a better understanding of the nature of displacement whereas the local authority had provided a more adequate picture of gentrification. This quite clearly stems from the 'location' of the organisations examined in relation to these processes. The *raison d'être* of these organisations stems from a need to deal with the high levels of problems that private tenants experience in inner London.

Transcripts for all of the interviews are provided in appendix E. The results of the interviews with the tenant's rights workers (TRWs) have been divided into three key areas;

- i) a closer examination of the subject of gentrification itself
- ii) the identification of reasons for displacement of tenants and what happens to displacees
- iii) the wider impacts of the gentrification process in terms of its costs and effects to areas where it has occurred

i) Gentrification

While displacement stemming from gentrification was the focal point of the research a number of additional points emerged from the interviews which had a bearing on both the previous census methodology and the conceptualisation of the process. The following key points emerged.

Locational factors are perhaps the most easily understood aspect to the gentrification process. In speaking to a number of estate agents in the north of Kensington it was quite clear that in addition to a cultural element surrounding the Portobello Road area factors such as the proximity of the central line tube were critical in allowing City workers looking for a 'fun area' to live in. In combination with the large bonuses paid to City workers properties were deemed easily affordable by an increasing number of such occupational groups who eagerly sought properties in the area. A particular boom was being experienced at the top end of the market, that is, in the million pound and above bracket.

Location is also clearly contingent on other factors such as price and availability so that some areas appear to become popular either when saturation of an area like Islington had taken place or the supply of cheap small flats had been exhausted. In Hammersmith the main factor appeared to be location and a number of other factors;

“It might also be the style of the properties as well, the architecture because I don't think that Fulham is wildly well served for public transport or anything like that...once you had got past the smaller properties of Islington going people, professionals classes, became interested in places like Hackney which would have been much cheaper but I think that they were starting to look to the Fulham area - and there was a lot of development on the river”

The reasons for gentrification appeared similar to those alluded to in the literature and at the local authority level. In an area like Kensington it was clear that a variety of fairly obvious locational factors accounted for the desirability of the area;

“your just around the corner from Harrods, just around the corner from the West End and the central line. Its Hyde park, posh hotels, posh restaurants, its Knightsbridge, Mayfair, all of those kind of things that you would sort of associate with people with huge pots of money. Its 'popping down to Harvey Nic's darling', you know its as simple as that.”

In Camden the market area clearly provided a focus for younger people who were now finding it more difficult, through price and availability, to find accommodation. This lack of available and affordable accommodation was having the, now familiar, effect

of leading people who wanted to be in Camden to look in neighbouring Kentish town and was increasing prices there. The youthful profile of people trying to enter the area led the TRW to make a distinction between gentrification and the 'trendification' of Camden.

In Kensington a fundamental distinction was apparent between the kind of gentrification found in the north compared to that of the south. This was phrased in the following terms;

“The north gentrifiers are the usual gentrifiers, middle classes and wanting to go into homeownership, places that are often not in terribly good condition, doing them up making them into luxurious type homes. There have been some moves of the sort of ‘Sloanes’ who have moved there as well, probably because this area has become even out of *their* reaches. The south has been gentrified...by people with absolutely ridiculous amounts of money, a lot of them are not British by birth, are not naturalised in this country at all, don't live here most of the time”

The absence of these groups during the best part of the year meant that they would be undetectable by the use of census data which may have accounted for the apparent lack of gentrification in the south of the borough when using this data.

It is clear that these groups have had as strong, if not a stronger, impact on the local housing market than the domestic gentrifier. What *is* clearly at issue is whether the class of gentrifiers is the main identifying factor for a process of gentrification. It may well be that gentrification is actually losing much of its class character. If this may seem academically unacceptable it should be noted that the breakdown of the linkage between higher classes and more wealth may mean that a process of gentrification is breaking down into one of 'incomisation', as the fundamental displacement dynamic. Where class still seems to refer to modes of consumption, money is cutting across class cleavages so that the class gentrification debate obfuscates the true underlying dynamic of the process.

Transport infrastructure may perhaps remain one of the most important factors for gentrification. The tube network still acts as an express route to the central city and its impact on housing markets is widely understood¹³. Certainly a premium was set (usually an additional ten percent) on those properties within a ten minute walk of a tube station.

It appeared that a valid distinction could be made between modes of gentrification which involved a more traditional ‘gentry’, or middle class, and a process which relied primarily on vast levels of personal wealth less related to a hierarchical class structure; either through inheritance or foreign business i.e. foreign affluent workers whose class position is made less clear by their short periods of residence in this area.

The involvement of estate agents was perhaps wider than might at first be thought. The TRW from Kensington described how estate agents were;

“involved at all levels, they don’t just create a market, they are also involved in representing landlords at rent assessment committees they are looking for the highest possible fair rent, they are making vast amounts of money...Many are international, all looking for this ‘non-resident, tons of money consumer’ but the result is that the borough is experiencing higher and higher levels of crime”

The role of the estate agent is instrumental in the development of gentrification. In areas like Kensington it appears that the market has both been distorted beyond the recognition of local inhabitants and been appropriated both by foreign wealth and agents who profit from such customers.

Another role of the estate agent comes in the form of the pre-packaging of places ‘ripe for gentrification’. As the rent officer in Wandsworth alluded many agents have tried to apply names which conjure up images of village, community or pastoral scenes such as;

“Earls Court Village...an estate agents creation and is highly gentrified, there has been a massive amount of displacement in those areas”

¹³The new transport links being created south of the river have lead to a large amount of speculation as to whether older areas like Peckham and Brixton will see people buying as an investment in areas where a house may cost as much as a flat in a more popular area of London (Spittles, D. 28 April, Guardian, 1996)

A number of conversations with agents in these areas showed that prices since 1990 had soared. One agent described the current changes in Notting Hill as 'economic migration, as it should be in my view', apparently adding a veneer of legitimacy to the process of displacement which he admitted was going on in the area. Such areas appear to fade from view as their credentials as an expensive but 'hip' area become more widely known.

Discussions with agents further revealed that many 'gentrifiers' would rent in the area while looking for the ideal property. The market was most buoyant at the top end of the market where rises in price had also been most acutely felt. Asked what the transformation of the area would do for affordability there appeared to be a general agreement that it was unlikely lower paid workers would be able to afford property in the area - even ex-council flats and previously 'dangerous' areas were witnessing a good deal of interest.

While it was clear that a traditional pattern of renting to owning was going on there was verbal evidence given that renting was also moving upward in its socio-economic profile. Kensington and Chelsea still has one of the largest private rented sectors in the country. The link between gentrification and renting was also made clear in Hammersmith;

“There is gentrified private rented accommodation now - accommodation people couldn't afford, its not affordable housing...an awful lot of it has gone from private rented to owner occupied or from private rented at affordable levels [in Hammersmith] to private rented at unaffordable levels - gentrified in that way, that is certainly the case in the mansion blocks, rents in mansion blocks are £30,000 a year”

and;

“there has been a major loss of particularly family accommodation in favour of company lets [in Camden]...and that is mirrored by the increase of single homelessness in the borough - people can't access or use the private rented sector - there are real problems.”

The issue of company lets came up several times and provided another route for private rented accommodation to enter a rented but restricted access tenure and it

appeared that people had been cleared out of properties in order to make them company lets. It appeared that rented accommodation was still moving into the owner occupied sector where it was more profitable to do so;

“what we see is properties that are quite happily going along being rented with quite a lot of houses in the Fulham area where they might have been rented in an HMO situation, not self contained but with, say, two families, but now as soon as there is any kind of vacant possession there landlords are into self containing, extending, doing them up often then selling them rather than renting them out...where the landlord thinks that they can bring any pressure to bear to get rid of the tenants then they do it”

There is also an interaction between local authority roles in areas such as environmental health where the enforcement of standards can have an unintended negative consequence for affordability and provision so that bedsits are;

“converted into flats, frequently sold to owner occupiers or rented at the top end of the market. Rent levels have really increased in Camden and one of the things...LA environmental health have tried to [do is] improve standards in that type of shared accommodation by encouraging self containment but that tends to have meant that the profile of people living there, when the original tenants die, changes so your getting younger professional people looking for temporary accommodation or overseas business men coming into those areas”

This rental at the top end of the market also seems to be related to a transitory series of company lets which mirrors the ‘absent’ form of gentrification to be found in south Kensington. Whether this can be considered gentrification is debatable since it may not be considered to be a residential form of the process yet the effects are the same and so is the rationale - higher paying buyers and renters;

“the wards that have the highest levels of private renting both have bizarre populations. There is a large Japanese community living in the private rented sector in Belsize...you see more and more lettings agencies advertising for company lets”

and;

Another of the large landlords in Camden is Crown estates, they are quasi public and quasi private landlords and they have been actually selling and emptying some of their properties on long leases to the Shanghai bank to be used as company lets”

The loss of certain dwelling types (HMOs and non-family homes) by social or physical alteration is important because it means that (a) displacement is required to make it available and (b) a relatively fixed level of supply of these dwelling types is lost to those groups who need such accommodation.

ii) Displacement

The issue of displacement was still relatively uninformed, except through the preceding literature and abstracted statistical relationships described earlier. When questioning the TRWs about displacement it was possible for the first time to discern it as a tangible process; displacement was immediately recognised by all of the TRWs and an unequivocal link was made to the gentrification process. This was put in no uncertain terms by one representative who described their role as the;

“prevention of homelessness effectively, which, when you talk about displacement and gentrification, that is what it is - making people homeless. So there is no doubt about it, if you are going to move a certain person into the area the only way you are going to do that is by moving someone else out.”

This grounding of what had previously been abstract theorising was refreshing. This gives weight to ideas proposed earlier about the chronology of displacement with regard to the theoretical and statistical models being used; that displacement must occur prior to gentrification but is also exacerbated by its continuation.

a) Who are the displacees?

In addition to obtaining a more concrete picture of displacees and their characteristics it was also important that the census proxy displacee variables be corroborated. The following groups were identified by the TRWs as most at risk and involved in displacement induced by gentrification;

- The elderly
- Poorer households and individuals
- HMO dwellers
- Students
- The ‘vulnerable’
- Families on low incomes and single people, or couples without children who are not eligible to get public housing
- The unemployed
- Ethnic minorities

It was clear that the elderly were disproportionately represented as those being displaced by virtue of gentrification. The reasons for this were twofold, first, by virtue of their age a general physical frailty made it difficult to resist actions by landlords to have them removed. Second, this group are also more profoundly affected by the community changes that go on around them. The loss of friends or kinship networks from wider socio-economic restructuring in an area might provoke an earlier decision to retire from an area, move where family have moved or, finally, to find somewhere cheaper.

Many secure tenants were to be found in this older age range, this often created problems where the landlord was trying to get the rent increased to a 'fair' i.e. market level. Rent tribunals were taking up a lot of the time of the projects who were fighting to stop these, in many cases, doubling. Such rent decisions invariably go in favour of the landlord as discussed earlier.

Being poor is a relative concept, someone living in rented accommodation in Earls Court is likely to be paying a market rent of at least £200 per week, and this is at the bottom end of the market. Of course for many this will mean that entry to the market in this area is simply not possible but it also means that on being pushed out of the market it is difficult or impossible to get back in.

In all of the areas studied houses in multiple occupation were prevalent. These units are often associated with some of the worst living conditions yet provide, for many, a relatively affordable form of living. Retention of these units is often viewed by boroughs as being an important issue because of the groups they cater for, however, boroughs differ markedly on discretionary policies toward HMOs. People living in this sector are displaced because units have been made self-contained, because rents have become too high and this often reduces the number of spaces available if they are converted.

It appeared that in areas like Camden which had traditionally served the student population via close proximity to London colleges and cheap rented accommodation,

gentrification of the borough had made it very hard for the central London universities to help students find accommodation close to their place of study. This was confirmed by a number of calls to university accommodation offices who said they were now having to let properties in the more northern reaches of boroughs like Camden and that costs of rented accommodation in general for students was outstripping ability to pay in many cases, especially if they wanted to live within a reasonable distance from the college.

Although a diverse group there was an identifiable trend in those with a variety of mental or social problems suffering from a distinct lack of provision. Care in the community meant that people needing help have been left to cope in some of the most viciously competitive housing markets. In particular people with alcohol problems, HIV and psychiatric disorders were identified as having particular problems in relation to the housing market in the area.

Families on low incomes are in a particular trap because housing benefit will not be paid to them because of their level of income yet they struggle to keep their head above water in a market where rents stretch their ability to cope to the limit. One TRW said that she had had to advise very low paid families to give up work in order to get help with the rent. One TRW summed up the position succinctly as affecting;

“Single people, or couples without children who wouldn’t be eligible to get LA housing, one could still say they are being displaced even if they are moving into LA housing...That doesn’t mean to say that someone on benefit can get anything, the rules are different and people are losing accommodation left, right and centre even if they are on income support or on a very low income the benefit is not enough to cover their rents so the displacement now is people who would have been able to afford property because of benefit levels but now can’t - its the high rents that are displacing people but benefit rule changes are adding to that”

That the burden of displacement was falling on single people in particular appeared prevalent in Hammersmith. It is also hard for single people to find accommodation and this shows up in the number of flat shares and lodgers in these areas because of the cost of renting one’s own space. For obvious reasons the unemployed are also being hit by displacement and were identified by all of the TRWs. The observed

interaction between benefit changes and rental rates was creating increased vulnerability since lower benefit levels would mean that a tenant's capacity to resist being 'priced out' was reduced.

Ethnic minorities had also suffered substantial displacement in certain areas. Where ethnic minorities lived in areas that had become desirable one TRW described how;

“substantial displacement of the indigenous community which are mostly Afro-Caribbean and some Asians and quite a large Irish community in that part of the borough [had occurred]. They have been displaced by purely the gentrification”

This is a combination of the historical location of such groups in previously 'filtered' areas and the frequent gentrification of such areas more recently. In general the identified groups showed a strong correspondence with the earlier selection of census proxy variables.

An upward spiral

An interesting trend which could be observed in these areas was an upward movement over time of those being displaced and those acting as gentrifiers. As the area grew in popularity higher income and class groups entered the area so that it was possible to see higher status groups displaced as even higher status groups moved in, or expressed a desire to move in. The Kensington TRW described this process in terms of traditional class structures;

“the groups of pensioners who probably represented the 'Sloanes' of yesteryear but who don't have the money...you could ask yourself why they haven't made provision but they never expected it to change as much as it has. They probably formed the set that we are talking about doing it in the north of the borough. We are seeing in effect, a kind of wave going on here, an upward spiral”

This same phenomenon in the same areas was being alluded to by O'Malley in the late seventies who described how;

“higher income tenants who had displaced the low income families were now faced with a [local authority] plan to displace them with even higher income tenants or flat buyers” (1970:104)

This would point to the fact that the process has been going on for a long time and echoes Lyons' (1995) point that gentrified areas will experience outflows by people and households of successively higher resources and is alluded to by Dangschat (1991) in his continuum of pioneer to 'ultra' gentrifiers in Hamburg. In Kensington the process was described as;

“a case of the gentry being displaced by those that have more money than they have. Its money rules, and the fact that you come from the right class is no use to you at all”

It was interesting that similar processes were not identified in the other areas although this does not mean that it was not going on, however, the huge rent and price levels of Kensington in particular would suggest it to be most prevalent there.

The common denominator for all of the groups identified is a lack of money in relation to the housing market and the way it has evolved in an area due to gentrification. In addition many showed a vulnerability, through frailty or a lack of social and financial resources, to deal with the legal and physical problem of displacement. It was low incomes which formed the locus at which other social characteristics clustered in characterising displacees - it was their inability to pay inflated rents that made them vulnerable. There were few, if any, oases of affordability left and those that were under quite intense pressure and demand.

b) How are they displaced?

People were displaced in the following ways;

- Being 'bought out' or being given an inducement
- Harassment
- Eviction
- Price and rent rises
- Exclusion from expensive housing markets
- Unusual cases

For some tenants displacement frequently came in the form of the landlord offering a bribe to leave the property so that rental to a higher paying group or sale could ensue

and apparently this practice was common with landlords and a flurry of activity had preceded the peak of the housing market at the end of the eighties. Following this period, in the slump, it was more profitable for landlords to rent to higher paying tenants than to sell. The process of bribery was additionally linked to buy-offs to avoid court cases;

“at the end of the other day what I would say is ‘money talks’; what you find is that a lot of prosecutions disappear because a landlord comes along and says here’s six thousand if you disappear or six hundred, if your poor enough you are going to take it.”

Rather than being a form of compensation what is actually happening is the landlord is taking advantage of the situation of the tenant. Many such tenants being bought out were elderly, of whom staggering proportions were being induced to leave by their landlords; in Camden 33% of elderly regulated tenants were facing harassment or inducements to leave. It may well be that tenure security accounted for such a high figure but this is only where secure rents linked to ability to pay are left low in relation to wider rates. An inducement was described as “an offer of money but if you don’t take it your life is going to be made a misery, its an inducement with a threat behind it”, in other words it is harassment whichever way one looks at it.

It might be argued that displacement by being bought out is no displacement at all but such inducements are offered with threats being made if refused making such a view untenable. Logic dictates that inducements would only be offered where the landlord imagines that the tenant would not normally wish to leave so that an offer of money is effectively a form of harassment. Emphasis should be less on how much is offered in the form of ‘compensation’ by the landlord and more on whether tenants are going to be able to remain in an area of their choice.

While latent threats often lay behind the offer of payments to leave more direct action by landlords was not rare in the effort to get rid of unwanted tenants in order to get better paying tenants or to sell. Predictions were made about the re-emergence of various unpleasant methods in order to move people out of accommodation, especially since the housing markets in these areas had seen a massive revival since the early

nineties; a point borne out by conversations with estate agents in the area. The process was described in the following terms;

“some of the people who were got out were evicted; they were got out by fairly unpleasant and in most cases illegal methods. There were a lot of people displaced from that period (late eighties). More recently it has been more an income related thing, its been ‘we don’t need to resort to illegal methods all we do is basically keep upping the rent’ until they cant afford it”

When it was suggested that at least this meant that violence was not being used the TRW indicated that, while not desirable, where violence and threats had been used there were stronger remedies available to prevent harassment than where prices rises were used since these forms of displacement are not viewed as such and are largely seen as acceptable or tolerable forms of exclusion in the wider community.

Asked whether there had been harassment of secure tenants in order to get them to sign assured shorthold contracts (a point mentioned in Burrows and Hunter, 1990) it appeared that harassment had been more often used to get rid of, rather than persuade, tenants. In tandem with tenure of security is the issue of attempts by landlords to drive up the ‘fair rents’ of secure tenants. Another problem for these groups occurs where tenants have low incomes but which are too high to receive benefit;

“elderly people in the mansion blocks are classics for this, people with private pensions and some capital. It does drive some people out or others to use their capital...the only way they can stay in their homes is either use up their savings or they simply give up and look for somewhere that is cheaper outside this area”

Harassment was particularly prevalent in all of the areas for elderly tenants, especially where they were secure tenants. This was occurring particularly where market rents and values of property had increased dramatically and/or where fair rent tenants lived adjacent to market rent tenants. In Camden the view was taken that many of the older tenants were now feeling vulnerable to this form of abuse;

“there were certainly illegal forms of harassment in the past, now of course what they do is go to the rent officer and say they want to double the rent they are getting at the moment, and the rent officer has to look at market rents and arrive at a figure which he says is fair which bears some relation to those market rents”

Such assessments are strongly affected by the surrounding market, if the area has changed dramatically and there are cafes, restaurants and delicatessens the landlord will often use these to make the case that the area is now much more desirable and that a greater rent should be paid.

Another significant factor relating to harassment and eviction in Brent was through the mechanism of landlord mortgage default which has led lenders to seek vacant possession for resale through the eviction of tenants. Tenants are only protected from eviction in these cases when their tenancy agreements were drawn up before a mortgage was taken out, usually a minority of tenants. While this is not gentrification in itself the result might well be the gentrification of the property following resale - it may be, then, that mortgage default has provided a cheap market of suitable accommodation for young professionals in these areas; gentrification by default.

Eviction, though legal, may be considered an injudicious abuse of power where it is used against tenants who are quietly enjoying property in order to increase revenues. Eviction was being used to get old tenants out and new ones or to sell the property. Such activity is now at record highs and yet court cases appear to reflect on the tip of the ice berg while prosecutions form a low part of such cases¹⁴.

Of course, for many tenants there was no longer any need for harassment or eviction because of the landlords ability to terminate assured shorthold tenancy agreements after the initial six month period. This makes it very easy for landlords to have a relatively quick, easy and perfectly legal turnover of tenants and was identified in Brent where, if there was a problem, it was invisible to the agency's monitoring. This 'soft' form of displacement, where it is used for reasons of gentrification, will potentially be the most prevalent and undetectable form, indeed, many would refute

¹⁴The Home Office Research and Statistics Department indicates that prosecutions under the Protection from Eviction Act (1977) were 84 out of 222 cases in 1993 for the whole of England and Wales. A staggeringly low figure when other reports (Rauta and Pickering, 1992) indicate that something like 1 in 10 tenants faces some form of harassment. Fines for such offences are often derisory (75% of fines were under £300 in 1993), Bedsit Briefing, April/May, 1996.

the term 'displacement' where this occurs viewing it as the simple operation of the market.

Moves made via this method are unlikely to be viewed as displacement even though the reason, gentrification, still lies behind those moves. The 1996 Housing Act looks as though it will increase the ease with which landlords can get rid of tenants without justification and the difficulty with which tenants try and get longer term contracts since all tenancies will be assumed to be assured shortholds unless otherwise specified, a particular fear of the Campaign for Bedsit Rights.

While the ease with which legislative arrangements allow the removal of unwanted tenants is unquestioned the most persistent and long standing mechanism for displacement is the increasing of rents and of house prices in an area. These two processes have two distinct effects. First, where rents rise some tenants find they can no longer afford to live there. Second, where house prices rise those that have been displaced are unable to buy and those who have lived there in other 'protected' forms e.g. offspring living with parents or council tenants, are unable to stay in the area if they move out of such sectors. A distinction was made in Hammersmith arguing that rental levels were a legislative issue stemming from deregulation and a lack of control post-1989 whereas house prices were seen as directly linked to gentrification.

A less obvious, and more debatable, route for displacement is the alteration of services to cater for new middle class residents and the increasing price of services. In other cases essential services such as transport links and staple food shops are lost. The rent officer in Clapham, for example, described how traditional working class areas had been transformed into an area of estate agents and bar-restaurants. It is unrealistic to expect that this would be a key motor in the displacement of households yet it is bound to be a contributing factor. Where a tenant's rent has been pushed up to market levels the closure of basic services and/or their increase in price may be additional factors in the decision to move elsewhere - if not a decision based on coercion it is one based on exclusion and necessity.

If people drop out of the rental or homeowner market it may be extremely difficult for them to maintain a hold in the area, as observed earlier. It may be that the move alters their situation to one of benefit dependence which will also mean that they are often unlikely to be able to approach an agency for help;

“the bigger problem now is that benefit won’t cover the rents and that does create problems because they know they are not going to get the rent. If you went to an agency on income support you wouldn’t get anything”

The result of displacement from areas by exclusion from overpriced markets will result in the barring of the next generation of communities in these areas, except where they are so poor that the state will lend a hand in getting them accommodation. These are the ‘local service workers’, the low paid workers and people who provide services like rubbish collection and the kind of person that estate agents admitted were highly likely to be priced out of areas like Notting Hill. One can only conclude that some form of intervention is required to maintain affordable and middle income homes in these areas or to prevent such distorted markets from occurring.

In one case a perverse reason for displacement appeared to be to achieve greater charitable resources. This appeared in the form of the;

“Henry Smith estate which has been gentrified to hell in order to make loads of money and the money that is made is then used for charitable purposes, which I think is hilarious, because these charitable purposes are being paid for by driving people off the estate. Henry Smith trustees are under a duty to get as much money from the trust fund as they can...so what they have actually done to do that is to drive people out who were previously paying rent which was set by rent officers.”

The Church Commissioners¹⁵ provide a slightly different example of equally insidious ways in which the desire to secure greater rental returns has led to gentrification and displacement. On the Kings Road they evicted artists from dwellings in order to sell the property and there have been other examples whereby charities have had their tenancies left un-renewed so that higher paying tenants could come in.

¹⁵The Church Commissioners are charged with getting the maximum return on the assets of the Church of England and face pressure having lost hundreds of millions of pounds through property speculation losses between 1989 and 1992 (Bunting, M. 18 April 1996, Guardian “Keen as mustard to resurrect church finances” and Bunting, M. 6 April 1996, Guardian “Property assets improve”)

c) Where do they go?

There appear to be a number of exit routes for those who are displaced. Perhaps unsurprisingly there was the general recognition that a significant number of displacees were made homeless. However, the main exit route was to buy or continue renting which inevitably meant that displacees would be forced to move out of the area since it would be too expensive to remain.

In Kensington the link between displacement from gentrification and homelessness was made explicit;

“Of *course* it leads to homelessness, there are some people who would take the view, myself included, that a six month tenancy isn’t relieving homelessness at best, I don’t think providing someone with a roof for six months is providing them with a home”

In Hammersmith the explicitness of the linkage was also forthright. When asked the same question the response was that;

“there is an enormous link. That kind of displacement I was talking about - people needing accommodation, not people who lose their homes, does lead to homelessness simply because they can’t afford the rents and they can’t afford the rents wherever they go because housing benefit is just not adequate. [They] are *very* much being pushed out of the housing market completely”

The exclusionary displacement that Marcuse (1986) has discussed was clearly going on. In addition it can be seen that the reduction of a supply of affordable housing was exacerbating this effect further;

“the gentrification of the area does lead to homelessness because there is less accommodation to rent because more has been sold and the accommodation that is available for rent is too expensive”

One should, however, maintain a comprehensive view of these processes, it was clear that in addition to the problem of homelessness stemming from displacement the surrounding welfare environment means that if one makes any kind of move in a gentrified area there will always be the problem of obtaining property with housing

benefit when landlords and agents are uninterested in this group due to delayed payments and low rental returns. A further problem for many tenants was the prospect of having to scrape together an adequate deposit which acted as a very effective barrier to accommodation.

In Camden gentrification was seen as a factor rather than as the sole cause. Clearly there is more to homelessness than simply gentrification but where gentrification was occurring, for some, the result was clearly homelessness and this was more pronounced because of benefit changes. In Hammersmith landlords and agents were strongly averse to signing up benefit claimants;

“people who are eligible for LA housing, they could end up anywhere, where accommodation is available but if they are looking for private rented accommodation then they are more likely to end up in...the cheaper areas. Often young people without a family who are renting privately, a lot of them move around London quite a lot depending on what they want from their accommodation - if they are people who are working in central London and are prepared to share accommodation they might stay in a central area and find other people to share with”

If someone has been displaced through rental increases it is likely they will look for somewhere cheaper - wherever that may be. With the elderly the subsequent location was based on;

“the traditional thing - of moving to the seaside or to the country. Some of them, yes, outer ring [of London], as far as poorer displacees go I am more concerned about them, I suspect some of them end up on the street, literally. There are two issues, if they were pre-1989 renters they won't have a deposit and even if they do the levels of rents are terrifying”

This poses the interesting situation in which the relatively well-off are displaced although the worrying common denominator in these processes is that having been dislodged from accommodation it is very difficult for these groups to re-enter the market even though this situation may be couched in terms relative to such locations. This means that for any person who is displaced it is like being excluded from the area since they will have great difficulty in finding somewhere they can then afford. A

similar process occurs for ‘working class’ children who grow up in these areas only to find they can’t afford to live there when they move out of their parental home.

d) How many people are displaced?

The issue of the quantification of displacement rates was not something that was any more easily addressed by interviewing the TRWs and it is perhaps unrealistic to have expected that this would have been possible in the first place. However, some remarks were made regarding the scale of the process involved. Where security of tenure could be retained the process would be markedly slower, as one TRW observed;

“Anyone with a protected tenancy or who is an owner occupier in the area isn’t going to move out in a hurry unless they are pushed out by harassment, they are not going to choose to move out so the displacement will be fairly gradual”

It should be realised by now that the wider implications of gentrification may influence such decisions. In Camden benefit data showed that the number of claimants in hotels, between January 1996 and December 1997 was 600 less. This was attributed to a number of factors including a growth in tourism and;

“the idea that Kings Cross has got to be better than it is because there has been no opposition to the idea that bed and breakfast residents are either drunk, homeless or drug addicts”

This is a revealing statement in relation to the lack of political capital in being associated with the issue of displacement induced by gentrification since this may appear to be an unwillingness to deal with social and physical problems of decay in the inner city which should be removed. Of course the closure of bed and breakfasts around King’s Cross will only exacerbate these problems rather than resolving them and displace them elsewhere. This inability to see the wider implications of such restructuring needs to be addressed so that problems are dealt with rather than being pushed around. In this sense displacement can be seen to be linked with a much wider policy context.

As for future rates it was envisaged that the reduction in the availability of bed and breakfast accommodation and the loss of HMOs would increase levels of displacement in the future as fewer places are available at affordable rates for groups in the lowest income brackets.

3. Wider Effects

Perhaps the most important set of revelations were those dealing with the wider costs of gentrification and displacement. It had been anticipated that, had displacement been going on, costs would be felt by local authorities, for example, picking up on increasing levels of housing need and homelessness. Other questions provoked an exposition of a number of other factors with important implications for both the identification of displacement as a negative phenomenon and an evaluation of, apparently neutral, processes like gentrification.

The factors identified relate to the wider costs of both gentrification and displacement as they impact on the surrounding political and social environment. The factors discussed include;

- Loss of community
- Increases in crime
- Loss of rented and affordable housing
- Alteration or loss of services - shops and transport etc.
- Exclusion from the housing market
- Alteration of political agendas and priorities
- Erosion of resistance over time
- A public cost

Bridge (1993b) has argued that the impact of gentrification on friendship networks in Sands End, Hammersmith was minimal since such contacts were metropolitan-wide rather than 'community' restricted. While this may be generally applied the displacement of communities leaving islands of households and individuals is a related process which was seen to negatively affect those left due to the differences in the backgrounds of these communities. Clearly Bridge's thesis rests on the proviso that extensive displacement had not yet occurred since this would eliminate the

potential for such an analysis in the first place. The impact of middle class residents on areas where public provision of certain services is relied upon showed that;

“what is actually provided is poorer because obviously the richer the community becomes the less necessary it is to have public transport, the less necessary it is to have facilities like good libraries, leisure facilities that are subsidised by a local authority, the less pressure there is on the local authority to provide services that perhaps in other boroughs we have come to expect. You’ve got this awful contradiction, you’ve got people in this borough who can afford to pay massive amounts of council tax who aren’t being charged it”

This contradiction was especially apparent in Camden and Kensington where the need for various public services was eroded by changes in consumption patterns in reaction to changes in the profile of local residents. This also acts as a self-serving legitimisation of the loss of such public services since the local authority can argue, technically, that there is no need for such services.

More detailed pictures of the nature of community in gentrified areas emerged in Hammersmith where it was possible to see that new and different communities were evolving. There is a tendency to view older and traditional communities as being more genuine or important than those based on different occupational groups. It is rather the vulnerability of certain communities contested by displacement that illustrates the need for the greater valuation of such social forms. Gentrification was;

“a new kind of community but it doesn’t include the old community - the new young professionals, but whether it happens in quite such a neighbourly way I’m not so sure about - possibly interest based rather than locality based”

The communities are therefore separable even though they co-exist in a locality. Asked if there had been a loss of community in Hammersmith the TRW said that;

“there probably is [a loss of community], possibly less so than they might be experiencing in Kensington. I do know that tenants in the mansion block properties will say to you ‘there’s only six of us left now’, there may be a block of forty flats but they consider their community to be only six of them because they are the renting tenants and they are the only ones that speak to each other. There is still quite a lot of community in the borough in areas where there have been people around for quite a long time but that is dying out”

It is possible to be ambivalent about the community changes in areas like Hammersmith but one should also be wary about the way that future change is anticipated, in Kensington the process of displacement was incremental in its effect of displacing more and more;

“people are being offered money they can’t refuse, and they are also probably moving out because as the gentrification snowball rolls down the hill so it becomes less desirable for them to stay there, its no longer their sort of people... There has also been the development of hundreds and hundreds of crappie hotels, part of that has been created by the need for homeless persons accommodation...most of them double as brothels”

The bottom line in these cases is that certain groups of people depend upon friendship and kinship networks whose viability is threatened by dispersal though wider changes from gentrification and displacement in particular. In this sense younger people were being less affected since they are more mobile and resistant yet ethnic minorities in particular wanted to remain in an area where there were support networks for them.

Increasing crime levels had appeared and were related by the TRWs to the breakdown of closer knit communities from the impact of gentrification. This seemed to be a problem most strongly felt in South Kensington and could be related to the long periods of their absence in that area. Certainly the empty property problem and a persistent transitory nature of many residents left little permanent social fabric of any kind in the area which was associated with increases in crime and anti-social behaviour.

A crack problem and related street crime, also visible in the north of the borough, were making an unwelcome entrance to the area. The area’s problems were summed up as follows by the Kensington TRW;

“I can’t see any benefit to having a ghost town which is what a lot of it is becoming. You’re looking at empty properties which means its a burglars paradise, and people do get burgled very regularly because there is no one to see people breaking in. All the sorts of problems associated with people not knowing their neighbours, or having any idea of their cultural mores or anything like that. It also becomes a paradise for the sort of services that are provided like Earls Court; prostitutes, drug dealers and so on. Because there is no community there is no one to get up and say ‘this has got to stop, we’ve got to get rid of this’”

The process of cumulative diminishing levels of resistance and support are discussed later but one can see that a loss of a sense of connectedness in these areas was damaging to those mechanisms of simple control over such low level yet socially destructive anti-social acts.

The loss of HMOs, rented property and middle income type housing were leaving areas with only extremely expensive, very poor quality property and council accommodation. For many people flat shares and bedsits provide an essential sector without which they find it difficult or impossible to enter certain locations. The transformation of these tenure and property types adds another form of exclusion to those who have low levels of resources, or are forced in some way, from their previous dwelling. This reduction in supply;

“causes problems for the people who are left - the loss of affordable accommodation because it means that people are trapped, I mean in the past if you were unhappy with your neighbours you could find somewhere else but you can't do that anymore - if you do your rents increase. There are real problems for those on low incomes stranded in a gentrified area where they don't know anyone”

These factors also have clear implications for the 'health' of communities, diversity is compromised by processes of polarisation since;

“The fact that there is no affordable accommodation in the private sector means that the people who are ghettoised in poverty will end in council accommodation but you tend to ghettoise poor people into the really seedy end of the private rented sector and bed and breakfast perhaps but also into council estates and housing association estates so you don't get mixed communities as much as you did”

This would support the idea that polarisation is both getting stronger and is an unhealthy process stemming, in part, from the influence of gentrification in diminishing middle-range property. The increasing costs of accommodation that is left presents a problem for those who leave parental homes or any group who are not very well paid who are looking to enter the area. One TRW was of the opinion that gentrification was displacing people in terms of peoples purchasing ability as well as through the rented processes of displacement.

A particular trend identified in both Camden and Hammersmith was the increasing number of people, from multiple occupied properties who had mental health problems. While hospital closures and care in the community were a part of this there was obviously more going on;

“so many people that you met in multi-occupied properties, pretty much left on their own, left to their own devices, not bothered by anybody, not having to conform an awful lot; lots of those people have mental health problems - that accommodation doesn't exist anymore, so again they are the kind of people who are driven out. Where do those people go? They also find it very difficult to find new accommodation because the amount that is left is less”

The loss of HMOs was identified as a key factor in displacement and the erosion of the private rented sector and any growth in renting was only to be found at the top end of the market and had now levelled out. Discretionary policy directed at preventing the loss of HMOs in Kensington had often been undermined by the granting of retrospective planning permission or, in some cases, landlords plea-bargaining by asking if a certain proportion could be converted by fulfilling other conditions. In Camden these losses were having the effect of preventing access to the rented sector for some groups;

“it used to be quite easy for somebody with a fairly chequered housing history to find a bedsit, but now that accommodation isn't there. There are also changes to do with benefit changes and...the government deregulated it suggesting this would expand private renting but what's happened is its allowed a lot of landlords to escape from the market”

The loss of bed and breakfast accommodation used for homeless accommodation was suffering in areas like King's Cross where there had been;

“a loss of six hundred units of bed and breakfast accommodation within a year and that's really had quite an impact. Kings Cross is quite an odd area, that's where all the bed and breakfast accommodation is concentrated and there are things like the English Tourist Board's attempt to get hotels to do up the fronts of them which means that the hotels want more rent and the tourist can find more money than normal users...there is also the idea that single homeless living in bed and breakfasts is not quite desirable...I think one of the reasons for the rise in bed and breakfasts accommodation in the mid to late eighties and early nineties was to do with the decline in accessible traditional bed sitting accommodation so bed and

breakfasts took over that role - where do people go when the bed and breakfast's close?"

This apparently final stage in the cycle of displacement prior to homelessness appears to be being destroyed by the revanchist ideas being applied to areas like Kings Cross in addition to the expense of providing such accommodation. Groups, like architects, are spearheading designs to improve the area by making the squares and Georgian houses suitable for families so that there is a general expectation that things will change in that area based on the removal of 'problem people' in the area.

Shops and services are affected, as noted earlier. When Dome cafes replace pubs and Holland and Barrat shops replace basic grocers the cost of living increases noticeably for some people. These services alter according to the dictates of local residents. The sentiment was also expressed that such changes are often perceived as improving an area yet they belie the reality that nothing has changed at all - it is merely a change rather than an improvement across the board. These improvements are, however, latched onto by landlords wishing to get fair rents raised to a market level. It was also noted that in Camden the growth of restaurants and in-town supermarkets was not benefiting local residents and were often designed for the car user.

The apparent attitudes expressed by gentrifiers and estate agents and the sense of separation from the boom going on around them meant that many remaining tenants expressed attitudes of resentment and racism toward the new wealthy immigrants. In Kensington;

“The gentrifiers of the north and the big money earners of the south are very much of the mode of “if you cant afford to live here, that’s your problem, if you don’t like it, tough shit”. As far as homelessness goes we are certainly getting people coming in saying I can’t afford to live here.”

So that this was leading to;

“vast amounts of resentment on the part of the people who are still left. If you talk to people who still live in the borough you should here what they say, a lot of it is horrendously racist and very misguided and sad, the trouble is they have suffered a great deal as a result of what has happened”

As the process of gentrification goes on and displacement resulted through the mechanisms described, levels of political and general resistance to the process become

cumulatively less as the profile of these areas changed and so do the political priorities and voices involved in making changes. Perhaps even more importantly these changes have the effect of lowering perceived levels of need and the proximity of needy residents to services set up by local authority and voluntary groups;

“As there are fewer people who are generally vulnerable or relatively poor the groups which cater for them depend on the relative proximity so that if they disappear the rationale for the groups existence similarly disappears”

These problems also had the effect of weakening;

“peoples involvement in local government, peoples interest in community issues, it therefore has a knock on effect on voluntary groups, with some of the community organisations that are based in the borough - and as those weaken so the people being displaced have fewer places to go to try and resist being displaced, its a snowball and I cant see any way its going to stop unless we stop spiralling rents and house prices”

As social profiles change in these areas a similar, yet subtle, shift of emphasis may be observed in the political agendas and priorities of both resident and authority. The point was made explicit that middle and upper-middle class groupings tend to be closer to the local political process and know how to ‘work’ it better than lower class groupings. In Kensington, what the TRW was;

“concerned about, in relation to this borough is the glee with which some of them [councillors] say “if you cant afford to live here, sorry that’s tough”, but of course that’s the governments policy, they are only following up on what their parliamentary party is doing, the government has no interest in doing something about this issue”

Whether central agendas can be related to local political processes may be debatable in the context of gentrification. What is clearer, however, is the degree to which political change is both complementary to the gentrification process and is simultaneously influenced by gentrifiers. There is also the possibility that gentrifiers may make direct contributions to the local political process by becoming councillors but the political complexion of gentrification appears to vary according to that of the authority and this is a mutually reinforcing process.

Councillor involvement in the issues of gentrification and displacement appeared to be unequally distributed over a number of related agendas. While some were concerned about what was happening most were not, according to the impressions of the TRWs. In Camden it was observed that where development policies created mandatory obligations, such as the recognition of HMOs as affordable accommodation, when a degree of freedom was available there was often indecision over what to do about areas like Kings Cross.

In Camden the planning committee was not whipped because it was considered that there were ‘too many vested interests’. In addition to the internal political dynamics of these decision making groups there were other groups, like the Hampstead Heath Society and the Camden Amenities Forum, which were considered to be very influential in development control (Amenities forums may provide a fruitful area of analysis in the future due to their influence in local politics). This degree of influence was highlighted in the following contradiction;

“You can imagine what’s going on in Camden, you’ve got council estates falling behind, private sector harassment at record levels and yet people take the council to court over their parking restrictions”

The reasons for this lie partly in the degree of articulation of the people in affluent groups in relation to things like the court process, for example, but also the council has less autonomy over such groups. Normally, where an authority does not like what a group is doing it could remove funding as a way of silencing dissent or dissonance with the authority’s agenda. With groups like the Hampstead Heath Society funding is not required and such groups have a relatively high level of independence so that closure or political marginalisation is made more difficult.

The role of the local authority and a political will in general to stand back or become involved is critical in the way that gentrification proceeds. O’Malley describes how the then stockbroker chief executive, in 1968, prophesied the alteration of the area;

“Kensington is *bound* to become a middle class community...the lower income people are bound to be excluded” (1977:19)

It is particularly in the realm of discretionary housing policy that the battle for gentrification and displacement is lost and won. Authorities can use powers of licensing and HMO retention to help to cancel the effect of the ravages of the market on affordable housing provision. TRWs and tenancy relations officers are also essential for good private sector practice. Benefit changes and other statutory problems require a review in relation to the problems expressed in the contexts.

Regardless of political affiliation a wider set of costs is levied where polarisation and dissent rule and where community structures have been destroyed. Cynically one could suggest that gentrification, as a desired social force, is due to the desire for political control by those groups whose interests they believe tally with gentrifiers (and the same can be seen in reverse in public housing modes of political consent manufacturing). To apportion intention to policy and process in the gentrification of areas is generally a crude analysis. It may be as much be a neutrality over issues which are leading to gentrification rather than planning for such outcomes. Certainly an ignorance of the wider costs of gentrification would be a plausible explanation for such neutrality over these issues.

Finally, the other area in which the promotion of measures to counter displacement can be seen to be given added weight is when one considers the areas where costs are incurred by the gentrification. Of course, the persistent trend for statutory responsibilities to be diminished counters the allegation that displacement 'costs' are costs at all, a good example of this being the number of those considered eligible as homeless and in need of re-housing.

These costs can be seen in the social terms described above of exclusion, resentment and crime but these tend to be more personal burdens which, although unhealthy, attack those people with fewer 'dollar votes' or whose small numbers make political interest in their plight a low part of any agenda. In addition;

“if people are being housed by the LA and costs of private renting are going up and more and more people are being housed in council accommodation it means

that the housing benefit bill can go up. Also the gentrification has had a knock-on effect of increasing rent increasing the private sector housing benefit bill”

It may be that a critical mass is being approached in areas like Kensington where gentrification has had a total impact on many areas apart from the retention of some secure public and association tenancies. It seems that there is a high degree of elasticity and tolerance of these processes from both sides of the fence which would suggest that the operation of the rental and purchasing housing market adds an air of legitimacy to the proceedings of social exclusion and social neglect.

Where have all the people gone?

In conclusion, the question of displacement can be seen to revolve around two critical issues. The first focuses on whether certain forms of appropriation and social costs may be considered to be displacement at all. These questions are focused on the necessarily political dimensions of the definition of displacement, a question that is no less resolvable through the use of a strong definition since the adoption of any definition is similarly a political decision. One must therefore be open about the reasons for selecting any measure of the process.

The second question asks if observed levels of displacement are due to an unequal distribution of people who label a variety of processes as 'displacement'. Because of a lack of knowledge of housing 'histories' local authorities picking up those as homeless, evicted or harassed only viewed them as having this role and not of being a displacee in a wider cost. Surely the reasons for these processes need a greater level of monitoring in general. The labelling of various processes as displacement can only come about via a greater awareness of (a) the wider costs of gentrification and (b) the way a number of problems may stem from gentrification and can therefore be termed displacement.

The insidious ideology of displacement

Much of the political nature of gentrification alluded to in the gerrymandering scandals was based on the idea that certain social groups were of a certain political affiliation. The reality is more complex, especially in relation to gentrification. An apparent tribalism surrounds the socio-geographic location of gentrification based on the demands and availability of certain facilities in those areas. "Islington person" is a different political animal to the Wandsworth 'yuppie' - there also appears to be some correlation between the timing of these forms of gentrification; Islington in the ascetic seventies, and Wandsworth whose peak was in the brash and conspicuously materialistic eighties.

The social changes in both Wandsworth and Kensington appear to be akin insofar as they relate to a low local tax system. Low taxes appeal to those that can afford to live in the area and such low rates inevitably lead to low or poor service provision which itself can be seen as a push factor for those groups dependent on such services and unable to afford the housing costs of such an area. Since the affluent are less reliant on such services and are in the majority the system of provision becomes 'adequate'. As poorer groups leave the administrative area low taxation takes on an air of legitimacy as the authority is able to claim that few problems and low levels of need are to be found in the borough. This situation is effectively engineered and appears to provide political support and efficient provision of services in the area. The ideology of low tax benefits from the existence of other providers in neighbouring locales.

An enlightened approach by planning in particular is needed in an attempt to pre-empt the wider costs of gentrification before they arise. In the scramble to appropriate and re-use devalued tracts of land, like those of north Southwark, an opportunity cost may develop in more ways than simply the possibility of obtaining cheap housing association and or local authority housing.

The view from the street

The weak legislative framework protecting those who rent and the pervasive influence of markets more deeply in people's lives make it more difficult for people to resist the effects of the distortions in the housing market that gentrification can create. These directly impact on those that remain and need these services - friend and kinship networks are the cheap alternative to those parts of life that are purchasable. Displacement forms a key point of conjunction at which legislative changes have directly weakened those being threatened by eviction or those who need housing benefit to reflect market levels. The point at which landlords consider higher paying tenants will be pegged at a much lower level.

The counter to this, in areas such as Kensington, is that to provide tenants with full market rents entails a large tax bill and might encourage tenants to actively seek accommodation in these 'super-desirable' areas. And a counter argument to that is that people on benefits are unlikely to enter such overheated areas if they know that basic service costs and unemployment will be out of their reach in such areas. It is the protection of communities and households in these areas that is the main requirement in relation to the benefit changes. The housing market appears to be effectively being allowed to operate in previously 'protected' areas as market level 'fair' rents bear testimony.

While displacement appears to have occurred in abundance in places like Kensington one can be less sure about the degree to which this requires a doom laden picture of the future - these areas represent atypical examples of the housing market and, even though large amounts of social harm are clearly being done, we should be careful not to infer such dramatic replication in other places.

Prospects for support

The TRWs were also asked about their views on how to prevent the displacement of households and the breakdown of communities. Wider factors such as attitudes to renting in this country appear to be part of the problem;

“There is a real problem with that because renting is seen as something that you don't do out of choice. It's a stop gap or if you can't afford anything better or if you are on benefit...there has to be something like licensing to control the excesses of private renting...There are too many small individual incompetent, or even malevolent, landlords about”

These solutions express a need to enable both a change of attitude to the nature of private renting and to make provision and give security to those using the sector. There is no logical reason why one tenure should be favoured over another. Ironically any favouritism by the last government toward the expansion of the private sector was only addressed through the use of deregulation and a general lack of control. Tactics designed to encourage new landlords rather than encourage people to view renting as

a quality tenure via subsidy and good practice that is legally backed are drastically required.

As for the damage that has already been done to communities over the years of gentrification and development it is an unfinished chapter but a reprieve could come through more direct action as one TRW described how;

“The only way your’re going to re-establish any community in this part of the borough is by stopping that [gentrification] and to set aside areas which are going to be council housing, are going to be housing association or are going to be private sector but with subsidised rents.”

On a further, and depressing, note one can see that prosecutions for unlawful eviction and harassment are extremely few and far between so that a message of impunity is sent out to landlords. From April 1994 to the end of 1996 there were 42 offences recorded¹⁶. This is in sharp contrast with general levels of eviction which are now higher than they were in the seventies¹⁷. This is credited to the deregulation of the lettings market which all of the TRWs highlighted. In the first quarter of 1996 landlords entered 29,235 court actions for possession while mortgage lenders entered 23,993. This increase in the number of landlords over lenders began in 1995 and is continuing to grow.

Of course, it is rising rents that are putting people into arrears in the first place and the use of Rent Assessment Committees is not working since they have been seen to act decisively in favour of landlords. While originally set up to protect tenants from predatory landlords, since deregulation, they have been accused of bias in order to promote the growth of the rented sector by succumbing to landlord’s desires to obtain greater revenues. In London nearly 90% of rulings favour the landlord and is due to the culture of introducing ‘market’ rents in an increasing number of protected environments in order to encourage the growth of private renting and in the view that market rents are necessarily fair. Tenants are deterred from court challenges because of the cost and because tenants often fear retaliatory evictions, ironically, if the case

¹⁶Performance Information Bureau, Metropolitan Police Service

¹⁷Landlords order eviction, The Observer, 28 July 1996, David Spittles

goes for them, tenants are much more likely to move out where rents rise than to make a challenge.

The problem with the legislative developments of the last nine years is that they are sending out the wrong message to bad and prospective landlords who are encouraged to treat tenants as expendable and to view renting as a quick way of generating money.

Chapter Ten - A deeper understanding of the costs of change

Introduction

This thesis has been based on the conceptualisation of gentrification as a process whose effects cannot be separated from a series of impacts which may vary in their negativity and on the view that such effects can also be more subtly felt than by eviction or harassment alone. The antithesis of this is a view holding that the apparent negative effects of gentrification are (a) non-existent or (b) unrelated to gentrification activity. Both of these positions are rooted in ideological and political assessments surrounding the market, and its influence by gentrifiers, developers and regulatory frameworks. The concept of displacement as an identifiable process thus rests on the view that these various factors make people's location decisions for them and that a variety of hardships can result from this.

The research sought to achieve a greater knowledge of gentrification and displacement via a triangulated research methodology, each element of which provided additional corroborating evidence of the validity of the initial viewpoint, that displacement (a) *did* exist and (b) *was* to be viewed as a harmful process related to the social and economic impacts of real and projected effects of a gentrification process. This approach has been developed and implemented in response to the sparseness of information on the subject. As will be evident from what has gone before the use of analysis which made use of decreasing spatial levels ensured that gentrification and displacement was 'observed' at a number of levels of aggregation.

The key difficulty of studying gentrification in general and displacement in particular, has been that of data availability. This was not easily resolved, indeed arguably, it was not resolved at all. Securing an insight into the dynamic of these processes becomes doubly difficult when the only measures of their existence and interaction is via a proxy which itself may be inadequately measured, constructed or lacks correspondence to the phenomena. There is also the difficulty of obtaining a

benchmark or ensuring an identifiable link and interaction with other research in the area. This pessimistic self-assessment should be set alongside the advances made in the face of such adversity. The innovation in the use of the LS and the way that this methodology was connected to the preceding census work allowed new insights into the process which have been, hitherto, unexplored in relation to the London area.

In this final chapter the “loose ends” are considered as well as returning to a wider assessment of the overall findings of the research. Third, a more enlightened view of the costs and benefits of gentrification in London and ways in which the negative impacts of gentrification may be tempered are analysed. Finally the difficulty of posing resolutions to the problem of displacement from gentrification are looked at.

Before continuing with the conclusions to the thesis it is perhaps advisable to make some attempt at an overall assessment of the ways in which it contributes to our understanding of gentrification and displacement. Perhaps the main aim of the research was to explore the theoretical and methodological opportunities for conducting an exploratory piece of research whose aim was to gain a stronger knowledge of the processes and themes that contribute to a displacement problem. The size and nature of this problem has been shown to be debatable and the issues surrounding these political and methodological shifting sands are hard to address without recourse to some explicitly states political stance.

In short, displacement has been described and analysed within the time, resource, theoretical and methodological constraints which have made this a difficult task. Where this work adds to the extant body of literature is in trying to come to terms with these issues and in trying to look at these issues in a London-wide and British setting. In addition insights have been gained in looking at the problem of displacement in relation to the issue of harassment and local and city-wide processes which make displacement an invisible reality.

A critical problem in the production of the thesis was the temporal mismatch between data sources, notably the LS and census data and the more recent field work data. In

one sense the latter served to update the former yet it is not without reservation that one may observe that such a mismatch makes corroboration more difficult. This was overcome through the separation of the contributions of these stages which were used to add cumulative and chronological weight to the idea that displacement was a real problem but one which existed in a number of different ways when looked at and measured from differing viewpoints.

It is easy to be self-critical when looking back at the difficulties which could be removed by using different approach were the work to be done over again yet it is worth making notes regarding this. Clearly the methodologically novel approach using the LS was successful in getting toward some way of quantifying the problem of displacement but did not yield as concrete a set of data as might be desired. Such an approach is available for further scrutiny in the future and could be more usefully updated so that more accurate assessments of the scale of displacement might be observed. The use of interviews with the TRW's was perhaps the single most useful part of the research and led to the most insights on the nature and extent of displacement. Further research might usefully be done in this way in the future and in a number of other geographical locales to establish the prevalence and potential divergence of these practices over time and space.

It is clear that displacement is a live issue whose invisibility could be dramatically reduced through further research based on the faults and strengths of that pioneered here. The exploratory nature of this work should not detract from a number of valid insights, detailed further over the following paragraphs, which would be served well by further research and expansion in the future. The remainder of this work now details the wider conclusions that stem from the results of the thesis.

Citizenship, housing rights and displacement

Attitudes of tolerance and fatalism seem to overcome notions of rights and social inclusion in relation to the gentrification/displacement debates. Migration may be a rational action, and so may profit maximisation, but it can be justifiably argued that

the role of housing and related policy is to protect individuals where their rights are compromised when such 'rational' decisions are made by others. The alternative position is one of disregard and ignorance of the costs and effect that gentrification has on communities and individuals which may also be brought to bear on the in-movers such as the rises in crime that may ensue.

It cannot be accepted as socially just that the cost of the beautification of the urban landscape or the inflation of investment gains in property should come at the cost of the involuntary movement of those who are 'quietly enjoying' their accommodation. Harvey (1967) has argued further that;

“what tenants have to suffer at the hands of private landlords has always been treated as a private matter with which they are expected to deal on their own and as best they can, no matter what their age or capabilities” (p.11)

This would suggest that, more than merely a culture of apathy or tolerance, it is a wider agenda of self-endurance that pervades those institutions which might be expected to form some sort of helpline for tenants and others experiencing these kinds of problems. At the same time the impact of rental legislation in the form of the continued erosion of the time scale for lettings for tenants means that the most serious displacement threat and its additional enablement takes the form of such changes.

Such sentiments may be viewed as idealistic. If one is realistic one can see that not all displacees are greatly affected by being moved on, indeed there may as much be a culture of acceptance based around fatalistic notions of the markets ability to subordinate human need and rights when they don't pay. In addition displacement may potentially result in better accommodation being found but this is probably quite rare. There is always the danger that gentrification and displacement activities are made to appear as inevitable events in order to legitimise them (Beetham, 1991). Since desirability acts as a major function of the market in setting premium prices it is difficult to see a sway in which other methods of allocation can be found.

The work should not be interpreted as a conservative manifesto for the retention of any area's socio-economic 'boundaries'. Equally one should not equate the need to prevent involuntary migration with a desire to stem the migratory flows of various occupational groups. Indeed, the enablement of moves made by people filling the role of the displacee might be deemed a positive step toward preventing the misery that can follow eviction and a useful levelling mechanism regarding the iniquitous distribution of resources relating to migratory moves. As Lyons (1995) has pointed out moves made by higher occupational groups are characterised by freedom of choice whereas those made by what may be termed 'displacees' can be characterised by coercion and a lack of freedom in their choice of subsequent living conditions. Of course in many ways this is as much a truism as saying that rich people can go where they want whereas those who are poorer cannot afford to do so, even though this may appear harder to discern.

The commodification of housing rights through legislative deregulation and the wider social costs associated with gentrification may account for many of these attitudes. The current legislative changes contained in the 1996 Housing Act send out the wrong kind of signal to prospective bad landlords. These developments enshrine the way in which people conceive of their rights to positive freedom without recognising the costs of these acts. As Harvey argued after the Rent Act of 1957;

“property is inseparable from power, and rented property is inseparable from power over other people's lives” (1964:7)

Current record levels of evictions and worries about the impact of the new Act on standards in renting add a contemporary resonance to the remark. The increase in the cost of services, the increase in crime, the destruction of the fabric of communities and the 'disbenefiting' of indigenous people are all examples of these impacts. However, the attitudes of some gentrifiers and their brokers surrounded by glossy Sunday supplement articles on the new area to be 'up and coming' give credence to the view that a parasitic, rather than constructive, social force has entered communities. Take this from a piece in the Sunday Times based on life in Notting Hill;

“As a resident of three years’ standing, I can’t mourn the passing of the old order. Personally, I think...it is unwise to leave the local blacks with nowhere to go but the street. But, conversely, if supporting the “community” means limiting the way other people can enjoy themselves, then I prefer gentrification. And anyway, I never did much like curried goat”¹

The reducibility of gentrification to the legitimacy of the pursuit of fun is breathtaking and frequent among such lifestyle magazines, estate agents and gentrifiers - keen as they are to be ‘fashionable’ and aware of where the current gentrification front-line is. This is particularly noticeable in the form of adverts and articles on the new loft living craze which some experts believe may turn sour². It is not surprising that resentment should follow such attitudes where people of a different lifestyle or type of work are seen as expendable.

Beauregard has written on how the image of the eighties yuppie associated with the gentrification process “crystallised” the left in its opposition to gentrification because of their association with “conspicuous consumption, privatizing behaviour, and political quiescence” (Beauregard, 1990:872) yet holds that such a linkage needs breaking in order to understand more fully the community and local government aspects to it. It is probably true that the yuppie still holds such connotations although the numbers of people fulfilling this stereo type have diminished since the end of the materialistic eighties. It is also uncertain the degree to which any one identifiable group such as yuppies or the left wing ‘Guardian reader’ constitute *the* main group which have gentrified areas of London, different types appear to occupy different locales - Islington person is clearly a different animal to a Trustafarian or a Wandsworth yuppie.

¹Sunday Times, 18 August, 1991, Themes from a west side story: Notting Hill, Tim Willis

²Gillilan, L. (1995) “Paradise Loft”, Guardian Weekend magazine, 10 June, Gillilan, L. (1995) “School Bauhaus”, Guardian Weekend magazine, 14 January, Joseph, J. (1994) “Lofty ideas that go with a shell”, The Times, 2 April, Lacey, H. (1996) “Conversions of grandeur”, Independent on Sunday, 15 September, Spittles, D. (1995) “High, wide and handsome”, Observer (Business), 14 May, Spittles, D. (1995) “Industrial Artlands”, Observer (Business), 12 February, Walker, N. (1995) “All about eaves”, Time Out, No. 1293, 31 May, Wilson, M (1994) “Converted to life in an American-style loft”, Sunday Times, 2 April, Wilson, M. (1994) “Converted on the road to nowhere”, Sunday Times, 27 November

In many ways the legitimacy of social change in gentrified areas has become attached to a debate about the way in which certain groups are held to be more connected with that location than others. The above quote holds that length of residency imparts weight to views about the development of the area. In other ways aspects such as ownership and transience have formed the backdrop for the struggle to assert the supremacy of one voice over another. Smith cites an example in which a recent yuppie was complaining about the resistance to the changes in the community from displacement induced by gentrification;

“ ‘What I want to know,’ argued one recent immigrant to the neighbourhood, ‘is by what authority do these people have roots? If you don’t own, you don’t have roots. What have they planted, their feet in the ground?’ ” (Smith, 1996:138)

This ties in with what the tenants rights workers were saying about the disregard for renters in particular and renting as a tenure in general. One can see that the relatively higher levels of transience and poor standards in renting enable the sanctioning of the misery that additional numbers of people go through by virtue of gentrification; the idea that renting isn’t a community, that it is full of students, drug addicts and the unemployed. While the quality rented sector has made a come back the stereo typical assertions about the socio-economic profile of renters still predominate and mirror Smith’s ideas about the revanchist programme operating in cities across the world today. Ward (1989) has argued that the inner city is a set of ideas referring to poor areas within the city as a whole and this fits well with Smith’s own analysis.

High cost housing is considered a fact of inner city life rather than a problem inherent in the market provision and investment use of housing. Interestingly enough the apparent way forward provided by theories of integrative citizenship and human rights prove to be relatively futile in the fight against disenfranchisement and abuse. Writing on the issue of class Barbalet argues that the seeming panacea provided by citizenship to the problems of resentment and inequality;

“cannot modify the material relations between classes. In other words, the development of citizenship rights may change the way in which people identify themselves and it may alter their feelings about social and class inequalities. But that is all.” (Barbalet, 1993:46)

This echoes of Marx's belief that human rights and those accorded through citizenship were in fact bourgeois constructs designed to appear to give some form of concession but gave no material advantage to those who already had nothing. Indeed such rights can be viewed as "partial, ineffective and superficial" (Turner, 1993) [since];

"within political society men were seen as co-operative, while in their economic roles they were competitive, individualistic and egoistic... 'human rights' are merely a facade to hide or mask fundamental economic and social inequalities" (ibid:168)

The notion of rights and entitlements simply by virtue of the membership of some community or culture is a vast area to explore and yet it holds many valuable keys to the way in which one may view the nature of displacement and gentrification. The main problem to address with regard to universal rights is relativism, a view in which it is held that any rights or belief systems are contextual to some culture, of whatever kind. The UN have dealt with the problems of universal housing rights by making general specifications which countries effectively choose whether or not to ratify. It is worth mentioning that the UK's own record with the UN council on housing rights and its closely linked Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) is not enviable.

Displacement is clearly a problem for the vulnerable, but who the vulnerable are is not related to physical vitality or tenure. Rather, displacement occurs because people can be bought and because they have fewer resources than those who would like to use market power to enter a particular area. The degree to which one finds this unacceptable is based on the premise that people should not have to endure some form of housing dislocation to satisfy the affluent and generally better-off. This is where the study of displacement has become a political issue and there are a number of issues surrounding the politicisation which have been examined earlier, predominantly based around the degree to which force is used. Other issues have also clouded the debate in places like the US since local tax bases give the local state a renewed interest in obtaining a good income base from which to extract tax.

The desire to own one's own home in this country has often been seen as a peculiarly British obsession yet it is probably at least equalled by a need for security which the private rented sector currently does not provide and which may be as big a factor in the tenure's small size as much as any other. Rent rises along with intrusive and unpleasant landlords, often those with smaller holdings, combined with ever dwindling guarantees of security for the tenant are all issues which make owner occupation a more attractive option, however expensive, because of one's ability to have autonomy over space.

It is possible to argue that a more enlightened and wider perspective is warranted in discussing displacement in a city like London. Its size and the encompassing market ideology obfuscates issues of human rights and the overriding of these rights through legislative mechanisms which make help to legitimate the ideology of the market. As Marcuse (1986) has pointed out the power of the market is as strong as that of physical violence yet it does not take on that demeanour because there is a deference to market processes which are seen as being external to us and outside our control. London is a particularly good case in point because there is the expectation and acceptance that things are more expensive there so that landlords can charge high rents reinforced by a conviction and expectation of receiving maximum returns.

Perhaps the best warning against the effects of the process of displacement come from what a continuation of the process might entail. Just as a large scale shift into owner occupation and a loss of public tenure has led to problems of mobility and affordability (Balchin, 1995, Smith and Oxley, 1993) so displacement represents the dislocation and squeezing of the pockets of the lowest income households as they struggle to remain near to their work or social networks. Displacement in London and this country is part of a wider set of processes encompassing evictions and displacement on a global scale (Audefroy, 1994, Leckie, 1994, 1995) linked by the common disregard for housing rights.

2. Resentment of removal and resistance to revanchism

A tangible result of displacement and 'invasion' by higher income groups has been levels of resentment expressed toward these groups (see, for example, Rotherhithe Community Planning Centre, 1986). Groups like the 'Roughlers', a now defunct gathering of drinkers and self-proclaimed yuppie-haters on the Portobello Road, indicate that the visible signs of a front-line have been replaced by a more insidious geography of privilege and resentment that is more difficult to pin down. It was this group who, legend has it, coined the term 'Trustafarian'; the well-moneyed and trendy upper middle-class invaders of the area. Speaking to the landlord of the pub where the Roughlers met he described how they had moved from pub to pub as the area grew ever more popular with 'yuppies' who 'took over' the pubs. Such sentiment may appear territorial and yet from the point of view of someone living in a previously strong community the decimation of that community is most visibly represented by the conspicuous consumption of the young professional.

Dissent has taken other forms in London. In Hackney the 'mug a yuppie' campaign of Class War was claimed to be a re-direction of the scapegoating involved in aggression toward immigrants and ethnic minorities in the area³. The diversity of groups labelled gentrifiers, and the sometime inadequacy of the term gentrification itself is highlighted by the misapprehension such dissent has had in considering that all gentrifiers are 'toffs' and that they are 'loaded'.

In the chronology of displacement it is fundamentally the property developer and the landlord who are culpable, the gentrifier may often be considered 'innocent' in charges of intentionally destroying the social fabric of communities illustrating the misguided use of resentment in certain cases such as these. It is possible to find relatively poorer gentrifiers (professionals, such as public sector workers) but noting in so doing that they are less likely to act as motors for displacement; not all gentrifiers are displacers - the anticipation game played by the landlord may alter these factors.

³Guardian, 6 May, 1992, The fall from grace and favour, Patrick Wright

However, while a balanced assessment of gentrification *is* desirable one should also recognise many of the attitudes stemming from the gentrifiers camp, related as they are to wider ideas about welfare agendas and negative attitudes to the expendability of the poor;

“the idea that Kings Cross has got to be better than it is because there has been no opposition to the idea that bed and breakfast residents are either drunk, homeless or drug addicts”

This remark, by the Camden TRW, indicates that it is these attitudes that remain at the heart of the legitimacy of those policies directed at the rearrangement of these groups rather than helping them.

It appears that a certain sense of tribalism is springing up centred around certain groupings of gentrifiers in particular locations. Whether this is a media creation rather than a genuinely felt subjective category is another matter, however the existence of such urban folklore tags as the Westbourne Groovers, Islington Person, Trustafarians, Drabbies, Notting Hill Billies, Mockneys and Yuppies would indicate that distinctive sub-groups are identifiable and that the process has taken on an established quality in these areas. It may be that such terms come to legitimate the new gentrified ‘communities’ especially when they appear to replace the run-down and socially problematic earlier communities.

It is apparent that one of the only ways that an increased awareness of displacement will arise is through remedying the monitoring deficiency that was described at the very beginning of this work. However, it is similarly any currently apparent ‘monitoring’ of displacement comes as an inadvertent result of other forms of observation. Letters to newspapers and brief reports serve as a non-academic indication that such activity is going on. This may be for two reasons (a) that the amount of displacement is too small to be detectable or (b) there is not enough political capital to be made from a fuller observation of displacement or such observation would directly counter the political objectives of local authorities and

propertied individuals. Take, for example, this recent letter to the editor of the Financial Times in December 1996;

“to attract these [big name stores], it is necessary to remove the unfashionable small businesses and any lingering traces of social housing near to the centre...where crime rates are falling because the troublesome elements have been moved to someone else’s doorstep...While the process is far from complete, the pattern beginning to emerge is one of city centres where the poor are moved on, the working class tolerated as shop and office workers, and small businesses that do not fit the image made unwelcome”

This has a clear relationship with the processes described in the research here. The author of the letter puts these processes down to an urban managerial elite of municipal planners and it is highly plausible that an unevenly distributed awareness of these problems exists based upon political and socio-economic cleavages and, almost certainly, that it is a planned outcome in many cases.

It appears to be strongly evidenced in the data collected that there was, at the very least, a separation between the social lives and ideas of the policy makers in boroughs and, at worst, policies aimed at the removal of the unwanted and politically unsympathetic. Notes from Dame Shirley Porter’s, of Westminster fame, housing strategy give a clear account of the way in which the politically affluent and powerful can regard political survival and those groups they consider to be marginal;

“there is an immediate need to socially engineer the population in marginal wards... Economic justification for ‘G’ Mander on housing” and “What is gentrification? In short, it is ensuring that the right people live in the right areas”⁴.

This was gentrification as an engineered process, described in a none too subtle code, and, in this case, it was particularly easy to see the wider costs of homelessness, dumped, as it was, into surrounding and more benevolent areas.

The voice of the displacee is necessarily a quiet one for two reasons. First, the ‘dollar vote’ of the displacee is insignificant. This means that the political capital of the voter

⁴Guardian, 14 January, 1994, Westminster scandal: Porter homes for votes ploy ‘disgrace’
Guardian, 15 January, 1994 Porter pursued ‘mean and nasty’ line with homeless
The Observer, 30 October, 1994, MP named as ‘driving force’ in scandal,

is small because of their scant resources. This relates to Merrett's (1979) comments that political agendas are shaped by interests in relation to wealth. Second, the political resources and connections of the displacee are similarly small. The political agendas of local authorities were influenced by middle class amenity forums. This highlights why poorer groups, who authorities may *try* to cater for, are left out because of the hijacking of local agendas by such affluent groups who know how to play the local political landscape or, indeed, may be involved in its day to day running. It is not surprising that resentment will become expressed in terms of feelings of territoriality and resentment, even racism. While this is not desirable it should be understood and prevented in tandem with the prevention of extensive forms of gentrification. Such feelings of protectiveness to local social landscapes should be redirected as a positive force in preventing investment motive overriding housing rights.

3. An expanded awareness of costs and benefits

The last stage of the research, in particular, helped identify a number of negative external effects brought about by the gentrification of areas in London. These aspects are considered in more detail here along with more thought given to the scale of displacement in London.

Any form of fiscal federalism in which the US model of tax raising powers at local levels is utilised will bode ill for those areas deemed 'ripe for redevelopment'. The use of such a model acts as a self-serving legitimisation of gentrification while the ideology of revanchism may enforce the removal of unwanted and needy groups because they cost too much and are associated with crime and decay. The operation of a local tax base means that it will necessarily be judged all the more healthy by the introduction of higher earners where there are few to begin with.

The displacement of those viewed as criminal or unwanted classes removes a problem and appears to be a success in lowering crime rates or underprivilege while, in reality, moving on the problem and not tackling the root causes of these problems.

Measuring displacement which is attributable to gentrification is complicated by the underlying dynamic of income differentials which mean that as a market phenomenon displacement is *not* unique to the gentrification process. Displacement can occur where any group greater monetary power in an area over other groups - displacement is therefore a relative outcome of market capacities. In a wider context writers such as Leckie (1995) have highlighted the abuse of statutory powers in order to evict and displace those with minority or low capital status.

Evidence has been presented examining the relationship between both gentrification and displacement and attempting to quantify levels of displacement. Displacement is not a new phenomenon, O'Malley writes that;

“between 1830 and 1880...street clearance and urban improvement alone evicted 100,000 people from Central London” (O'Malley, 1977:10)

While not related directly to gentrification, although one might associate 'improvement' with gentrification, these figures retain importance because of the effect on the working classes whose livelihood and neighbourhood structures lay in the inner city. This is no less true today.

It is evident that local communities are finding it increasingly difficult to remain in certain areas because of the rising costs and changing nature of service provision there. The successive pricing out of wealthier and wealthier residents as they found it exceeded their means (Marcuse's notion of 'chain' displacement, 1986) meant that areas like Earls Court were changing into upper middle class enclaves with largely absent populations who purchased from abroad and rarely spent time in their homes. Resentment to the processes of market exclusion, displacement and, sometimes wholesale, appropriation of areas by the 'middle classes' was evident. One cannot divorce the process of gentrification from the political will of areas such as

Kensington in which there appears to be a history of acceptance and desire to make the area one for wealthy people (O'Malley, 1970).

The 1986/87 London Housing Survey (see LRC, 1990:21) estimated that 17,000 dwellings were lost *annually* from private renting in the mid-eighties. This was borne out by a series of interviews with recent owner occupiers who were asked who they had bought their property from. It was estimated that 3,000 were sitting tenants and 12,000 were bought from developers or builders. This provides a strong indication of the levels of displacement that would have needed to take place in order to achieve these sales. The labelling of this removal of 'tenants for sale' as displacement is clear in the light of theoretical and empirical observations in the overall research but it clearly requires a change of attitudes in many areas so that such a label is employed more widely as perceptions are widened to increase the processes that lead up to displacement and exclusion.

Other figures are available; in 1979 Hartman describes how the District of Columbia Rental Accommodations Office estimated that one seventh of the entire city's population would be displaced over the next four years - a figure he found 'mind-boggling'. Jew (1994) reported that annually 9% of tenants (144,000 people) would be illegally evicted or harassed from their homes. Clearly, only a certain proportion of these would be the result of gentrification, possibly a small one.

Marcuse (1986), on the other hand, has estimated that 150,000 people are displaced from abandonment and 38,000 from gentrification (although the two are closely related) in New York annually at that time. All such figures are clearly dependent on future rates of gentrification, discussed later. Is it possible that when areas have been gentrified to saturation point that displacement stops? While a possibility it appears that a finite amount of gentrifiers may make cyclical moves into and out of the central city and it is not possible to say whether such moves will persist but it leaves the way open for the continued gentrification and displacement of inner and outer London on a continual basis. There is no reason to suppose that the social ecology of the city will

settle into any greater level of fixity than it has displayed in the past, but this remains to be seen.

In looking at the previous status of properties on short term leases to housing associations and local authorities for use as temporary accommodation, the LRC reported that;

“there was concern that the development of schemes - whose prime purpose was to house homeless people - could be directly causing homelessness by giving landlords a (financial) incentive to evict existing tenants whose rents were controlled” (LRC, 1990:25)

The idiocy of such phenomena reminds us of the process of gentrification in benevolent schemes like the Henry Smith estate in Kensington where displacement was instigated in order to raise revenues for charitable causes. It is ironic that schemes set up to help ameliorate the problems of homelessness, part of which is due to gentrification, is exacerbated by such schemes and through a mechanism of displacement which closely resembles that of the gentrification process.

When transport gets so bad that moves are made to the central city it is equally possible that later changes improve them so that moves are made to the rural idyll again, such as improvements in communications and information technology which may act as a greater gentrification motor for rural areas in the future. Moves into and out of the city are continually being identified and the distance and nature of such moves may be altered when the full impact of certain information technologies affect housing consumption patterns in the future. New frontiers are a continuing inevitability with gentrification.

Hamnett and Randolph have invoked Marcuse's use of exclusionary displacement when they argued that;

“affordable private renting in central London today is no longer a possible option. Those who cannot buy here have in effect been displaced to alternative locations beyond the centre...or to alternative tenures” (Hamnett and Randolph, 1984:276)

This is the kind of market displacement that no one sees or acknowledges. This invisibility appears to stem from a fatalistic acceptance of the market's dominance over our housing options; and this would appear to be a simple truism, so encompassing is the ideology.

Where deregulation has interacted with vulnerable groups in devalorised areas the result is displacement. The impact of legislative changes to decontrol rents in the 1957 Rent Act;

“ushered in an era of intimidation and strong-arm tactics aimed at getting rid of any tenants who stood in the way of an increased flow of rent income...even if it meant dumping their possessions in the street” (O'Malley, 1977:12)

Further, the impact of these subsequent changes at a neighbourhood level are more profound by virtue of the vulnerable groups involved. Keller (1968) has argued that intensive neighbouring is closely correlated with conditions of relative helplessness or need so that the importance of the neighbourhood varies according to the resources of the residents. It is in this way that the community of the working class and the vulnerable *is* to be valued and protected over and above the rights of unrestrained migratory moves by those looking for an investment.

It is more common for such investment moves to be made by professionals rather than other groups. When linked to the mobility held by those in middle class or professional occupations and their lower reliance on kinship and community support structures one can observe that they are a more transient group, often over longer distances. When combined with tenure insecurity, displacement is a possible outcome if landlords react to the potential availability of greater returns. If well-paid manual workers, for example, were to make similar location decisions the result might be much the same but at a lower end of the market in areas cheaper and even more run-down than those selected perhaps by middle class buyers. This may well be an uncharted process as Lyons (1995) has hinted.

Clearly the housing market is an influencing factor. The previous stasis in market transactions at the beginning of the nineties is giving way to a return to higher levels of profitability from sales leading to evictions, conversions and sales. It is possible to see a cycle of roles wherein landlords assume this role when it pays but become property developers when that pays more. This is rational behaviour in the context of a market, but in terms of social and psychological harm it is an expediency based upon the abuse of people's housing rights to quiet enjoyment.

In a review of the urban research literature Fielding and Halford note that;

“these social and physical changes [from gentrification] then affect local businesses. Old general stores serving working class customers close down, while new shops, restaurants etc. open to meet the more expensive tastes and more specialised needs of the middle class newcomers” (1990:56)

Yet nowhere in their review do they consider these as specific costs or burdens. Levels of displacement are difficult to quantify and politically laden. Sumka (1979) considered that of 2 million people displaced 86% were due to market displacement (i.e. gentrification) and were mostly urban white working class. Hartman (1979a) considered this to be an underestimate but it is a dramatic figure whichever way one looks at it.

Asserting a displacement research agenda based on its wider costs has had historically little success. As Smith shows, the US federal government have alternately claimed there was no adequate data, that it was an insignificant problem and then that it was a local government responsibility (see Hartman, 1979a). While policy seems to have been based upon information gathered by researchers on the subject it still appears that government figures were more conservative and that policy was tempered by whatever the government volunteered to do at the end of the day. Any progress made has often been cut short by rather vicious city administrations such as that of Giuliani in New York⁵.

⁵See Smith, 1995 and Mattson and Duncobe, 1992 on this and the greatly contested Tompkins square park, now the backdrop for the popular 'Friends' sit-com

Of course there remain adherents to the view that gentrification is a positive process and it would be wrong to wholly ignore this point of view, especially as these points are most likely to be picked up on by local and central government since it entails the cheaper and more cosmetic option. As Bourne argues, gentrification;

“has improved housing quality and social service levels, altered the political dynamic and augmented the local tax base of the central city (in part through a redistribution of investment). In the affected neighbourhoods, on the other hand, it has contributed to a reduction in the low-rent housing stock and displaced hundreds of residents, some of whom (notably tenants) have suffered as a consequence.” (Bourne, 1993:185)

However, even if one accepts that gentrification may bring revitalisation and more money earlier remarks by Hartman have a greater resonance when matched to comments by the Camden TRW that local political agendas were being disproportionately skewed toward private amenity provision such as parking, rather than more needy issues. Hartman additionally argues that;

“It is not clear that the “new urbanites” will provide so great a boon for fiscal solvency; their demands for - and ability to extract from city government - urban services and amenities may offset any additional property tax revenues”

There are then two sides to every story - where we place ourselves in relation to these debates will come about as a result of observation and political affiliation. One can also see that there is a reflexive relationship between the summaries of research made by the British government’s own departments (Fielding and Halford, 1990) and the perception by such departments of what should be done about these processes in the future - the non-identification of displacement as an issue stemming from contemporary research is bound to leave a view that displacement isn’t an important process.

A shift of agenda would be reliant on, at the least, an accurate picture of the extent of gentrification in direct relation to displacement. Contested definitions of gentrification complicate this further and the contingent measurement of displacement make any measurement of displacement a negotiable outcome. Earlier a distinction was made between ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ forms of displacement. Hard displacement includes those

incontrovertible cases in which violence and harassment are used in purposely moving people out to get gentrifiers in. Perhaps toward the middle of a continuum might be located legal eviction which, although might be considered injudicious in cases where gentrification is the intention, remains legitimised by the trappings of legality. At the other end of the continuum examples of soft displacement might be where people are priced out by rent rises or, further, where costs and services contribute to the decision to move out of an area.

Of course, another reason why displacement has not been labelled as such is because what is here described as soft displacement is commonly viewed as market out-bidding or a 'natural' process. Marcuse argues that;

“it is virtually impossible to distinguish between direct displacement, exclusionary displacement and the pressure of displacement” (1986:161)

He shows that if we do include those people under pressure of displacement, figures are necessarily higher. The apparent naturalness of these processes belie a reality in which the regulatory frameworks surrounding mortgagee financing and planning actually have the ability to control and alter priorities in relation to the way that housing markets operate in these 'hot' areas. It is clear that an increase in housing costs will often be viewed as an inducement to move or a barrier preventing entry no matter which way one looks at it. It is the linking of this recognition to a framework of rights that is necessary since investment cannot be viewed as a legitimate pursuit in the face of community removal, especially where it is falsely backed by notions of revanchism in order to legitimate such removal.

Zukin underscores these comments when she argues against this naturalised view of the workings of the market since gentrification is;

“not the spontaneous result of 'market forces'”, rather it shows “an underlying terrain that represents a space, a symbol and a site under contention by major social forces. It is relations on this terrain that determine real estate markets” (1982:174)

Of course, the idea that prices are set by an invisible hand is an ideology serving the interests of estate agents, developers and the investment buyer, whom it profits to purvey such ideas. It is also contradicted by the way in which such groups intentionally try to increase market value via the inputting of a gentrification infrastructure i.e. the shops and transport networks to support developments. As Hartman notes

‘beware the mystified notions of “the housing market”. Market forces don’t just happen. They can be traced in large part to specific government actions...Typically it is the needs of middle and upper middle-class consumers, which are most directly served by government urban programs” (1979b:22)

It is unfortunate that the existence of below market rents in older or run-down areas accounts for the high levels of displacees who end up paying more for their accommodation having been displaced. The discriminatory nature of the housing market means that, in addition, black or ethnic minority displacees face especial hardships in getting new accommodation. Mental Health research from the US which assessed the psycho-social effects of displacement found that this was best characterised as “grieving for a lost home” (Hartman, 1979b:23). Each of the impacts that displacement creates acts as a cumulative wave of anxiety and victimisation for the displacee who is helpless and unhelped by outside agencies. As Hartman argues;

“displacement means moving from a supportive, long-term environment to an alien area where substantially higher costs are involved for a more crowded, inferior dwelling” (1979b:23)

There appears to be a fascination with gentrified areas in general, especially when they provide new service infrastructures for people to visit in their leisure time. Notting Hill, Islington, Clapham are all good examples of this and North Southwark and Westminster are becoming better examples. It would be a perverse argument to suggest that this is necessarily a bad thing in itself. However, while the diversification and renewal of such areas is a positive aspect to the process, the affordability problems, displacement and disenfranchisement of local people are not.

The three separate methodologies employed under the overall heading of gentrification and displacement contributed differing answers to the question - how much gentrification and how much displacement. At the end of the research a conviction grew that while a multiplicity of factors could account for the observed reductions in the 'displacee' groups, like the reduction in the size of the working class, a significant factor was also gentrification. Certainly gentrification has been helped by the space clearing performed by central government policies, on what has been tantamount to job displacement (Swanstrom and Kerstein, 1989) in areas like Docklands, and the planning determination of areas as new rivals of the West End shopping and leisure infrastructure on much of the Thames waterside by local policies.

A critical battlefield for the process has also been identified in the private rented sector and in HMOs in particular. It is unlikely that policies designed to halt the conversion of HMOs will stop gentrification in these areas since, as one rights project worker described, such processes are incremental and planning permission has been granted retrospectively. It is clear that a stronger legislative framework with enforced action by local authorities is needed to hinder harassment and the loss of these units.

Accurately pinning down causal factors may be difficult but, as argued earlier, a certain 'leap of faith' is required in the use of the data just as the initiation of research in this area also necessarily required a similar leap. It is hoped that research such as this may act as a starting point for the incremental building of knowledge about displacement. The story of displacement is one tempered by the absence of reliable and comprehensive housing history data so that explanation is necessarily pushed further toward being overly theorised and determined often operating on logic rather than available empirical evidence.

The process of gentrification reflects the desire of certain groups to live in areas which appeal to their social and cultural desires but this is clearly enabled and constrained by legislative and policy developments which account for its contextual and changeable features. Where such locational decisions coincide with low income or predominantly

rented areas this will create market demand for property leading to the potential for displacement where access is 'granted' by landlords and developers or through direct purchase of property in these areas.

4. Resolution - Oases of affordability in the desert of extortion

In a continuation of the chronology of gentrification and displacement theme developed earlier, the continuation of gentrification is dependent on that of displacement. This is the hidden truth behind the apparently neutral and beautifying processes in abundance in the capital at the moment. The question of future trends of these connected phenomena is not easy to address.

Recent academic contributions have been far fewer than at the peak of gentrification activity in the mid-eighties. Smith (1995) has predicted that there will be no clear abatement of the process for some time and the loft craze in many of the older parts of London, and those with an industrial history, would seem to indicate that gentrification is regrouping before taking on a renewed momentum. These forms of gentrification, or 'absolute gentrification' (because of the leap from an absence of people to a presence of gentrifiers), would seem to indicate that only price-induced displacement will be likely, except where surrounding landlords believe that these developments mean that tenants are getting more for their money or that better paying tenants would be desirable.

How revitalisation can take place without attracting gentrification is a key problem and it is difficult to respond to this dilemma without suggesting that some form of protection from the market in the form of affordability is one of the only ways that displacement can be prevented. Revitalisation is a key problem since it poses the problem of how benefits and opportunities can be brought to communities which have suffered from gentrification. The notion of revanchism is ironically also linked to revitalisation, but in the sense of improvement through removal rather than the helping and enabling of potential displacee groups i.e. no improvement at all.

The most identifiable locus for displacement still centres around HMOs in particular and rented property in general. This dwelling type contains some of the poorest households and represents a tenure often of need rather than choice (LPAC, 1994).

Attitudes to HMOs by local authorities tend to reflect either a fear of their loss or a grudging acceptance of their use. It is probably now time for a review of the introduction of a non-discretionary policy on HMO retention both to improve standards and to slow their loss and, indeed, enable a possible growth in this sector.

Local authorities are in the best position to monitor levels of profitability and market interest in the areas of their jurisdiction. The traditional view of authorities in the past has been that any gentrification is good since it is seen largely in terms of investment in an area. Where this happens in relatively poorer boroughs, also a predominant pattern due to the greater levels of profitability to be found there (look at Islington, Tower Hamlets, Lambeth, Southwark etc.), such investment is inevitably going to be accepted, or even encouraged, as a positive occurrence. It may appear difficult to argue that the gentrification of these areas in any sense represents a 'threat' to the indigenous population.

It can be argued that local authorities are of the view that investment is a positive occurrence but that this ignores the negative aspects that have been discussed already. Limits may be set to minimise the 'damage' done to communities and people in the area by;

- Preventing or better integrating barricade style and large developments People are doubly excluded (a) from being included in the decision making on political and housing changes going on that are so needed and (b) from the *effects* of such changes which i) may drive up rents ii) may create new areas within and outside which shadow the original in which the potential value of dilapidated buildings are drastically heightened and iii) may increase the costs and decrease levels of services in the area and iv) may create increased levels of hostility to new locals (see also Body Gendrot, 1995), especially if they are conspicuously affluent (graffiti on the walls of Chambers Wharf in Bermondsey reads 'Build your heliport in your back garden not ours')
- Requiring a certain proportion of accommodation be 'affordable' and remain so where there is new build or large scale conversion activity. This may be achieved in relative terms, a luxury development could be made to consider the demands of

those of half the target income bracket and so on. Providing below market rate accommodation could be initiated for these areas through restrictions on letting and sale within bounds linked to an index, either of inflation or earnings

- Preventing the quick purchase and resale of property. In Santa Cruz, California, 1978, voters passed an initiative imposing heavy taxes on the vendor of dwellings sold within four years on a sliding scale inversely related to the number of years the property was held prior to sale (Hartman, 1979b) ranging from 25 to 18%. This point is critical, both because it contradicts the desire for both buyers and sellers to realise gains but also because it may be seen as a hindrance to geographical and occupational mobility. Also, in relation to the presupposed fragility of the current 'boom' in the housing market such moves are unlikely to be viewed with any warmth unless, perhaps, such measures were introduced in only certain key areas.

However, discretionary control of such policy is unlikely to be successful, especially since certain authorities are visibly keen on displacement as a positive means of establishing greater wealth and, ignorantly, lower levels of crime and dependence. Some form of trigger emplacement of policy is required where identifiable levels of change, such as the number of transactions involving professional buyers and lower occupational group vendors. This could be used to bring in the time scale for the triggering of the application of the tax to house sale. This could then act as an effective deterrent to the kind of house purchase and resale cycles that act in strong upward currents in the gentrified areas identified earlier.

The judicious application of such a tax would have slowed much of the frothing investment activity and excitement in many London areas. The 'economic migration as it should be' of the estate agent benefits nobody other than the agent and the ongoing waves of sellers. The migration of this nature is only calculated to bring about personal gain rather than a dwelling and a form of security, rather than being seen as a way of reducing positive moves out of choice such a policy more fully recognises the negative impacts of such freedoms.

- Control and monitoring of conversion activity in order to prevent the loss of HMOs wherever possible and to encourage the provision of affordable units.

While monitoring of this kind is undertaken it appears that little feedback into other social departments at a local authority level are made and that, therefore, the impact of losses in this areas could be more fully assessed.

- Arbitration and/or compensation for evictees based on a similar principle to the Santa Cruz resolution of time of residence. This would enable the greater security of longer term tenants. Leckie (1995) has argued extensively for such committees to be set up so that where displacement is unavoidable or agreed to such moves are recognised and can be brought to a form of tribunal in which an assessment of gain to the evictor can be used to form a contribution to the relocation of the evictee. This could be viewed as an extension of the rent assessment panels already in place but would need to be carefully implemented in order to prevent the kind of bias already witnessed in these organisations. A review of the way in which landlords use assured short-hold lettings as a way of getting rid of unwanted tenants is needed to explore the reasons why landlords do this, how often it goes on and ways in which longer term lets could be applied for, especially by low income families living in high rent areas.
- Forms of rent control related to guaranteed payment schemes. These could be viewed as an extension of the deposit enablement schemes run by boroughs such as Greenwich which enable the securing of accommodation. Here they could be used as way of retaining such accommodation.
- Changes in landlord-tenant law in order to enforce anti-harassment law and to make eviction less one sided and in the favour of the landlord as has been shown to be the case with Rent Assessment Committees

It may be suggested that other agendas exist wherein housing rights can take a greater priority. In the field of tenancy relations the need for arbitration to take place in certain cases of eviction would seem a positive step to helping displacees toward self-help in relocation. The UN's view of UK housing rights record (Leckie, 1995) has not been favourable and Leckie has argued that eviction represents an infringement of human rights and one which the previous British government consistently ignored.

Such measures might positively prevent the wholesale change of areas where larger developments are due to take place e.g. Gilbey House at Camden Lock, the 'Beaux Arts building, Holloway, Islington, the lofts of the Manhattan loft Company at Bankside and so on. It should also be possible to involve local voices in such change to prevent such high levels of resentment, although such resentment will only be minimised where the negative impacts of gentrification, or gentrification itself, are withdrawn. Currently the Ice Wharf at the "New Kings Cross" looks set to spearhead the appropriation of the area in line with the predictions made by the Camden TRW as the London 'gateway' to Europe.

A change of attitude is also required, which appears to have raised its head again, even after the last recession, from that which espouses that housing is a source of personal investment back to one in which it represents a necessity and can be viewed, in a wider context, as a social asset. It is the devaluation of this ideology that has eroded many of the rights of those who have been displaced. The supposed benefit to owner occupiers in the area, in the form of inflated sale prices, presupposes that they want to leave an area in which they may have lived and worked for many years. For those renting, a traditional and apparent feature of gentrified areas, the costs and insecurities often appear to be too much to bear. Often, if tenants stay they must put up with increased rents or make the decision to move on.

Rent control is another option which some believe leads to increased burdens on the landlord (Albon and Stafford, 1987) for repairs and the inevitable shift toward higher paying renters⁶. The linking of rents to higher revenues elsewhere (Hamnett, 1984), notably the stock market, has helped legitimate high rents since, it can be argued, that landlords could be getting higher returns elsewhere. This historical reason for the decline of this sector has been undermined recently by reports which indicate that annual returns in London amount to 10% on average (Rowntree, 1996). In fact there is no reason why renting should be seen as being in competition with other forms of

⁶ It is interesting to note that calls for rent control have predominated the insecure rental markets of North America whereas the relatively safety of the British rented sector has been viewed as one of the major reasons for its unattractiveness and decline

investment. It is desirable that renting provides a few, rather than many, with a full time and stable occupation similar to that observed by Young and Willmott in the pre-redeveloped East End (1957) especially when returns appear conducive.

Where gentrification occurs the problem of affordable housing is doubled because of the increased level of need and the diminished level of its provision through losses to gentrification. HMO policy also needs to be strengthened through the voluntary introduction of rented accommodation registration schemes. The enforcement of such schemes and standards has been observed to have reduced the size of the sector by making sale more preferable, as borne out by the TRWs. How one overcomes this problem is more difficult.

In many ways gentrification and displacement will always be politically loaded concepts. That the two are related has been clearly identified by Lee and Hodge (1986) who view displacement as an ideological position of liberalism or conservatism in relation to the operation of the market. The magnitude of displacement is similarly subject to personal political views about what constitutes an involuntary movement by a household and whether this can indeed be related to the housing choices of other, more moneyed, groups or the 'rational' profit maximising nature of the housing and land markets. Also tempering these measurements is the cultural acceptance of renting as a second class tenure, the choice of the less fortunate and the marginal.

It would appear that the transitory nature of the occupancy of renting enables the view that the pushing out of tenants to make such moves is justified but this belies the anti-social and anti-rights based forms of this practice described. The oft-cited need for workforce mobility which gentrification appears to emphasise this 'natural' transitory character of renting and its desirability. Coerced and voluntaristic models of the way people behave should be scrutinised further - when people leave rented accommodation it is easy to view this as a voluntary move but which may be for other reasons (Rauta and Pickering, 1992).

In those cases where a household's move is involuntarily created by the impact of higher income and status groups in an area, however defined, such displacement should be condemned and the costs borne by the displacer and not the displacee. Indeed, the welfare costs associated with displacement could be alleviated by better monitoring and planning at a metropolitan-wide level in order to prevent such costs occurring in the first place.

There is a need to reconceptualise and enlighten opinion as to what constitute displacement, the costs of gentrification and the creation of a better understanding of the reasons for why people move. It is only where gentrification can be actively melded into the local scene as an ameliorative to social and physical decay that it should be accepted and it is likely that this is rarely possible.

It should also be understood that such an agenda will always be tempered by the existence of other agendas which are seen to have greater importance - in this respect it can be seen that other political concerns like house building, renovation and homeownership and homelessness itself will continue to dominate in a society where homeownership is still an ideal and where, it must be acknowledged, these problems are, in aggregate, larger than problems created by gentrification. In order to appreciate this point more fully one should return to the earlier results of the research and return with the realisation that each and every one of these issues is intimately extricated with the processes of restructuring, gentrification and displacement.

One is faced with the prospect that cities will change to resemble the ecological theories from which they were supposed to have departed many years ago. The polarisation and increasing homogeneity of discrete areas may make it possible for us to generalise increasingly about the characteristics of the inhabitants of these areas. This is by no means a healthy prospect; balanced communities will not spontaneously spring up if the structural factors surrounding them and the planning policies used prevent them from occurring. London seems destined to grow into a rich urban centre and a poorer periphery.

What certain areas of London are witnessing, based on the diverse data collected, is a move toward high levels of polarisation. The reason for this isn't simply job or housing market related, rather it is the erosion of peoples ability to maintain their position in certain geographic areas of the housing market compounded by legislative and monitoring inadequacies. Inner London is bound to become an area in which islands of the poor, whose tenure is protected by publicly subsidised housing, of one form or another, and a sea of the affluent homeowner and renter. In areas like Notting Hill and Camden such patterns are highly visible as the middle market is squeezed out by the potential returns for rental and owned property in these areas and the ease and speed with which this can be achieved.

Final remarks

The targeting and definition of what is a gentrified area by market research has reached new levels in recent times⁷ which means that the effectiveness and extent of development for gentrification around the city will continue to grow in the near future. An important dichotomy in the gentrification literature has been the separation of consumption and production-side explanations of the process. The gentrification frontier in London appears to be moving into a phase characterised by development which is carried out by people who represent their own customers⁸.

The new Labour government, under the new Minister for Housing, Hilary Armstrong, announced plans in 1997 to introduce homelessness as a new priority category for social housing and the referral of the homeless to private landlords only if they can guarantee a tenancy of two years. These appear to be sending out better signals than the past administration and yet there is a long way to go.

The difficulty in designing an adequate methodology centres around the fundamental distinction between those moves made for voluntary reasons and those which are forced. Of course, as has been shown, the very distinction between voluntary and coerced moves is more than academic, it is a value-based distinction.

The troughs and peaks of gentrification activity may well be hidden from empirical view but theoretical suppositions can be made about the nature of such change and statistical models can be used to indicate potential future changes. Certainly the interviews with the TRWs would indicate that legislative and social changes continuing in the late nineties will mean that displacement will continue and may well increase:

⁷Observer, 4 May, 1997 'M is for market research'. A gentrified village has, according to Mosaic (a system of social classification based on house type), "high landscape value within easy commuting distance...excellent prospects for suppliers of garden products...estate versions of upmarket cars will sell well". Not only does this bring in the largely absent rural dimension of gentrification but it also suggests a highly superficial characterisation of the process by market researchers.

⁸ The Observer, 12 March, 1995, I'll Take Manhattan, Roger Tredre

“an increased displacement...will result from the growing trend of gentrification”
(van Kempen and van Weesep 1993:15)

It is anticipated that further and more extensive work in this field and at this level of analysis would yield valuable data on displacement. The time and resource constraints of the research undertaken did not permit more extensive knowledge being obtained. The ultimate consideration of the problem in the British context would still be through a detailed subjective exploration of displacees themselves.

If one were to be forthright in a final analysis the US literature could be drawn on and it might be possible to suggest that the interpretation of the data collected was indicative of a displacement process similar to that experienced there. Further, on the basis of the knowledge gained over the destinations of and experiences of displacees in America one could infer that similar problems are experienced in London, especially in the supporting TRW interviews. These ideas are mediated by legislative and cultural differences in particular but it is unlikely that the gentrification and displacement processes in the UK can be seen as wholly different from those across the Atlantic.

Whereas the rich can be left to their Knightsbridge's and Hampstead's the poor will not be left to North Southwark and King's Cross - they are too cheap, the rich will appropriate them, since they are central, and their market interest, in aggregate, will make the investment sound. To finish, one should go back to Chester Hartman who argued that;

“It is true that we do not have good estimates of the precise magnitude of the current displacement problem...[but] Those who claim that recent analogous history is not necessarily true of today's displacement problem must prove otherwise” (1979b:23)

We can no longer accept the invisibility of these processes when logic dictates that such large levels of socio-economic transformation cannot occur without displacement occurring, especially when these groups are characterised by vulnerability.

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Appendix A

Part One: Descriptive statistics

Greater London

	Mean	Std Dev	Variance	Range	Min	Max	N
Gent							
Prof	5.31	5.47	29.94	35.20	-13.0	22.2	754
OwnOcc	9.15	6.72	45.13	47.84	-7.0	40.9	754
Degree	5.51	4.19	17.52	26.40	-2.8	23.6	754
Disp							
WC	-11.32	4.94	24.38	30.80	-26.8	4.0	754
Renting	-2.81	4.68	21.86	58.10	-30.5	27.6	754
Old	-1.27	2.61	6.81	22.00	-10.6	11.4	754
Unskld	-0.96	2.20	4.84	17.40	-11.0	6.4	754
Ethnic	1.33	2.80	7.84	22.60	-10.2	12.4	754
UB40	10.19	4.79	22.93	28.10	0.3	2.4	754
LPar	3.08	2.28	5.19	13.60	-0.2	13.4	754

Inner London

	Mean	Std Dev	Variance	Range	Min	Max	N
Gent							
Prof	8.33	5.09	25.94	26.90	-4.7	22.2	297
OwnOcc	11.19	5.78	33.43	40.02	-2.2	37.8	297
Degree	7.42	3.92	15.35	21.10	-0.9	20.2	297
Disp							
WC	-13.96	4.56	20.83	28.10	-26.8	1.3	297
Renting	-4.88	5.25	27.56	42.50	-30.5	12.0	297
Old	-2.31	2.11	4.47	14.30	-10.6	3.7	297
Unskld	-1.84	2.54	6.46	15.70	-11.0	4.7	297
Ethnic	0.78	3.03	9.18	21.40	-9.2	12.2	297
UB40	13.70	4.62	21.33	28.10	0.3	28.4	297
LPar	4.19	2.19	4.80	13.20	0.0	13.2	297

Outer London

	Mean	Std Dev	Variance	Range	Min	Max	N
Gent							
Prof	3.35	4.78	22.81	30.10	-13.0	17.1	457
OwnOcc	7.82	6.95	48.33	47.84	-7.0	40.9	457
Degree	4.27	3.88	15.04	26.40	-2.8	23.6	457
Disp							
WC	-9.60	4.38	19.22	26.70	-22.7	4.0	457
Renting	-1.46	3.69	13.59	45.40	-17.8	27.6	457
Old	-0.6	2.68	7.19	19.00	-7.6	11.4	457
Unskld	-0.38	1.72	2.95	15.20	-8.8	6.4	457
Ethnic	1.68	2.58	6.66	22.60	-10.2	12.4	457
UB40	7.90	3.28	10.78	19.20	2.5	21.7	457
LPar	2.35	2.03	4.11	13.60	-0.2	13.4	457

Part Two: Quartile Analysis

Top Quartile N=77					
Variable	Mean	Std Dev	Range	Min	Max
PROF	15.10	2.22	9.80	12.4	22.2
OWNOCC	12.38	5.94	30.24	2.1	32.3
DEGREE	10.76	3.62	19.40	4.2	23.6
WC	-17.69	3.22	17.80	-26.8	-9.0
RENTING	-6.12	5.67	31.40	-19.4	12.0
OLD	-3.04	2.01	8.90	-7.6	1.3
UNSKILLD	-3.01	2.61	12.30	-9.7	2.6
ETHNIC	-.66	2.94	19.70	-10.2	9.5
LPAR	3.91	1.92	8.00	-.1	7.9
UB40	12.59	3.70	17.30	3.8	21.1
Second Quartile N=80					
PROF	11.06	.75	2.80	9.8	12.6
OWNOCC	12.06	6.49	40.02	-2.2	37.8
DEGREE	9.37	3.59	15.60	2.0	17.6
WC	-15.84	3.51	18.90	-24.9	-6.0
RENTING	-6.12	5.45	32.50	-30.5	2.0
OLD	-2.28	2.17	10.80	-6.3	4.5
UNSKILLD	-1.82	2.39	15.70	-11.0	4.7
ETHNIC	-.06	2.79	17.70	-9.2	8.5
LPAR	2.94	1.91	8.90	.0	8.9
UB40	10.88	4.56	23.90	.3	24.2
Third Quartile N=73					
PROF	8.93	.55	1.80	8.0	9.8
OWNOCC	11.12	6.75	38.69	-4.6	34.1
DEGREE	7.01	3.52	15.20	.2	15.4
WC	-14.70	2.83	12.80	-21.4	-8.6
RENTING	-3.75	4.56	19.80	-15.9	3.9
OLD	-1.71	2.63	17.10	-5.9	11.2
UNSKILLD	-1.23	2.14	12.20	-5.8	6.4
ETHNIC	.54	1.77	10.50	-4.7	5.8
LPAR	3.96	2.18	8.20	.2	8.4
UB40	11.82	4.31	16.80	2.7	19.5
Lowest Quartile N=73					
PROF	7.26	.43	1.40	6.6	8.0
OWNOCC	8.87	5.24	25.66	-1.2	24.4
DEGREE	6.18	3.77	16.90	1.4	18.3
WC	-13.23	3.30	17.00	-23.3	-6.3
RENTING	-3.24	4.06	20.90	-17.8	3.1
OLD	-1.75	2.03	11.10	-6.8	4.3
UNSKILLD	-1.19	2.05	10.10	-6.8	3.3
ETHNIC	1.19	2.77	18.00	-5.8	12.2
LPAR	3.54	2.25	8.60	.1	8.7
UB40	11.58	5.10	21.20	4.5	25.7

Appendix B - Raw data from 1981/1991 censuses showing ppi for each ward and gentrification/displacee variable

Borough	Ward name	OOcc	Degree	Prof	Ethnic	Old	Rent	Unskld	WC	UB40	LPar
CAMDEN	ADELAIDE	9.6	8.2	4.9	2.1	-0.8	-4.2	0.1	-14	8.4	1.6
CAMDEN	BELSIZE	14.7	10.5	3.9	-0.8	-4.1	-12	-1	-13	7.2	0.8
CAMDEN	BLOOMSBURY	10.4	9.9	10.5	-0.5	-2.9	-13	-1	-16	8.3	1.8
CAMDEN	BRUNSWICK	10.1	10.3	4	2.6	-11	-3.8	-0.6	-9	10.6	1.3
CAMDEN	CAMDEN	11.7	11.8	13.1	2	-4.2	-11	-2.8	-21	13	5.1
CAMDEN	CASTLEHAVEN	8.9	4.2	11.2	2	0.6	-1.1	-2.8	-12	11.8	5.8
CAMDEN	CAVERSHAM	11.4	3.6	5	1.7	-3.5	-1.9	-0.5	-14	8.5	4.2
CAMDEN	CHALK FARM	9.6	8.6	12.1	0.1	-0.3	-5.3	-7.7	-6	4.5	0
CAMDEN	FITZJOHNS	9.5	10.6	-2.7	-0.7	-2.5	-10	0.4	-11	7.3	0.8
CAMDEN	FORTUNE GREEN	8.3	16.5	15.2	-0.2	-5.6	-11	-0.7	-19	9.2	1.7
CAMDEN	FROGNAL	7.5	5.6	6.4	0.4	0.2	-5.9	-0.9	-6.9	5.2	0.6
CAMDEN	GOSPEL OAK	8	10.6	9.9	1.2	0.3	-4.3	1.6	-17	12.3	5.3
CAMDEN	GRAFTON	8.8	8.1	16.2	0.8	-1.4	-0.1	-0.4	-19	13.4	7.3
CAMDEN	HAMPSTEAD TOWN	8.1	15.1	5.7	-1.4	0	-8.1	-0.6	-11	4.1	0.7
CAMDEN	HIGHGATE	9.9	8.7	6.1	0.3	-0.3	-6.8	-1.2	-8.8	9	2.5
CAMDEN	HOLBORN	6.1	5.7	13.4	3.8	-2.8	-7.3	-0.4	-24	14.1	3.7
CAMDEN	KILBURN	11.6	7.8	15.9	-3.1	-1.6	-14	0.4	-20	13	3.7
CAMDEN	KING'S CROSS	8.7	4	-4.2	6.2	-6.2	-8.3	1.3	-11	16.1	3.6
CAMDEN	PRIORY	11	3.6	2.4	0.9	-2.7	-3.3	-0.9	-12	15.1	5.3
CAMDEN	REGENT'S PARK	10.3	3.6	3.5	5	-1.9	-4	0.7	-13	11.6	3.7
CAMDEN	ST.JOHN'S	9.9	8.6	7.8	-2.3	-2.3	-8.8	-4.5	-10	10.2	3.6
CAMDEN	ST.PANCRAS	10.6	6.3	7.1	2.6	-1.9	-2	-6.8	-7.6	16.2	5.3
CAMDEN	SOMERS TOWN	6.3	2.6	4	4	-0.9	1.1	-0.4	-4.2	14.6	5.5
CAMDEN	SOUTH END	7	6.9	1	0.9	-0.6	-12	-0.2	-3.3	10.1	3.2
CAMDEN	SWISS COTTAGE	13.5	9.3	9.4	0.4	-2.4	-11	-0.1	-17	10.3	2
CAMDEN	WEST END	13	17.6	10.8	-2.2	-3.7	-13	-0.1	-13	10.4	2.1
HACKNEY	BROWNSWOOD	15.4	12	13.4	-5.9	-3	-15	-1.4	-21	16.4	3.3
HACKNEY	CHATHAM	10.3	5.1	9.5	-0.8	-1.1	1.4	-1.8	-9.7	18.3	8
HACKNEY	CLISSOLD	12.8	10.1	15	-3.4	-2.3	-7.9	-1.2	-19	18.8	4.1
HACKNEY	DALSTON	13	10.5	9.4	-0.4	-2.2	-9.8	-1	-19	18.3	4.8
HACKNEY	DE BEAUVOIR	11.1	6.1	9.8	0.2	0.9	0	-1.9	-19	18.3	4.8
HACKNEY	EASTDOWN	7.7	2.2	6.8	-3	-1.4	-3.6	-1.8	-19	25.7	6.2
HACKNEY	HAGGERSTON	8.8	3.9	0.9	1.3	-0.8	1.2	-6.5	-13	22.3	6.7
HACKNEY	HOMERTON	7	11.2	8.9	-1.6	-4.8	-4.3	-2.5	-14	19.5	4.4
HACKNEY	KINGS PARK	8.9	-0.7	-0.1	1.3	1.6	3.5	-3.6	-11	23.2	6.2
HACKNEY	LEABRIDGE	12.1	6.1	7.5	-2.6	-3.6	-6.2	-1.2	-23	19.2	4.9
HACKNEY	MOORFIELDS	13.7	7.9	12.7	2.9	0.9	-1.1	-3.3	-17	18.5	4.2
HACKNEY	NEW RIVER	6.6	7	7.7	0.7	-3.7	0.4	-1.8	-20	20.3	5.6
HACKNEY	NORTH DEFOE	5.5	16.7	17.6	-4.1	-2.5	-6.3	-2.1	-22	17.5	5.6
HACKNEY	NORTHFIELD	6.6	4.2	3.7	-1.2	-7.1	-12	0	-12	17.3	4.8
HACKNEY	NORTHWOLD	10.9	4.2	13.6	-2.8	-4.4	-8	-2.8	-13	20.4	6

HACKNEY	QUEENSBRIDGE	7.8	7	6.1	1.3	-1.8	-3.1	-0.8	-14	25	6
HACKNEY	RECTORY	9.4	10.1	17.4	-2.6	-4.2	-11	0.3	-21	21.1	7.9
HACKNEY	SOUTH DEFOE	8.3	7.5	11.8	-4.3	-0.1	-3.7	1.7	-18	17.6	3.9
HACKNEY	SPRINGFIELD	10.9	4	2.3	-1.9	-5.9	-1.7	1.1	-13	18.3	4.9
HACKNEY	VICTORIA	14.6	5.9	7.3	1.9	-4	-7.1	-3.8	-13	17	7.2
HACKNEY	WENLOCK	9	5.2	3.9	2.1	-3.3	1.1	0.5	-14	20.4	6.4
HACKNEY	WESTDOWN	12.3	8.5	5.2	-2.6	-0.3	-14	-5.6	-12	21.7	6.4
HACKNEY	WICK	13.5	3	6	0.6	-2.6	-3	0.7	-16	16.8	6.2
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	ADDISON	16	12.7	7	-3.1	-5.8	-14	0.5	-12	16.9	4.1
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	AVONMORE	13.3	12.7	8.1	-0.6	-3.4	-10	-3.5	-15	11.3	2.9
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	BROADWAY	16.1	6.5	11.7	0.3	-3.9	-0.1	-4.9	-15	10.9	4.4
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	BROOK GREEN	10.8	15.6	7.7	-0.2	-6.8	-11	-3.1	-14	10.2	2.5
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	COLEHILL	11.7	15.1	13	-1.2	-6.6	-11	-0.7	-20	9.1	1.6
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	COLLEGE PARK & OLD OAK	14.6	3.9	8.7	0.5	-1	-1.4	-0.8	-15	14.2	4.8
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	CONINGHAM	9.4	10.6	16.7	-3.2	-2.6	-12	-4.5	-20	17.3	3.1
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	CRABTREE	6.4	9.7	5.7	-0.2	-3.9	-11	-4	-13	9.3	1.1
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	EEL BROOK	14.7	14.3	21	-0.9	-5.2	-12	-7.1	-18	12.4	4.9
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	GIBBS GREEN	16.8	12.1	12.8	-0.6	-2.6	-19	1	-14	14.1	4.6
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	GROVE	12.7	5.4	15	-3.3	-3.7	-9.8	-2.9	-13	8.8	1.2
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	MARGRAVINE	13.1	12.1	15.7	-1.3	-3	-13	-4.4	-17	13.2	3.6
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	NORMAND	12.1	9.8	11.3	0.8	-3	-6.7	-6.3	-9.1	12	3.6
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	PALACE	10.4	8.8	2.9	-0.4	-3.6	-11	0.5	-12	8.3	1.2
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	RAVENSOURT	10.5	7.1	3.9	-0.3	-2.8	-13	-2.9	-8.5	10.5	2.5
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	SANDS END	10.5	12.9	14.5	-2.1	-4.3	-3.9	-6.2	-14	11.9	5.3
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	SHERBROOKE	11.6	9.5	11	-1.3	-3.1	-7.7	-2.1	-15	8.4	1.8
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	STARCH GREEN	12.1	10.9	15.4	-4.3	-4.5	-9.2	-0.5	-19	8.6	3.1
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	SULIVAN	13.3	10	16.7	0.4	-6.9	-5.2	-3	-19	10.5	3.8
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	TOWN	13.2	20.2	14.9	-1.6	-5.2	-10	-4.1	-19	7.5	0.9
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	WALHAM	10.9	6.6	12.1	1	-2.5	-5.2	-1.8	-12	10	3.1
HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM	WHITE CITY & SHEPHERDS BU	10.4	4.7	9.2	-2.3	-1.6	-2.9	-0.1	-19	18.3	8.2
HAMMERSMITH	WORMHOLT	9.6	8.7	12.4	-1.4	-1.3	-6.4	0.9	-22	11.1	4.2

H AND FULHAM											
HARINGEY	ALEXANDRA	9	11.9	9.9	-3	-2.1	-8.6	-1.4	-16	10.1	2.9
HARINGEY	ARCHWAY	8.8	10.8	-1.6	0.3	-3.6	-12	0.2	-10	10.5	2.2
HARINGEY	BOWES PARK	1.6	7.9	6.6	-2	-2	-1.5	0.5	-12	18.1	4.4
HARINGEY	BRUCE GROVE	1.2	1.2	6.4	-2.4	-2.2	-2.9	1.7	-16	21.4	5.4
HARINGEY	COLERAINE	2	1.5	3.6	3.2	-3.2	2.7	1.2	-16	25.1	8.2
HARINGEY	CROUCH END	10.8	6.7	6.7	-2	-2.5	-13	-0.7	-12	15.6	2.1
HARINGEY	FORTIS GREEN	8.5	8.9	6.2	0.1	-3	-7.7	0.5	-9.2	10.1	2.3
HARINGEY	GREEN LANES	1.8	9.4	7.9	-4.2	-2.4	-5.1	1.7	-23	21.5	4
HARINGEY	HARRINGAY	-2.2	9.6	12.3	-9.2	-0.8	-3	-1.9	-25	21.7	3.7
HARINGEY	HIGH CROSS	7.7	1.6	-2.1	1.8	-0.5	4	1.3	-11	21.4	6.7
HARINGEY	HIGHGATE	5.2	4	4	1.2	-1	-3.3	0.5	-11	7.8	2.2
HARINGEY	HORNSEY CENTRAL	9.4	9	11	-0.5	-4.6	-4.3	-0.3	-18	14.7	4.6
HARINGEY	HORNSEY VALE	10	15.4	10.7	-7.6	-1.4	-8.2	-1.3	-21	14.3	4.1
HARINGEY	MUSWELL HILL	7.6	14.5	8.8	-0.9	-2.6	-9.8	-1.6	-15	12.3	2
HARINGEY	NOEL PARK	10.4	4.3	1.4	-1.1	-4.5	0.3	-1.4	-11	20.2	5.2
HARINGEY	PARK	6.7	3	-2.8	2.1	-0.1	1.5	1	-8.2	20.6	5.6
HARINGEY	SEVEN SISTERS	10.8	9.7	11.5	0.1	-1.9	-2.7	4.7	-24	20.5	5.4
HARINGEY	SOUTH HORNSEY	8.7	12.5	18.1	-6.2	-3	-10	-5.3	-23	15	6.2
HARINGEY	SOUTH TOTTENHAM	4.3	6.7	11.4	-3.5	-1.9	-0.2	-2.6	-18	18.3	4.8
HARINGEY	TOTTENHAM CENTRAL	9.2	4.9	8.1	-0.9	-0.5	-2.2	-0.6	-17	19.1	5.4
HARINGEY	WEST GREEN	0	6.4	8.6	1.8	-4.9	-0.7	0.7	-21	19.2	5.3
HARINGEY	WHITE HART LANE	14.9	2.4	4.3	2.9	-2.1	3.3	2	-17	16.9	11.2
HARINGEY	WOODSIDE	4.3	4	5.5	0.4	-2.6	-1.1	0.3	-15	17	4.9
ISLINGTON	BARNSBURY	9.8	8	7.4	0.7	-1.9	-3.6	-1.4	-17	15.5	4.4
ISLINGTON	BUNHILL	8.3	4.1	4.6	1.5	2.8	0.4	-1.3	-11	13.7	4.3
ISLINGTON	CANONBURY EAST	10.8	7.2	9.5	-0.4	-0.6	-4.4	1.4	-20	14.5	4.9
ISLINGTON	CANONBURY WEST	6.7	6.2	8.4	0.7	-1.5	-1.2	-0.3	-18	13.5	7.4
ISLINGTON	CLERKENWELL	10.1	3.8	4.3	1.3	-3.6	-2.7	-2.5	-9.1	17	5.3
ISLINGTON	GILLESPIE	7.7	14.5	4.4	-2.2	-3.9	-9.4	0.4	-15	11.4	5.2
ISLINGTON	HIGHBURY	8.7	6.3	5.6	-2.8	-2.8	-8.8	-0.9	-14	13.9	5.1
ISLINGTON	HIGHVIEW	7.4	3.9	7.7	-1.6	-1.2	-4.1	-0.8	-17	18.7	7.5
ISLINGTON	HILLMARTON	12.5	6.3	8.8	-0.7	-0.6	-4.4	-0.8	-14	13.7	5.2
ISLINGTON	HILLRISE	11.1	2.4	5.4	-1.7	-1.4	-7.2	-0.9	-11	13.1	5.2
ISLINGTON	HOLLOWAY	10.8	7.3	8	-1.5	0.8	-1.4	-4.4	-18	14	5.9
ISLINGTON	JUNCTION	5.9	9.9	4.9	-1.6	-1	-8.8	-2.5	-8.6	14.2	4.9
ISLINGTON	MILDMAY	10.3	11.5	13.2	-0.1	-3.2	-4.7	-3.1	-14	14.5	6.8
ISLINGTON	QUADRANT	13.7	9.3	14	-0.9	-4	-6.8	-5.1	-16	12.6	4.1
ISLINGTON	ST.GEORGE'S	12	6.7	11.9	-2.4	-1.2	-8.4	-3.5	-18	15.2	5.1
ISLINGTON	ST.MARY	11.3	11.8	17.8	-0.9	-1.2	-4	-3	-19	11.7	2.9
ISLINGTON	ST.PETER	9.4	10.7	8.2	-0.1	-3.1	-6.2	-2.9	-14	15	5.6
ISLINGTON	SUSSEX	4.9	4.9	13.6	-2.3	-1.3	-2.3	-5.7	-16	17.2	6.4
ISLINGTON	THORNHILL	11.3	2	1.2	0.2	0.4	-3.3	-1.5	-13	16.7	6.2

ISLINGTON	TOLLINGTON	9.7	7.8	9.6	-2.5	-2.2	-1.8	-0.6	-16	17.4	6.2
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	ABINGDON	6.3	11.3	14.5	0.7	-0.4	-11	-0.6	-17	7.9	1.1
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	AVONDALE	7.7	8.2	10.4	-0.9	0.8	-4.1	-1.3	-16	15.4	6
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	BROMPTON	3.4	14	9.6	0.2	-3.2	-8.6	-1.1	-13	4.1	2.4
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	CAMPDEN	9.8	14.4	4.8	-0.1	-1.7	-11	1.8	-13	5	0.7
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	CHEYNE	7.5	10.2	4.2	-0.3	0.4	-8.1	0.4	-7.1	5.5	0.6
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	CHURCH	2.9	5	18.2	1.9	-4.4	1.2	2.6	-27	9.1	0
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	COLVILLE	8.5	4.9	9.1	-1	-2.7	-13	1.1	-13	13.6	4.8
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	COURTFIELD	17.7	12.8	9.9	-2.1	-0.5	-22	-0.6	-20	7.2	0.6
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	EARLS COURT	8.6	8.8	9.5	-1.6	1.2	-16	1.2	-19	12.1	1.7
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	GOLBORNE	5.1	2.2	2.4	-2.9	-1.3	-2.4	2.3	-11	20.1	7.7
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	HANS TOWN	-1.2	1.6	8.4	1.6	0	1.7	-0.4	-16	5.4	0.8
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	HOLLAND	7.7	10.5	7.9	0.9	-2.7	-11	0.3	-10	8.5	1.5
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	KELFIELD	13.7	8.5	11.9	-1	-3.7	-17	-3.6	-18	11.9	3.2
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	NORLAND	12.8	8.6	3.3	-0.1	-2	-13	0	-6.4	6.5	1.5
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	NORTH STANLEY	10.4	-0.1	3.3	-0.8	1.9	-4	-2	-4.4	9.3	1.8
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	PEMBRIDGE	16.5	13.6	13	-1.4	0.4	-18	0.7	-18	8	0.9
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	QUEENS GATE	5	7	10.7	1.7	-1.5	-5.6	0.9	-20	7	1
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	REDCLIFFE	10.1	9.1	10.9	-0.4	-0.1	-9.8	0.8	-14	9.2	0.9
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	ROYAL HOSPITAL	-1.8	14	9	-0.7	-2.3	3.3	0.1	-16	2.7	0.4
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	ST.CHARLES	6.6	9.6	9.4	0.8	0.8	-0.8	-3.5	-12	14.9	5.6
KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA	SOUTH STANLEY	12.5	5.8	15.6	-0.6	-1.9	1.4	-4.1	-16	12.1	3
LAMBETH	ANGELL	8.3	9	6.9	1.1	-2.8	-2.3	-3.5	-12	21.7	8.7
LAMBETH	BISHOP'S	9.3	3.5	8.7	1.7	-2.1	-4	1.5	-16	15.4	6.7
LAMBETH	CLAPHAM PARK	12.2	9.2	11.4	-1.8	-3.8	-9.3	-1.5	-15	12.6	4.9
LAMBETH	CLAPHAM TOWN	12.9	8.4	13	0.5	-2.8	-12	-4.8	-18	14.7	5.1
LAMBETH	FERNDALE	10.1	12.1	14.2	-4.9	-0.6	-5.5	-6.1	-20	18.1	5.2
LAMBETH	GIPSY HILL	10.5	6.9	9.5	2.5	-2.8	-8.8	1	-17	13.9	6.6
LAMBETH	HERNE HILL	6	10.7	13.8	-0.2	-3.8	-7.9	-3.5	-18	16.3	5.7
LAMBETH	KNIGHT'S HILL	7.3	3.5	-2.2	0.6	-3.3	-5.6	-0.5	-4.3	14.4	5.5
LAMBETH	LARKHALL	11	9	18.4	0.6	-0.8	-5.1	-6.3	-19	16.5	7.5
LAMBETH	OVAL	12.8	9.3	9.3	-0.5	-3.2	-6.2	-4.6	-12	14.8	4.7
LAMBETH	PRINCE'S	12.5	7.8	7.8	0.4	-0.7	-12	-3.1	-12	14.9	7.9

LAMBETH	ST.LEONARD'S	11.7	8.7	11.1	-1.1	-2.7	-10	-0.4	-15	12.4	2.9
LAMBETH	ST.MARTIN'S	9.9	5.2	6.7	-0.4	-0.9	-5	-6	-13	17.4	6.3
LAMBETH	STOCKWELL	10.3	9.4	12.7	0.5	-0.6	-2.1	-3	-18	19.2	6.3
LAMBETH	STREATHAM HILL	18	5.5	5.6	0.3	-3.2	-7.4	-1.4	-16	12.5	4.6
LAMBETH	STREATHAM SOUTH	2.1	6.9	6.6	5.5	-0.8	-0.3	0.9	-13	11.4	2.7
LAMBETH	STREATHAM WELLS	11.3	4.8	8.4	2.2	-4.5	-12	-0.3	-16	13.5	4.3
LAMBETH	THORNTON	6.5	11	15.9	-0.8	-4	-6.5	-1.3	-20	11.8	3.8
LAMBETH	THURLOW PARK	8.7	6.4	7.1	1.9	-0.8	-7.4	-2.5	-15	12.1	3.9
LAMBETH	TOWN HALL	10.1	11.3	15.2	-1.9	-2	-6.4	-5.2	-17	18	6.4
LAMBETH	TULSE HILL	4.5	10.7	17.3	-4.3	-1	-4.9	-4.1	-24	18.1	5.7
LAMBETH	VASSALL	7.4	3	9.5	1	-1.9	-5.8	-1.7	-13	18.9	8.4
LEWISHAM	BELLINGHAM	20.3	3.8	6.4	2.2	-2.9	2.2	-1.2	-16	16.4	6.3
LEWISHAM	BLACKHEATH	13.4	1.4	5.6	0.7	-3.6	-7.7	0.6	-12	12.7	7.3
LEWISHAM	BLYTHE HILL	5.9	5.9	6	3.3	-1.3	-2	0	-13	10.4	4.4
LEWISHAM	CATFORD	10.8	4.7	6.2	2.3	-0.8	-4.5	-1.4	-11	10.8	3.5
LEWISHAM	CHURCHDOWN	14.7	0.9	3.9	1.8	0.3	0.8	-3.5	-7.4	10.5	4.9
LEWISHAM	CROFTON PARK	9	9.6	5.2	1.7	-4.7	-5.5	-2.8	-12	12.8	3.8
LEWISHAM	DOWNHAM	18.5	2.8	7.2	1.1	-1.7	1	0.6	-14	10	5.2
LEWISHAM	DRAKE	12.8	6.1	9.3	-2.9	-3.3	-9.5	-1.5	-14	14.3	5.6
LEWISHAM	EVELYN	5.8	3.9	4.9	4.6	-3.4	1	-6.4	-15	21.2	7.3
LEWISHAM	FOREST HILL	9.4	4.8	7.4	0.6	-0.3	-5.8	-3.9	-13	12.9	4.7
LEWISHAM	GRINLING GIBBONS	14.5	5.1	5.9	2	-0.8	2.2	-3	-6.8	16.5	5.1
LEWISHAM	GROVE PARK	17.4	-0.2	3.6	1.9	1.8	-1.5	-1.5	-8.3	10.5	5.4
LEWISHAM	HITHER GREEN	10.6	11.6	14.1	0.1	-1.3	-4.1	-3.4	-16	15.2	4.1
LEWISHAM	HORNIMAN	10.6	8.9	12	0.8	-0.9	-5.2	-2.6	-15	9.9	4.2
LEWISHAM	LADYWELL	6.3	8.5	9.1	0.1	-1	-0.7	-0.6	-14	13.5	5.1
LEWISHAM	MANOR LEE	9.9	14	19.8	0.2	-1.8	-5.6	-2.3	-23	9.6	2.8
LEWISHAM	MARLOWE	16.5	5.4	4	1.3	-3.6	1.6	0.2	-14	19.8	6.3
LEWISHAM	PEPYS	13.4	7.8	15.9	-1.5	-4.8	-2.9	-7.2	-16	16.7	6.7
LEWISHAM	PERRY HILL	8.2	3.3	6.8	1.9	-2.6	-5.2	-0.1	-12	10.7	4.1
LEWISHAM	RUSHEY GREEN	10	6.3	4.4	1.3	-2.2	-6.7	-4.4	-7.8	12.7	3.3
LEWISHAM	ST.ANDREW	3.6	3.3	-2.9	6.1	-3.3	0.4	-0.7	-4.3	9.8	2.8
LEWISHAM	ST.MARGARET	12.7	10.1	6.9	0.6	-1.7	-4.8	-3.3	-15	9.9	2.9
LEWISHAM	ST.MILDRED	6	7.8	7.7	2.6	-0.1	-2.9	2	-14	8.6	3
LEWISHAM	SYDENHAM EAST	13.3	3.9	3.5	1.8	-2.3	-5	-1	-11	14.2	5.8
LEWISHAM	SYDENHAM WEST	13.5	6.4	5	2.5	-0.1	-4	-0.3	-13	13.1	6.5
LEWISHAM	WHITEFOOT	7.5	1.6	6.6	4.1	-1.5	-0.2	-0.4	-13	12.9	6.6
NEWHAM	BECKTON	17.4	0.5	2.7	1.5	2.1	1.3	-5.8	-5.1	15.7	13.2
NEWHAM	BEMERSYDE	8.9	4.2	6.2	4.7	-3.4	-3.6	-1.6	-15	12.9	4.2
NEWHAM	CANNING TOWN & GRANGE	15.5	-0.9	-3.3	1.9	-0.8	-2.3	3	-12	15.1	7.4
NEWHAM	CASTLE	5.2	4.7	4	4.9	-0.9	-2	-4.8	-14	16.3	4.9

NEWHAM	CENTRAL	1.3	2.6	0.8	7.9	-3	-3.5	-0.7	-12	18.3	2
NEWHAM	CUSTOM HOUSE & SILVERTOWN	22.1	3.4	8.6	2.2	0.3	0.4	-1.2	-11	15.1	7.2
NEWHAM	FOREST GATE	7.2	6.7	11.3	2.7	-1.9	-5.3	-4.7	-13	14.8	4.7
NEWHAM	GREATFIELD	6	3.5	4.9	4.2	-2.4	-0.8	-0.6	-14	10	2.7
NEWHAM	HUDSONS	11.2	2.5	7.1	3.1	-2.1	-5.6	0.9	-21	13.4	4.5
NEWHAM	KENSINGTON	2.1	3	-2.1	4.2	-2.4	-1.8	-3.4	-7.6	18.9	2.8
NEWHAM	LITTLE ILFORD	6	1.3	1.9	9.3	-2.8	-0.3	-0.6	-12	19	5.1
NEWHAM	MANOR PARK	5.8	4.7	6.9	6.6	-4.4	-4.5	-0.4	-15	15.7	2.7
NEWHAM	MONEGA	0	5.3	0.4	7.9	-4.4	-3.4	0.9	-15	20.8	2.1
NEWHAM	NEW TOWN	6.1	7.2	8.6	2	-2.4	-6.2	-4.4	-14	14.5	6.2
NEWHAM	ORDNANCE	11.7	2.7	4.2	2.2	1.1	-1	3.5	-13	21	8.5
NEWHAM	PARK	5.1	6.4	6	2.5	-4.1	-7.3	-4.5	-9.7	17.8	5.5
NEWHAM	PLAISTOW	10.1	3.6	7.9	4.2	-2.8	-4.4	-3	-8.2	16.7	4.9
NEWHAM	PLASHET	8.5	2.3	6.8	1.7	-1	-3.8	-5	-12	16.3	5.3
NEWHAM	ST.STEPHENS	2.3	6.4	7.5	8.9	-5	-2.8	-0.1	-14	19.5	3
NEWHAM	SOUTH	18.8	7.1	13.3	6.3	-6.2	-1.8	-6.8	-14	11.7	5.4
NEWHAM	STRATFORD	11.5	5.5	3.2	3.3	-1	-2.5	-2.4	-3.1	17.3	6
NEWHAM	UPTON	2.6	0	6.1	4.1	-1.7	-5	-3.6	-14	17	2.8
NEWHAM	WALL END	2.6	3.3	5.6	11	-4.1	1.8	-3.3	-15	16.6	3.1
NEWHAM	WEST HAM	9.7	2.3	2.6	4	-2.5	-2.3	-5.8	-3.3	15.8	7.2
SOUTHWARK	ABBAY	11.2	9.7	17.3	1.8	-4.4	0.6	-6.3	-17	17.7	7.4
SOUTHWARK	ALLEYN	10.4	10.5	17.2	-0.4	-2.9	-8.6	-1.1	-15	11.9	3.3
SOUTHWARK	BARSET	7.7	1.7	3.6	1.7	-2.1	-3	-1.7	-3.4	11.9	5.8
SOUTHWARK	BELLENDEN	10.4	14.3	10.7	-2	-4	-9	-0.3	-19	15	3.8
SOUTHWARK	BRICKLAYERS	24.8	4.4	11.8	2.7	-6.3	2	-3.6	-15	14.5	6.9
SOUTHWARK	BROWNING	7.5	5.5	5.7	2.6	-2	-0.5	-4.4	-11	19.3	5.4
SOUTHWARK	BRUNSWICK	8.6	4.3	5.6	2.3	-2.7	0.5	-3.6	-13	18.6	6.9
SOUTHWARK	BURGESS	6.7	7	8.8	0.2	-1.3	-1.5	-3.7	-16	16.4	6.5
SOUTHWARK	CATHEDRAL	11.1	6.8	15.5	3.3	-1	-1.7	-9.7	-9	12	4.7
SOUTHWARK	CHAUCER	9.9	5.7	5.6	4.5	-2.4	-2.2	-4	-14	18.3	5.7
SOUTHWARK	COLLEGE	13.2	9	8.6	3.1	2.1	0.7	-1.1	-14	7.1	3.8
SOUTHWARK	CONSORT	7.3	4.9	1	1.8	-3.7	-0.4	-1.7	-5.9	22.7	7.8
SOUTHWARK	DOCKYARD	32.3	12.3	20	1.3	-7.5	4.4	-8.2	-19	11.4	6.1
SOUTHWARK	FARADAY	9.5	5.3	5.4	3.6	-0.3	-0.6	-4.5	-6.3	21.4	8.4
SOUTHWARK	FRIARY	4.6	7.3	11.4	2.5	-3.5	-0.9	-3.7	-20	24.2	8.1
SOUTHWARK	LIDDLE	3	5.8	3.9	7.9	-1.1	2.4	0.1	-20	28.4	10
SOUTHWARK	LYNDHURST	11.5	7.1	6.8	2.6	-2.5	-2.6	-2.4	-14	15.2	4.7
SOUTHWARK	NEWINGTON	14	9.5	15.5	2.8	-1.5	1.6	-4.5	-24	15.7	5.9
SOUTHWARK	RIVERSIDE	18.2	12.5	22.2	2.7	-6.3	12	-9.5	-18	13.5	4.2
SOUTHWARK	ROTHERHITHE	7.8	0.9	-3.2	2.9	3.7	-0.4	-3.5	-11	18.3	6.1
SOUTHWARK	RUSKIN	10.5	11.2	11	1.1	-1.8	-3.7	0.2	-21	8.2	1.9
SOUTHWARK	RYE	12.3	8.9	12.9	0.5	-3.7	-8.9	-1.9	-18	12	4.8
SOUTHWARK	ST.GILES	12.1	7.2	4.8	-1.5	-2.2	-3.3	-0.6	-13	16.4	5.4
SOUTHWARK	THE LANE	9.3	5.1	4.1	0.6	-0.6	-1.5	1.7	-12	17.7	5.8
SOUTHWARK	WAVERLEY	11.8	7.5	11	1.9	-3.2	-5.2	0.1	-18	16.4	6.3
TOWER HAMLETS	BLACKWALL	17.2	4.7	10.4	5.2	2	1.8	-7.5	-9.3	13.3	3.7
TOWER HAMLETS	BOW	20	4.9	12.9	2.5	-0.6	-0.4	-5.8	-15	16.9	6.5
TOWER	BROMLEY	11.5	4.4	4.4	5.2	-0.4	1.2	-0.5	-16	18.3	5.7

HAMLETS												
TOWER HAMLETS	EAST INDIA	20.5	5.3	5.1	4.8	-2.6	1.4	-7.2	-5.5	15.6	6.4	
TOWER HAMLETS	GROVE	16.7	18.6	14.5	-2	-3.2	-11	-3.7	-16	12.1	4	
TOWER HAMLETS	HOLY TRINITY	17	4.2	4	11.6	-3.4	0.7	-0.4	-17	20.3	4.7	
TOWER HAMLETS	LANSBURY	16	3.1	3.2	5.6	0.4	1.7	-4	-11	17.4	6.6	
TOWER HAMLETS	LIMEHOUSE	18	3.6	10.8	8.5	0.8	-0.7	-5.5	-13	17.1	4.7	
TOWER HAMLETS	MILLWALL	29.3	10.2	15	4.8	-1	8.2	-3.2	-18	12	4	
TOWER HAMLETS	PARK	14.8	0.8	6.3	2.5	2.6	1.8	-0.8	-8.4	15.2	4	
TOWER HAMLETS	REDCOAT	14.6	1.6	3.4	9.7	-1.1	1.6	-3.5	-13	17.2	2.4	
TOWER HAMLETS	ST.DUNSTAN'S	13.8	3.7	7.6	12.2	-4.3	1.2	-5.2	-16	18.1	4.3	
TOWER HAMLETS	ST.JAMES'	17.6	5.5	3.1	5.8	-0.1	-1.2	-2.7	-9.9	14.8	3.8	
TOWER HAMLETS	ST.KATHERINE'S	26.4	5.7	9.2	1.6	-1.5	3.9	-1	-14	14.3	2.7	
TOWER HAMLETS	ST.MARY'S	15.7	9.3	20.4	3.9	-6.4	-10	-7	-14	10.6	1.6	
TOWER HAMLETS	ST.PETER'S	20.4	6.5	13.9	9.5	-4.7	2.2	-3.7	-20	16.5	4	
TOWER HAMLETS	SHADWELL	19.7	6.5	11.9	7.7	-4.9	-0.2	-11	-14	15.2	3.2	
TOWER HAMLETS	SPITALFIELDS	14.4	5.5	9.8	0	-4	-7.9	-5.8	-9.9	17.6	1.7	
TOWER HAMLETS	WEAVERS	14.5	4.4	12.1	5.4	-2.9	-0.9	-6.4	-8.7	19.4	4.5	
WANDSWORTH	BALHAM	18.1	14.8	12.6	-4.6	-4.8	-9.3	-2.9	-13	8.7	1.5	
WANDSWORTH	BEDFORD	17.9	14.4	8.9	-4.7	-3.1	-13	-1.7	-12	9.5	2	
WANDSWORTH	EARLSFIELD	13.8	11.3	13.6	-2.4	-4.6	-7.8	-4.1	-10	11.2	2.3	
WANDSWORTH	EAST PUTNEY	13.2	12.1	9.8	0.6	0.6	-3.6	1.2	-16	7.5	0.9	
WANDSWORTH	FAIRFIELD	22.7	14.1	11.2	-2.3	-3.6	-8.7	-3.3	-13	9.4	1.8	
WANDSWORTH	FURZEDOWN	13.7	7.7	5.7	2.5	-2.4	-2.9	-1.1	-13	11.3	1.7	
WANDSWORTH	GRAVENEY	11.3	12.3	12.7	1.7	-3.7	-3.2	-0.4	-16	13.7	2.6	
WANDSWORTH	LATCHMERE	22.9	6	8.1	-1.4	0.4	2.4	-4.4	-13	16.3	5.7	
WANDSWORTH	NIGHTINGALE	15.7	14	13.7	-5.8	-3.1	-12	-1.2	-16	7.6	2.2	
WANDSWORTH	NORTHCOTE	17.3	14.7	11.4	-3.4	-5.4	-10	-4.3	-13	7.3	0.4	
WANDSWORTH	PARKSIDE	32.9	11	11.7	0.3	1.7	1.2	-0.1	-16	9.2	1.7	
WANDSWORTH	QUEENSTOWN	14.7	5.1	8.2	0.3	-3.5	-7.7	1.5	-15	14.4	5	
WANDSWORTH	ROEHAMPTON	28.7	2.7	0.4	1	3.5	1.5	2.1	-11	13.2	4.5	
WANDSWORTH	ST.JOHN	24.6	13.2	18.3	-3.5	-5	0.7	-6.8	-18	11.9	5.6	
WANDSWORTH	ST.MARY'S PARK	28	7.7	14.1	-0.5	-3.8	1.2	-2.2	-16	12	2.7	
WANDSWORTH	SHAFTESBURY	16.5	10.2	13.3	-2.6	-3	-6.7	-3.5	-17	9.9	0.9	
WANDSWORTH	SOUTHFIELD	14.2	16	10.2	-0.5	-5.2	-6.7	-1.9	-17	7.7	2.1	
WANDSWORTH	SPRINGFIELD	22.8	10.9	10.8	1.5	-5.7	-8.5	-1.8	-14	6.9	1.8	
WANDSWORTH	THAMESFIELD	16.1	14.9	10.2	0.2	-5.1	-10	-0.9	-13	6.2	0.6	
WANDSWORTH	TOOTING	7.3	10	10.2	-1.2	-3.1	-2	-0.5	-14	13.2	2.7	

WANDSWORTH	WEST HILL	19.9	9.4	10.5	1.4	1	0.8	-1.3	-15	9.3	3.5
WANDSWORTH	WEST PUTNEY	22.6	7.6	9.1	1.2	-0.4	-0.5	-1	-12	7.7	2
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	BAKER STREET	11.2	4.5	0.4	0.5	-6.4	-11	1.4	-4.8	7.8	0.5
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	BAYSWATER	18.7	6.3	8.1	0.5	-1.5	-6.5	-0.8	-19	10	2
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	BELGRAVE	-1.1	9.9	7.2	0.5	1.7	-3.6	1.6	-10	5.7	0.8
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	BRYANSTON	6.9	6.1	-1.4	1	-7.1	-7.9	-1.4	-7.9	8.7	0.5
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	CAVENDISH	11.7	1.7	-2.7	-2.2	0.5	-13	-0.9	-5.8	8.3	1
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	CHURCHILL	17.8	6.6	9.8	1	0.4	-2.7	1.1	-17	7.7	1.8
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	CHURCH STREET	18	3.7	4.8	3.4	-1.8	0.5	-2.9	-5.1	12.2	5.1
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	HAMILTON TERRACE	9.3	7.9	3.7	1.3	-6	-8.7	1.3	-10	7.9	0.7
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	HARROW ROAD	22.3	12.7	15.7	-2.5	-2.4	-6.4	-0.9	-14	12.3	4.1
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	HYDE PARK	6.6	4.9	-0.1	1.6	-4.7	-4.6	3.2	-4.8	10.9	1.5
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	KNIGHTSBRID GE	3.8	8.7	0	1.8	0.8	-4.4	0	1.3	4.4	0
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	LANCASTER GATE	6.9	6.6	-4.7	0.3	-3.5	-12	3	-11	12.6	1.5
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	LITTLE VENICE	37.8	13.2	11.5	2.4	-4	-31	-1.9	-22	10.3	2.1
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	LORDS	8.7	5.1	0.9	3.3	-4.4	-2.6	-0.7	-5	6.8	1.8
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	MAIDA VALE	24.6	13.2	12.7	2.9	-7.6	-19	-1.6	-15	8.9	2.3
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	MILLBANK	19.8	4.6	9.7	2.2	-2	0.7	0.2	-8.6	8.4	2.5
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	QUEEN'S PARK	16.3	5	8.7	-0.9	-0.7	-1.8	-4.7	-15	14	6.4
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	REGENT'S PARK	6.2	4.6	-3.2	3.5	-4.3	-1.5	-0.3	-4.3	6.9	0.8
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	ST.GEORGE'S	11	5.5	3.9	1.3	-2.2	-13	2.2	-13	8.4	0.7
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	ST.JAMES	8.2	5.8	11	1.8	-0.9	-9.1	-4.9	-14	0.3	0.9
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	VICTORIA	8.8	6.4	3.6	0.3	-1.7	-5.6	-1.7	-6.2	10.2	1.2
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	WESTBOURNE	21.1	6.9	11.3	-1.7	-0.4	-8.7	-5	-15	9.7	4.9
WESTMINSTER ,CITY OF	WEST END	2	6.5	2.8	-0.3	-7	-7.8	0.5	-9.1	9.2	1.2
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	ABBEY	5	3.4	10.3	0.7	-2.2	1.4	-1.2	-13	13.2	3.7
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	ALIBON	22.2	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.9	1.9	-0.9	-8.1	8.1	2.5
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	CAMBELL	37.3	0.7	3.9	0.9	-1	1	-1.9	-9.4	8.7	3.4
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	CHADWELL HEATH	6.2	-0.4	0.6	2	1.3	-0.9	-1.5	-8.9	6.3	1.4

BARKING AND DAGENHAM	EASTBROOK	17.9	-0.2	2.2	0.1	4.1	-0.7	-1.9	-6	7.3	2
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	EASTBURY	24.4	2	11.9	0.7	4.5	0.4	-1.1	-16	7.5	2.1
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	FANSHAWE	25.1	-0.2	6.5	0.2	-0.6	1.6	-2.6	-6.5	8.4	2.5
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	GASCOIGNE	11.1	1.2	3	1.4	-1.1	0.9	0	-9.1	16.2	10.5
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	GORESBROOK	40.9	0.1	4	0.7	-0.9	1.6	-0.1	-12	10.2	3
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	HEATH	16.6	0.2	3.5	0.4	3.9	0.2	1.3	-9.2	8.2	5.2
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	LONGBRIDGE	8.2	2.7	2.1	1.6	-1	-0.7	0.7	-9.3	5.3	0.8
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	MANOR	23.7	1.1	3.9	0.8	-2.7	1.6	-8.8	-0.5	7.1	3
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	MARKS GATE	34.1	0.2	8.7	0.4	11	1.8	6.4	-21	9.4	6.7
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	PARSLOES	34.4	1.5	5.2	0.3	-0.4	1.6	-0.5	-10	7.9	2.7
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	RIVER	8.1	1.4	6.9	0.5	-1.2	-0.2	-4.6	-14	7.8	3.1
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	THAMES	22.5	1	3.5	0.9	6.1	1.3	-6.7	-5	9.2	6.1
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	TRIPTONS	23.1	1.5	4.5	0.9	-0.2	1.5	-1.9	-8.1	6.8	2.1
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	VALENCE	22.5	1.4	6.1	0.4	0	2.1	-1.1	-9.4	8	2.3
BARKING AND DAGENHAM	VILLAGE	21.3	0.5	1.3	0.5	-0.1	0	-1.3	-12	9.1	4.4
BARNET	ARKLEY	13.9	3.6	2.9	0.9	2.1	-0.7	1.9	-14	7.6	2.7
BARNET	BRUNSWICK PARK	2.2	5.4	2.9	5.2	-2.3	0.8	-0.3	-11	7	1
BARNET	BURNT OAK	25.4	4	10.5	4	-3.2	1.9	-1.4	-12	9.7	5.4
BARNET	CHILDS HILL	7.4	8.8	5.4	0.1	-1.9	-2.4	0.2	-9.5	8.4	1.9
BARNET	COLINDALE	8.8	3.9	3.5	1.8	0.1	-2.3	0.3	-4.9	10.6	6.2
BARNET	EAST BARNET	9.7	5.8	8.6	2.4	-2.2	-0.7	-0.4	-15	6	1.3
BARNET	EAST FINCHLEY	7	9.5	13.6	-1.4	-1.9	-4.2	0.9	-18	9.7	2.4
BARNET	EDGWARE	9.8	7.5	0.6	3.6	-0.8	0.1	0.6	-10	5.3	1.7
BARNET	FINCHLEY	3.4	9.4	3.1	0.6	-1.4	-0.2	-0.3	-6.7	5.9	0.9
BARNET	FRIERN BARNET	5.2	4.6	4.5	2.4	-1	-2.3	-0.5	-10	6.7	1.1
BARNET	GARDEN SUBURB	2.4	8.4	-0.6	1.4	-1.5	-2.6	-0.3	-11	3.8	0.4
BARNET	GOLDERS GREEN	0	9.9	6	0.1	-1.7	2	-1.6	-12	8.3	1.4
BARNET	HADLEY	4.8	9.2	7.1	1.1	-0.3	-2.6	0.4	-16	5.4	0.8
BARNET	HALE	6.8	5.6	5.2	4	-0.6	-0.8	1.6	-12	5.7	1.1
BARNET	HENDON	6.6	8.5	0.5	2.5	-2.1	-3.5	-0.9	-7.9	7.4	1.7
BARNET	MILL HILL	6.4	5.4	3.1	1.3	0.5	-1.3	-1.2	-9.9	4.6	1.6
BARNET	ST.PAULS	2	5.5	5.2	0.8	-2	-0.1	-0.6	-8.6	7.3	0.4
BARNET	TOTTERIDGE	-1	8.4	5.7	2.3	0.5	2.3	-0.3	-13	5	1.1
BARNET	WEST HENDON	9.2	5.4	2.3	1.6	-2.5	-1	-0.8	-4.9	7	2.5

BARNET	WOODHOUSE	11.9	8.6	10.7	1.4	-3.6	-2.5	-0.5	-15	8.3	1.5
BEXLEY	BARNEHURST	3.4	1	-6.5	0.8	2	-1.9	0	1.2	5	0.3
BEXLEY	BARNEHURST NORTH	2.6	5.4	13.6	-0.1	0.1	-4.7	-0.7	-14	3.8	-0.1
BEXLEY	BELVEDERE	7.4	2.5	-1	0.8	0.3	-2.1	-2.4	-3	8.1	2.6
BEXLEY	BLACKFEN	2	3.7	-1.8	1.4	-0.2	-1.6	2.5	-8.2	7	0.9
BEXLEY	BLENDON & PENHILL	1.3	2.2	1.6	0.5	1.9	-1.1	1.3	-7.3	4.6	0.6
BEXLEY	BOSTALL	3.1	1.2	2.4	1.2	0.2	-0.6	-0.2	-8.2	5.1	0.7
BEXLEY	BRAMPTON	2.2	-0.9	1.6	0.8	0.5	-0.3	-1.3	-7.5	4.8	1
BEXLEY	CHRISTCHURCH	2.7	2.1	7.6	0.4	-0.3	-2.1	-2.2	-7.8	6	0.6
BEXLEY	CRAY	8	5.1	7.9	0.7	4.3	0.2	0.4	-13	8.1	3
BEXLEY	CRAYFORD	8.1	0.7	2.8	0	-0.4	-2.9	1.4	-12	7.8	1.5
BEXLEY	DANSON	2.9	0.6	1.8	0.9	-0.1	-1.2	2.3	-8.4	6.9	1.3
BEXLEY	EAST WICKHAM	9.2	1.7	3.3	1.3	2.4	0	1.3	-9	6.3	0.9
BEXLEY	ERITH	8.3	0.6	-0.1	-0.7	-1	-0.7	-3.1	-6.1	9	3.5
BEXLEY	FALCONWOOD	-0.4	1.3	3.7	0.3	-0.5	0.8	-0.6	-7.6	7.6	1.1
BEXLEY	LAMORBEY	2.8	2.7	-2.7	0.7	0	-0.8	-0.6	-4	5.5	0.7
BEXLEY	NORTH END	19.3	1.6	6.2	0.1	1.6	-2.8	-0.7	-9.4	9	3.2
BEXLEY	NORTHUMBERLAND HEATH	7	2.2	6.7	1	-1.3	-1.8	1	-10	5.6	1.5
BEXLEY	ST.MARY'S	3.8	3.2	0.7	0.9	4.3	-1.8	0	-8.6	4.6	0.9
BEXLEY	ST.MICHAEL'S	5.2	2.1	3	1.1	0.5	-0.8	-0.6	-8.3	5.2	0.6
BEXLEY	SIDCUP EAST	6	0.2	4.2	0.7	3.3	-0.1	-0.4	-9.8	4.5	1
BEXLEY	SIDCUP WEST	8.5	3.9	0.6	0.2	2	-3.1	1.4	-8.8	5	0.3
BEXLEY	THAMESMEAD EAST	23.6	2	3.5	1	0.7	25.8	-1.2	-8.3	13.1	6.5
BEXLEY	UPTON	9.6	0.6	-1.6	0.5	4.8	-1.6	0.3	-3.5	6.7	0.7
BRENT	ALPERTON	-1.5	3.4	-3	4.5	-3.5	2.3	-0.4	-5.5	12.3	3.1
BRENT	BARHAM	2	5.4	3.3	4.7	-3.2	1.6	1.6	-15	9.8	2.7
BRENT	BARNHILL	-1.6	7.9	-0.3	7.3	-2.3	4.9	0.6	-7.5	5.3	2.4
BRENT	BRENTWATER	-2.1	3.3	4.1	0.4	-2.8	-0.3	-1.2	-14	10.9	5.3
BRENT	BRONDESBURY PARK	13.4	4	9.7	-1.5	-1.8	-13	-4	-14	11.9	4.2
BRENT	CARLTON	10.2	1.6	9.4	0.7	-0.1	1.8	-1.5	-14	14.2	6.6
BRENT	CHAMBERLAYNE	5.7	9.6	13.4	-1.2	-3.5	-5	-0.4	-14	8.8	4.1
BRENT	CHURCH END	0.7	-0.2	-0.6	-1.1	-2.7	-5.8	-1.4	-2	14.3	5.1
BRENT	CRICKLEWOOD	0.7	4.4	-2.3	-2.9	-2.4	-0.4	1.1	-7.3	12.9	3.2
BRENT	FRYENT	6.8	1.7	-4.5	7.2	-3.4	0.6	0	-11	9.4	1.5
BRENT	GLADSTONE	-6.5	2.9	-5.3	0.2	-4.4	2.6	1.7	0.5	8.9	3.7
BRENT	HARLESDEN	6.6	5.3	7.6	-5.8	0.1	-9.7	-1.8	-18	15.6	7.5
BRENT	KENSAL RISE	4.9	9.5	15.2	-10.2	1.3	-1.1	-4.8	-18	13.2	4.8
BRENT	KENTON	-5.4	1.8	-2.7	12.4	-3.5	3	0.2	-2.8	5.1	1.8
BRENT	KILBURN	12.5	5.4	11.5	-4.9	-0.1	-18	-0.2	-23	13.6	3.2
BRENT	KINGSBURY	6.4	2.6	-3.4	11.7	-1	1.1	0.3	-14	8.5	1.2
BRENT	MANOR	4	1.9	2.2	-4.4	-3.2	-6.7	4.2	-11	11.9	6.2
BRENT	MAPESBURY	14.6	8	6.6	-4.2	-1.8	-18	-1	-12	13	3.7
BRENT	PRESTON	-0.9	5.8	-3.5	7.7	-1.7	2.2	0.4	-3.3	9.7	1.8
BRENT	QUEENSBURY	-0.6	3.5	-7.6	8.2	-3.3	0.3	2.4	-9.4	8.1	1.4

BRENT	QUEENS PARK	11.6	9.3	11.3	-6.5	-1.2	-13	1.2	-18	13.1	3.5
BRENT	ROE GREEN	3.2	1.7	-1	4.8	-1.8	-3	-1	-3.9	8.5	2.3
BRENT	ROUNDWOOD	6.8	0.6	4.1	-2.4	1.6	-4.7	0.6	-13	17	8.6
BRENT	ST.ANDREW'S	6.2	2.4	0.7	0.5	-1.1	1.6	0.1	-11	16.7	6.9
BRENT	ST.RAPHAEL'S	8.4	3.2	1.6	-1.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	-15	18.5	10.2
BRENT	STONEBRIDGE	8.8	1	2.8	-1.9	2.7	-4.4	-0.4	-12	15.1	7.6
BRENT	SUDBURY	-3.5	4.2	0.2	9.3	-3.1	1.3	-2.6	-6.5	8.8	2.9
BRENT	SUDBURY COURT	-5.1	4.8	-1.4	10.9	0	5.5	-0.6	-3.5	8.6	1.2
BRENT	TOKYNGTON	-0.4	0.9	1.2	-1.9	-0.2	-1.1	1	-11	9.7	2.6
BRENT	WEMBLEY CENTRAL	7.6	7.3	3.6	1.5	-2.1	-1.3	-1.4	-15	13.8	3.6
BRENT	WILLESDEN GREEN	4	1.7	-0.8	-5.6	-0.4	-7	-2.7	-6.3	11.3	3.7
BROMLEY	ANERLEY	15.6	5.2	6	-0.7	-1.3	-11	-1.8	-11	9.9	4.4
BROMLEY	BICKLEY	2.3	3.3	0.2	0.9	2.2	-1.3	0.5	-8.6	5.4	1
BROMLEY	BIGGIN HILL	2.2	-2.2	-0.4	0	2.2	-0.4	-0.7	-5.4	4.7	1.1
BROMLEY	BROMLEY COMMON & KESTON	12.7	1.8	5	0.7	1.1	-2.3	-0.2	-12	6.3	1.5
BROMLEY	CHELSEFIELD & GODDINGTON	8.3	2.4	3.3	0.3	3.3	-0.9	-0.5	-9.8	3.9	0.3
BROMLEY	CHISLEHURST	4	5.2	-1.6	1	1	-1.2	0.8	-6.1	4.9	1.2
BROMLEY	CLOCK HOUSE	9.3	8.7	9.5	-0.1	-2.9	-6.3	-2.7	-12	7	1.2
BROMLEY	COPERS COPE	10.6	4	5	0.6	2.8	-0.3	-0.2	-10	7.1	1.4
BROMLEY	CROFTON	4.2	4.5	-0.8	0.7	5.7	-0.2	-0.6	-5	3.6	-0.2
BROMLEY	DARWIN	11.6	0.5	-3.2	0.2	2.3	-1	1.8	-12	4.7	0.4
BROMLEY	EDEN PARK	7.9	2.5	-1.5	0.9	-1.4	-1.2	-1.2	-10	4.7	0.9
BROMLEY	FARNBOROUGH	-6.8	0.7	-8.2	0.3	5.7	-0.5	-0.2	-1.6	4.9	1.2
BROMLEY	HAYES	6.6	4.7	-5.9	0.7	1.9	-1.9	0.7	-4.2	5.3	0.3
BROMLEY	KELSEY PARK	2.3	0.5	0.9	0.6	3.4	-2.7	-0.7	-8.8	4.4	-0.1
BROMLEY	LAWRIE PARK & KENT HOUSE	10.4	10	14.2	0.1	0.4	-6.2	-0.3	-17	8.4	2.4
BROMLEY	MARTINS HILL & TOWN	13	3.4	0.5	0.7	-0.3	-8.6	0.6	-9	6.7	1.4
BROMLEY	MOTTINGHAM	24.8	2.4	3	0.9	0.6	0.2	-2	-12	8	3.5
BROMLEY	ORPINGTON CENTRAL	9.3	0.5	-5.1	0.5	5.6	0	1	-2.3	8.6	3.9
BROMLEY	PENGE	13.9	3.7	8.8	0.2	-2.5	-5.5	-0.4	-12	11.9	5.7
BROMLEY	PETTS WOOD & KNOLL	2.9	3.7	-0.6	0.5	2.5	-1.1	0	-9.3	4.9	0.4
BROMLEY	PLAISTOW & SUNDRIDGE	8.4	4.3	-0.4	1.1	0.8	-3.5	1	-8	6.2	1.2
BROMLEY	ST.MARY CRAY	13.5	1.8	4	0.4	1.7	-0.4	0.1	-10	7.1	1.8
BROMLEY	ST.PAUL'S CRAY	19.2	3	2.5	0.4	1.5	0.7	-1.6	-7.7	8.2	1.6
BROMLEY	SHORTLANDS	-0.4	4.1	-7.5	1	1.2	-0.2	0.3	-1	4.5	0.3
BROMLEY	WEST WICKHAM NORTH	3.5	0.5	-1.2	1.1	2.9	-0.5	1.8	-5.7	4.5	0.4
BROMLEY	WEST WICKHAM	1.8	0.9	-2.8	0.5	-0.5	-0.5	0.4	-5.1	3.9	0.3

	SOUTH											
CROYDON	ADDISCOMBE	6	8.5	9.9	0.2	-3.9	-5.9	-1.4	-16	7.6	1.5	
CROYDON	ASHBURTON	10	3.2	4.7	1.1	-0.7	-1	-1	-6.9	7	0.8	
CROYDON	BENSHAM MANOR	1.1	3.9	1.5	3.6	-3.8	-2.1	-0.6	-8.2	12	3.1	
CROYDON	BEULAH	9.8	2	-0.3	4.6	0.5	-0.5	-0.4	-8.9	7.4	2.4	
CROYDON	BROAD GREEN	11.4	2.1	4	4.9	-1.8	-4.9	-2.7	-8.2	11.6	4.8	
CROYDON	COULSDON EAST	5.6	-0.1	0.1	1	3.3	-0.5	0.5	-8.8	4.6	1	
CROYDON	CROHAM	7.7	7.5	5.6	1.1	-0.9	-7.5	-0.4	-11	5.5	1	
CROYDON	FAIRFIELD	7.2	4	2.6	0.8	1.1	-5.4	-0.7	-7	6.9	1.7	
CROYDON	FIELDWAY	28.6	0.3	1	0.3	5.4	1.4	3.6	-9.4	15.3	10.2	
CROYDON	HEATHFIELD	6	-0.3	-5	0.4	4	0.6	0.9	-4	4.8	1.3	
CROYDON	KENLEY	8.7	3.7	0.3	1.1	1.6	-2.1	0	-8.9	4.9	1.8	
CROYDON	MONKS ORCHARD	5.3	5.5	2.9	2	1.5	-1.4	-0.9	-6.6	5.5	1.8	
CROYDON	NEW ADDINGTON	21	-1.5	-1.4	0.2	4.4	0.2	-0.3	-6.7	8.9	6.1	
CROYDON	NORBURY	2.4	1.1	-1.1	6.1	-0.6	-0.6	-1.2	-5.3	9.2	2.6	
CROYDON	PURLEY	4.1	3.5	4.6	1.9	-1.6	-1.9	-1.8	-10	5.1	1.1	
CROYDON	RYLANDS	6.7	2.3	3.6	2	-3.9	-5.3	1.4	-14	8.8	3.5	
CROYDON	SANDERSTEAD	6.7	1.6	-5.6	1.7	2.5	-0.5	0	-1.3	3.6	0.7	
CROYDON	SELSDON	2	1	-8.6	1.2	1.5	-1	0.5	0.3	3.4	0.5	
CROYDON	SOUTH NORWOOD	12.5	0.8	3.9	0.2	-3.5	-8.4	-0.5	-9.4	8.9	3.7	
CROYDON	SPRING PARK	6.8	1.5	5.3	2.2	1.4	-0.7	-1.5	-8.3	5.9	4.9	
CROYDON	THORNTON HEATH	4.6	1.5	-1	1.7	-3.5	-6	1.3	-8.5	11.1	3.8	
CROYDON	UPPER NORWOOD	12.2	8.5	5.7	3.1	-1	-4.8	-0.4	-13	9.1	4.3	
CROYDON	WADDON	14.1	4.6	4.2	0.8	-2.1	-3.5	-0.6	-8	8	2.2	
CROYDON	WEST THORNTON	2.4	3.4	4.1	6	-2.7	-2.5	0.1	-11	11.6	2.9	
CROYDON	WHITEHORSE MANOR	11	4.4	5	0.9	-1.6	-7.8	-2.7	-5.6	10.2	4.3	
CROYDON	WOODCOTE & COULSDON WEST	5.5	3.4	-4.4	2.2	-1.3	-2.9	1.7	-8.6	4.5	0.5	
CROYDON	WOODSIDE	7.8	1.9	3.5	-0.5	-4.2	-6.6	1.7	-9	7.9	2.5	
EALING	ARGYLE	7.6	7.7	10	0.7	-2.6	-2.7	-1.1	-16	8.8	3.8	
EALING	COSTONS	-0.6	4.2	3.1	1.9	-1.3	1.3	-0.5	-13	8.9	1.9	
EALING	DORMERS WELLS	8.8	1.6	2.7	5.3	-1.9	0.3	0.2	-7.7	9	4.9	
EALING	EALING COMMON	10.9	12.3	5.9	1.3	-3.7	-8.4	-2.4	-10	10.4	2.1	
EALING	ELTHORNE	2.1	8.7	13.5	-1.7	-2.1	-3.8	-0.5	-23	9.9	1.5	
EALING	GLEBE	3.5	2.1	1.9	-2.9	-0.6	-1.1	1.9	-8.3	12.9	2.8	
EALING	HANGER LANE	-0.3	9.6	2.9	0.8	-1.6	-2.8	-0.6	-10	6.6	1.2	
EALING	HEATHFIELD	9	7.5	5.6	-0.8	-3	-7.5	0.2	-9.6	14.2	4.6	
EALING	HOBBAYNE	9.1	9.5	9.2	0.8	-2.5	-1.2	-2.8	-14	10.4	4	
EALING	MANDEVILLE	15.9	2.9	2.9	2.3	2.7	0	-0.9	-11	7.6	5.4	
EALING	MOUNT PLEASANT	5.3	0.4	4.2	1	-0.2	1	-0.3	-12	12.2	2.1	

EALING	NORTHCOTE	0.3	3.4	4.9	-6.2	1.5	-2.3	0.8	-13	13.5	1.9
EALING	NORTHFIELD	3.5	15.9	14.8	-0.4	-3.1	-2.2	-1.6	-20	6.8	1.1
EALING	PERIVALE	-2.7	5.7	2.8	4.7	-2	3.5	0.8	-13	9.1	1.8
EALING	PITSHANGER	5.4	17.6	-2.4	-0.1	-1.5	-6.5	-0.1	-3.8	6	1.1
EALING	RAVENOR	12.9	3.3	0.1	2.1	0.9	-1.4	-0.9	-5.2	8.5	4.2
EALING	SOUTHFIELD	11.4	23.6	15.3	-1	-4.3	-9.1	-1	-19	7.7	1.8
EALING	SPRINGFIELD	13.5	10.6	12.8	-1.4	-4.2	-13	-1.3	-16	10.3	5.3
EALING	VALE	11.8	8.6	11.3	-1.8	-1.8	-8.7	-2.6	-16	9.1	2.7
EALING	VICTORIA	1.7	7	8.8	0.3	-4.2	-2.7	-1.3	-9.9	9.1	4.6
EALING	WALPOLE	5.4	12.7	12.1	-3	-2.6	-6.5	-1.8	-15	7.1	0.9
EALING	WAXLOW	0	1.1	2.3	5	-1.5	1.4	-0.3	-6.2	11.3	1.9
EALING	WEST END	20.4	2.6	6.8	3.7	1.4	1.6	0.1	-15	9.5	5
EALING	WOOD END	6.9	6.6	-0.5	4	-1.5	1.1	-1.8	-7.7	7.8	2.3
ENFIELD	ANGEL ROAD	10.5	2.7	9.7	5.8	-4	-0.8	-5.6	-12	14.3	5.9
ENFIELD	ARNOS	6	8.1	5.9	1.2	-1.5	-0.3	0	-12	10.2	3.1
ENFIELD	BOWES	-4.6	7.7	8.6	-1.8	-2.9	-2	1	-16	14.1	3.7
ENFIELD	BULLSMOOR	12.7	0.9	0.4	2.1	1.5	-0.8	2.1	-5.9	8.2	1.6
ENFIELD	BUSH HILL	10.6	6.4	7.7	1.2	-3.3	-1.9	-0.6	-12	8.6	2.2
ENFIELD	BUSH HILL SOUTH	2.1	4.6	0.8	3.3	-3.1	-1.4	0.7	-8.8	5.3	1
ENFIELD	CAMBRIDGE ROAD	22.5	2.8	2.4	2.6	-2.2	-0.2	-3.2	-2.5	7.3	2
ENFIELD	CHASE	9.2	-2.4	-1.2	0.5	2.1	-1.1	1	-7	6.8	2.4
ENFIELD	CHURCH STREET	10	2.4	-2.2	3.7	-0.7	-1.3	1	-2.6	8.5	1.4
ENFIELD	COCKFOSTER S	6.7	2.1	-8.6	5	0.5	1	2.4	-2.6	7.4	1
ENFIELD	CRAIG PARK	13.8	1.6	2.1	5.1	-3.4	-1.1	-4.1	-4.2	19	6.2
ENFIELD	ENFIELD WASH	13.5	0.6	3.8	2.2	-1.5	-0.1	0.2	-8.9	9.9	2.4
ENFIELD	GRANGE	4	4.9	-2.2	1.5	2.7	-1.3	0.2	-4.8	3.8	0.6
ENFIELD	GREEN STREET	11.3	1	4	2	1	-1.1	-2.5	-3.1	9	2.4
ENFIELD	HIGHFIELD	4.3	6.6	6.9	4	-0.5	-1.7	-2.3	-8.2	7.9	0.8
ENFIELD	JUBILEE	6.1	2.2	3.6	5.5	-1.6	-1.1	3	-6.5	11.5	2.4
ENFIELD	NEW PARK	-1.5	0.1	2.8	6.7	-4.7	0.6	1.1	-9.5	12.1	2.5
ENFIELD	OAKWOOD	0.9	5.5	1	5.7	-0.9	-0.3	0.4	-9.9	6.5	1.6
ENFIELD	ORDNANCE	10.7	3.1	3.6	1.8	-1.6	-0.5	-3	-5.9	11.1	2.6
ENFIELD	PALMERS GREEN	0.4	10.2	6.5	1.8	-4.5	-1.2	1.3	-15	11.5	1.9
ENFIELD	PONDERS END	6.3	1.5	1.6	3	-2	-2.6	2.8	-6.5	12.2	3.3
ENFIELD	PYMMES	14.3	1.4	4.4	5.1	-0.4	1.5	-3	-3.9	15.5	4.1
ENFIELD	ST.ALPHEGE	12	3.8	2.5	5.7	-1.9	0.9	-0.7	-13	10.8	2.2
ENFIELD	ST.PETER'S	5.7	0.3	2.4	3.9	-1.2	-2	1	-12	12	4.6
ENFIELD	SILVER STREET	4.8	3.8	3.3	4.1	-2.1	-2	-0.1	-12	13.5	5.1
ENFIELD	SOUTHGATE GREEN	3.1	5.6	-1	2.4	-2.7	-3.2	-0.5	-2.6	5.8	0.8
ENFIELD	TOWN	5.8	4.6	6.6	1	-2.6	-2.4	1.1	-12	6.9	0.8
ENFIELD	WEST	8	2.1	5.3	2.8	3.1	1.5	1.1	-11	4.4	0.7
ENFIELD	WILLOW	6.2	2.8	3.8	1.1	-3.1	-2.7	1.8	-11	6.1	1.1
ENFIELD	WINCHMORE HILL	3.3	5.4	2.1	3.8	-3.2	-2.4	-2	-7.1	5.5	0.7

GREENWICH	ABBEY WOOD	7.1	3.6	1.2	2.6	-2.5	-1.6	-0.7	-5.4	8.9	4.6
GREENWICH	ARSENAL	6.7	3.3	-0.4	1.9	0.9	0.6	1.1	-15	17.1	7
GREENWICH	AVERY HILL	7.3	-0.6	-2	1.5	-0.4	0.1	1.1	-15	5.9	2.8
GREENWICH	BLACKHEATH	9.3	4.1	1.1	0.1	2.2	-3.7	-0.8	-8.7	5.5	0.9
GREENWICH	BURRAGE	4.3	2.1	7.1	0.1	-1.9	3.1	-0.4	-14	17	8.2
GREENWICH	CHARLTON	5.6	8.9	9.1	-0.4	-2.3	-5.7	3.8	-19	12.4	4.8
GREENWICH	COLDHARBOUR	23.5	3.4	8.2	1.2	6.6	0.8	0.8	-11	6.8	1.4
GREENWICH	DEANSFIELD	2.3	2.3	5.7	1.6	-2.6	-0.2	-1.9	-6.4	5.1	0.8
GREENWICH	ELTHAM PARK	6.6	8.1	7.1	0.7	3.1	-1	0.8	-14	4.7	0.3
GREENWICH	EYNHAM	11.9	1.6	4.7	2	3.9	0.7	-2.7	-12	14.1	6.8
GREENWICH	FERRIER	6.3	2.8	0.3	2	-0.8	-0.2	2.6	-9.7	19.2	13.4
GREENWICH	GLYNDON	14.2	5.2	5.7	-0.7	-5.9	6.3	-3.3	-4.9	14.8	6.5
GREENWICH	HERBERT	5.2	0	0	0.7	-1.9	0	-2	-12	15.1	6.8
GREENWICH	HORNFAIR	14.8	3	9.1	1.5	2.4	0.3	-3.1	-15	8.8	3.6
GREENWICH	KIDBROOKE	13.4	0.3	3.7	2.1	2.2	1.2	-3.4	-12	8.3	2.1
GREENWICH	LAKEDALE	1.2	5.8	6.8	1.7	-3	0.2	-1.5	-15	12.9	3
GREENWICH	MIDDLE PARK	20.2	1.1	2.7	0.9	1.7	1.1	-2.3	-11	11.7	5.3
GREENWICH	NEW ELTHAM	3	0.8	-2.7	1.5	-1.1	-1.3	0.5	-4.9	7.3	1
GREENWICH	NIGHTINGALE	5.5	-1.8	-3.5	1	3.4	-4	1.2	-4.6	17.4	11.6
GREENWICH	PALACE	6.4	2.5	9.9	1.2	2.8	-1.5	1.3	-11	4.6	0.6
GREENWICH	PLUMSTEAD COMMON	-0.1	5.4	-1.4	-1.1	-2.9	0.1	-0.4	-5.3	9.3	3.7
GREENWICH	RECTORY FIELD	7.1	4.7	9	2.4	-4.2	-1.1	-3.4	-14	13.2	7.1
GREENWICH	ST.ALFEGE	15.3	10.4	12.7	0.3	-2.1	-9.3	-3.8	-16	12.6	3.1
GREENWICH	ST.MARY'S	8.4	1.3	5.1	1.8	-7.6	0	0.5	-12	21.7	12.3
GREENWICH	ST.NICHOLAS	1.4	3.8	4.6	2.8	0	-1.2	-1.9	-7.8	12.5	4
GREENWICH	SHERARD	25.3	1.1	3.6	0.7	2.5	1.4	4.9	-10	11.5	3.3
GREENWICH	SHREWSBURY	5.7	5.7	2.8	0.3	-0.6	-0.5	0.6	-7.6	9.5	2
GREENWICH	SLADE	5.3	3.5	3.9	3.1	-4.3	-2	-1.5	-12	9.5	3.3
GREENWICH	SUTCLIFFE	-3	1.2	-12	2	1	-0.8	0.5	-2	8.8	2.9
GREENWICH	TARN	5	1.6	-2.4	0.6	-0.1	-0.9	-0.9	-12	8.8	1.9
GREENWICH	THAMESMEAD MOORINGS	30.2	2.5	2.2	1.3	1.2	27.6	-4.9	-6.9	14.8	6.7
GREENWICH	TRAFALGAR	10.4	7.9	15.9	0.3	0.3	-10	0.7	-21	11.3	3.4
GREENWICH	VANBRUGH	11.8	3.7	4.3	0	1.2	-6.8	-1.3	-17	6.6	1.4
GREENWICH	WELL HALL	6.3	4	0.6	0.9	0.6	-2.1	2.9	-6.6	7.5	2.3
GREENWICH	WEST	7.6	3.3	6.1	1	-1	-3.7	0.2	-13	17	6.9
GREENWICH	WOOLWICH COMMON	5.7	2.5	7.4	0.5	-3	-4.7	-1.8	-6.3	12.2	8.1
HARROW	CANONS	10.1	3.3	-0.3	2.7	0.7	0.1	0.5	-7.8	5.5	0.6
HARROW	CENTENARY	0.5	2	-1.5	9.9	-4.5	-0.6	-0.4	-7.7	7.4	0.9
HARROW	GREENHILL	5	8.9	3.5	0.7	-2.1	-1.8	-2.4	-6.6	8	2.2
HARROW	HARROW ON THE HILL	2.8	6.5	-1.5	4.2	-4.5	1.4	1.2	-8.2	6.3	2.1
HARROW	HARROW WEALD	3.3	2.4	5	4.6	-1.5	-0.3	-0.4	-10	6.6	2.2
HARROW	HATCH END	3.3	0.5	-0.4	6.2	1	-0.1	-1.9	-5.1	4.6	0.5
HARROW	HEADSTONE NORTH	-0.1	8.8	2.8	6	-0.6	-1	-0.3	-7.6	4.7	0.6
HARROW	HEADSTONE SOUTH	0.9	4.9	3.5	1.4	-1.7	1.3	0.4	-7.3	7.8	0.5

HARROW	KENTON EAST	6.5	3.4	4.6	9.2	-2.2	-0.3	2.8	-14	8.3	1.3
HARROW	KENTON WEST	1.5	1.6	-7.3	10.1	-1.7	0.8	0.8	-4.7	6.5	1.7
HARROW	MARLBOROUGH	3.1	6.9	4	1.1	-3.6	-2.7	-1	-13	8.1	2.4
HARROW	PINNER	8.6	5.9	0.2	4.2	0	-0.9	1	-11	5.3	2.2
HARROW	PINNER WEST	1	3.1	-1.3	3.7	0.7	0.8	-0.6	-7.8	4.4	1.8
HARROW	RAYNERS LANE	1.1	5.7	-3.7	6	-1.6	0.7	0.9	-7	5.2	2.2
HARROW	RIDGEWAY	3.3	5.3	4.4	2.3	-1.7	0.4	-1.4	-11	6.5	1.7
HARROW	ROXBOURNE	1.9	4.7	5.5	5.1	-3.6	0.6	-0.4	-11	7.3	2.9
HARROW	ROXETH	2.5	6.5	8.1	4	-1.2	0.2	-2	-10	7.8	1.1
HARROW	STANMORE PARK	7.1	1.1	-4.5	4.1	1.8	0.7	1	-1.3	4.9	0.9
HARROW	STANMORE SOUTH	1.5	3	-0.3	8.3	-2.6	2.2	0.8	-9	8.4	2
HARROW	WEALDSTONE	4.3	2.4	0.4	2.2	-0.8	-2.1	-3.1	-6.3	9	1.1
HARROW	WEMBOROUGH	1.6	5.6	2	7.5	-2.3	0.3	-0.9	-6.5	5.5	0.7
HAVERING	AIRFIELD	13.9	1.4	2.4	0.1	7.1	0.2	-1.7	-2.4	5.9	2.4
HAVERING	ARDLEIGH GREEN	1.7	0.2	-1.9	0.8	3.9	-0.1	0	-2.7	4.4	0.8
HAVERING	BROOKLANDS	6	2	1.9	0.3	0	-2.7	-0.1	-9	6.6	1.3
HAVERING	CHASE CROSS	14.8	2.7	1.9	0.4	5.3	0.3	1.3	-11	9.7	3.9
HAVERING	COLLIER ROW	6.4	2.4	3.4	0.2	3.7	0.5	-2.5	-10	6.4	1
HAVERING	CRANHAM EAST	6.6	0.9	-0.4	0.1	11	-0.6	1.3	-7.9	5	0.2
HAVERING	CRANHAM WEST	0.8	5.1	2.2	0.5	11	0.1	1.3	-9.5	3.9	0
HAVERING	ELM PARK	3.9	1.8	7.5	0.3	3.7	0.5	-1.1	-7	5.1	1.1
HAVERING	EMERSON PARK	0.9	1	0.3	1.7	3	-0.8	0	-7.1	3.9	0.6
HAVERING	GIDEA PARK	1.7	3.5	2.1	0.5	2.1	-0.7	-1.2	-4.5	3.6	0.5
HAVERING	GOOSHAYS	14.5	2.2	7.9	0.1	2.6	1.3	-1.2	-14	8.3	3.1
HAVERING	HACTON	7.2	2.1	5.6	0.7	2.3	-1.7	-1.4	-7.3	4.6	0.7
HAVERING	HAROLD WOOD	5.3	1.9	2.7	0.2	5	-1.4	0.5	-9.9	4.8	0.6
HAVERING	HEATH PARK	4.3	1.5	3.8	0.4	2.2	-0.5	-2.1	-8.3	5.9	1
HAVERING	HEATON	12	1.6	4.7	0.2	3.4	1.4	-0.2	-9.2	8.2	1.9
HAVERING	HILLDENE	19.5	1.1	5.8	0.1	4.7	2.3	-1.4	-12	7.8	4.5
HAVERING	HYLANDS	5.5	2.9	4.3	0.3	-0.9	-0.9	1.7	-8.6	4.9	0.8
HAVERING	MAWNEY	7	0.1	-1.1	0.3	3.7	-1.4	-0.9	-3.8	5.7	1.2
HAVERING	OLDCHURCH	10.7	-0.5	1.8	1.1	1.6	-1.3	-1.3	-5.9	7.4	2.4
HAVERING	RAINHAM	3.2	1.4	3.3	0.3	3.9	-1.4	-1.2	-8	5.4	1.4
HAVERING	RISE PARK	1.5	0.7	3.1	0	5.1	-0.3	1.1	-8.1	4.9	0.9
HAVERING	ST.ANDREWS	6.2	2.1	4.5	0.3	1.5	-2.8	0.5	-13	5.4	0.8
HAVERING	ST.EDWARD'S	4.2	1.3	0.4	0.8	0.3	-1	0.3	-4.8	4.1	2.2
HAVERING	SOUTH HORNCHURCH	5.1	-0.6	2.2	0.2	6	-0.3	-0.4	-7.4	7.7	1.8
HAVERING	UPMINSTER	2.3	2.1	0.2	0.3	-0.2	-1.6	0.8	-5.6	2.9	0.2
HILLINGDON	BARNHILL	7	2.2	2.9	6	1.1	0.4	0.7	-4.3	7.6	2.2
HILLINGDON	BOTWELL	14.7	2.7	3.8	2.3	-1.4	-0.8	1	-8.1	7.9	3.8
HILLINGDON	BOURNE	14	7.4	12.1	1.1	0.4	-2.3	-0.5	-12	5.8	2.1
HILLINGDON	CAVENDISH	8.5	3.1	2.6	2.3	1.6	0.4	1.2	-7.9	5.1	1.2

HILLINGDON	CHARVILLE	7.2	1.4	1.8	2.4	0.8	-0.3	1.5	-7.6	5	1.9
HILLINGDON	COLHAM	31.6	5.3	4.7	1.8	-1.9	1	-0.4	-8.7	6.2	1.7
HILLINGDON	COWLEY	24.3	1.6	1.6	0.8	1.6	3.4	-2	-9.1	4.6	2.5
HILLINGDON	CRANE	5.2	0.8	1.9	6.3	-1.2	0.6	-0.2	-9.5	7.1	3.4
HILLINGDON	DEANSFIELD	8.2	2.6	6	1	0.9	-0.5	0.9	-14	4.2	1.1
HILLINGDON	EASTCOTE	6.2	8.5	3.2	2.1	0.5	0.6	1.4	-11	4.2	0.9
HILLINGDON	HAREFIELD	23.3	2.3	5.5	0.1	2.4	-1	6.4	-15	7	1.5
HILLINGDON	HARLINGTON	8.2	0.6	1.3	4.1	-0.3	1.6	-0.3	-7.6	5.2	1.1
HILLINGDON	HEATHROW	19.2	1.1	5.6	2.6	3.9	-1.4	-1.6	-2.5	5.7	2.4
HILLINGDON	HILLINGDON EAST	14.5	3	2.9	1.8	-1.6	-1.5	-2.5	-4.5	5.9	1.8
HILLINGDON	HILLINGDON NORTH	8.2	2.9	2	1.7	0.4	-1.3	-0.8	-6.3	4.8	2.1
HILLINGDON	HILLINGDON WEST	7.9	4.1	0.4	1.8	1.3	-4.7	-0.7	-4.1	4.8	1.3
HILLINGDON	ICKENHAM	0.1	3.9	0.7	1.7	2.4	2.1	1.3	-13	4	0.9
HILLINGDON	MANOR	0.8	2.3	8.9	1.1	-3.8	-0.3	-2.3	-13	4	0.2
HILLINGDON	NORTHWOOD	6	5	-8.6	3.8	3.4	2.5	2	-3.4	3.7	0.5
HILLINGDON	NORTHWOOD HILLS	7.8	4.1	5.5	2	-0.2	-1.2	-0.4	-13	6.3	0.9
HILLINGDON	RUISLIP	7.6	2.9	-5.3	1.3	-0.3	-0.2	-0.7	-0.5	4.2	0.8
HILLINGDON	ST.MARTINS	7	7.2	2.3	1	2.5	-4.2	-0.9	-8.8	3.8	1
HILLINGDON	TOWNFIELD	27.4	2.8	3.2	5.2	-3.5	-1.3	-3.9	-7.3	8.5	2.5
HILLINGDON	UXBRIDGE NORTH	4.4	3	0.7	2.4	1	0.2	-0.2	-10	4.6	0.2
HILLINGDON	UXBRIDGE SOUTH	20	0.9	3.1	-1	-3.2	-1	-2.9	-5.4	6.8	1.9
HILLINGDON	WEST DRAYTON	20	3.1	5	0.3	2.7	-1.7	-2.2	-7.6	4.8	1
HILLINGDON	WOOD END	15.1	-0.1	-2.3	3.3	-1.6	-1.7	0.6	-2.4	8.5	1.5
HILLINGDON	YEADING	16.5	3.1	7.3	2.4	-3.4	-0.8	-4.2	-11	8.8	3.1
HILLINGDON	YIEWSLEY	17.6	2	5.9	0.5	-2	-0.6	-2.5	-7.4	6.4	3.1
HOUNSLOW	BRENTFORD CLIFDEN	11.1	11.7	11.6	-0.6	-2.7	-6.6	-1.6	-20	8.6	1.3
HOUNSLOW	CHISWICK HOMEFIELDS	15.7	15.5	10	0	-2.9	-15	-0.5	-17	5.9	0.3
HOUNSLOW	CHISWICK RIVERSIDE	10.7	12.9	10.2	0.1	-1.2	-7.2	-2.5	-18	6.6	1.8
HOUNSLOW	CRANFORD	6.1	3.7	5	3.4	-0.7	5.5	4	-10	10.1	3.1
HOUNSLOW	EAST BEDFONT	15.1	2.2	3.3	2.6	1.4	-0.6	-2.1	-5.6	6.5	2.7
HOUNSLOW	FELTHAM CENTRAL	10.1	4.3	6	0.7	-1.9	0.2	-0.4	-9.9	6.1	3.6
HOUNSLOW	FELTHAM NORTH	12.9	4.4	2	2.4	0.5	-0.4	1.3	-9	7.1	2.8
HOUNSLOW	FELTHAM SOUTH	10.6	2.6	3.5	0.9	-1.1	-1.3	-2.6	-8	5.5	2.5
HOUNSLOW	GUNNERSBUR Y	8.7	5.2	4.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.6	-4.3	-9.7	9.7	4.2
HOUNSLOW	HANWORTH	14.6	0.5	5	1.2	0.2	-0.9	-3	-4.7	7.7	5.1
HOUNSLOW	HESTON CENTRAL	-2.7	4.1	5.3	9.2	-2.7	3.5	1.1	-11	8.5	1.2
HOUNSLOW	HESTON EAST	3.1	1.2	-2.1	11.3	-1.9	-0.7	2	-4.5	8.6	1.7
HOUNSLOW	HESTON WEST	12.6	1.3	1	7.6	-0.6	1.5	0.2	-7.5	11.4	4.5

HOUNSLOW	HOUNSLOW CENTRAL	-7	7.2	2.2	-0.3	-2.6	4.2	1.5	-8.6	7.1	2.1
HOUNSLOW	HOUNSLOW HEATH	6.5	4.5	4.1	0.1	-0.6	3.4	0.3	-8.6	8.3	1.1
HOUNSLOW	HOUNSLOW SOUTH	0.5	3.4	-0.8	3.8	-2.7	1	-1.3	-6.6	5.5	1.5
HOUNSLOW	HOUNSLOW WEST	-1	4	5.8	-0.5	-2	1.4	-3	-11	8.8	3.6
HOUNSLOW	ISLEWORTH NORTH	7.7	5.6	6.6	2.7	-1	0.7	1.1	-12	5.5	1.8
HOUNSLOW	ISLEWORTH SOUTH	12.9	7.5	13.3	0.5	-2.6	-2.8	-2.6	-16	8.6	3.8
HOUNSLOW	SPRING GROVE	-0.8	7.9	0.9	4.9	-1.8	1.8	0.2	-7	5.7	0.8
HOUNSLOW	TURNHAM GREEN	14.3	13	8.2	-0.7	-2.8	-10	-3.2	-14	6.9	1.5
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	BERRYLANDS	0.5	8	2.1	1.8	-2.2	-0.6	1	-7.2	3.9	0.4
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	BURLINGTON	3.4	11.7	7.4	1.7	-0.7	-1.4	1.9	-14	5.8	0.6
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	CAMBRIDGE	4.2	10.8	8	1.8	-2.5	1.3	-0.1	-14	5.4	1.4
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	CANBURY	4.9	19	17.1	-0.8	-5.3	-2.5	-5	-16	5.9	1.4
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	CHESSINGTON NORTH	11.4	3.3	4.2	0.8	1.7	-0.4	-2.6	-8.1	2.5	1
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	CHESSINGTON SOUTH	7	2	-3	-0.3	-0.2	-0.7	-0.5	-1.7	3.6	0.8
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	COOMBE	11.7	8	6.8	2.3	-4.4	-0.5	1.4	-16	5.5	1.6
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	GROVE	10.1	14.5	9.4	-0.4	-5	-8.7	-2.5	-20	6.6	1.4
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	HILL	3.4	1.2	-12	1.5	1.7	2.2	0.3	2.1	5.7	0.2
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	HOOK	8.6	7.1	1.5	0.5	-0.3	-0.7	0.1	-7.8	3.5	0.9
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	MALDEN MANOR	2.2	7.5	2.6	2.4	-3.8	-1.3	-2	-8.9	4.7	0.6
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	NORBITON	12.4	8.3	5.5	1.7	-4.6	-1.1	0.3	-13	8.3	3.8
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	NORBITON PARK	3.2	2.2	0.6	2	2.1	-0.3	2	-10	4.1	0.7
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	ST.JAMES	2.3	1	-0.9	2.6	0.4	1.3	2.4	-9.9	4.3	1
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	ST.MARK'S	9	14.6	8	-0.5	-4.9	-8.1	-3.6	-10	6.3	0.7
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	SURBITON HILL	9.7	10.2	10	-0.5	1.1	-3.1	-2.7	-15	4.9	0.5
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	TOLWORTH EAST	0.7	5	-3.3	3.1	-1.1	0.6	2.8	-0.1	4.4	0.2
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	TOLWORTH SOUTH	1.1	0.8	-3.8	1.2	-3.3	-2.8	0.5	-4.7	5.1	2.3
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	TOLWORTH WEST	7.4	8.6	9.9	-0.4	-1.7	-3.5	-0.8	-15	4.4	1
KINGSTON UPON THAMES	TUDOR	4.2	10.8	5	1.2	-2.7	-2.9	-0.5	-12	3.8	1.7

MERTON	ABBEY	7.7	13.3	11.9	0.8	-4.1	-3	-2.2	-18	9.5	2
MERTON	CANNON HILL	5.6	6.2	2.7	3.2	-1.6	0.6	0.1	-12	5.8	0.8
MERTON	COLLIERS WOOD	13.9	11.3	11.7	1.8	-5.4	-4.9	-1.6	-17	11	3
MERTON	DUNDONALD	5.9	15.4	8.4	-0.1	-5.3	-3.9	-0.9	-15	6.8	1.2
MERTON	DURNSFORD	3.8	9.4	7.5	-1.7	-4.4	-1.3	-1.8	-13	5.8	1.4
MERTON	FIGGE'S MARSH	11.5	1.8	2	6.1	-3.2	-2.2	-1.3	-9.5	12.3	4.2
MERTON	GRAVENEY	-2.1	2.8	0.9	4.7	-1.8	1.8	-1.4	-6	11.9	1.6
MERTON	HILLSIDE	6.4	10.2	4.7	-0.9	-2.7	-5	0	-8	5.9	0.2
MERTON	LAVENDER	18.7	2.3	7.8	3.3	-2.3	0.7	0.1	-13	14	4.5
MERTON	LONGTHORNT ON	5.6	0.8	-3.1	5.7	-1.7	0.2	1.5	-5.7	10.2	2.9
MERTON	LOWER MORDEN	5.1	1	-2.1	1.5	-1.7	-0.5	0.6	-7.3	5.4	1.1
MERTON	MERTON PARK	1.2	9.9	-0.2	2.2	-2.4	-0.2	0.4	-8.8	5.3	0.5
MERTON	PHIPPS BRIDGE	19.4	6.2	7.8	4	-2.8	-2.9	-3	-13	11.6	4.1
MERTON	POLLARDS HILL	10.1	1.3	0.3	5.6	-2.2	0.7	-3	-4.1	11	6.6
MERTON	RAVENSBURY	19.8	4.5	8.2	3.3	-0.5	1	-0.3	-12	8.3	2.2
MERTON	RAYNES PARK	11.5	10.4	4	0.4	-1.5	-3.8	-1.1	-9.8	6.2	1.2
MERTON	ST.HELIER	20.5	0.5	3.1	2.3	-1	1.1	0.1	-11	8.7	2.8
MERTON	TRINITY	6.8	17.8	7.1	-1.2	-3.5	-5.4	-0.2	-9	8.4	1.8
MERTON	VILLAGE	6.1	7.8	-5	0.1	0	-4.5	-0.3	-3.4	4	-0.1
MERTON	WEST BARNES	2.8	7.4	7.1	2.5	-1.6	0.3	-1.2	-10	5.4	0.8
REDBRIDGE	ALDBOROUGH	9.8	1.2	5.1	2.8	3.1	0.6	0.9	-8.9	6.4	2.2
REDBRIDGE	BARKINGSIDE	1.2	3	-1.2	7.2	-1.6	1.2	0.1	-4.5	6.3	0.6
REDBRIDGE	BRIDGE	10.7	-0.2	4.5	1.7	-3	0.5	-0.1	-17	8.5	4.1
REDBRIDGE	CHADWELL	2	-0.1	0	2.2	0.5	-0.1	0.7	-6	5.7	0.9
REDBRIDGE	CHURCH END	5.6	-1.2	4.5	0.9	-2.1	-2.5	1	-13	6.4	0.8
REDBRIDGE	CLAYHALL	-0.1	2.8	-2.2	7.7	-0.7	0.5	0.8	-6.8	5.2	0.3
REDBRIDGE	CLEMENTSWOOD	-1.7	2.9	0	8.6	-2.2	0.2	0.4	-7.5	10.7	2.6
REDBRIDGE	CRANBROOK	2.6	1.6	-3.3	9.7	-1.5	-1.4	-0.4	-4.3	7.3	0.3
REDBRIDGE	FAIRLOP	8.6	2.6	7.6	2.1	-1.3	-0.7	0.5	-11	4.8	0.8
REDBRIDGE	FULLWELL	8.9	2.6	7.2	3.6	0.5	-0.7	-1.6	-14	6.8	2.4
REDBRIDGE	GOODMAYES	21.3	1.8	7.3	3.2	-3	1.7	-1	-10	9.5	3.1
REDBRIDGE	HAINAULT	19.4	1.8	8.6	1.1	2.3	1.1	0.1	-16	7.1	2.8
REDBRIDGE	LOXFORD	1.5	2	5.5	8.5	-2	-0.7	-3.7	-12	12.5	4
REDBRIDGE	MAYFIELD	0.2	2.3	0.3	5.3	-1.3	0.5	-2.2	-4.1	6.7	1.1
REDBRIDGE	MONKHAMS	1.8	4.3	0	1.6	2.7	0.7	0	-9	4.6	0
REDBRIDGE	NEWBURY	-1.3	0.3	-4.5	8.9	-1.7	1	1	-3.5	8.2	1.2
REDBRIDGE	RODING	2.6	6.1	9.7	2.7	-1.7	0.2	-1.3	-13	6.2	1.2
REDBRIDGE	SEVEN KINGS	3	3.2	0.6	5	-1	-2.8	-1	-8.6	8.9	1.6
REDBRIDGE	SNARESBOOK	6.4	8.3	5.7	2.2	1	-1	-0.9	-11	6.1	0.9
REDBRIDGE	VALENTINES	7.9	6.8	8.4	3.7	-3.6	-8.3	1.3	-15	10.4	1.4
REDBRIDGE	WANSTEAD	3.4	0.5	4.3	2.3	-0.3	-1	-0.8	-9	6.7	1.2
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	BARNES	7.4	11.7	10.4	0.2	-1.8	-5.5	-0.4	-16	7.4	1.6
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	CENTRAL TWICKENHAM	5.6	16.9	10.6	-0.6	-4.3	-6.2	-0.5	-17	5.4	0.3

RICHMOND UPON THAMES	EAST SHEEN	5.4	14.6	5	0	-1.9	-3.6	-1.4	-11	4.6	0.6
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	EAST TWICKENHAM	10.9	16.1	11.7	0.2	-4.4	-11	-0.3	-20	6.2	0.1
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	HAM & PETERSHAM	13.3	11.3	5.4	0.8	2.8	0.4	-1.1	-11	5.5	1.1
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	HAMPTON	6.5	6.3	4.2	0.4	-0.3	-1.7	1.3	-11	4.9	0.7
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	HAMPTON HILL	8.6	11.3	1.8	0.4	-2	-4	-0.1	-8.1	4.4	0.5
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	HAMPTON NURSERY	-1.9	0.2	2.2	-0.1	2	0.2	-0.8	-0.3	5.5	1.8
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	HAMPTON WICK	7.5	5.2	7.4	0.1	-0.9	-3.1	-1	-9.9	4.9	0.3
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	HEATHFIELD	6.9	1.6	-1.8	1.9	-0.2	0.4	1.9	-5.9	5.8	1.7
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	KEW	9	12.2	1.6	0.3	-1.4	-5	-1	-8.1	5.6	0.8
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	MORTLAKE	14	9.6	8.9	0.7	-2.5	-6.1	-1.7	-15	7.1	1.9
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	PALEWELL	7.2	13.3	10.8	-0.1	-3.7	-5.5	-1.3	-14	4.3	0.9
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	RICHMOND HILL	11.2	16.7	6.2	0.6	-4.7	-14	0.1	-14	4.2	1
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	RICHMOND TOWN	8	18.3	6.9	-0.8	-2.2	-7.6	-0.8	-11	6.6	0.9
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	SOUTH TWICKENHAM	7.3	8.9	10.9	0.1	-2.3	-3.5	1.1	-17	6.1	1.2
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	TEDDINGTON	9.4	11.7	11.3	-0.1	-2.4	-6.7	-2	-15	5.1	1.1
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	WEST TWICKENHAM	6	7.1	6	0.1	-4.8	-3.3	-0.7	-13	6.3	1.1
RICHMOND UPON THAMES	WHITTON	-0.8	0.9	1.8	1.6	-1.6	-0.5	-0.5	-5.8	5.7	0.7
SUTTON	BEDDINGTON NORTH	13.6	5.3	3.4	1.6	-0.9	-4.1	1.1	-12	5.9	0.8
SUTTON	BEDDINGTON SOUTH	11.9	1.8	3.2	1.3	-1.2	-2.5	2	-6.4	9.5	6
SUTTON	BELMONT	3.4	6	7.6	0.8	-0.3	0.1	0.4	-15	4.5	0.1
SUTTON	CARSHALTON BEECHES	4.9	0.3	-3.4	1.2	-0.3	-0.5	-0.2	-4.7	4.4	1.2
SUTTON	CARSHALTON CENTRAL	3.6	2.8	-2.2	0.2	0.2	-2.8	0.6	-2.6	6.2	1.3
SUTTON	CARSHALTON NORTH	0.2	4	1.1	0.8	-0.2	-2	-2.1	-6.8	6.5	1.4
SUTTON	CHEAM SOUTH	1.4	8.6	-13	2.6	2.1	-1.5	1.1	4	3.5	0.1
SUTTON	CHEAM WEST	2.3	0.7	0.1	0.9	1.7	-0.8	-0.2	-9	5.2	0.7
SUTTON	CLOCKHOUSE	13.4	-2.8	5.1	0.6	1.4	0.9	-0.4	-11	5.2	3.3
SUTTON	NORTH CHEAM	1.4	2.2	4.8	1.6	-1.3	-1	0.8	-5	4.2	0.9
SUTTON	ROSEHILL	4.2	-1.1	-1.4	1	1.2	-0.5	1.2	-4.3	5.2	0.6
SUTTON	ST.HELIER NORTH	21.7	0.3	2	0.8	-4.7	1.5	3.5	-13	10	5.2
SUTTON	ST.HELIER SOUTH	24.4	1.7	7.7	1.1	-0.8	1.3	3.3	-16	11	5.1
SUTTON	SUTTON CENTRAL	-1.2	4.8	6.7	0.3	-0.9	-2	-0.9	-14	8	1

SUTTON	SUTTON COMMON	2.2	3.3	-4.5	1.4	-1.6	-1.5	0.4	-6.8	5.4	1.4
SUTTON	SUTTON EAST	13.1	4.4	4.7	0.1	-1.5	-3.1	1.2	-9.2	8.3	1.5
SUTTON	SUTTON SOUTH	9.5	3.6	-0.1	0.5	2.7	-1.5	1	-9.5	5.4	0.9
SUTTON	SUTTON WEST	5.3	7.7	4.4	0.6	-2.5	-3.3	-0.3	-9.2	5	0.8
SUTTON	WALLINGTON NORTH	7	3.4	-2	0.8	-2.4	-2.8	1.7	-4.5	6.2	1.4
SUTTON	WALLINGTON SOUTH	4.9	1.7	-5.7	0.8	2.2	-2.3	0	-2.7	6.3	1.3
SUTTON	WANDLE VALLEY	17.5	4	9	0.6	-5.9	-1.5	-5.4	-13	7.2	4
SUTTON	WOODCOTE	9.7	5.5	-8.5	3	2.9	-6.2	-1.2	-1.2	4.7	-0.1
SUTTON	WORCESTER PARK NORTH	4.5	2.8	-0.1	1.4	-2.1	-2.3	-0.7	-9.6	6	1.3
SUTTON	WORCESTER PARK SOUTH	-1.6	3	-9.8	1.5	-1	0.3	2	-6.2	5.1	0.3
SUTTON	WRYTHE GREEN	8.1	2.5	0.2	0.3	1.3	-1.2	-1.3	-7.8	6.1	2.4
WALTHAM FOREST	CANN HALL	2.6	7.2	9.9	3.2	-3.4	-6.4	-1.9	-15	12.6	5
WALTHAM FOREST	CATHALL	6.4	5.3	11.9	0.8	-4.9	-3.5	0.3	-18	17.9	8.9
WALTHAM FOREST	CHAPEL END	7	2.7	8.1	3.3	-5.6	-5	-2.3	-9.7	10.2	2.9
WALTHAM FOREST	CHINGFORD GREEN	4.1	2.9	0.5	0.9	3.8	-1.6	-0.3	-5.5	6.4	0.9
WALTHAM FOREST	ENDLEBURY	3.5	2.1	-1.1	1.7	0.6	0.3	2	-5.7	7.1	1
WALTHAM FOREST	FOREST	4.1	4	6.1	3.9	-2.8	-2.8	-0.9	-13	12.8	2.3
WALTHAM FOREST	GROVE GREEN	7.2	8.1	11.8	2.3	-4.9	-7.5	-1.8	-20	12	1.9
WALTHAM FOREST	HALE END	5.6	1.8	2.7	1.8	-1.9	-0.7	-0.2	-8	6.1	1.2
WALTHAM FOREST	HATCH LANE	9.3	1.6	2.7	1.1	-0.7	0.4	-0.2	-8	6	2.2
WALTHAM FOREST	HIGHAM HILL	15.1	2.1	6.8	4.3	-1.5	-0.8	0	-13	13.6	3.9
WALTHAM FOREST	HIGH STREET	14	8.1	11.7	0.5	-5.3	-11	-1.2	-17	11.4	1.9
WALTHAM FOREST	HOE STREET	7.7	7.8	6.1	1.6	-3.7	-2.7	-0.2	-13	13.1	3.6
WALTHAM FOREST	LARKSWOOD	0.4	2.4	0.1	2.9	-2.2	-0.9	1.2	-5.7	8.2	3
WALTHAM FOREST	LEA BRIDGE	9	3.6	6.1	6	-6.6	-7.2	-1.8	-15	12.5	3
WALTHAM FOREST	LEYTON	6.9	2.9	7.3	2.3	-3.3	-2.3	-0.4	-13	16.5	7.1
WALTHAM FOREST	LEYTONSTONE	5.9	13.7	10.7	-0.8	-4.5	-4.9	-0.7	-17	12.4	3
WALTHAM FOREST	LLOYD PARK	9.8	7.4	9.6	3.9	-5	-5.3	-0.9	-15	14.4	3.7
WALTHAM FOREST	ST.JAMES STREET	6.4	4.9	6.5	2.8	-3.4	-3.9	-1	-14	13.9	3.7
WALTHAM	VALLEY	3.8	2.4	2.8	1.1	-1.5	-0.8	1.5	-9	8.6	4.6

FOREST											
WALTHAM FOREST	WOOD STREET	7.9	5.9	7.2	2.1	-2.9	-3.3	-0.8	-13	11.5	3.5

Appendix C - SPSS output for the multiple regression models

1a) Professionals

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000
ETHNIC LPAR OLD RENTING UB40 UNSKILLD WC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. WC

Multiple R .77132
R Square .59493
Adjusted R Square .59440
Standard Error 3.48474

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	13412.28536	13412.28536
Residual	752	9131.84187	12.14341

F = 1104.49116 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Tolerance	VIF	T
WC	-.854674	.025717	-.771320	1.000000	1.000	-33.234
(Constant)	-4.363546	.317550				-13.741

----- in -----

Variable Sig T

WC .0000
(Constant) .0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial Tolerance	VIF	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.140852	-.211711	.915135	1.093	.915135	-5.936 .0000
LPAR	.034746	.052257	.916227	1.091	.916227	1.434 .1520
OLD	-.114714	-.170611	.895993	1.116	.895993	-4.745 .0000
RENTING	-.105288	-.156027	.889535	1.124	.889535	-4.329 .0000
UB40	-.008401	-.011986	.824578	1.213	.824578	-.329 .7426
UNSKILLD	-.336832	-.524449	.981984	1.018	.981984	-16.880 .0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Collinearity Diagnostics

Number Eigenval Cond Variance Proportions

	Index	Constant	WC
1	1.91667	1.000	.04166 .04166
2	.08333	4.796	.95834 .95834

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. UNSKILLD

Multiple R .84044
R Square .70635

Adjusted R Square .70556
 Standard Error 2.96903

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	15923.97167	7961.98584
Residual	751	6620.15555	8.81512

F = 903.21916 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta Tolerance	VIF	T
UNSKILLD	-.838033	.049647	-.336832	.981984	1.018 -16.880
WC	-.804578	.022111	-.726110	.981984	1.018 -36.388
(Constant)	-4.598199	.270912			-16.973

----- in -----

Variable Sig T

UNSKILLD .0000
 WC .0000
 (Constant) .0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial Tolerance	VIF	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.137238	-.242257	.915036	1.093	.900711	-6.838 .0000
LPAR	-.044259	-.076255	.871721	1.147	.871721	-2.094 .0366
OLD	-.048016	-.082274	.862171	1.160	.862171	-2.261 .0241
RENTING	-.096196	-.167370	.888940	1.125	.877075	-4.649 .0000
UB40	-.103242	-.167877	.776439	1.288	.776439	-4.664 .0000

Collinearity Diagnostics

Number	Eigenval	Cond	Variance	Proportions
	Index	Constant	UNSKILLD	WC
1	2.19420	1.000	.02930	.07095 .02915
2	.72264	1.743	.02233	.92672 .01899
3	.08316	5.137	.94837	.00232 .95186

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

3.. ETHNIC

Multiple R .85064
 R Square .72358
 Adjusted R Square .72248
 Standard Error 2.88251

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	16312.49684	5437.49895
Residual	750	6231.63039	8.30884

F = 654.42331 Signif F = .0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta Tolerance	VIF	T
ETHNIC	-.268238	.039227	-.137238	.915036	1.093 -6.838

UNSKILLD	-.834604	.048203	-.335454	.981878	1.018	-17.314
WC	-.760483	.022414	-.686315	.900711	1.110	-33.928
(Constant)	-3.739096	.291483				-12.828

----- in -----

Variable Sig T

ETHNIC	.0000
UNSKILLD	.0000
WC	.0000
(Constant)	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial Tolerance	VIF	Min Toler	T	Sig T
LPAR	-.042141	-.074827	.871522	1.147	.839702	-2.054 .0404
OLD	-.073220	-.127556	.838899	1.192	.799259	-3.520 .0005
RENTING	-.053930	-.090546	.779188	1.283	.779188	-2.488 .0131
UB40	-.090617	-.151262	.770202	1.298	.750889	-4.188 .0000

Collinearity Diagnostics

Number	Eigenval	Cond	Variance	Proportions
Index	Constant	ETHNIC	UNSKILLD	WC
1	2.38609	1.000	.02039	.03827 .05186 .02126
2	.88030	1.646	.00022	.52834 .34009 .00207
3	.66294	1.897	.01963	.26903 .60681 .03763
4	.07068	5.810	.95975	.16436 .00124 .93904

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
4.. UB40

Multiple R	.85434
R Square	.72991
Adjusted R Square	.72846
Standard Error	2.85124

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	4	16455.07683	4113.76921
Residual	749	6089.05040	8.12957

F = 506.02523 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta Tolerance	VIF	T
ETHNIC	-.253616	.038958	-.129757	.907686	1.102 -6.510
UB40	-.103535	.024722	-.090617	.770202	1.298 -4.188
UNSKILLD	-.884708	.049158	-.355593	.923718	1.083 -17.997
WC	-.801958	.024283	-.723745	.750889	1.332 -33.026
(Constant)	-3.221407	.313703			-10.269

----- in -----

Variable Sig T

ETHNIC	.0000
UB40	.0000
UNSKILLD	.0000
WC	.0000
(Constant)	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta	In Partial	Tolerance	VIF	Min Toler	T	Sig T
LPAR	.059478	.067612	.349016	2.865	.308441	1.853	.0642
OLD	-.087049	-.151907	.822528	1.216	.699523	-4.203	.0000
RENTING	-.048855	-.082840	.776552	1.288	.707188	-2.273	.0233

Collinearity Diagnostics

Number	Eigenval	Cond	Variance	Proportions			
Index	Constant	ETHNIC	UB40	UNSKILLD	WC		
1	3.25794	1.000	.00942	.01676	.01194	.02350	.00988
2	.88320	1.921	.00040	.56567	.00042	.27221	.00132
3	.69055	2.172	.00785	.25258	.00611	.65927	.01710
4	.09768	5.775	.13744	.00477	.97921	.04300	.22682
5	.07063	6.792	.84489	.16023	.00232	.00201	.74488

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
5.. OLD

Multiple R .85798
R Square .73614
Adjusted R Square .73437
Standard Error 2.82003

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	5	16595.58665	3319.11733
Residual	748	5948.54058	7.95259

F = 417.36284 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Tolerance	VIF	T
ETHNIC	-.278701	.038991	-.142591	.886422	1.128	-7.148
OLD	-.182506	.043419	-.087049	.822528	1.216	-4.203
UB40	-.118035	.024694	-.103308	.755172	1.324	-4.780
UNSKILLD	-.851185	.049270	-.342119	.899515	1.112	-17.276
WC	-.774602	.024883	-.699057	.699523	1.430	-31.130
(Constant)	-2.930557	.317892				-9.219

----- in -----

Variable Sig T

ETHNIC .0000
OLD .0000
UB40 .0000
UNSKILLD .0000
WC .0000
(Constant) .0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta	In Partial	Tolerance	VIF	Min Toler	T	Sig T
LPAR	.082330	.093528	.340521	2.937	.295093	2.567	.0104
RENTING	-.020763	-.033491	.686551	1.457	.681960	-.916	.3600

Collinearity Diagnostics

Number Eigenval Cond Variance Proportions

	Index	Constant	ETHNIC	OLD	UB40	UNSKILLD	WC	
1	3.60176	1.000	.00699	.01268	.02156	.00939	.01927	.00743
2	.89924	2.001	.00194	.50919	.04155	.00000	.24561	.00022
3	.70946	2.253	.01350	.27351	.17217	.01054	.29706	.01931
4	.62724	2.396	.00180	.02125	.67189	.00066	.40121	.00017
5	.09736	6.082	.10452	.00664	.00292	.96424	.03686	.23990
6	.06494	7.447	.87125	.17673	.08991	.01517	.00000	.73297

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

6.. LPAR

Multiple R .85933
R Square .73845
Adjusted R Square .73635
Standard Error 2.80955

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	6	16647.62091	2774.60348
Residual	747	5896.50632	7.89358

F = 351.50116 Signif F = .0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Tolerance	VIF	T
ETHNIC	-.272546	.038920	-.139442	.883059	1.132	-7.003
LPAR	.197776	.077031	.082330	.340521	2.937	2.567
OLD	-.200047	.043794	-.095415	.802509	1.246	-4.568
UB40	-.196906	.039357	-.172339	.295093	3.389	-5.003
UNSKILLD	-.841819	.049222	-.338354	.894575	1.118	-17.102
WC	-.778821	.024845	-.702865	.696462	1.436	-31.347
(Constant)	-2.805004	.320463				-8.753

----- in -----

Variable Sig T

ETHNIC .0000
LPAR .0104
OLD .0000
UB40 .0000
UNSKILLD .0000
WC .0000
(Constant) .0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta	In Partial	Tolerance	VIF	Min Toler	T	Sig T
RENTING	-.032633	-.051954	.662957	1.508	.293396	-1.421	.1558

Collinearity Diagnostics

Number	Eigenval	Cond	Variance	Proportions				
	Index	Constant	ETHNIC	LPAR	OLD	UB40	UNSKILLD	
1	4.37577	1.000	.00461	.00758	.00515	.01280	.00260	.01246
2	.90063	2.204	.00196	.53595	.00026	.02932	.00000	.22403
3	.75153	2.413	.00681	.20654	.00984	.29317	.00262	.23849
4	.63366	2.628	.00006	.05650	.00140	.53049	.00000	.48548
5	.23481	4.317	.09008	.00442	.26377	.01326	.01038	.03755
6	.06567	8.163	.71040	.18745	.00691	.07083	.00811	.00074
7	.03793	10.741	.18608	.00156	.71268	.05014	.97628	.00125

1b) Professionals (without WC or Unskld)

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000
ETHNIC LPAR OLD RENTING UB40

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. ETHNIC

Multiple R .35360
R Square .12503
Adjusted R Square .12387
Standard Error 5.12158

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	2818.70190	2818.70190
Residual	752	19725.42532	26.23062

F = 107.45846 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.691122	.066671	-.353596	-10.366	.0000
(Constant)	6.229559	.206517		30.165	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
LPAR	.230529	.245795	.994685	6.949	.0000
OLD	-.370198	-.395267	.997485	-11.792	.0000
RENTING	-.245753	-.239157	.828631	-6.750	.0000
UB40	.299634	.319949	.997633	9.254	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. OLD

Multiple R .51160
R Square .26173
Adjusted R Square .25977
Standard Error 4.70765

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	5900.52205	2950.26103
Residual	751	16643.60517	22.16192

F = 133.12296 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.727407	.061359	-.372161	-11.855	.0000
OLD	-.776156	.065819	-.370198	-11.792	.0000
(Constant)	5.291559	.205818		25.710	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
----------	---------	---------	-----------	---	-------

LPAR .179782 .206400 .973065 5.777 .0000
 RENTING -.106028 -.103805 .707635 -2.858 .0044
 UB40 .206440 .228702 .905942 6.434 .0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
3.. UB40

Multiple R .54804
 R Square .30035
 Adjusted R Square .29755
 Standard Error 4.58593

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	6771.05727	2257.01909
Residual	750	15773.06996	21.03076

F = 107.31990 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.701645	.059907	-.358981	-11.712	.0000
OLD	-.645027	.067278	-.307654	-9.587	.0000
UB40	.235869	.036661	.206440	6.434	.0000
(Constant)	3.021566	.405813		7.446	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
LPAR	.055476	.038900	.320323	1.065	.2870
RENTING	-.121728	-.122162	.704644	-3.369	.0008

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
4.. RENTING

Multiple R .55748
 R Square .31079
 Adjusted R Square .30711
 Standard Error 4.55462

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	4	7006.44575	1751.61144
Residual	749	15537.68148	20.74457

F = 84.43711 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.598125	.066966	-.306017	-8.932	.0000
OLD	-.551697	.072336	-.263139	-7.627	.0000
RENTING	-.142453	.042289	-.121728	-3.369	.0008
UB40	.243859	.036488	.213433	6.683	.0000
(Constant)	2.520808	.429584		5.868	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
LPAR	.055476	.038900	.320323	1.065	.2870

LPAR .092841 .064341 .315790 1.763 .0783

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Residuals Statistics:

	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	N
*PRED	-2.8550	14.1840	5.3105	3.0504	754
*RESID	-14.9328	16.2358	.0000	4.5425	754
*ZPRED	-2.6769	2.9090	.0000	1.0000	754
*ZRESID	-3.2786	3.5647	.0000	.9973	754

Total Cases = 754

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PROF

Residuals Statistics:

	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	N
*PRED	-2.8550	14.1840	5.3105	3.0504	754
*RESID	-14.9328	16.2358	.0000	4.5425	754
*ZPRED	-2.6769	2.9090	.0000	1.0000	754
*ZRESID	-3.2786	3.5647	.0000	.9973	754

Total Cases = 754

2) Degree (educated workforce)

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. DEGREE

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000
ETHNIC LPAR OLD RENTING UB40 UNSKILLD WC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. RENTING

Multiple R .52085
R Square .27129
Adjusted R Square .27032
Standard Error 3.57523

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	3578.43574	3578.43574
Residual	752	9612.25163	12.78225

F = 279.95352 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RENTING	-.466240	.027865	-.520850	-16.732	.0000
(Constant)	4.203092	.151935		27.664	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.160273	-.170907	.828631	-4.754	.0000
LPAR	-.055488	-.064893	.996667	-1.782	.0751
OLD	-.314593	-.348313	.893301	-10.183	.0000
UB40	.018281	.021357	.994622	.585	.5584
UNSKILLD	-.193082	-.225649	.995268	-6.347	.0000
WC	-.384715	-.425052	.889535	-12.869	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. DEGREE

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. WC

Multiple R .63478
R Square .40294
Adjusted R Square .40135
Standard Error 3.23834

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	5315.07135	2657.53567
Residual	751	7875.61603	10.48684

F = 253.41628 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RENTING	-.351781	.026761	-.392985	-13.145	.0000
WC	-.326078	.025339	-.384715	-12.869	.0000
(Constant)	.833861	.295782		2.819	.0049

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta	In Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.091845	-.106451	.779627	-2.932	.0035
LPAR	-.195635	-.238799	.793969	-6.735	.0000
OLD	-.236055	-.280299	.835781	-7.997	.0000
UB40	-.162952	-.190932	.733095	-5.327	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.152169	-.195085	.877075	-5.447	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. DEGREE

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

3.. OLD

Multiple R .67071
R Square .44985
Adjusted R Square .44765
Standard Error 3.11059

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	5933.83836	1977.94612
Residual	750	7256.84902	9.67580

F = 204.42200 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
OLD	-.378569	.047340	-.236055	-7.997	.0000
RENTING	-.299650	.026519	-.334747	-11.299	.0000
WC	-.277959	.025072	-.327943	-11.086	.0000
(Constant)	1.043967	.285327		3.659	.0003

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta	In Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.169707	-.197266	.696522	-5.507	.0000
LPAR	-.221220	-.279853	.763038	-7.978	.0000
UB40	-.225770	-.268966	.719713	-7.643	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.114056	-.149437	.810184	-4.136	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. DEGREE

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

4.. LPAR

Multiple R .70209
R Square .49294
Adjusted R Square .49023
Standard Error 2.98830

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	4	6502.17872	1625.54468
Residual	749	6688.50866	8.92992

F = 182.03355 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LPAR	-.406498	.050954	-.221220	-7.978	.0000
OLD	-.415583	.045714	-.259135	-9.091	.0000
RENTING	-.260285	.025950	-.290773	-10.030	.0000

WC	-.338308	.025246	-.399144	-13.400	.0000
(Constant)	1.675119	.285297		5.871	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.190841	-.230280	.666791	-6.472	.0000
UB40	-.107657	-.082629	.298706	-2.268	.0236
UNSKILLD	-.167338	-.223098	.763030	-6.259	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. DEGREE

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
5.. ETHNIC

Multiple R .72099
R Square .51983
Adjusted R Square .51662
Standard Error 2.90993

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	5	6856.86283	1371.37257
Residual	748	6333.82454	8.46768

F = 161.95376 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	.285323	.044086	-.190841	-6.472	.0000
LPAR	-.433050	.049787	-.235669	-8.698	.0000
OLD	-.498834	.046337	-.311045	-10.765	.0000
RENTING	-.185676	.027775	-.207425	-6.685	.0000
WC	-.304022	.025149	-.358692	-12.089	.0000
(Constant)	2.628205	.314432		8.359	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
UB40	-.075713	-.059357	.295125	-1.625	.1045
UNSKILLD	-.160605	-.219854	.666791	-6.160	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. DEGREE

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
6.. UNSKILLD

Multiple R .73691
R Square .54304
Adjusted R Square .53937
Standard Error 2.84063

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	6	7163.01405	1193.83568
Residual	747	6027.67332	8.06917

F = 147.95016 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.274576	.043071	-.183653	-6.375	.0000
LPAR	-.497362	.049710	-.270669	-10.005	.0000

OLD	-.447713	.045988	-.279169	-9.735	.0000
RENTING	-.185681	.027113	-.207429	-6.848	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.305648	.049621	-.160605	-6.160	.0000
WC	-.304823	.024550	-.359638	-12.416	.0000
(Constant)	2.575260	.307065		8.387	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
UB40	-.097747	-.078323	.293396	-2.146	.0322

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. DEGREE

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

7.. UB40

Multiple R	.73881
R Square	.54584
Adjusted R Square	.54158
Standard Error	2.83380

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	7	7199.99117	1028.57017
Residual	746	5990.69621	8.03042

F = 128.08417 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.264111	.043243	-.176654	-6.108	.0000
LPAR	-.365219	.079066	-.198755	-4.619	.0000
OLD	-.464969	.046577	-.289929	-9.983	.0000
RENTING	-.190094	.027126	-.212360	-7.008	.0000
UB40	-.085428	.039811	-.097747	-2.146	.0322
UNSKILLD	-.313802	.049648	-.164889	-6.321	.0000
WC	-.318792	.025341	-.376119	-12.580	.0000
(Constant)	2.824634	.327630		8.621	.0000

3) Owner Occupation

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. OWNOC

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000
ETHNIC LPAR OLD RENTING UB40 UNSKILLD WC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. LPAR

Multiple R .26725
R Square .07142
Adjusted R Square .07019
Standard Error 6.47781

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	2427.11770	2427.11770
Residual	752	31555.42430	41.96200

F = 57.84085 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LPAR	.788218	.103640	.267250	7.605	.0000
(Constant)	6.723065	.396646		16.950	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.128374	-.132865	.994685	-3.674	.0003
OLD	.043652	.044833	.979495	1.230	.2191
RENTING	-.100500	-.104119	.996667	-2.869	.0042
UB40	-.149703	-.092586	.355182	-2.548	.0110
UNSKILLD	-.207923	-.209036	.938544	-5.858	.0000
WC	-.169117	-.167989	.916227	-4.670	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. OWNOC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

2.. UNSKILLD

Multiple R .33466
R Square .11200
Adjusted R Square .10963
Standard Error 6.33892

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	2	3805.96740	1902.98370
Residual	751	30176.57460	40.18186

F = 47.35928 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LPAR	.636193	.104686	.215705	6.077	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.635129	.108422	-.207923	-5.858	.0000
(Constant)	6.583211	.388875		16.929	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta	In Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.122042	-.129099	.934842	-3.565	.0004
OLD	.087426	.089998	.901676	2.475	.0136
RENTING	-.083782	-.088432	.931614	-2.431	.0153
UB40	-.196634	-.123318	.349258	-3.403	.0007
WC	-.155647	-.157742	.871721	-4.375	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. OWNOC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
3.. WC

Multiple R .36619
R Square .13409
Adjusted R Square .13063
Standard Error 6.26373

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	3	4556.83904	1518.94635
Residual	750	29425.70296	39.23427

F = 38.71478 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LPAR	.510900	.107336	.173223	4.760	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.603483	.107380	-.197563	-5.620	.0000
WC	-.211747	.048403	-.155647	-4.375	.0000
(Constant)	4.602208	.593896		7.749	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta	In Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.086936	-.089358	.839702	-2.455	.0143
OLD	.143900	.143577	.835512	3.971	.0001
RENTING	-.034207	-.034088	.792774	-.933	.3509
UB40	-.309488	-.186119	.313158	-5.184	.0000

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. OWNOC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number
4.. UB40

Multiple R .40508
R Square .16409
Adjusted R Square .15962
Standard Error 6.15839

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	4	5576.15355	1394.03839
Residual	749	28406.38845	37.92575

F = 36.75704 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LPAR	1.176337	.166170	.398844	7.079	.0000
UB40	-.434143	.083742	-.309488	-5.184	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.666074	.106262	-.218054	-6.268	.0000
WC	-.295512	.050257	-.217219	-5.880	.0000

(Constant) 5.968689 .640644 9.317 .0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.065701	-.068213	.308441	-1.870	.0619
OLD	.107539	.106437	.297473	2.928	.0035
RENTING	-.050689	-.051220	.310829	-1.403	.1611

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. OWNOC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

5.. OLD

Multiple R .41660
R Square .17356
Adjusted R Square .16803
Standard Error 6.12750

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	5	5897.96277	1179.59255
Residual	748	28084.57923	37.54623

F = 31.41707 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LPAR	1.094505	.167682	.371098	6.527	.0000
OLD	.276818	.094554	.107539	2.928	.0035
UB40	-.378129	.085491	-.269558	-4.423	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.718076	.107211	-.235078	-6.698	.0000
WC	-.327758	.051203	-.240922	-6.401	.0000
(Constant)	5.586965	.650629		8.587	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.052260	-.054020	.295093	-1.479	.1397
RENTING	-.080563	-.079486	.297176	-2.179	.0296

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. OWNOC

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

6.. RENTING

Multiple R .42282
R Square .17878
Adjusted R Square .17218
Standard Error 6.11220

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	6	6075.40106	1012.56684
Residual	747	27907.14094	37.35896

F = 27.10372 Signif F = .0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LPAR	1.147615	.169029	.389105	6.789	.0000
OLD	.327564	.097149	.127253	3.372	.0008
RENTING	-.115752	.053113	-.080563	-2.179	.0296

UB40	-.384010	.085320	-.273750	-4.501	.0000
UNSKILLD	-.714317	.106957	-.233847	-6.679	.0000
WC	-.295503	.053177	-.217212	-5.557	.0000
(Constant)	5.591355	.649008		8.615	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
ETHNIC	-.024279	-.022855	.293396	-.624	.5326

Appendix D - Constitution of the LS areas by ward and percentage point increase in the number of professionals and managers

G1 (ultra)			G2		
SOUTHWARK	DOCKYARD	22.2	LEWISHAM	PERRY HILL	11.9
SOUTHWARK	BRICKLAYERS	20.0	SOUTHWARK	ABBEY	11.8
WANDSWORTH	SPRINGFIELD	18.3	WALTHAM FOREST	CHAPEL END	11.8
ISLINGTON	MILDMAY	17.8	RICHMOND	CENTRAL TWICK	11.7
HACKNEY	HOMERTON	17.6	MERTON	ABBEY	11.7
RICHMOND	WEST TWICKENHAM	17.3	HILLINGDON	YIEWSLEY	11.6
KINGSTON	CANBURY	17.1	WANDSWORTH	NIGHTINGALE	11.4
HAMMERSMITH	SANDS END	16.7	RICHMOND	SOUTH TWICK	11.3
LEWISHAM	FOREST HILL	15.9	WANDSWORTH	EARLSFIELD	11.2
HAMMERSMITH	GIBBS GREEN	15.7	RICHMOND	RICHMOND TOWN	10.9
EALING	ELTHORNE	15.3	CAMDEN	WEST END	10.8
TOWER HAMLETS	GROVE	15.0	WANDSWORTH	SOUTHFIELD	10.8
HAMMERSMITH	SULIVAN	14.9	HARINGEY	CROUCH END	10.7
HAMMERSMITH	MARGRAVINE	14.5	BARNET	WOODHOUSE	10.7
SUTTON	WANDLE VALLEY	14.5	WALTHAM FOREST	GROVE GREEN	10.7
WANDSWORTH	ST.MARY'S PARK	14.1	REDBRIDGE	VALENTINES	10.6
WANDSWORTH	GRAVENEY	13.7	BARKING	ABBEY	10.3
BEXLEY	BARNEHURST NORTH	13.6	WANDSWORTH	THAMESFIELD	10.2
WANDSWORTH	BALHAM	13.6	WANDSWORTH	SHAFTESBURY	10.2
EALING	EALING COMMON	13.5	CROYDON	UPPER NORWOOD	10.0
WANDSWORTH	QUEENSTOWN	13.3	HOUNSLOW	BRENTFORD C'DN	10.0
HOUNSLOW	HOUNSLOW WEST	13.3	KINGSTON	SURBITON HILL	10.0
NEWHAM	CUSTOM HOUSE	13.3	KINGSTON	TOLWORTH WEST	9.9
ISLINGTON	CANONBURY EAST	13.2	TOWER HAMLETS	ST.KATHERINE'S	9.9
CAMDEN	CAMDEN	13.1	REDBRIDGE	GOODMAYES	9.7
HAMMERSMITH	BROOK GREEN	13.0	ISLINGTON	ST.MARY	9.6
HAMMERSMITH	COLEHILL	12.8	BROMLEY	CLOCK HOUSE	9.5
WANDSWORTH	FURZEDOWN	12.7	ISLINGTON	BARNSBURY	9.5
GREENWICH	GLYNDON	12.7	GREENWICH	ST.ALFEGE	9.4
WALTHAM FOREST	ST.JAMES STREET	12.6	KINGSTON	GROVE	9.4
HAMMERSMITH	TOWN	12.1	TOWER HAMLETS	MILLWALL	9.2
EALING	SOUTHFIELD	12.1	KENSINGTON	BROMPTON	9.1

G3			G4		
ENFIELD	TOWN	9.1	MERTON	PHIPPS BRIDGE	7.1
SUTTON	SUTTON CENTRAL	9.0	GREENWICH	CHARLTON	7.1
HILLINGDON	DEANSFIELD	8.9	ENFIELD	BUSH HILL	6.9
HACKNEY	DALSTON	8.9	RICHMOND	RICHMOND HILL	6.9
BROMLEY	PENGE	8.8	LEWISHAM	PEPYS	6.8
BARNET	EAST BARNET	8.6	KINGSTON	COOMBE	6.8
ENFIELD	ARNOS	8.6	HARINGEY	BOWES PARK	6.7
NEWHAM	BEMERSYDE	8.6	SUTTON	ST.HELIER SOUTH	6.7
MERTON	COLLIERS WOOD	8.4	ENFIELD	PALMERS GREEN	6.6
REDBRIDGE	SNARES BROOK	8.4	HAMMERSMITH	WALHAM	6.6
WANDSWORTH	NORTHCOTE	8.2	ENFIELD	HIGHFIELD	6.5
HOUNSLOW	ISLEWORTH SOUTH	8.2	WALTHAM FOREST	LEYTONSTONE	6.5
HARROW	ROXBOURNE	8.1	MERTON	TRINITY	6.2
WALTHAM FOREST	CANN HALL	8.1	RICHMOND	HAMPTON WICK	6.2
KINGSTON	ST.MARK'S	8.0	BARKING	VALENCE	6.1
KINGSTON	CAMBRIDGE	8.0	HAVERING	HACTON	6.0
MERTON	DURNSFORD	7.8	RICHMOND	TEDDINGTON	6.0
MERTON	LAVENDER	7.8	HOUNSLOW	CHISWICK Hfids	6.0
SUTTON	BELMONT	7.7	BROMLEY	ANERLEY	6.0
ENFIELD	BOWES	7.7	EALING	ARGYLE	5.9
HACKNEY	NORTH DEFOE	7.7	HILLINGDON	YEADING	5.9
BEXLEY	CHRISTCHURCH	7.6	EALING	WALPOLE	5.9
SOUTHWARK	RIVERSIDE	7.6	HOUNSLOW	FELTHAM cent	5.8
MERTON	DUNDONALD	7.5	GREENWICH	ELTHAM PARK	5.7
KENSINGTON	COLVILLE	7.4	CROYDON	CROHAM	5.7
RICHMOND	EAST TWICKENHAM	7.4	REDBRIDGE	RODING	5.7
LEWISHAM	CROFTON PARK	7.4	WANDSWORTH	FAIRFIELD	5.7
HOUNSLOW	TURNHAM GREEN	7.4	CROYDON	ADDISCOMBE	5.6
REDBRIDGE	FULLWELL	7.3	HARROW	ROXETH	5.6
HILLINGDON	MANOR	7.3	LEWISHAM	BELLINGHAM	5.6
NEWHAM	SOUTH	7.2	KINGSTON	NORBITON	5.5
BARNET	HADLEY	7.1	HARROW	HARROW WEALD	5.5

Appendix E - Transcripts of interviews with tenant's rights workers

1. Karen Bone, Kensington Private Tenants Rights Project

- RA: You were saying it wasn't really gentrification in the area, that it was more income that was creating the problem
- KB: Gentrification in an area like Kensington and Chelsea is a bit of peculiar word, as far as the north of the borough is concerned it is the right word. what there has been is substantial displacement of the indigenous community which are mostly afro Caribbean and some Asians and quite a large Irish community in that part of the borough. they have been displaced by purely the gentrification we would be talking about anywhere else. The south of the borough, the bit we are in now is a bit different, because I suppose you would say it had been gentrified very much, it has always been an upper middle class or upper class with a handful of sort of other kinds of people like artists and actors .
- Didn't it used to be a very Australian sort of area, is that still...
- ...Earls court, yes, a lot less so than it used to be. Earls court is a bit of a peculiarity as far as the rest of the south of the borough is concerned. The main thing about the earls court area is that it is incredibly transient, so what you get is vast changes in the community on a regular basis, there used to be a large number of Australians and kiwis, that has changed, that has changed and currently it seems to be in favour with very poor Italians but why that is I don't know. One of things that is a strong influence is that there are a number of language schools and a lot end up staying although less are staying... Earls Court is now a really strange mish-mash of things, the earls court road itself is a bit like kings cross, full of pros and drug dealers really quite nasty although as you walked down there have been attempts at improving that recently bringing in, what I don't think will make any difference, things like the Dome cafe Holland and Barrat shops are not going to make a big difference to what this area is like. All its going to mean is that buying food in this area is going to be even more expensive than it ever was.
- The Earls Court Road is strange although there are parts of it that have been gentrified, there's across the rd from here there is something that is termed Earls court village
- I saw that in a newsagents window actually...
- An estate agents creation, and is highly gentrified. and there has been a massive amount of displacement in those areas. mostly HMO dwellers, people living in horrible crummy bedsits who have been displaced because units have been made self contained, because rents have become too high
- They've been priced out?

- Some of them have been bought out and that is quite common
- And this is fairly recently?
- Over the last ten years I suppose, there was a flurry of activity prior to the slump in the housing market, obviously this area has never experienced the ravages that other areas of London have. having said that what did clearly happen was that it became more profitable to rent than it did to buy and sell depending on what it was . if you have a five bed town house in Scarsdale villas then its going to be different
- So there are little sub-markets...
- The little less attractive properties became a better prospect to rent than to sell, for a while, my own view and I think that's a view that's backed up by what's happening in terms of the housing market is that that is changing quite rapidly now and we are probably going to hit another phase of fairly massive attempts to get people out through various different methods, some of the people who were got out were evicted they were got out by fairly unpleasant and in most cases illegal methods this area was a Hougstraten area...probably the most well known recent 'Rachmann' landlord, was fairly active in this area, that was actually the reason why this project was originally founded in the mid eighties was to deal with the fact that h would, if you wanted you out he would just get one of his minions to phone you up and say either you go or your legs will get broken, it was as simple as that, and I'm afraid he meant it, he wasn't just making empty threats. So there were a lot of people displaced from that period. more recently it has been more an income related thing, its been "we don't need to resort to illegal methods all we do is basically keeping upping the rent" until they cant afford it.
- One way of putting it might be to call it a softer form of displacement, I mean, it literally doesn't have the hard violent edge...
- ...except that you don't have any remedies for it,, with the hard violent edged stuff you could get a court injunction and you could stop it...I have had caseloads of that kind of work in other boroughs, so that I can talk with the voice of experience, it was going on all over London. as far as here is concerned probably the most famous case was in Holland park and led to some fairly ground breaking legislation. There was a house, it was an HMO Hougstraten had tried various types of harassment. It had started with not doing essential repairs and had moved on to "if you don't shut up ill break your legs" stuff. The tenants assoc., in conjunction with this project persuaded the LA to take a CPO, the DOE refused to comply with the CPO and said that harassment was not a grounds for making a CPO and that repair was the only ground on which it could be taken and the high court ruled that the DoE was wrong so CPO's became a tool in the arsenal that LA's had to deal with harassment. This whole project sprang from that activity by those tenants groups
- Who funds the project now?

- The council. Basically because they could discharge some of their statutory duties under the current homeless persons legislation to provide advice and assistance to those who are not in priority need but are threatened with homelessness for whatever reason. I mean, our role is seen as prevention of homelessness effectively, which, when you talk about displacement and gentrification, that is what it is - making people homeless. So there is no doubt about it, if you are going to move a certain person into the area the only way you are going to do that is by moving someone else out.
- So we are really talking literally about a rental phenomenon, in terms of tenure, and do you happen to know if there was a shift from renting to owning and, in fact, if there was a shift from renting to higher paying renters as well?
- Yes, and I think more importantly to recognise is the shift from pre 15th Jan 1989 rent to post renters, because pre89 you can apply to the rent officer for a registered fair rent, post 19819 rents are going to be something like four times what the rent is. when I talk about rents in this borough you are talking about rents in the range of a one bed flat in earls court, which is the worst part of the south of the borough, is going to 200 per week. At the top end of the scale market rents are somewhere in the region of 3-4000 a week.
- So these are the sort of holiday and short lets..
- ...no, these are assured shorthold tenancies let for 6 months a year or more, these are what people, unfortunately, and god knows why, are prepared to pay. This would obviously be luxurious accommodation but this borough includes a lot of this kind of accommodation... for housing benefit purposes the rent officer would think that 80 per week was quite acceptable, and this is the very low end of what you can get... the landlords around here are in business, there is no sense in which they will rent out there house while they go away for a couple of years, they own vast amounts of property, those properties are often split up into, literally, a bedsitting room - a room with a cooker in it and a sink.
- Is there any form of collusion between landlords?
- Certainly, in as much as the local authority itself provides a 'Lets Let' forum, the small landlords association, ARLA - Association of residential lettings agents, and big business landlords often let through a small number of agents who carry vast property portfolios...on just one estate there are 980 properties. I suppose in total you are looking at several thousand properties that they are managing. All at vast sums of money which are passed on to the tenants. freshwater...we've even got the greatest contradiction of all which is the henry smith estate which has been gentrified to hell in order to make loads of money and the money that is made is then used for charitable purposes, which I think is hilarious, because these charitable purposes are being paid for by driving people off the estate.
- Its interesting, anyone at this point in time would think that private landlordism and renting in general had died a death but not...its contextual isn't it...

- ...its the highest level of private renting in the country...over 33% of all tenures in this borough are private rented that doesn't incl. HA lets which is vast. Most of the HA's are in quite serious problems in this borough, they will say is that land values are so high they cannot afford to buy anywhere so they cant really afford to develop, obviously Notting hill has had some development in the north of the borough...
- recent HA development of over 100 self contained units with single tenants in it...
- Although there are assured tenants here, post 89 renters, their rents are phenomenally lower than private rents anywhere else in the borough, which suggests either, that rents are horribly over inflated or HA's are getting money from somewhere else to afford it, which I don't think they are
- Henry Smith trustees are under a duty to get as much money from the trust fund as they can so the way they are going to do that is to get as high a level of income from the estate as they can. So what they have actually done to do that is to drive people out who were previously paying rent which was set by rent officers.
- Can we talk about that a little bit, you were saying that post-89 and previous to 89 allows landlords to get people out non-renewal of contracts, leading to homelessness
- Of *course* it leads to homelessness, there are some people who would take the view, myself included that a 6 month tenancy isn't relieving homelessness at best, I don't think providing someone with a roof for six months is providing them with a home. it is a very sharp contrast in this borough because we have a lot of pre89 renters some of them living in quite a high standard of living, quite luxurious accommodation, they have got registered rents and most of them have been there for 25-30 years, obviously they would have to have been there before the 15th Jan 89 but most have been there for an awful lot longer than that...
- ...has that led to harassment? *because* they are secure...
- ...yes, there certainly illegal forms of harassment in the past, now of course what they do is go to the rent officer and say they want to double the rent they are getting at the moment, and the rent officer has to look at market rents and arrive at a figure which he says is fair which bears some relation to those market rents, so what you get is the landlord going along and says that a fair rent should be...I have a case at the moment, of a tenants who is paying 7000 a year he goes along to the tribunal and they say it should be 14k a year and that isn't even the market rent which is 28k. Trying to fight that has become almost all consuming - basically over time a rent like that is set then people are faced with two options - one, they can claim housing benefit, and at the moment for them the gravy train hasn't stopped, the problem with that is probably 90% of tenants are over the age of 55, when they retired they almost certainly did so on a lump sum, which means they are over the limit for housing benefit purposes but the only way they can stay in

their homes is either use up their savings or they simply give up and look for somewhere that is cheaper outside this area.

- I'd like to try and characterise who the gentrifiers and who the displacees are, can we start with the gentrifiers, you said there was distinction between the north and the south in terms of the gentrifiers and the income differentials
- The north gentrifiers are the usual gentrifiers, middle classes and wanting to go into homeownership, places that are often not in terribly good condition, doing them up making them into luxurious type homes. There has been some moves of the sort of "Sloanes" who have moved their as well, probably because this area has become even out of their reaches. If you look at most example soft gentrification you know the kind of people we are talking about and it would be very similar to that, this part of the borough is different the south has been gentrified or incomised?
- Yeah, by people with absolutely ridiculous amounts of money, a lot of them are not British by birth, are not naturalised in this country at all, don't live here most of the time, and I would say the majority of them come from the middle east, HK, far east, those kind of places where they have made vast amounts of money and have either invested in or come to live in this part of London
- Is there any sort of structure to that in terms of, like I was speaking to estate agents in the north of the borough and they were talking about the central line as a sort of access point to the city, is there any
- Yes, your just around the corner from Harrods, just around the corner from the West end and the central...
- Cultural and consumption facilities?
- Yes, its Hyde park, posh hotel, posh restaurants, its Knightsbridge, Mayfair, all of those kind of things that you would sort of associate with people with huge pots of money. its popping down to Harvey nicks darling, you know its as simple as that.
- Moving on then to the displacees, you were talking about there was a tendency for them to be elderly
- A lot of them have been elderly but they are not the only group, a lot of the Australians that we were referring to before have gone for similar reasons, there is generally new arrivals, people travelling generally tend to end up in this area a lot of them end up staying and a lot of them have been displaced by this. The other group is poor people, people who just don't have very much, and they will be the majority of HMO dwellers, some of them will have been students a lot of them are unemployed or have other kinds of problems, one of the big displacement is of vulnerable groups, people who have perhaps could cope but only just...
- ...who would you be thinking of specifically?

- People who have perhaps need of low level of community care
- Perhaps learning difficulties?
- Yes, some kinds of psychiatric disorders, all sorts of groups, there is large HIV community because it has always had a connection with the gay community, but not only because of that - there are a lot of intravenous drug users. There is also quite a serious alcohol problem... I would say thought that the two biggest groups are going to be people who are poor because they simply can't afford to live here and the groups of pensioners who probably represented the 'Sloanes' of yesteryear but who don't have the money...Edna O'Brien etc. you could ask yourself why they haven't made provision but they never expected it to change as much as it has. They probably formed the set that we are talking about doing it in the north of the borough. We are seeing in effect, a kind of wave going on here, an upward spiral. I wouldn't actually say that they did the displacing because a lot originally came from this area, probably came from very "nice" families...these are being displaced purely on an income basis, certainly you couldn't call it gentrification, if anything it would appear to be the reverse, it's a case of the gentry being displaced by those that have more money than they have.
- A kind of bourgeoisification of the process?
- Yes, it's money rules, and the fact that you come from the right class is no use to you at all...
- The other key question then relating to that is, is it possible to say where people end up?
- A lot of the pensioners, it's the traditional thing - of moving to the seaside or to the country. Some of them, yes, outer ring, as far as poorer displacees I am more concerned about them I suspect some of them end up on the street, literally. because there two issues, if they were pre89 renters they won't have a deposit and even if they do probably the levels of rents are so terrifying . there is actually another group which I didn't mention which is families on low incomes who are in that group where they don't quite qualify for housing benefit but they don't have very much money and I am saying to some people "I'm sorry but you are going to have to give up work". It's the only way, and that's the situation we have reached - literally not able to afford their rents so that they are better off giving up their jobs. How they give up their jobs I don't know because there are penalties for doing so but in some cases the people are over 65 and you can say that they can retire on, if they work for themselves they often can't provide the kind of evidence they need to get housing benefit.
- Are there other points, say at the local authority where these pressures are being felt? I'm not really familiar with Kensington and Chelsea as a political entity.

- Well it could be summed up as fairly benevolent Toryism, its more in the Ted Heath mould rather than the Thatcher mould, having said that the Thatcherites are here. The gentrifiers of the north and the big money earners of the south are very much of the mode of “if you cant afford to live here, that’s your problem”, “if you don’t like it, tough shit”. as far as homelessness goes they are certainly getting people coming in saying I cant afford to live here, and this has implications on the terms of their advancement, it has implications on us, they pay us to do a certain amount of work about things like security of tenure, and possession proceedings for rent arrears and rents in general- a whole range of rents for pre 89 tenants, registering post 89 market rents, more and more, increasingly, housing benefit problems where peoples rents have been restricted for all sorts of reasons, particularly where the rent officer under the new regulations says that the local reference rent is X, which is way way below what the person is actually paying.
- I had used a method which found Colville and Brompton as gentrified wards which suggests it was not adequate in picking up the kind of people you are talking about
- They wont be on the census, because they don’t live here, its not their permanent residence. There is particular pressure in Holland, Camden, Church, Hans Town, Royal Hospital, probably Cheyne etc... Colville is a good example of how things have changed in the north, its still electing 3 labour councillors...and, now its changing, fairly rapidly, and probably not for the best at all...

[councillors - Tory] they really are horrors, David Campion is actually the chair of the private sector housing committee, he is absolutely AWFUL, he’s the sort of bloke who wears very expensive suits and always wears a silk bow tie and...

- It seems that perhaps the LA response is laissez faire?
- That may be a little unfair, there have been some attempts to halt it, particularly the loss of HMO’s, that has been something that has really worried them quite a lot.
- An estate agent told me that it was very difficult to get an HMO back into owner occupation...
- Planning is very tough about that, environmental health are quite tough about HMO’s generally
- Is that a discretionary policy, with regard to HMO’s?
- Yes, it isn’t a statutory policy but it is a discretionary policy that the borough has employed. basically there has been some concern that there is so little accommodation which is available that people can afford to rent...
- Quote “the councils UDP aims normally to resist the conversion of these dwellings to self contained flats in order to maintain a supply of easily accessible inexpensive rented accommodation...”

- Would you consider that to be an aid to preventing gentrification to a degree?
- Yes, the trouble is that what often happens is the theory isn't quite as good as the practice. What we do find is that the landlord applies for permission for twelve houses that he currently are HMO's and the council says "no, no you cant have planning permission" so the landlord goes "well all right, I wont do it in six of them if you allow me to do it in the other six" and they go "yes, OK"
- A sort of plea-bargaining?
- Yeah, that's probably an oversimplification but there are more and more self contained units there are certainly more and more self contained units, the other thing that seems to happen on a regular basis is that landlords don't get planning permission, do it anyway and the council gives them planning permission after the event. Which seems to me to be a bit weak and pathetic, but it means that basically that if they've already done it...
- Is there a registration scheme?
- No, and that is something we are quite angry about because the council was in favour of the idea of a licensing scheme, unusually the only Tory borough in the country that was. But of course there is a specific history to that in this borough because there have been the 2 worst HMO fires in the country, Cornwall Gardens and Pamela Card Gardens (1989) in which 8 people died that is why the borough is tuff about HMO's, it took that to make them wake up. HMO's are rather different than in other places in as much as they tend to be huge...a lot are below the space standard, but of course they are not going to do anything about it because it means the loss of accommodation
- Going back to the councillors, what is there involvement, do displacees approach them? That has happened quite a bit has it?
- Yeah, when you are looking at displacees here you are not looking at people who lie down and go "oh dear, its awful, its terrible, there is nothing I can do", you are looking at people who have probably wielded quite considerable amounts of power in their lives so if anyone is able to stand up to gentrification or displacement, its them [councillors?] there have been quite a few, successful, campaigns the fairs fair rents campaign started in this borough, they are pretty tough pretty strident bunch, they are not backwards about coming forward to put their point across at all. councillors attitude is, its not our fault, its nothing to do with us, we cant do anything about changes in legislation, their rents, to a certain extent I suppose they probably use us an excuse as "well we've provided you with a PTRP, what more do you want?", there's very little attempt as well to deal with the housing benefit side of things, the borough hasn't exactly been backwards in coming forwards about how the new housing benefit regulations have been affecting people. They know how statutory tenants feel, most of them will have been on the housing benefit review board "But I cant afford it", or "you cant do this to me" - but they are doing it, I have some sympathy with them in as much as, much as I think they

don't exercise their discretion - they don't give people payments when they should, they ARE looking at a very limited pot of money, and I think they are stuck with it. I am concerned about, in relation to this borough is the glee with which some of them say "if you cant afford to live here, sorry that's tough", but of course that's the governments policy, they are only following up on their parliamentary party is doing, the govt has no interest in doing something about this issue

- What is your prediction for the future then?
- I think its already happened to a large extent. Its interesting as a warning for other boroughs that are perhaps going through this because you lose any sense of community at all, people don't know who there neighbours are, they don't know who anybody living in their street is, you also end up with a street with shops where nobody can buy anything they can afford.
- So this is another pressure, in terms of displacement, in terms of the cost of service provision goes up?
- Yes, and what is actually provided is poorer because obviously the richer the community becomes the less necessary it is to have public transport, the less necessary it is to have facilities like good libraries, leisure facilities that are subsidised by a local authority, the less pressure there is on the LA to provide services that perhaps in other boroughs we have come to expect. You've got this awful contradiction, you've got people in this borough who can afford to pay massive amounts of council tax who aren't being charged it.
- That's interesting because a lot of the arguments *for* gentrification in the US was that it boosted the local tax base but it doesn't do that here...
- No, because if you look at the lowest levels of council tax they are in Wandsworth, Kensington and Chelsea which have been madly gentrified, Westminster is another good example. All the council is interested in is in getting taxation as low as possible.
- Is there a notion that gentrifiers have some sort of 'trickle down' effect?
- Not in the south certainly, I cant see any benefit to having a ghost town which is what a lot it is becoming. Your looking at empty properties which means its a burglars paradise, and people do get burgled very regularly because there is no one to see people breaking in. All the sorts of problems associated with people not knowing their neighbours, or having any idea of their cultural mores or anything like that. Your looking at vast amounts of resentment on the part of the people who are still left. If you talk to people who still live in the borough you should here what they say, a lot of it is horrendously racist and very misguided and sad, the trouble is they have suffered a great deal as a result of what has happened. It also becomes a paradise for the sort of services that are provided like Earls Court; prostitutes, drug dealers and so on. Because there is no community there is no one to get up and say "this has got to stop, we've got to get rid of this".

- So literally, as time goes on you get a weakening of resistance to the process as well?
- And a weakening of peoples involvement in local government, peoples interest in community issues, it therefore has a knock on effect on voluntary groups, with some of the community organisations that are based in the borough - and as those weaken so the people being displaced have fewer places to go to try and resist being displaced, its a snowball and I cant see any way its going to stop unless we stop spiralling rents and house prices. The only way your going to re-establish any community in this part of the borough is by stopping that and to set aside areas which are going to be council housing, are going to HA or are going to private sector but with subsidised rents.
- Is there anything to be said about the role of estate agents in the process?
- Yes, they are involved at all levels, they don't just create a market, they are also involved in representing landlords at rent assessment committees they are looking for the highest possible fair rent, they are making vast amounts of money, and housing management in this borough is a very popular occupation to take up. Many are international, all looking for this 'non-resident, tons of money consumer' but the result is that the borough is experiencing higher and higher levels of crime...the stronger the community the less crime you get!..A big problem in this area is, people are being released from psychiatric hospitals, into a community that doesn't exist, if there isn't a community how is it supposed to care?...people are being offered money they cant refuse, and they are also probably moving out because as the gentrification snowball rolls down the hill so it becomes less desirable for them to stay there, its no longer their sort of people... There has also been the development of hundreds and hundreds of crappie hotels, part of that has been created by the need for homeless persons accommodation...most of them double as brothels.
if you're not here why do you care about it (drugs etc.)
for Labour borough s gentrification means marginalisation, means potentially losing their votes and so on, in Tory boroughs like this the more gentrified it becomes the safer their majority becomes.

2. Heather Johnson , Hammersmith Private Tenants Rights Project

- RA: with regard to Hammersmith, are there any areas which spring to mind where gentrification has occurred?
- HPTRP: Generally Fulham, Sands End
- Has it been tenure specific?
- I think probably mostly renting to owning, my experience is that there was slot of private rented accommodation in the south of the borough which doesn't exist anymore, some it might exist now but it has been bought, becomes owner occupied and is let again . There is gentrified private rented accommodation now - accommodation people couldn't afford, its not affordable housing.
- Is there any way you can characterise gentrifiers?
- I've only worked at this project for about 3 1/2 years, I know the area relatively well and I know people very well that live in Fulham. The area has changed from being quite a working class area into a zany middle class area.
- The groups that are gentrifiers, have they changed over time?
- I think it is mostly young professional people, I don't know what the pattern is of right to buy in Fulham, we don't work with the LA tenants. My suspicion would be, if it is anything like it is in most of Camden, is that the people who bought under right to buy are the same people who rented under RTB and not that many of them have sold on, that might not be the case in H+F but I suspect It probably is, I don't know if you would count that as gentrification - if it is not sold on. Certainly as far as the street properties and what was private rented accommodation, I think an awful lot of it has gone from private rented to owner occupied or from private rented at affordable levels to private rented at unaffordable levels - gentrified in that way, that is certainly the case in the mansion blocks, rents in mansion blocks are 30k a year. Barons court, near the river and on King St. Those have certainly gentrified, all to do with the move from faire rented tenants, a lot as the tenants are dying or possibly moving into sheltered accommodation or to be near a family, even the ones that owned the accommodation were much more what you would think of as being upper working class have been being replaced by more professionals also a lot of foreign nationals buying - either prepared to buy
- Do you think perhaps then that groups like foreign nationals and young professionals have altered the cost of living in an area like this?
- certainly the market rents are very high in a place like Hammersmith and , not maybe quite so high as somewhere like Kensington, but I think that they are very high

- Can you make a distinction between rents going up because of changes like post 89 tenancies or the gentrification process itself - do you think it goes on in tandem or that one of these factors has exacerbated problems more than another?
- The rent issue is purely and simply about legislation, because up until 89 there wouldn't have been the possibility of getting those levels, even though there were a lot of rent act evasions - luxury lettings, foreign nationals and so on, more general level of rents is purely and simply to do with legislation, peoples inability to get any kinds of control on the rent but I suppose the other things - house prices are more to do with gentrification. Fulham becoming a desirable place to live. I know that there was a huge hike in property values in the eighties anyway, my own experience of people I know that live in the area, the kind of prices that *were* being paid and the prices that then suddenly became payable...
- What is it about areas like Fulham that have made them popular?
- I think its location. It might also be the style of the properties as well, the architecture because I don't think that Fulham is wildly well served for public transport or anything like that but if you've decided that you want to buy a house and you want to live relatively central in London you can't look in areas like Kensington and even in areas like Camden really because the properties are very big and mostly they've been converted so I think that people were moving out from the edges of Islington and Hackney but I think that Fulham gives you a much better sense of a nicer area, its more central, it might not be wildly well served for public transport but I think that once you had got past the smaller properties of Islington going people, professionals classes, became interested in places like Hackney which would have been much cheaper but I think that they were starting to look to the Fulham area - and there was a lot of development on the river.
- Do you recognise displacement as an issue related to gentrification in the area?
- I think so yes, because what we see is properties that are that are quite happily going along being rented with quite a lot of houses in the Fulham area where they might have been rented in an HMO situation, not self contained but with say two families, but now as soon as there is any kind of vacant possession there landlords are into self containing, extending, doing them up often then selling them rather than renting them out. So that has a real pressure on the people that are left behind, so where you get situations where the landlord thinks that they can bring any pressure to bear to get rid of the tenants then they do it. We just had one case where the landlord was absolutely open about it, he thought it was in his favour, he bought a property to do it up to sell it on and ended up by evicting a 72 year old tenant, we got damages awarded against him for 95k. That was considered to be a reasonable option only because that landlord recognised that the level of profit that could be made, that house wasn't going to be done up and let to another seventy year old. The other displacement process is that people who *have* lived in that kind of area all their lives are no longer able to live in that area if they are looking for new accommodation, because they cant afford it - that could be anybody really, even relatively young people who are leaving the parental home couldn't afford to

stay in the area. Whereas their parents might have rented a property, or even bought a property some years ago (because I think that the gentrification process is also displacing people in terms of buying as well as renting)

- ...being excluded from the market...
- yes, for example, I know a couple who live in ... they have a house that they own and have lived there for along time, they have two children - there is no way that those children will be able to afford to buy a house in that area if and when the time comes, its just not possible so they are displaced from the area that they live in. I know somebody else that owned a house in that ward who actually bought it as a sitting tenant, sold the house and within a few years had been completely been priced out of buying another house in that area again. It was more than just the hike in prices at that time because the price rise was more than that in other areas.
- Has there been any harassment of pre 89 tenants to move to post 89 contracts or to move out?
- More often to get out, if there is harassment but of course the other issue is trying to drive up the fair rents and to a level which makes it very difficult for those people to pay even fair rents, especially people who don't have recourse to benefits - people who don't have high incomes but incomes which are two high for benefits, elderly people in the mansion blocks are classics for this, people with private pensions and some capital. It does drive some people out or others to use their capital.
- Do you know how many people are displaced?
- I don't think you can and I don't the displacement is particularly quick because a lot of the displacement takes place as a kind of a natural process in relation to the fact that a lot of the people that would have been living in the area are elderly now and have been displaced when the die or happen to go into nursing care and they are being replaced a completely different kind of person, the other kind of displacement would be younger people who under other circumstances would have left home and set up home in the nearby area. Anyone with a protected tenancy or who is an owner occupier in the area isn't going to move out in a hurry unless they are pushed out by harassment, they are not going to choose to move out so the displacement will be fairly gradual.
- Is the number of cases of harassment related to the housing market?
- I think it does, going back to the eighties, harassment was quite rife then and even offering tenants money to go. There is less of it now that the property market is moving.
- Can you characterise who the displacees are?

- Single people, or couples without children who wouldn't be eligible to get LA housing, one could still say they are being displaced even if they are moving into LA housing but certainly people who are on middle incomes. That doesn't mean to say that someone on benefits can get anything, the rules are different and people are losing accommodation left, right and centre even if they are on income support or on a very low income the benefit is not enough to cover their rents so the displacement now is people who would have been able to afford property because of benefit levels but now can't - it's the high rents that are displacing people but benefit rule changes are adding to that.
- I suppose post-89 tenancies don't show up because they don't have contracts renewed?
- Now some people are protected until such time as they move and then when they move they are going to find it harder to get benefit to cover their rent.
- Is there a widespread reluctance to let to people on benefits?
- Yes, there has always been a reluctance one of the reasons was, although one would have thought it reliable, LA's were so bad at sorting benefits out that they were unhappy to let, but there were a tranche of landlords that recognised that once the benefit was set up they were going to get their money on a regular basis but the bigger problem now is that benefit won't cover the rents and that does create problems because they know they are not going to get the rent. If you went to an agency on income support you wouldn't get anything.
- Is it possible to say where displacees end up? Is there a geographical spread to it?
- I think there is movement around that people who are eligible for LA housing they could end up anywhere where accommodation is available but if they are looking for private rented accommodation then they are more likely to end up in Shepards Bush to the north or Westwards towards outside of Chiswick, Ealing - to the cheaper areas. Often young people without a family who are renting privately, a lot of them move around London quite a lot depending on what they want from their accommodation - if they are people who are working in central London and are prepared to share accommodation they might stay in a central area and find other people to share with. Anyone who wants more space will be moving more to the outskirts, that creates a problem because of travel into London.
- Does service provision change from gentrification?
- Shops and facilities change in an area depending on who is living there. We quite often see references made by landlords when they are trying to get rent increases that there are social facilities available, how improved they are and how up and coming the area is etc. etc. and perhaps the tenant is a sixty year old pensioner who doesn't want to go to Cafe ? but would like a cafe like 'what there was before'. You lose a lot of your corner shops and your staple shops and that kind of thing.

- Is that another influencing factor in the decision to move out of an area?
- I don't feel that that is, they want to stay in their area even if they have to pay more.
- Are friendship and family networks an influencing factor?
- It very much is, especially for older people, for younger people it probably isn't quite so much, although it may be if they have families and need support. Even if they are from a different cultural group they might want to remain in an area where there was support for them.
- Does the LA get involved, does it have a registration scheme?
- Yes, in certain wards and to retain HMO's. I think they are reasonable about it to retain HMO's.
- Is there any councillor involvement?
- There are some councillors who are concerned about the private rented sector or private tenants, there are a lot more that *aren't*.
- ...
- Have housing affordability issues and housing need issues fed into any debates within Hammersmith as a borough?
- I think it has done, my experience is that it is quite closely linked to local authority housing and social housing affordability - huge arguments over what the rent is going to be, that happens in all boroughs with local authority housing. There is debate but doesn't lead to anything useful, and nobody wants to live in a street of run down properties
- Two final things, homelessness and community, do you think there is any possible link between displacement and homelessness.
- I think there is, I think there is an enormous link. That kind of displacement I was talking about - people needing accommodation looking for, not people who lose their homes, does lead to homelessness simply because they can't afford the rents and they can't afford the rents wherever they go because HB is just...
- pushes them out of the housing market completely...
- are *very* much being pushed out of the housing market completely. The man in here recently, he isn't someone who has lived in the area for a long time but quite a good example of someone living on HB with a family but can't afford the rents and could never afford the rents as a man with a wife and a young child who needs to have a parent at home and they have a rent of 240 a week, well how much do you

have to be earning to pay a rent of 240 a week and if you are reliant on HB for that HB will only pay 167 on that flat so that is the kind of gap you are looking at. So, yes I think the gentrification of the area does lead to homelessness because there is less accommodation to rent because more has been sold and the accommodation that is available for rent is too expensive. Unfortunately I think people are going to have a problem in any area even if there isn't gentrification, but that is to do with the benefit changes, before the changes came about the rent levels so that people who wouldn't have been entitled to full benefit were driven out - now you haven't got a better chance of staying in the area whatever! The kind of accommodation isn't there anymore the multi-occupied bedsit accommodation/studios and I feel I have is that the number of people now being accepted with mental health problems is enormous and its increasing hand over fist, I'm not sure what the level is in Hammersmith, I know in Camden it is 25% of all people accepted have mental health problems. I know a lot of that is to do with hospital closures and care in the community, that sort of thing but going into the past when I first started working with private tenants in the late seventies, so many people that you met in multi-occupied properties, pretty much left on their own, left to their own devices, not bothered by anybody, not having to conform an awful lot; lots of those people have mental health problems - that accommodation doesn't exist anymore, so again they are the kind of people who are driven out. Where do those people go? They also find it very difficult to find new accommodation because the amount that is left is less so the pressure on people to conform gets more and more.

- Talking about community, its such a vague concept, is there any sort of 'break down of community?'
- I think that there probably is, possibly less so than they might be experiencing in Kensington. I do know that tenants in the mansion block properties will say to you 'there's only six of us left now', there may be a block of forty flats but they consider their community to be only six of them because they are the renting tenants and they are the only ones that speak to each other. There is still quite a lot of community in the borough in areas where there have been people around for quite a long time but that is dying out. I think that an area like Fulham, also the gent leads a bit to a new kind of community but it doesn't include the old community - the new young professionals, but whether it happens in quite such a neighbourly way I'm not so sure about, possibly interest based rather than locality based.

3. Sue Waller, Camden Federation of Private Tenants

- RA: What is the role of your organisation, you're funded by the council?
- CFPT: We are a lobbying group and we advise but mostly we are a lobbying representative group for Camden, I've been working for CFPT for about ten years so I've actually seen quite a few changes in the private sector in Camden. It's an area that gentrification is very key to, one of the things we see is the loss, sometimes helped by local authority environmental health standards, of traditional houses in multiple occupation which tended to be at the cheaper end of private renting.
- In terms of geographical areas are there any key ones which have come up over the years - you mentioned south of the Euston road...
- South of Euston rd didn't have any HMO's, it had mansion blocks sometimes run down but they tended to be done up and business lets. In terms of the loss of HMO's the areas that are key are Hampstead, Hampstead town was full of very seedy HMO's split into tiny bedsits - those have been converted into flats, frequently sold to owner occupiers or rented at the top end of the market. Rent levels have really increased in Camden and one of the things you might consider looking at, even where fair rents are in operation, LA environmental health have tried to improve standards in that type of shared accommodation by encouraging self containment but that tends to have meant that the profile of people living there, when the original tenants die, changes so you're getting younger professional people looking for temporary accommodation or overseas business men coming into those areas - again, areas like Belsize ward which has the largest amount of private renting and Swiss cottage ward as well are key wards where that has happened.
- Is there a sense in which you might view gentrification as wholly happening in the private rented sector?
- Camden is very weird, it doesn't have a very large owner occupied sector it has an exceptionally large local authority rented sector and quite a lot of private rented sector although it has declined in the last ten years from about a third of the stock to about a quarter and the loss has really been the loss of HMO's into self containment - it's difficult to find empirical evidence of that but from experience of tenants knowing what happens when an elderly rent controlled tenant dies and what the landlord does. One of the key areas was owned by Eton college, straddling Adelaide and Belsize wards, who let it out to speculative landlords, Eton sold the freehold and the speculators are now changing the properties quite a lot. What we are finding is quite a lot of elderly tenants in, say the basement or the attic, and the rest of the property has been converted into self contained accommodation and if a property is almost empty it's very hard for planning controls to kick in and Camden's done a lot to try and deal with the loss of affordable rented accommodation but it's a key problem - if a property is empty we can't do much about it.

- So really what you are looking at in Camden, although the rented sector has declined, is a kind of upward profile in terms of the people that are renting in the borough
- yeah, and that is mirrored by the increase of single homelessness in the borough - people can't access or use the private rented sector - there are real problems.
- Could you go so far as to say that gentrification was actually causing homelessness to some degree?
 - I think it's a factor, I think there is a lot more than just gentrification. I think changes in the private rented sector towards self-containment and the loss of traditional HMO's is a key factor - there isn't the same amount of affordable private renting that there used to be, it used to be quite easy for somebody with a fairly chequered housing history to find a bedsit, but now that accommodation isn't there. There are also changes to do with benefit changes and the deregulation, bizarrely while there has been a small increase in probably the last three years it has actually levelled out now in private renting - it's really not been at the bottom end of the market. It's quite weird, what's happening with private renting, the government deregulated it suggesting this would expand private renting but what's happened is it's allowed a lot of landlords to escape from the market. If you've got three or four tenants and one of them dies in the past the landlord could put in another fair rent tenant to get the rent they put in a short term tenant then the third one dies and they kick out the short term tenant and sell or convert so I think changes in the law have allowed the gentrification to happen and they've allowed property to move outside of the private rented market.
 - Can you characterise who the gentrifiers are in this locality?
 - The people that move in?
 - Yes
 - It's quite interesting - the wards that have the highest levels of private renting both have bizarre populations. There is a large Japanese community living in the private rented sector in Belsize and they are not a traditionally discriminated against minority and it suggests that they are people who have come over as students or are working for overseas businesses and that will be mirrored in the adverts you see, getting more and more lettings agencies advertising for company lets, short and long term lets. We don't deal with the top end of private renting, we deal with people who have got problems. Another of the large landlords in Camden is Crown Estates, they are quasi public and quasi private landlords and they have been actually selling and emptying some of their properties on long leases to the Shanghai bank to be used as company lets - so that seems to be something that's hit some parts of the borough. There are also some places that have been converted and people are buying. Camden is a bizarrely popular place - there are pressures that are very weird on the private

rented sector - there has been a change in terms of shared accommodation as well, which, I'm not sure if you could see it as gentrification, you are getting instead of traditional HMO's with a shared bathroom on the landing and a lockable door you are getting shared flats, some of that is to do with cuts in benefit but it's also to do with the fact that a shared flat doesn't sound like an HMO - it doesn't feel like a dismal bedsit, it may be just as unsafe as the way that student accommodation is changing in the borough and also it means that accommodation is easier to move between private renting and owner occupation.

- Have students, in a sense, distorted the housing market?
- They've tended to move north because of the pressures on the private rented sector towards Archway, Cricklewood, Kilburn where there tends to be much cheaper private renting. That's one thing about gentrification - it's made it very hard for the central London universities to help students finding accommodation that's close.
- In terms of the 'displacees' then, can you characterise that group?
- It's fairly difficult because it's changed. With the private rented sector declining, what you had in the 50's 60's and 70's was single people living in bedsits. My own personal view is that it's very hard for single people to find accommodation - so you are getting more flat shares more lodgers rather than renting their own space. So I suspect that the impact has mostly been on single people. There are a lot of elderly private renters in Camden and a lot of single elderly people who live in the private rented sector who don't particularly want to go into council accommodation. In terms of local authority accommodation and so on; Camden was a municipaliser - it bought up masses and masses of street property so its property portfolio was not just estates it had houses and flats which were sold or rented to housing assoc.'s coops etc. . Camden, since changes to capital receipts has been selling that so there's been re-housing by the local authority when a coop has lost its lease on a property and so on. It [Camden] sold a massive amount of its street property and I think that that is having an effect, that there are considerable changes in places like the streets to the back of here - housing coop houses which are looking much smarter and tidier and the 'for sale' boards are up there.
- So that's simply vacant sale onto the market rather than to tenants of any kind? So that is directly gentrification isn't it?
- Yeah, I think so. The reasons aren't gentrification but it causes gentrification - properties are very difficult to manage and run-down so it's easier to sell. The final area we are seeing, I don't know if you would classify it as gentrification is in the large percentage of B+B residential accommodation - the impact of tourism and also to a certain extent the impact of business lettings for travel reasons, rather than for tourist reasons have had an impact there has been a loss of six hundred units of B+B accommodation within a year and that's really had quite an impact. Kings Cross is quite an odd area, that's where all the B+B

accommodation is concentrated and there are things like the English Tourist Board's attempt to get hotels to do up the fronts of them which means that the hotels want more rent and the tourist can find more money than normal users...

- So its changing the profile of the people that are using that sector..
- yeah, there is also the idea that single homeless living in B&B's is not quite desirable, there's this idea that Kings Cross is going to be this wonderful new quarter of London with massive gentrification happening and some architects are saying that Argyle Sq. B+B are wonderful buildings, they should be turned into family accommodation. Its going to be quite an interesting area to watch to see how that develops as the Chunnel comes in. I think one of the reasons for the rise in B+B accommodation in the mid to late eighties and early nineties was to do with the decline in accessible in traditional bedsitting accommodation so B&B's took over that role - where do people go when the B&B's close? That's quite a concern, I think.
- Is there any way that you can quantify a rate of displacement?
- The only way we have been able to do it has been through housing benefit figures. We also see notices to quit - if you walk around Kings Cross, the number of skips outside...
- so its changing now...
- yeah, the number of single claimants in hotels between Jan 96 and Dec. 97 was 600 less and that's come directly from housing benefit figures.
- Is this attributable to a gentrification process?
- Its attributable to many things - the growth of tourism, the idea that Kings Cross has got to be better than it is because there has been no opposition to the idea that B+B residents are either drunk, homeless or drug addicts.
- Is it possible to say where displacees end up?
- One of the things that is happening is a piece of research looking at the whole process of the loss of B+B accommodation.
- Are you dealing with issues of harassment?
- Yes, and what you get where there is an elderly occupier in an empty house that has a far higher market value than it had , one of the things about key areas in London is that they haven't been hit by the property recession , they stabilised to a certain extent and now they're creeping up , so that elderly private tenants are facing harassment - even if the landlord intends to remain renting your getting say, a market rent tenant next to a fair rent tenant, there is quite a lot of harassment. A lot of our older private tenants feel very vulnerable.

- So predominantly elderly...
- there was a recent survey which showed that 33% of regulated tenants in Camden were facing harassment or inducements to leave - that's from the govt OPCS survey. An inducement is an offer of money but if you don't take it your life is going to be made a misery, it's an inducement with a threat behind it.
- What is the solution to that sort of situation, people with not very much money living in areas of London that become desirable to middle classes in general and you've got a system of fair rents so they are renting below the market level??
- There is a real problem with that because renting is seen as something that you don't do out of choice. It's a stop gap or if you can't afford anything better or if you are on benefit. I suspect there has to be a mind set change to a certain extent, there has to be something like licensing to control the excesses of private renting but also an awful lot of our elderly private tenants would love to be in council accommodation and unless they get very frail then there is no way to access it so I suppose there needs to be, in my personal view, an expansion of the social rented sector and perhaps a blurring of the distinction between public and private. The Swedish model is quite interesting, you have private landlords but they are controlled, they are given higher subsidy to provide affordable accommodation like HA's here, and it tends to be businesses rather than individuals. There are too many small individual incompetent, or even malevolent, landlords about.
- What is it about areas like Camden that attract gentrification? Architecturally nice property or whatever it might be.
- I think it's got a lot more to do with, you've got architecturally nice property around Harlesden but that property is not expensive. I think it's certainly got something to do with central London - there is a real problem with people wanting to live closer to work, the transport infrastructure is beginning to crumble, it's getting harder and harder. One of the things you're finding with the smaller rented flats is that people are using it as a weekday accommodation and I think it's a problem that travelling is so difficult. The zone system for travelcards has quite an impact - outside zone two rents drop and Kilburn and Cricklewood the accommodation is better but the prices are cheaper. Only can only see that the logical reason behind it is the travelcard system - areas that are badly served by public transport are a bit cheaper.
- Is there an element of Camden as a, don't know if you could call it a cultural centre but that sort of Camden High Street phenomenon, is that a magnet?
- That's a magnet for young people although they are finding it increasingly hard to get accommodation...
- Is that through price or availability?

- ...availability, and price as well - which is having an impact on the cheaper areas of Camden, places like Kentish town had much cheaper accommodation but are now creeping up, its not gentrification so much as 'trendification' in parts of Camden - I suppose its a very similar process, but you've got that in other areas of London, I was brought up in Stoke Newington and the areas that I wasn't allowed to play in are now some of the poshest around.
- That Islington overspill...
- I mean Islington was a dump, a real private rented Mecca - places like the sq. that Blair lives in. There is good housing stock they were just run as private renting. I think the key to gentrification is the collapse and change of private renting and the move to owner occupation, also people are buying much earlier and getting into problems because there isn't the private rented accommodation available.
- For me displacement is the most interesting area of gentrification but do you think there are other costs to the community at large because of gentrification?
- Camden is a prime example I suppose, grocers or whatever closing down and restaurants opening up. I mean, there so many restaurants and bars now and fewer useful shops and the shops you get now are, because of gentrification, we are getting in town supermarkets in the South of the borough, Budgens and Tesco Metro but they are designed for people with cars and the people using them are not from the council estates.
- Are there any changes at the level of the local community?
- Well, I don't think private renting is a community, I don't think it ever has been. I think it causes problems for the people who are left - the loss of affordable accommodation because it means that people are trapped, I mean in the past if you were unhappy with your neighbours you could find somewhere else but you cant do that anymore - if you do your rents increase. There are real problems for those on low incomes stranded in a gentrified area where they don't know anyone. We have one elderly lady, when she moved in the whole of the flat was private rented, there were about ten people in there, the top floor and basement had been turned into self contained flats with two families and they really dislike this old lady. She faces excommunication from them, she finds it really disheartening and depressing and these are nice middle class people. The landlord is leaving the place in a dilapidated condition so they wonder why she cant get the landlord to keep it in a reasonable condition.
- Is there a cost to the community in terms of the public purse paying for certain problems, the rise in h. need?
- I suspect there is a cost, I think some of the gentrification of London, changes in rents and in benefits have had a real impact on housing provision and housing

need. The fact that there is no affordable accommodation in the private sector means that the people who are ghettoised in poverty will end in council accommodation but you tend to ghettoise poor people into the really seedy of the private rented sector and B+B perhaps but also into council estates and HA estates so you don't get mixed communities as much as you did.

- So your getting more polarised areas...
- ...and social exclusion to. Also if people are being housed by the LA and costs of private renting are going up and more and more people are being housed in council accommodation it means that the housing benefit bill can go up. Also the gentrification has had a knock-on effect of increasing rent increasing the private sector housing benefit bill.
- Is there any councillor involvement in the process?
- Yes, well, there is and there isn't. in terms of the Kings Cross gentrification they are really schizophrenic about it, they really don't now what to do but in other areas development control the policies in the past that they had to self contain HMO's they've managed to get in the UDP the fact that affordable accommodation in the form of HMO's should be recognised by the council. A lot of the changes come from the planning committee, its not whipped, in many other boroughs labour councillors are supposed to follow the labour party line but they decided there were too many people with too many vested interests, architects are whatever. There were certain councils who were pro-gentrification and there are certain bodies that have e a *lot* of influence. You can imagine what's going on in Camden, you've got council estates falling behind, private sector harassment at record levels and yet people take the council to court over their parking restrictions. So the middle class lobby is very influential and is increasingly recognised and organised; things like the Hampstead Heath society, all these particular leading societies got together to form an umbrella group called the Camden amenities forum and that's very influential in development control- we don't want hostels in our area, we don't want
- a sort of NIMBYist group. That's quite interesting actually and something I've probably neglected, the degree to which gentrifiers tend to band together having moved in and...
- ...play the system...
- ...more than council tenants or whatever...
- Yes, so Camden is more worried about consulting on parking control than it is about other things. Its articulate people who know how to use the court process etc. I mean, one of the things that Camden dislikes what these groups are doing the easiest thing to do would be to remove its funding but where its unfunded then its much more difficult.