



Runnymede and CLASS report

Pushed to the Margins

A Quantitative Analysis of Gentrification
in London in the 2010s

Adam Almeida

Runnymede: Intelligence for a Multi-ethnic Britain

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Runnymede

Unit 119

Pill Box

115 Coventry Road

London E2 6GG

T 020 7377 9222

E info@runnymedetrust.org

www.runnymedetrust.org

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Forewords

Gentrification is a complex and often unpopular process, but it is experienced very differently through the prisms of both class and race. For the middle class home-owner, gentrification may mean some exciting new shops and bars, and a welcome increase in the value of their primary asset; their home. But even for them, it often means an unwelcome change in their neighbourhood, as long-term private renters are driven out by rising rents and home-owners take the opportunity to relocate, particularly as they approach retirement. It also, all too often, means that their children cannot afford to live in the neighbourhood they were born in. Meanwhile, for those in social housing the 'opportunities' of the new shops and bars can prove elusive to those on lower incomes, and of course, those new shops and bars are almost always there at the expense of previous well-used, if not always particularly profitable, community spaces.

As this report shows, in London, one indicator of gentrification is a rapid change in demographics, as the gentrifiers tend to be whiter than the communities that are being gentrified. Racialised communities often feel that when their neighbourhood is gentrifying, it apparently no longer has a place for them. The traditional community spaces, shops, cafes and pubs, are replaced by new, expensive and at times utterly unaffordable and incomprehensible alternatives (the example of the 'Cereal Killer' breakfast cafe in Brick Lane comes to mind, although its value as an example does not mean it is responsible for the trend).

While few people have a problem with the concept of 'regeneration' itself, particularly on the remaining system built social housing estates in the capital, the question arises: are we regenerating a postcode at the expense of the communities who have lived there? Equally importantly, where do the existing residents go when an area goes 'up market'? This is not a rhetorical question. Many traditionally disadvantaged and racialised ethnic groups establish close knit communities, where a self-help community infrastructure bridges the gaps left in formal state 'safety net' provisions: whether that be debt advice, domestic violence services, or informal help getting work or housing through community networks. The impact and extent of gentrification-led, forced (economic) dispersal of these communities needs to be measured and evaluated.

This report does not measure the affordability of housing, but the rate of gentrification, measured by a matrix that is explained in detail in the methodology section. People have complained about gentrification for over half a century, and it has been an increasing concern since at least the turn of the century. But it is the rate of acceleration, the rapidity of today's changes, that is perhaps most destabilising and for many people (and communities) hardest to navigate.

While many Londoners, already 'feel' the impact of gentrification in their communities, Runnymede are proud to seek to find a way to objectively measure gentrification, and to begin the process of asking 'how can communities be better protected when regeneration occurs?'. Measuring a problem is the first step towards addressing it. Further research will look at more detailed policy recommendations on how we can use regeneration (a process which does not necessarily have to be synonymous with gentrification) to address long-standing disadvantage faced by minoritized ethnic communities and low income households, and of course those who are living at the intersection of economic and social inequality, disadvantaged by both race and class.

While we clap for carers, thank the teachers of our children and acknowledge the bravery of transport workers, all too often these are the key workers, often from minoritized communities, whose very presence in the city is increasingly threatened by gentrification.

This report is the start, the evidence base, upon which a much wider discussion must and will be built about how we can develop policy around regeneration and gentrification that will contribute towards London becoming the genuinely inclusive city it has always aspired to be.

Dr Halima Begum

Director of the Runnymede Trust

“London is the modern Babylon,” wrote Benjamin Disraeli in 1847. The city has always been a magnet for the entire world; attracting rich and poor, young and old, white and Black. Most people living in London are immigrants, whether from within Britain itself or further afield. The city pulls people in with its kaleidoscopic energy and its streets rumoured to be paved with gold. My own father was part of a wave of people arriving in London, travelling here from Dublin with his family aged 13, and living in Hackney until he reached his twenties.

But London’s creativity and community spirit has always been accompanied by an uneasy truce between the city’s wealthiest and poorest people; between those born into countries colonised by the British Empire, and those who ran that same empire. Arguably, Britain’s organised working class was founded in 1889 by London’s dockers, who went on strike at the dock built by the East India Company to facilitate the corporation’s rule of India. Both the upper and working classes lived mere feet away from one another in one dense urban metropolis. But the different worlds in which they moved created tangible tensions, battles over space, and struggles for power.

For a while, the truce between London’s classes was maintained by social housing programmes, which carved out space for the city’s working people to claim as their own. After the Second World War, 4.4 million social houses were built in the UK, the majority in London. The question of gentrification is often a question of who owns London, and during the 1960s and 70s, there was a legitimate claim that the people themselves had a piece of the city that was theirs. But after the Right to Buy policy was introduced in 1980, which gave people an opportunity to buy their council homes, the number of social houses began to dwindle, causing a 69% drop between 1979 and 2017. In response to this, as well as soaring house prices, the private rental sector exploded - which was insecure and more expensive.

This report reveals that over the last three decades, working class, Black and ethnic minority Londoners have increasingly found themselves at the mercy of the city’s urban design, its politics, and the movement of capital. For these Londoners, gentrification does not mean artisanal coffee shops and new wine bars; it means being pushed out of areas they have lived all their lives, losing local spaces, and the fracturing of communities. The report shows how even seemingly arbitrary geographical features like transit terminuses, bodies of water and warehouse spaces can dramatically change the composition of a community; determining who can afford to live there, and who feels that the community is built for them. Gentrification is beginning to impact all but the very wealthiest of Londoners, but it is through examining the experiences of those at the sharpest end can we understand how it really works as a social and economic force.

The true strength of this report is that it does not deal with gentrification as an abstraction, but pinpoints exactly where and how it is happening across three London boroughs. It is thanks to this precision that policymakers, journalists and campaigners will be able to use the report to come together and create a London that works for everyone - and belongs to everyone.

Ellie Mae O’Hagan

Director of CLASS

Introduction

In such circumstances, any district in or near London, however dingy or unfashionable before, is likely to become expensive; and London may quite soon be a city which illustrates the principle of the survival of the fittest – the financial fittest, who can still afford to work and live there.

(Ruth Glass, 'Aspects of change', 1964)

Any piece of research which sets out to provide a historical context for the phenomenon of gentrification will inevitably reference sociologist Ruth Glass's ground-breaking 1964 essay 'Aspects of change', where she first introduced the term into the public discourse. After living in London for more than 30 years, Glass began to note transformations that were taking place throughout the city, reflecting both the ambitious societal changes shaping the urban centres of post-war Britain and the nation's emergent transition to a post-industrial economy. Glass observed a certain 'gleam of affluence' (1964: xiv) that began to generate in neighbourhoods throughout London which she sought to interrogate further.

Glass noticed the introduction of the gentry, of both the upper and lower middle classes, into traditionally working-class neighbourhoods and their role in reconstructing areas in their own image (spurring the process of *gentry*-fication). They bought up large, dilapidated Victorian homes that had been subdivided into flats in preceding decades and renovated them once again into stately, single-family houses. The shops and restaurants which populated the high streets of central and suburban London (now known as Inner and Outer London boroughs) had also begun a process of change, where luxuries of the past were being sold as necessities of the present and 'shabby Italian restaurants [were replaced] by Espresso bars' (Glass, 1964: xxv). These neighbourhood-level changes applied undue pressures on working-class families, forcing them either to remain in the area in increasingly overcrowded conditions among their established kinship networks, or to move further outwards into unfamiliar territory on the peripheries of the city, where they were more isolated from their communities and extended families. Most pertinently, Glass saw the invasive nature of these transformations and that once they had taken hold of one neighbourhood, the process would spread rapidly through others nearby.

These observations are the most noteworthy of her 1964 work, but Glass noticed other phenomena as well: the shifting dynamics of class and labour, where the rigidity between professionals of different social statuses had blurred; the increasingly fragmented nature of communities and groups that shared physical spaces with one another but not much else; and the marked entry of migrants (from the rest of the country and abroad) into London and their experiences of housing discrimination, overcrowding and inequality occurring along the lines of race ('especially if their skin is coloured', according to Glass, using language indicative of the time; 1964: xxi). These elements will be identifiable to many who have spent a considerable amount of time in London in the 2010s, though they have taken on unparalleled forms in recent times. According to the Runnymede Trust's 2020 report *The Colour of Money*, all Black and minority ethnic (BME) groups in Britain 'are more likely to be in the lowest paid work, to be living in poverty [and to be paying] higher housing costs in England's large cities, especially London' (Khan, 2020). Ethnic minorities comprise 40% of the demographic makeup of London where they experience particular inequalities in housing and disproportionately live in the most deprived areas of the city (Gulliver, 2016; Khan 2020).

London in the 2010s was a decade marked by flashes of stark opulence foregrounding a period of great uncertainty. The national excitement of the 2012 Olympic Games followed in the wake of the murder of Mark Duggan and the resulting civil unrest during the 2011 'English riots', as well as the tail-end of the worst financial crisis in nearly a century. The induction of the Shard as the tallest building in Britain, in a show of architectural marvel and acclaim, occurred just one mile away from the demolition of the Heygate Estate, home to more than 3,000 people and once an exemplar of the brutalist design of the post-war period (Sebregondi, 2012). Nearly 300,000 new homes were built in London in the 2010s, while rough sleeping tripled in the capital during the same period (Homeless Link, no date; MHCLG, 2021c).

Gentrification was defined by these deep contradictions of life in London, observed globally, and it has reverberated back to the city where it was first conceived. Nearly 60 years on from when Ruth Glass first noted these urban processes in

Islington, Paddington, Battersea and ‘even the “shady” parts of Notting Hill’ (Glass, 1964: xix), some areas have entered a phase of ‘super-gentrification’ which bears little resemblance to the small-scale changes that were first witnessed in the 1960s (Shaheen, 2013). The process of gentrification, most notably in the past two decades, has since spread to parts of London in which it would have likely been inconceivable to an observer in the past. East London, which Glass identified as unaltered by gentrification in her observations, has since seen the destruction of slum dwellings and clearance of poorer residents to Barking, Dagenham and Ilford, the rise and fall of council housing, and the creation of ‘the world’s most expensive tech district’ (Co, 2017; Royal Institute of British Architects, 2021).

Through examining the past, London has an opportunity to understand what we are at risk of losing if gentrification continues unabated and to consider what we want from future iterations of the city. The growing precarity of housing tenure and

diminishment of truly affordable housing options, the dispersal of communities from their previously established domains, and the increase in the number of vacant shops on our high streets constitute losses of the past decade in what distinguishes London as a distinct and unrivalled city on the global stage (GLA, no date, a; Butler, 2021). In the present day, the coronavirus epidemic has triggered an unprecedented suspension of the full functionality of the city and has prompted many of us to earnestly contemplate the nature of urban life, as our home lives and surrounding locales have come into hyper-focus. The very purpose of cities, as well as the amenities of the past, are being called into question as spheres of work and study become uncoupled from ‘place’ and facets of our lives increasingly migrate online. While we embark upon the crucial work of rebuilding our cities once the pandemic subsides and with the stated goal of ‘building back better’, we must begin to ask ourselves at the present opportune moment: what do we truly want from our cities and whom do we want them to serve?

Executive summary

Gentrification was a notable phenomenon in London in the 2010s and had a significant impact on the displacement of working-class and Black and ethnic minority (BME) residents in the capital. The boroughs which gentrified most across London between 2010 and 2016 were Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth and Newham and the boroughs which gentrified least were Havering, Bexley and Bromley, all in descending order. The three case study boroughs selected for the quantitative analysis (Southwark, Waltham Forest and Brent) demonstrate varied patterns of gentrification.

Southwark gentrified most of the three case study boroughs and severely gentrified in the London Bridge-West Bermondsey area, the Southwark-Borough area, Elephant and Castle, Camberwell, East Dulwich, Peckham Rye and Queens Road Peckham, and pockets of Bermondsey, Old Kent Road and Rotherhithe. Gentrification was widespread throughout the borough except in areas with exceptionally high or low levels of deprivation.

Waltham Forest gentrified the second most of the three case study boroughs and severely gentrified in Walthamstow Central, Walthamstow Village, areas surrounding Lloyd Park and the William Morris

Gallery, Blackhorse Road, Lea Bridge, an area near the Wanstead Flats, and clusters of areas near Leyton, Leyton High Road and Leytonstone stations. Gentrification was concentrated in the southern half of the borough, corresponding to the districts of Walthamstow and Leyton.

Brent gentrified the least of the three case study boroughs and severely gentrified in Kilburn, Willesden Green, Harlesden, Park Royal and Wembley Park. Gentrification was clustered in the south-eastern quadrant of the borough, as well as in swathes of Wembley.

Neighbourhoods located within 'Opportunity Areas' were significantly more likely to gentrify and had higher rates of displacement (as measured using the proxy indicator of population churn) in Southwark, Waltham Forest and Brent between 2010 and 2016.

Southwark principally represents estate-demolition gentrification and transit-induced gentrification. Waltham Forest principally represents spillover gentrification and transit-induced gentrification. Brent principally represents spillover gentrification and new-build gentrification.

Background

The topic of gentrification has grown to prominence in the mainstream of British society in recent years and the term has emerged as commonplace after its long-established home within the field of academia. Gentrification, which is broadly defined as a process in which poor neighbourhoods are transformed by the entrance of middle-class occupants who trigger a 'socioeconomic uplift' in the surrounding area, has also seen a noticeable shift in its affective meaning within its relatively short fixture in the mainstream. When first introduced into the public discourse in the 2000s, gentrification was portrayed as a common good to improve the lives of the 'forgotten people' in some of London's inner neighbourhoods who had seemingly been 'left behind' as the middle classes fled to the suburbs and commuter towns in preceding decades.

But as gentrification has developed over time and has become more pervasive in the city, its embodiment as a transformational force in working-class neighbourhoods has become further realised and the term increasingly carries the burden of a 'dirty word' (White, 2015). Its application in new and burgeoning fields outside the realms of housing and cities is evidence of its resonance and stature in the public consciousness: detailed works reflecting on the gentrification of food, the gentrification of dog parks, the gentrification of football and even, in the seminal work of Sarah Schulman, the 'gentrification of the mind' (Schulman, 2013; Bliss, 2017; Gander, 2017; Mould, 2021). In our quantitative analysis of gentrification, our aim is to gain insight into the question of what exactly gentrification is, and how it has been experienced by the multiracial working class living in London in the 2010s.

The motivation for the current project emerged from the findings of a previous report, *'We Are Ghosts': Race, Class and Institutional Prejudice*, which was undertaken collaboratively by the Runnymede Trust and the Centre for Labour and Social Studies (CLASS) in 2019. This qualitative study, completed by Dhelia Snoussi and Laurie Mompelat, examined the composition of Britain's urban working class and their perspectives on life in the capital in the 2010s. The work sought to analyse raw data, collected through focus group discussions from the community centres of North Kensington to the pubs of Rotherhithe, to effectively 'inform the debate [on class in Britain]

through the voices of the multi-ethnic working class themselves' (Snoussi and Mompelat, 2019). With the intention of breaking past the common tendency of pitting the 'white working class' against migrants and ethnic minorities, the '4P' framework was developed to find commonality across the entirety of the working class through the themes of power, precariousness, place and prejudice. Gentrification arose as an area where working-class Londoners held a shared resentment over the loss of community space and identified a sense of helplessness and uncertainty over the urban processes that disrupted their families, networks and livelihoods.

The following quantitative analysis seeks to interrogate the dynamics of race and class in London through the lens of gentrification and to map its particularities as it shaped the city in the 2010s. The report builds on the illuminating work led at the grassroots level by community-run organisations and in the halls of academia to provide empirical data to inform the debate and to concretely assert what many Londoners feel and witness on a daily basis: the city is becoming an increasingly unstable site of working-class life. Understanding how and where the defining elements of gentrification (displacement, erasure, neighbourhood uplift) are driven in London and how they occur on the basis of race and class might help us to improve the lives of those most marginalised in British society and to better understand their lived experience in the capital.

Within the mainstream, musings on gentrification towards the end of the 2010s held hipsters and their emblematic coffee shops to be at the helm of these urban processes (Prynn, 2019). While our neighbourhoods have assumed new and previously unthinkable forms (fancy cocktails served atop an abandoned car park in Peckham, weekly yoga brunches on Hackney Road in Shoreditch, an exclusive members-only social club springing up in White City), the process of gentrification is galvanised by forces that have become institutionalised throughout the city rather than by the behaviour patterns of individuals or groups. The implications imbedded within these shifts of consumption and aesthetic at the neighbourhood level tend to work bidirectionally, where they act as a symptom of the demographic changes taking place in the surrounding area as well as signalling back to

council- and city-level actors that a neighbourhood is a developing site of interest for the middle classes.

In thinking beyond the oft-referenced examples that indicate a street or neighbourhood may be 'in transition', the goal of the present analysis is to resituate gentrification at the macroscopic level of the city and understand its systemic and coordinated components. The project maintains that gentrification exists on a continuum rather than in a binary of 'gentrified' or 'ungentrified'. As Shaw (2008) has posited,

It is more useful to locate gentrifying neighbourhoods and cities on a continuum of social and economic geographic change. The continuum need not imply that all neighbourhoods will move through all 'stages', nor that they will reach the same end state, nor, indeed, that they can only travel in one direction.

The process of gentrification, which creates a tenuous environment for working-class life to flourish in urban settings, occurs with varying intensity in different spaces and at different points in time. As wealth inequality grew between the richest and the poorest in London and racial inequality remained an insidious problem in British society in the 2010s,

the livelihoods of working-class and BME people continued to be tenuous wherever they might be located in the city (GLA, no date, b).

Three boroughs, Southwark, Waltham Forest and Brent, were qualitatively selected to represent different parts of London (Inner and Outer boroughs; different sub-regions of the city – south-east, north-east and north-west; varied patterns of gentrification) and all contain significant working-class BME communities. These boroughs were chosen to provide examples beyond the areas most frequently identified by the general public as 'gentrifying' or 'gentrified' in the first half of the 2010s (i.e. Shoreditch, Brixton, Kings Cross). In addition, the influence of Opportunity Areas (OAs) on gentrification at the borough-wide level is explored in this report. OAs were first introduced by the Mayor of London's 2004 *London Plan* and denote swathes of the city that constitute major brownfield sites and deprived areas that are now the booming sites of mega-housing developments. The relationship between OAs and gentrification has been raised by grassroots organisations engaged in campaigns for better housing and living conditions in London.

Methodology summary

The equation that forms the basis of our analysis and was generated to calculate the gentrification score of a Lower-Layer Super Output Area (LSOA) is as follows:

$$G = \frac{1}{2}c - \frac{1}{4}e + \frac{1}{8}h - \frac{1}{8}d + 0.25$$

where:

- G represents the **index of gentrification**, constituting a scale from 0.0 to 1.0 where the lower bound signifies an area of minor gentrification and the upper bound signifies an area of severe gentrification between 2010 and 2016
- c represents the **population churn** at the household level within an area between the start of 2010 and the end of 2016, or 'a ratio of the households that have changed in each LSOA ... between [2010 and] 2016' (CDRC, 2016).
- e represents the **relative change in the proportion of non-white residents** at the individual level within an area
- h represents the **relative change in median house sale price** compared with the borough-wide average between December 2009 and December 2016 (i.e. the median house sale price for a given LSOA was 90 per cent of the borough-wide average in 2009 and increased to 110 per cent of the borough-wide average in 2016, producing a score of 0.22 using the formula of relative change)
- d represents the **relative change in the index of multiple deprivation (IMD) score** between 2010 and 2015

- a b -value of 0.25 is added to standardise the gentrification score between 0.0 and 1.0

A more detailed description of the methodology and data used can be found in the Appendix of this report.

According to 2011 boundaries, there are 4,835 LSOAs across London, with 1,737 LSOAs located in Inner London boroughs and 3,098 LSOAs in Outer London boroughs.

The mean gentrification score for LSOAs across London is 0.485 (0.517 for Inner London LSOAs, 0.467 for Outer London LSOAs¹). The median gentrification score for London is 0.486 (Inner: 0.516, Outer: 0.466). The range of gentrification scores across London is 0.165 to 0.775 (Inner: 0.312 to 0.775, Outer: 0.165 to 0.737). Corresponding to an alpha level of 0.05 in the Shapiro-Wilk normality test, gentrification scores are not normally distributed across London, Inner London or Outer London.

The gentrification scores were categorised within the ranges shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Gentrification scores

Level	Gentrification score	Number of LSOAs
Severe	0.6–0.8	219
High	0.5–0.6	1,815
Moderate	0.4–0.5	2,257
Low	0.3–0.4	499
Minor	0.1–0.3	45

¹ Note: The mean gentrification scores of Inner and Outer London boroughs are significantly different (p -value ~ 0).

Analysis

Table 2: Mean gentrification by London borough (Inner and Outer)

Inner London

Borough	Mean gentrification
Tower Hamlets	0.560
Wandsworth	0.549
Hackney	0.530 [†]
Lambeth	0.528
Southwark	0.526
Hammersmith and Fulham	0.525
Islington	0.525 [†]
Royal Borough of Greenwich	0.511 [†]
Lewisham	0.503
Camden	0.494
City of London	0.469
City of Westminster	0.467 [†]
Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea	0.466

Outer London

Borough name	Mean gentrification
Newham	0.538 [†]
Ealing	0.515
Haringey	0.512
Waltham Forest	0.507
Brent	0.500 [†]
Merton	0.481
Hounslow	0.479 [†]
Barnet	0.477
Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames	0.477
Richmond upon Thames	0.459
Enfield	0.458
Redbridge	0.455
Harrow	0.454
Barking and Dagenham	0.453 [†]
Hillingdon	0.453
Croydon	0.450
Sutton	0.447
Bromley	0.427
Bexley	0.415
Havering	0.365

Note: † Boroughs where gentrification is not normally distributed, corresponding to a p -value of less than an alpha level of 0.05 according to the Shapiro-Wilk normality test. In other words, these boroughs contain LSOAs which act as outliers that skew the mean gentrification score upwards or downwards.

Southwark

Between 2010 and 2016, Southwark experienced the fifth-highest levels of gentrification across Inner London boroughs and the sixth-highest levels of gentrification across all boroughs. Located in south-east London and bordered by the River Thames at its northern end, Southwark is defined by the presence of impressive post-war architecture and the sheer volume of homes provided by the local authority. The borough was heavily shelled during air raids in the Second World War due to its large industrial capacity, as well as its extensive docklands and transport hubs which fuelled the wartime effort (principally located in London Bridge, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, and Elephant and Castle) (Dark, 2020). The area was redeveloped by the London County Council and affected metropolitan boroughs in the 1950s and 1960s, when high-density brutalist estates were built to replace medium-density terraced homes and abandoned brownfield sites. These estates housed thousands of residents in clustered high-rise structures, with the term ‘Cities in the Sky’ coined to represent the city’s vertical expansion. Due to the sizeable council housing stock in Southwark, London represents a rare example of a Western metropolis where a significant portion of working-class people continue to reside in the geographic centre of city (as opposed to inner-city neighbourhoods in large US cities with little housing provision still accessible to working-class residents) (Bogin, Doerner and Larson, 2016).

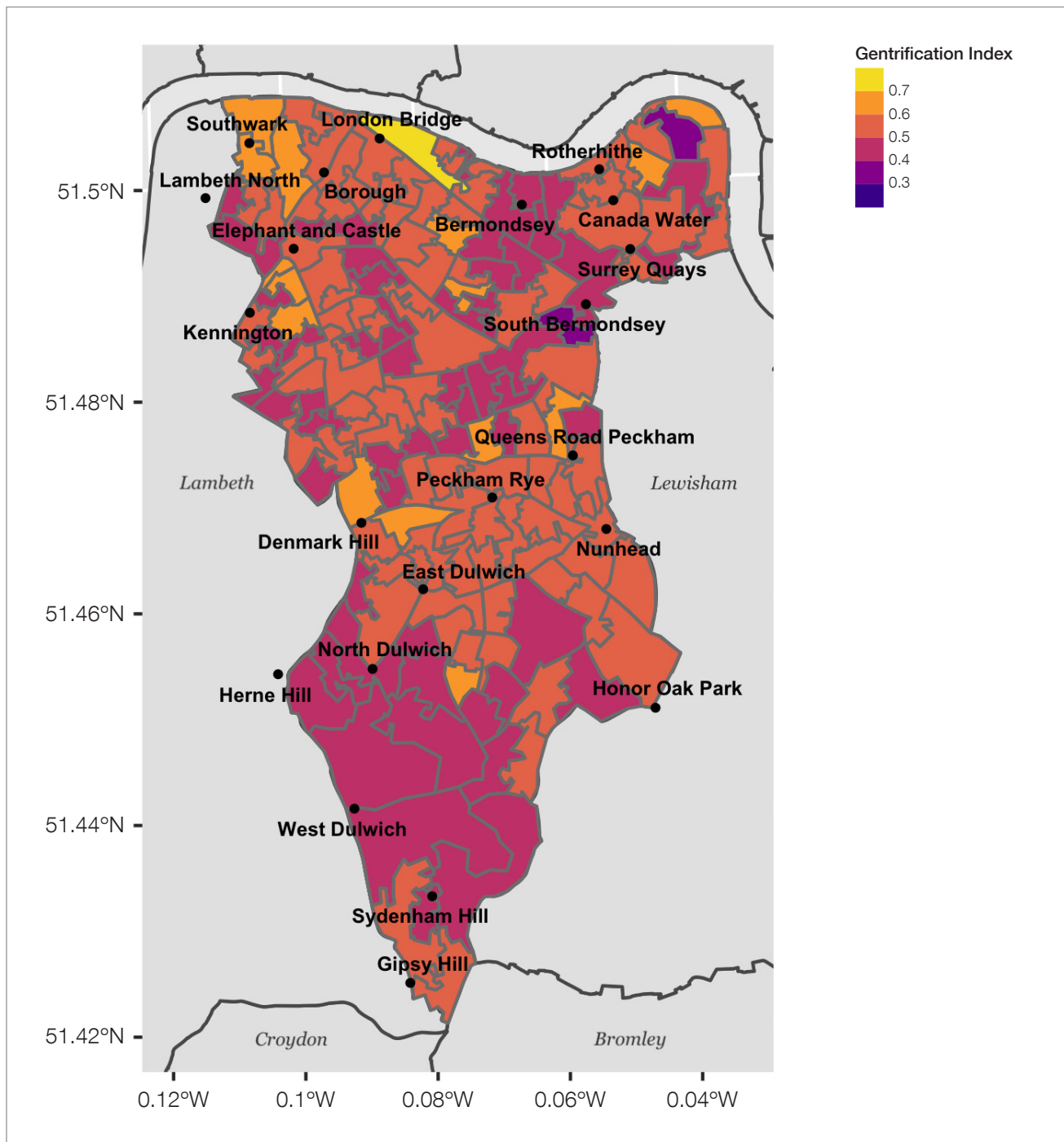
The borough is home to a variety of BME communities that have grown significantly since the beginning of the 21st century. There are 250 African churches in Southwark alone, representing the highest concentration of such congregations outside of the African continent (Alemoru, 2019). The African diaspora in South London originates mostly from West Africa, predominantly Nigeria, Ghana or Sierra Leone (Williams, 2015). Southwark also contains a prominent Latin American community which began settling in Elephant and Castle in the 1990s, leading to the development of a community hub in the recently demolished Elephant and Castle Shopping Centre and the surrounding area (Román-Velázquez, 2016). Latin Americans in Southwark are predominantly of Colombian, Ecuadorian or Bolivian ethnic origins and typically moved onwards to Britain after first settling in Spain (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011). Additionally, a significant number of Vietnamese

refugees (mostly of Chinese ancestral origin) were housed in Southwark during the 1960s and 1970s, though they are more dispersed throughout the borough (i.e. in Elephant and Castle, Camberwell, Peckham, Rotherhithe and Surrey Quays) than other ethnic minority working-class communities in Southwark (Pharoah, Hale and Lee, 2010).

At the start of the decade, Southwark was the London borough with the highest proportion (45.5 per cent) of people living in housing provided by the local authority or a housing association (ONS,

2018b). By 2016, Southwark had fallen to second place, with Hackney surpassing it as the top provider of rented accommodation outside of the private rental sector (43.7 per cent in Hackney versus 40.9 per cent in Southwark) (ONS, 2018b). The local authority housing stock decreased from 55,803 units in 1994 to 38,183 in 2020, representing a 31.6 per cent decrease in council homes in a 26-year period (MHCLG, 2021b). In 1994, there were more council housing units in Southwark than in the entirety of Liverpool despite the London borough containing half the population (MHCLG, 2021b).

Figure 1: Gentrification in the Borough of Southwark, 2010–16



Between 2010 and 2016, the mean gentrification score in Southwark was 0.526, above the average London-wide score of 0.485. Gentrification occurred relatively evenly throughout the borough and the average score across Southwark was not drastically changed by a few areas of intense or mild gentrification. However, spatial patterns and clusters of heightened and lowered gentrification exist in Southwark. The southern end of the borough (encompassing the neighbourhood of Dulwich) represents 'moderate gentrification', as do swathes of central and south Bermondsey, north Peckham, areas north of Camberwell and east of Kennington, and the area between Walworth Road and Old Kent Road. The difference between Dulwich and other areas of moderate gentrification is that the former includes LSOAs with the least deprivation in London while the latter represent some of the highest deprivation levels in the city, according to the 2010 English IMD (MHCLG, 2011). The aforementioned areas (excluding Dulwich) typically have a high density of council housing estates and are largely inaccessible by foot from transit terminuses, such as Tube, Overground or railway stations. Though the material realities in these areas are markedly different (Dulwich as a wealthy area, the others as poor areas), they did not drastically change, or gentrify, in the 2010s and therefore are coloured the same in Figure 1.

As is clearly visible in Figure 1, the LSOA which gentrified most in the borough was Southwark 003E, covering the area along the river from London Bridge to Tower Bridge (north of London Bridge station) as well as along Tooley Street and Jamaica Road into the west end of Bermondsey. Between 2010 and 2016, 60 per cent of residents left the neighbourhood, there was a relative decrease of 2.4 per cent in the proportion of BME residents and deprivation levels relatively decreased by 25 per cent. The average price of a house sold in the area was £1.2 million at the end of 2016, up from £305,000 at the start of 2010. Following the London Bridge-West Bermondsey area, other areas of severe gentrification (measured as scoring over 0.60 on the gentrification index) include: the Southwark-Borough area (from Blackfriars Bridge to the top of Elephant and Castle); Elephant and Castle (southwards down Walworth Road and Kennington Park Road); Camberwell (surrounding the north and east of Denmark Hill station); part of East Dulwich; parts of Peckham (around the redeveloped Peckham Library and Queens Road Peckham station); and pockets of Bermondsey, Old Kent Road and Rotherhithe.

The LSOA with the highest population churn was Southwark 014F, representing the area south of Elephant and Castle station and along Walworth Road (across from the now demolished Heygate Estate), where 72 per cent of households changed residency between 2010 and 2016. Southwark 009A (due south of Borough station, along Great Dover Street and including Trinity Church Square and Merrick Square) had the largest relative decrease in the proportion of BME residents of any LSOA in London, with a net loss of 45 per cent of all people of colour from the area between 2010 and 2016 (contracting from 27.5 per cent of the ethnic make-up of the neighbourhood to 15.0 per cent, respectively).

Waltham Forest

Between 2010 and 2016, Waltham Forest experienced the fourth-highest levels of gentrification among Outer London boroughs, and the 12th-highest gentrification levels across all London boroughs. Waltham Forest, which historically constituted the south-western corner of Essex, lies in north-east London and comprises the districts of Chingford, Walthamstow and Leyton. The character of Waltham Forest was defined by small villages and hamlets among farmland, marshes and forest until major residential development occurred in the late 19th century as a result of extending train networks (Powell, 1973). Due to the particularly poor conditions in the East End, an emphasis was placed by the London County Council on building homes for working-class families in growing towns on the periphery of the city, resulting in a movement of 'East Enders' into the area (Young and Willmott, 2011). The Borough of Waltham Forest has been home to a number of ambitious social housing projects, such as the creation of the renowned red-brick homes of the Warner Estate. Thomas Warner, the owner and developer, sought to create high-quality houses, fitted with recessed porches and painted neatly and uniformly, for working-class people (Harrison and Green, 2016).

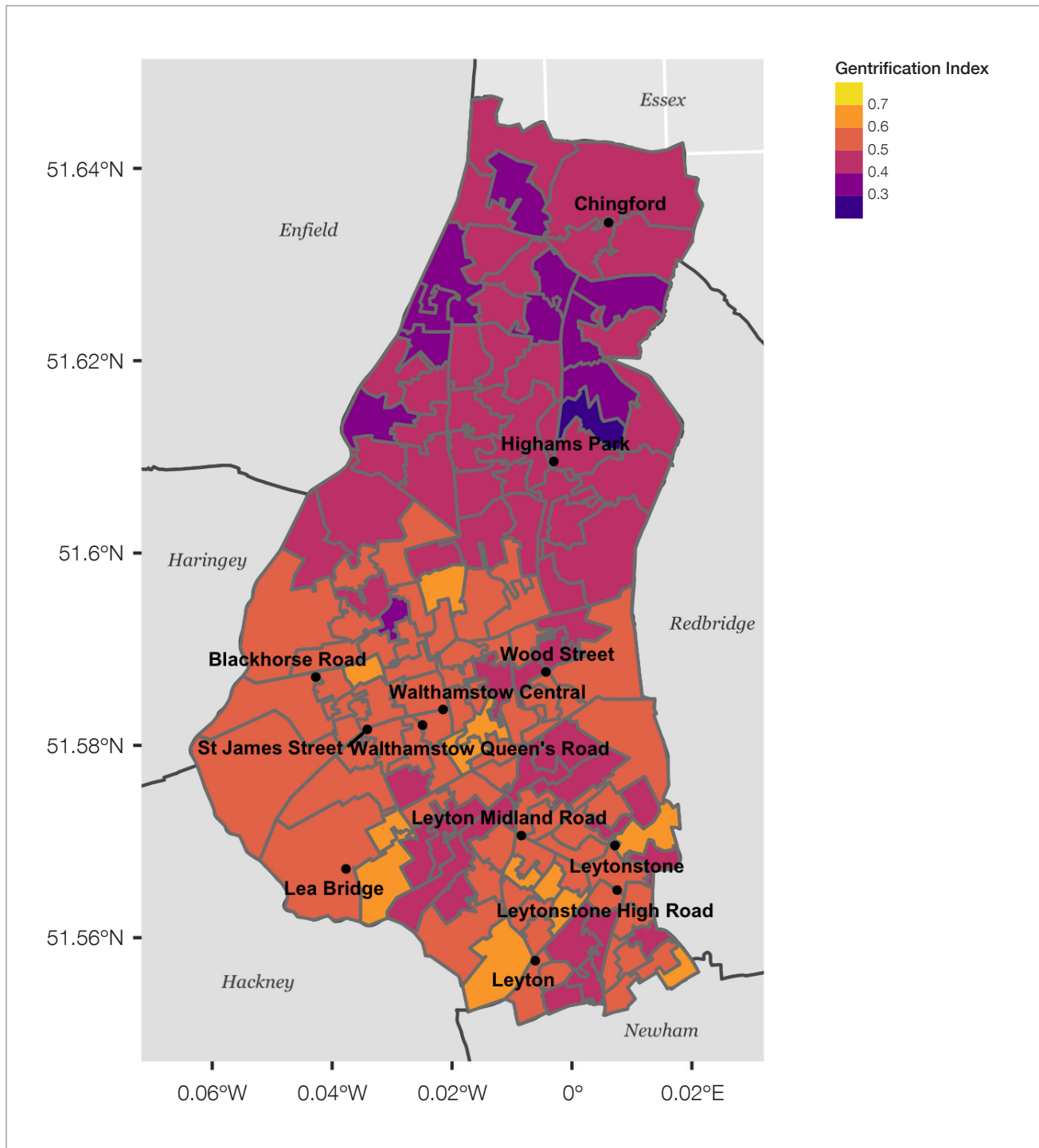
The emergence of migrant communities in Waltham Forest has taken place since the post-war period, with significant settlement by people of Pakistani and Jamaican ethnic origin, as well as other members of the 'Windrush generation', or those from Commonwealth nations (Open Society Foundations, 2012; Waltham Forest Echo, 2020). In the 2010s, Caribbean communities were clustered in central and upper Walthamstow, Lea Bridge/Hatch Lane and central Leyton, while Pakistani communities were more widely distributed throughout Walthamstow, Leyton and

south Chingford (according to the e dataset; see Appendix). Additionally, there has been significant settlement of eastern European residents in the borough since 2004, corresponding with the accession to the European Union of 10 new member states located mostly in eastern Europe. As a result, large Polish, Romanian and Lithuanian communities have developed in Leyton and Walthamstow and retain a visible presence in the shops of the high streets (Hanley, 2013). Many

Turkish residents, from Turkey and Cyprus, have also settled across North London since the 1990s, with growing populations in Walthamstow and Chingford (Kartal, 2019). Waltham Forest is home to the fourth-largest Muslim population in London, accounting for 22 per cent of all residents (ONS, 2019b).

At the start of the decade, 24 per cent of residents in Waltham Forest were living in housing provided

Figure 2: Gentrification in the Borough of Waltham Forest, 2010–16



by the local authority or a housing association (slightly lower than the borough-wide average across London of 24.5 per cent) (ONS, 2018b). By 2016, the proportion of the population living in local authority or housing association properties had decreased to 16.7 per cent, well below the borough-wide average across London of 22.9 per cent (ONS, 2018b). The local authority housing stock decreased from 16,302 units in 1994 to 9,653 in 2020, representing a 40.8 per cent decrease in the number of council homes in a 26-year period (MHCLG, 2021b). By 2016, a majority of residents in the borough were homeowners (either owning their home outright or buying with a mortgage) (ONS, 2018b). This statistic sheds light on the quasi-suburban nature of Waltham Forest, where homeownership rates are typically higher than in inner-city neighbourhoods.

Between 2010 and 2016, the mean gentrification score of Waltham Forest was 0.507, above the average London-wide score of 0.485. Using the gentrification index, the average score across Waltham Forest was not drastically changed by few areas of intense or mild gentrification. However, spatial divisions of heightened and lowered gentrification exist in Waltham Forest. The North Circular Road separates the borough into two distinct regions of gentrification: high gentrification patterns across Walthamstow and Leyton, and low gentrification in Chingford (as seen in Figure 2). There are at least two factors that may explain this difference. The first is that transit terminuses are concentrated in the southern half of the borough, with only two stations servicing Chingford, thereby limiting the effects of transit-induced gentrification (explored further in the 'Discussion' section). Interestingly, population churn was exceedingly high near the Highams Park and Chingford Overground stations in comparison with the remainder of Chingford, signalling that these two locations could be the next frontiers of gentrification in the borough. The second factor is that Chingford is home to LSOAs in both the top and bottom quartiles of deprivation in London. Very wealthy areas are not likely to gentrify; nor are poor areas that are not located near other amenities (e.g. widespread availability of transit terminuses, proximity to nearby gentrified areas).

According to the dataset, the LSOA which gentrified most in the borough was Waltham Forest 016A, encompassing the area near Walthamstow Central station, from Queens Rd/Orford Rd south along Hoe Street to Boundary Road and Granville Road, and west to east from the train tracks of the Lea

Valley line of the Overground to Pembroke Road. This residential area is south-west of Walthamstow Village, the oldest part of present-day Walthamstow, and has garnered attention in recent years for its artisanal coffee shops, brunch spots and neon art (Frankel, 2016). Between 2010 and 2016, 60 per cent of residents left the neighbourhood, there was a relative decrease of 12.8 per cent in the proportion of BME residents and deprivation levels relatively decreased by 20 per cent. The average price of a house sold in the area was £445,000 at the end of 2016, up from £165,000 at the start of 2010. Following this section of Walthamstow Central, other areas of severe gentrification (measured as scoring over 0.60 on the gentrification index) include Walthamstow Village; the areas north and east of Lloyd Park and the William Morris Gallery; due east of Blackhorse Road station; east of Leyton Marshes and Lea Bridge Station (along Lea Bridge Road); the south-eastern tip of the borough, in Leytonstone near the Wanstead Flats; and clusters of areas near Leyton, Leyton High Road and Leytonstone stations.

The LSOA with the highest population churn was Waltham Forest 026D, constituting the area north-west of Leyton Tube station and east of Leyton Mills shopping centre, where 65 per cent of households changed residency between 2010 and 2016. Waltham Forest 011D (south of Lloyd Park, from Pearl Road to Hoe Street and west of Chingford Road) is the LSOA in the borough that had the largest relative decrease in the proportion of BME residents, with a net loss of 18 per cent of people of colour from the area between 2010 and 2016 (contracting from 38.0 per cent of the racial make-up of the neighbourhood to 31.0 per cent, respectively).

Brent

Between 2010 and 2016, Brent experienced the fifth-highest levels of gentrification across Outer London boroughs and the 14th-highest gentrification levels across all London boroughs. Brent was historically constituted as part of Middlesex county and now occupies the north-west of London. Much like in Waltham Forest and Southwark, development in Brent was spurred in the 19th century by the extension of train networks and was heavily shelled during the London Blitz due to the numerous factories that populated the area (Brent Council, no date, a). The presence of these industries (primarily in the neighbourhoods of Willesden and Harlesden) necessitated a strong working-class identity in the southern end of the borough. During the early years of the post-war

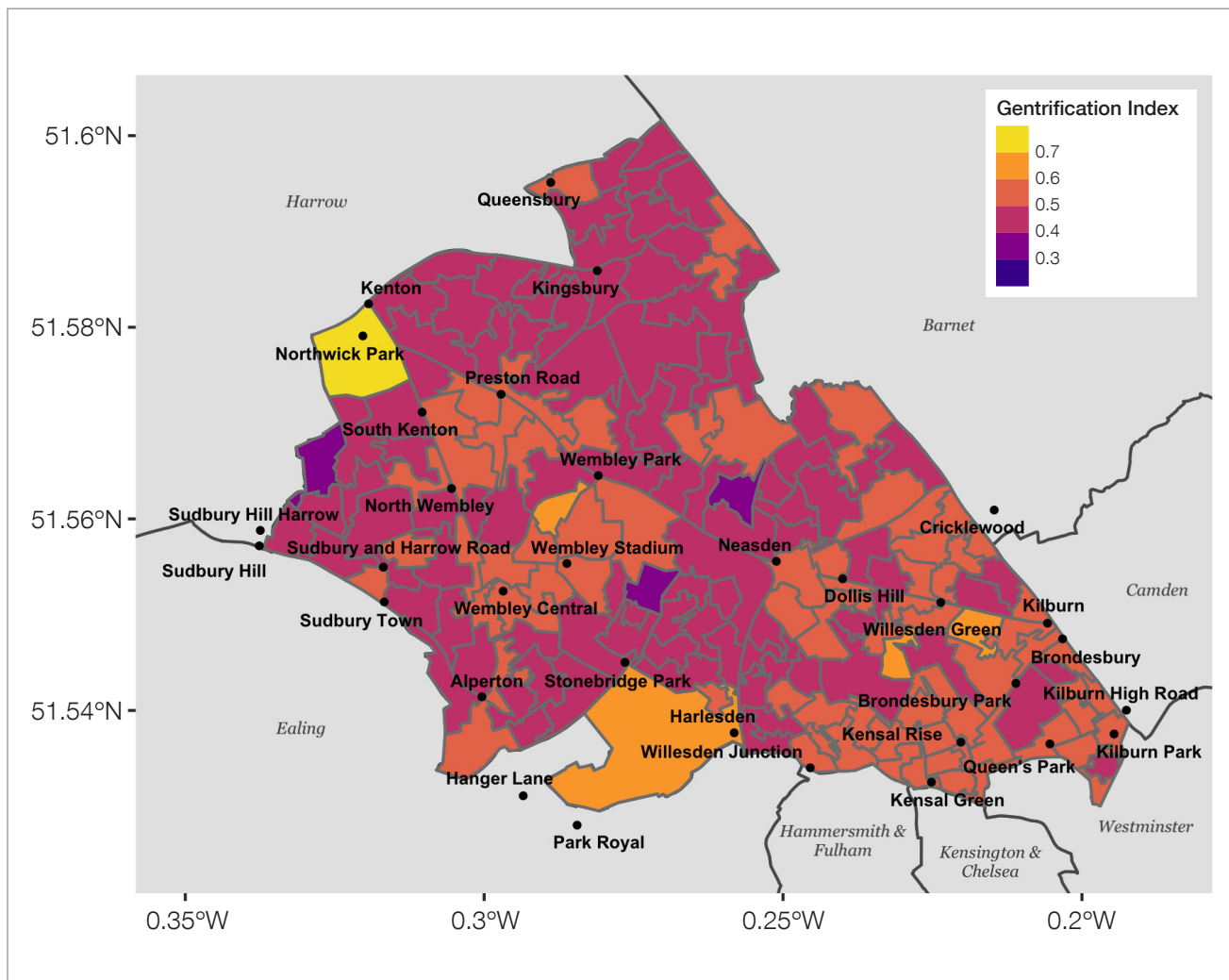
period, the area was severely impacted by the process of deindustrialisation as factories closed down and were relocated out of north-west London and into other parts of the country where space to expand and cheaper commercial rents were available (Keeble, 1965). In contrast, the northern end of the borough (encompassing Wembley, Kingsbury and Harrow) retained a more conservative and middle-class character, typical of the suburban nature of the area (Brent Council, no date, a).

Brent is one of the most ethnically diverse boroughs in London, with the racial make-up nearly evenly split: one-third Asian, one-third white, one-fifth Black and one-tenth mixed/other (ONS, 2018a). Brent has the second-lowest proportion of white residents of all London boroughs, at an estimated 36 per cent (ONS, 2018a). Beginning in the mid-20th century, Kilburn was established as the centre of the Irish diaspora in London as residents settled in the area after travelling by boat to the Welsh cities of Swansea, Cardiff and Newport and arriving by

train into nearby Paddington station (Young and Willmott, 2011; Ryan et al., 2021). Harlesden, which is due west of Kilburn, is home to the second-largest concentration of Caribbeans in the UK, following closely behind the neighbourhood of Chapeltown in Leeds (according to the e dataset; see Appendix). The influx of Caribbeans into London and other British towns and cities was part of the migration pattern of the Windrush generation and reflects similar dynamics to those mentioned in the previous section on Waltham Forest. In terms of more recent waves of migration, Brazilians started to settle in the neighbourhoods of Willesden and Neasden in large numbers from the beginning of the 21st century and Britain is now home to the largest Brazilian diaspora in Europe (Finotelli et al., 2013).

At the start of the decade, 22 per cent of residents in Brent were living in housing provided by the local authority or a housing association (slightly below the average across London of 24.5 per cent) (ONS, 2018b). The local authority housing

Figure 3: Gentrification in the Borough of Brent, 2010–16



stock decreased from 16,843 units in 1994 to 8,231 units in 2020, representing a 51.1 per cent decrease in the number of council homes in a 26-year period (MHCLG, 2021b). By 2016, Brent had one of the highest proportions of residents living in accommodation provided by the private rental sector (36 per cent) across London boroughs, falling slightly behind Newham (39 per cent), Westminster (38 per cent) and Tower Hamlets (37 per cent) (ONS, 2018b).

Between 2010 and 2016, the mean gentrification score of 0.500 was skewed upwards in Brent by a few areas of intense gentrification. The mean gentrification score decreased to 0.498 when the data were normalised by the removal of the two highest outliers, Brent 008D and Brent 023B, corresponding to Northwick Park and the area between Kilburn and Willesden Green Tube stations, respectively. The average gentrification score across Brent, at 0.498, was slightly above the London-wide average of 0.485. Northwick Park, which stands out as a representation of intense gentrification in Figure 3, had an exceptionally high population churn value of 74 per cent and saw a relative decrease in the proportion of BME residents of 33 per cent. These inflated values are most likely a result of the large concentration of homes for healthcare workers at Northwick Park Hospital and accommodations for students at the University of Westminster, Harrow Campus – two populations known to have high turnover rates unrelated to gentrification pressures.² Therefore, Northwick Park is likely not a true site of gentrification in Brent and demonstrates a limitation of the capabilities of the gentrification index equation.

According to the dataset, the LSOA which gentrified most in the borough (excluding Brent 008D, Northwick Park) was Brent 023B, covering the area between Willesden Green and Kilburn stations, south of the train tracks of the Jubilee line towards Brondesbury Park and between Lydford Road and Coverdale Road. Between 2010 and 2016, 55 per cent of residents left the neighbourhood, there was a relative decrease of 7.1 per cent in the proportion of BME residents and deprivation levels relatively decreased by 26 per cent. The average price of a house sold in the area rose from £222,000 at the start of 2010 to £715,000 at the end of 2016. Following this section of Willesden, other areas of severe gentrification (measured as scoring over 0.60 on the gentrification index) include a nearby stretch of Willesden Green (north of King Edward VII Park),

as well as the Park Royal Industrial Estate (between the four corners of Harlesden, Park Royal, Hanger Lane and Stonebridge Park stations, and including Central Middlesex Hospital) and a residential area across from the Wembley Park development (west of Empire Way until Wembley Park Drive).

The LSOA with the highest population churn was Brent 017F, covering the area surrounding Wembley Stadium (between Wembley Park and Wembley Stadium stations), where 76 per cent of households changed residency between 2010 and 2016. The LSOA in the borough that had the largest relative decrease in the proportion of BME residents was Brent 008D (Northwick Park), where the proportion contracted from 52.5 per cent of the racial make-up of the neighbourhood to 35.0 per cent between 2010 and 2016, representing a net loss of 33 per cent. As previously noted, however, the reason behind this substantial shift in the proportion of BME residents is unclear and likely involved factors unrelated to gentrification. The second-highest LSOA in terms of relative decrease in the proportion of BME residents was Brent 032A, encompassing the area east of Kensal Green station and north of Kensal Green Cemetery. The percentage of BME people in the area decreased from 20.5 per cent in 2010 to 17.0 per cent in 2016, representing a 17 per cent net loss of non-white residents from the neighbourhood.

Opportunity Areas

Established in 2004 with the first iteration of the Mayor's *London Plan*, 28 Opportunity Areas (OAs) were identified and plotted across the city as zones 'capable of accommodating substantial new jobs or homes and their potential should be maximised' (Mayor of London, 2004). A regeneration model was employed in OAs, covering major brownfield sites and some of the most deprived quarters of London, with the goal of ensuring that 'no-one [would] be seriously disadvantaged by where they live within 10–20 years' (Mayor of London, 2004). OAs would theoretically follow a public-private funding model, where private investment would be sought to pay for the major infrastructural transformations required for developments of such a scale and some of the substantial capital injection would be reallocated to provide high-quality social housing as a public good (Wainwright, 2021). According to the original plans, a 50 per cent affordable housing quota was mandated for developers seeking approval from the Mayor's Office and they would be required to

² Conversation with Northwick Park councillor Robert Johnson, 29 March 2021.

undergo a 'financial viability assessment' if they could not achieve the target.

In practice, however, the 50 per cent threshold requirement has been regularly flouted, as developments have been projected to not be profitable enough to provide affordable housing and the quota has since been lowered to the London-wide target of 35 per cent (a threshold which is also not strictly enforced, as Jerry Flynn of the 35% Campaign has thoroughly documented; 35% Campaign, no date, b). The very definition of 'affordable housing' in London contains multiple sub-definitions and comprises anyone from council tenants spending an average £120 per week to those paying 80 per cent of market rents, a rate far exceeding feasible limits for working-class residents (as explored further in the 'Discussion' section). The provision of OAs allows for high-density mega-developments to be built which would not gain approval if they were located elsewhere in London and which have the potential to remarkably alter the character of a given neighbourhood. Though rejuvenation of brownfield sites and a greater provision of homes are welcome interventions, developments in OAs are often not reflective of the housing needs of the local community and typically happen without consultation with local businesses and groups to inform development plans (Just Space, no date). As grassroots housing consortium Just Space has pointed out, nearby 'shops, cafes and service providers that serve the local community are priced out of the area by soaring rents' (Just Space, no date).

In 2010, the original 28 OAs were still in use and 10 others were to be added by 2016. There were three OAs located in Southwark (Bankside, Borough and London Bridge, Elephant and Castle, and Canada Water), covering 16 per cent of LSOAs across the borough. Old Kent Road has since been added in the most recent *London Plan* (2016). In Waltham Forest, there were two OAs (Upper Lea Valley and Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance/OLSPG), covering 31 per cent of LSOAs in the borough. The Upper Lea Valley OA is spread across four London boroughs (Hackney, Waltham Forest, Haringey and Enfield) and stretches from Clapton, north through Tottenham to the borders with Hertfordshire and Essex. The OLSPG OA was created in preparation for the 2012 London Olympics and is also located across four boroughs (Hackney, Waltham Forest, Tower Hamlets and

Newham).³ The Upper Lea Valley and OLSPG OAs overlap in Waltham Forest in the borough's south-western tip. In Brent, two OAs were in use (Wembley, and Old Oak and Park Royal) and only covered 3 per cent of the borough. The Wembley OA is contained within the boundaries of Brent and the Old Oak and Park Royal OA is situated in the boroughs of Brent, Ealing, and Hammersmith and Fulham.

According to the quantitative analysis (Figures 4–6, Tables 3–5), gentrification rates were 9–13 per cent higher in LSOAs located within OAs than LSOAs outside of them, demonstrating statistical significance between the mean scores. Furthermore, population churn was significantly higher across all three boroughs within OAs and was 9–30 per cent higher than non-OA regions. As population churn is a proxy variable representing displacement (accurately yet imprecisely; see 'Data considerations and limitations' section in the Appendix), the existence of OAs and their role in shaping housing in London has strong implications.

In Southwark and Waltham Forest, the relative change in house sale price (in relation to the borough-wide average) was significantly higher within OAs than outside of them. Interestingly, Brent had depressed house sale prices within OAs when compared with outside of OAs, though not significantly. For the relative change in deprivation levels, only Southwark had a significantly different mean score: deprivation levels decreased within OAs by 4.9 per cent and increased outside of them by 2.3 per cent. Waltham Forest and Brent each experienced higher increases of deprivation levels within OAs, though deprivation also increased throughout the remainder of the borough and the results were not statistically significant. Of specific note, each borough had a larger decrease in the proportion of BME residents within OAs (–5.5 per cent in Southwark OAs vs –5.0 per cent non-OAs; –6.4 per cent in Waltham Forest OAs vs +2.5 per cent non-OAs; –3.5 per cent in Brent OAs vs –2.7 per cent non-OAs), though these differences were not statistically significant in any of the case study boroughs. One hypothesis explaining this phenomenon could be the influx of middle- and upper-class BME people into new developments, which would represent a notable shift in terms of class rather than race.

³ The legacy of the 2012 Olympics Games in London and its impact on the gentrification of East London has been heavily reported in the literature; see Watt (2013).

Figure 4: Gentrification in the Borough of Southwark and Opportunity Areas, 2010–16

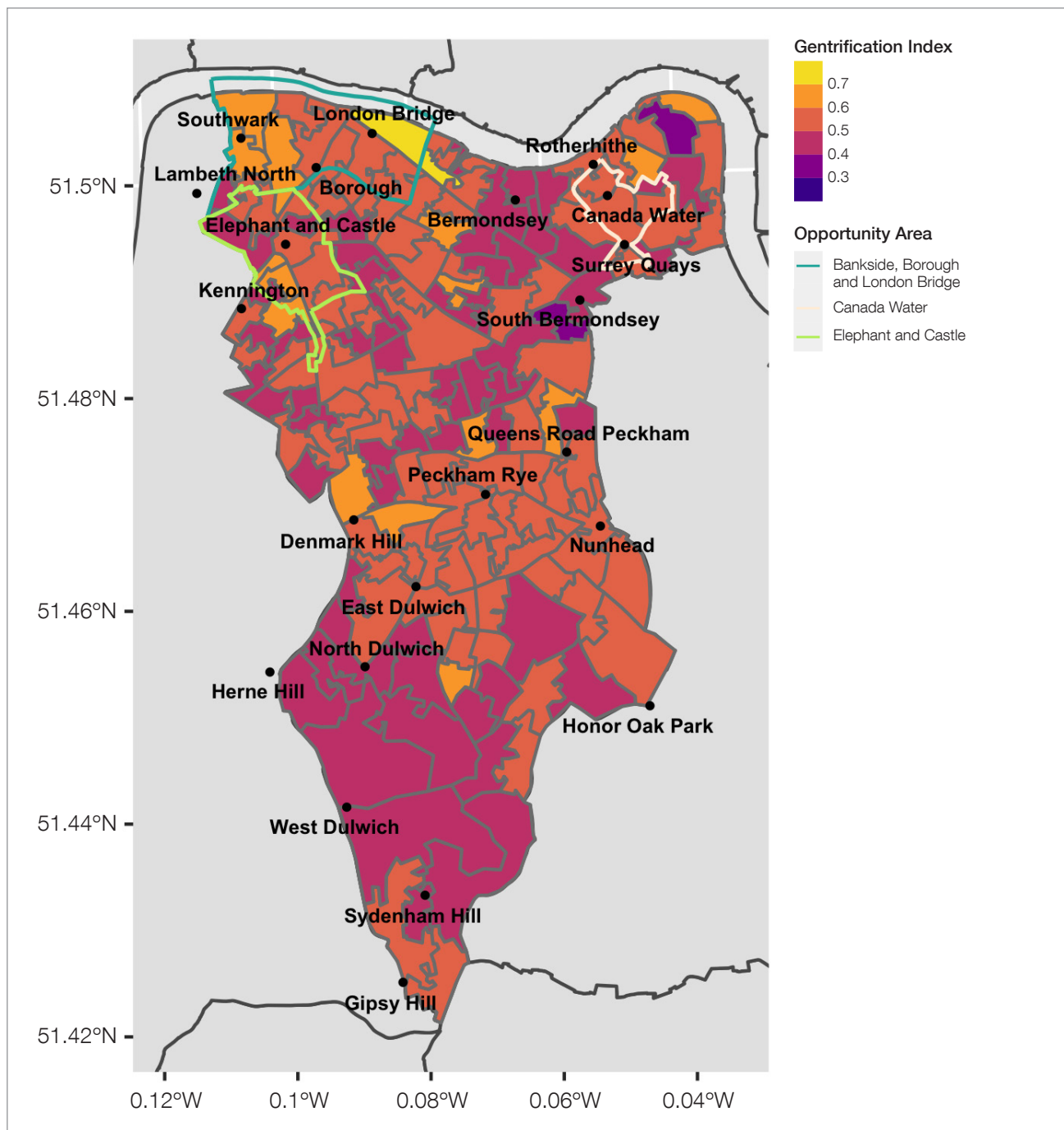


Table 3: Southwark, 2010–16

Variable	LSOA			p-value
	All (n = 166)	OAs (n = 27)	non-OAs (n = 139)	
Gentrification score	0.526	0.567	0.518	$1.535 \times 10^{-5***}$
Population churn	0.503	0.542	0.496	$2.843 \times 10^{-3***}$
Change in proportion of BME residents	-0.051	-0.055	-0.050	0.761
House sale price change	0.083	0.306	0.039	$1.322 \times 10^{-2*}$
IMD score change	0.011	-0.049	0.023	$3.486 \times 10^{-2*}$

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.005$.

Figure 5: Gentrification in the Borough of Waltham Forest and Opportunity Areas, 2010–16

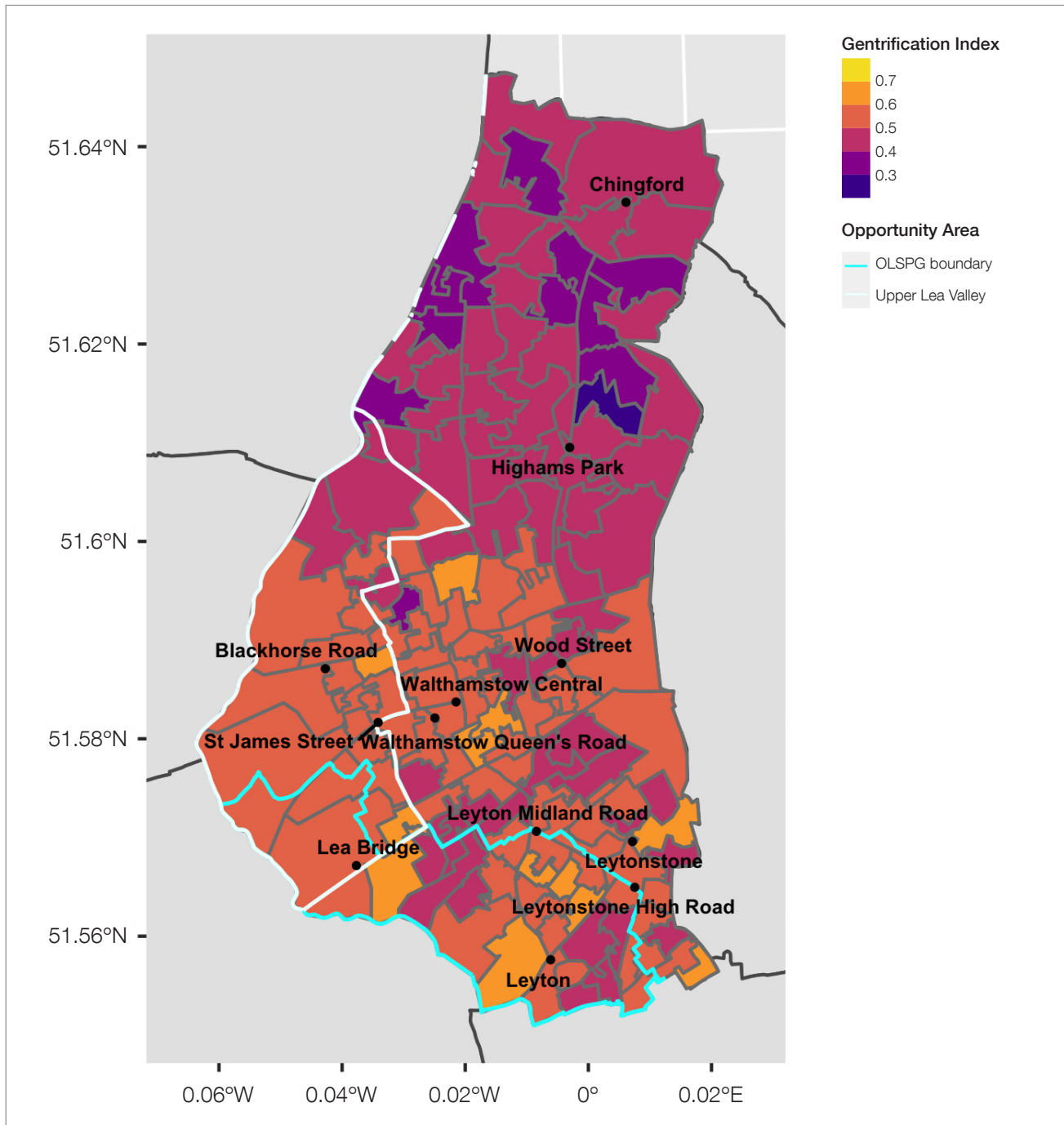


Table 4: Waltham Forest, 2010–16

Variable	LSOA			p-value
	All (n = 144)	OAs (n = 44)	non-OAs (n = 100)	
Gentrification score	0.507	0.551	0.489	$2.995 \times 10^{-6***}$
Population churn	0.472	0.511	0.455	$1.299 \times 10^{-5***}$
Change in proportion of BME residents	-0.002	-0.064	0.025	0.596
House sale price change	0.014	0.074	-0.013	$1.119 \times 10^{-2*}$
IMD score change	0.152	0.158	0.149	0.5866

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.005$.

Figure 6: Gentrification in the Borough of Brent and Opportunity Areas, 2010–16

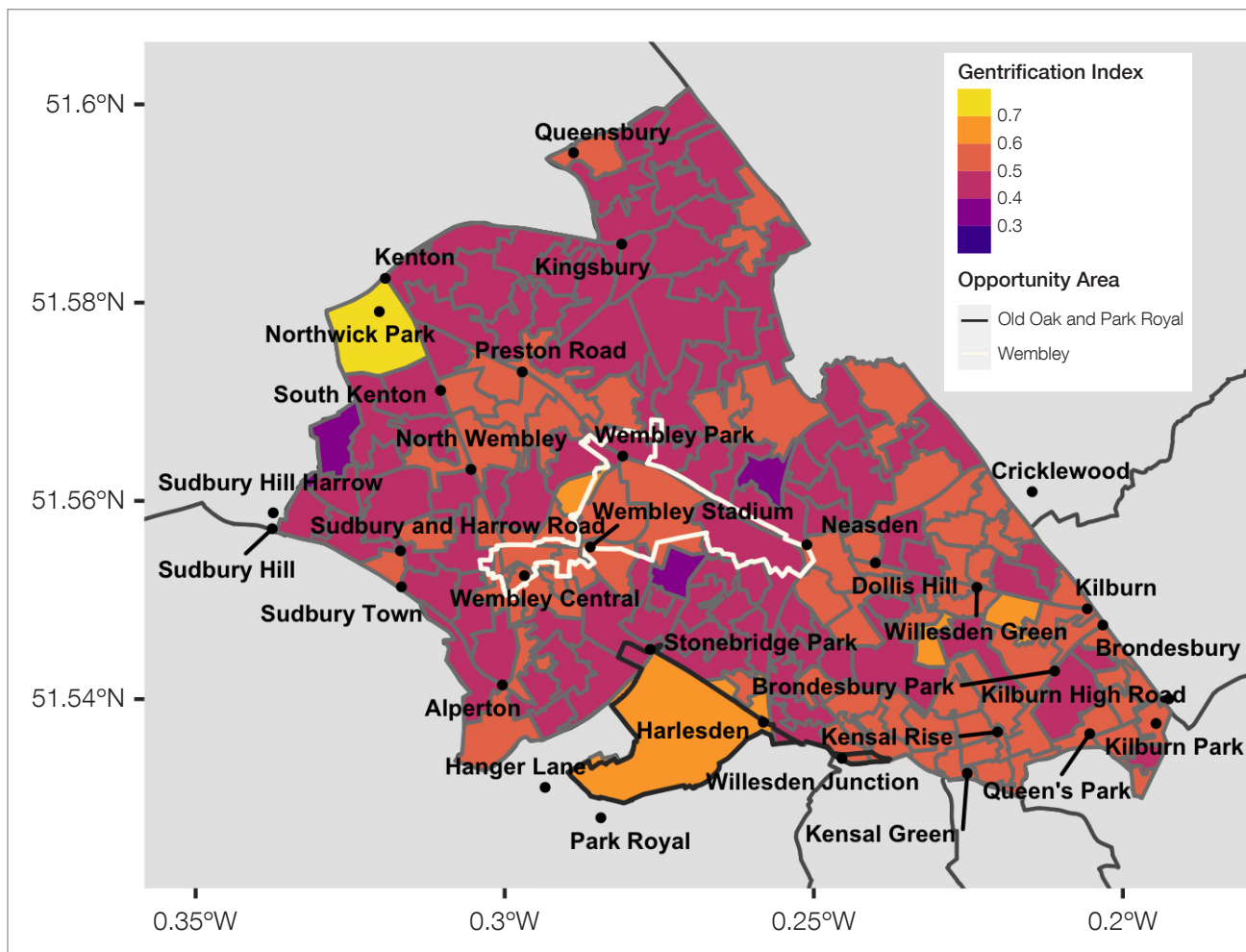


Table 5: Brent, 2010–16

Variable	LSOA			p-value
	All (n = 173)	OAs (n = 5)	non-OAs (n = 168)	
Gentrification score	0.500	0.560	0.498	0.017*
Population churn	0.448	0.579	0.444	1.239 × 10 ⁻⁴ ***
Change in proportion of BME residents	-0.028	-0.035	-0.027	0.596
House sale price change	0.017	-0.076	0.019	0.384
IMD score change	0.135	0.165	0.134	0.600

Notes: * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.005.

Discussion

The three case study boroughs of Southwark, Waltham Forest and Brent represent both distinct and shared forms of gentrification as it occurred in London in the 2010s. Southwark, with a mean gentrification score of 0.526, gentrified most of the three boroughs, the changes likely denoting large-scale displacement through major estate demolitions and transit-induced gentrification. Waltham Forest, with a mean gentrification score of 0.507, gentrified the second most of the three boroughs, likely denoting spillover gentrification from more intensely or earlier gentrifying areas located nearby, as well as transit-induced gentrification. Brent, with a normalised mean gentrification score of 0.498, gentrified least of the three case studies, likely denoting new-build gentrification through the proliferation of market-rate housing, as well as spillover gentrification. Gentrification as it progressed in each of these boroughs will be explored further in this section. The hypotheses posited in this section are not exhaustive and rather represent principal forms of gentrification in each borough.

In Southwark, LSOAs which experienced severe gentrification between 2010 and 2016 (scoring between 0.6 and 0.8 on the gentrification index) were often in direct proximity to massive council estate regeneration schemes. The demolition of the over 1,200 homes of the Heygate Estate, located opposite the Elephant and Castle Underground and train station, began in 2013 and the impact of the regeneration on the 3,000 former residents has been documented thoroughly in the literature (35% Campaign, no date, a; Sebregondi, 2012; Lees and Ferreri, 2016). The vast majority of residents of the Heygate Estate were displaced to other parts of south-east London that are poorly connected to Elephant and Castle; others have resettled in the peripheries of London and further into the home counties (London Tenants Federation, 2014: 8). The offer to a subset of former residents who held secure tenancies (approximately one-third of all occupants) to be rehoused in newly built homes in the area has still not yet been fully realised, as only 82 socially rented homes have been provided (35% Campaign, no date, a). The story of the unfulfilled promise of a 'right to return' after estate regeneration has been identified throughout the city and is reflected in the work of Elliott-Cooper et al. (2020b) through interviews with former tenants

of the Carpenters Estate in Newham and the Love Lane Estate in Tottenham.

Regeneration areas corresponding to LSOAs with severe gentrification levels in Southwark include the Elmington Estate (Camberwell), parts of the Bermondsey Spa Estate (Bermondsey), the Wooddene blocks of the Acorn Estate (Queens Road Peckham), Coopers Road Estate (Old Kent Road) and the South Bank Tower (Southwark) (35% Campaign, no date, b; GLA, 2013). In addition to estate demolition, the right-to-buy housing policy (introduced in 1980) has allowed tenants to purchase their homes from the council at discounted rates, effectively diminishing the council housing stock and often introducing the homes into the private rental sector as 'buy-to-let' properties (Leyshon and French, 2009). These 'ex-council homes' may thereafter be rented at market rates and essentially restrict the access of working-class residents to affordable housing which would have been previously available to them. In a borough with a significant council tenant population like Southwark, large-scale estate regeneration schemes and the right-to-buy policy may have shaped much of the pattern of gentrification in the first half of the 2010s.

Prior to 2010 in Southwark, only three Underground lines serviced eight stations in the entire borough: the Northern line, the Jubilee line and the Bakerloo line. All stations were located in the northern-most part of the borough, resulting in major transit limitations for the rest of Southwark (especially the central section between Kennington or South Bermondsey and Dulwich). Work had previously been under way in the 2000s to create the London Overground to replace the 'orbital rail links in inner London' which had been underfunded in preceding decades and were perceived as unreliable and unsafe for passengers (Lagadic, 2019). By 2010, the East London line of the Overground opened and extended regular transit coverage into South London, with newly refurbished stations in Rotherhithe, Canada Water, Surrey Quays and Honor Oak Park. In 2012, the route coverage was extended further with the South London line and connected Queens Road Peckham, Peckham Rye and Denmark Hill to Surrey Quays and onwards to Whitechapel and Shoreditch, stations located just outside of the financial heart of the city.

Increasing transit connectivity is a goal frequently pursued by councils and urban planners, as transit inaccessibility acts as a substantial barrier to employment opportunities for those living in poor neighbourhoods and drives spatial inequality across Britain (Gates et al., 2019). However, the extension of transit networks into new areas, especially deprived neighbourhoods, might also have the effect of inducing gentrification. As Padeiro, Louro and da Costa (2019) assert,

[Transit-oriented development] creates conditions for real estate investment, [and] land values are expected to increase, thus potentially leading to restrictions for low-income groups with regards to accessing housing and maintaining their residential locations.

Those who hold insecure housing tenures and have diminished financial capital, such as residents in the private rental sector and others who are not homeowners (constituting 65 per cent of BME people in London), may begin to experience stronger displacement pressures with the onset of improved transit connectivity and other perks introduced into a neighbourhood that attract wealthier residents (MHCLG, 2020). As these pressures continue to grow over time and the character of the neighbourhood sufficiently changes, council estates may then become clearer targets of regeneration, and massive displacement through demolition schemes will ensue (Lees and White, 2020).

In Waltham Forest, the refurbishment of the Chingford line of the Overground in 2015 ameliorated the connection of the borough to the East London neighbourhoods of Clapton, Hackney Downs and Bethnal Green. Lagadic, whose 2019 study of the role of the Overground in the local economy of Hackney, found that the train network catalysed gentrification in the borough and led to a ‘symbolic displacement of longstanding residents’ in the retail space near the stations, as well as creating the risk of further direct displacement through rising rents or ‘exclusionary displacement’ (explored later in this section) from the transformed localised economy (Lagadic, 2019). Although Lagadic uses the case study of Hackney, the findings, which correlate the emergence of ‘trendy consumption enclaves’ with the refurbishment of stations of the Overground, may be aptly applied to other parts of London. Furthermore, the clustering of the terminuses of these routes in the central zone of the city may have further implications for the trajectory of better-connected working-class neighbourhoods. Similarly to the South London line, the East London line and the Lea Valley line, the Chingford line terminates in proximity to the City of London, the

conspicuous name for the financial core of London and Britain.

The City acts as a hub for ‘financial and related professional service industries’ and employs over half a million people (10 per cent of Greater London’s labour force) who, on average, earn approximately £90,000 in annual salary, a rate 66 per cent higher than the London-wide average and 136 per cent higher than the UK-wide average salary (ONS, 2019a; City of London, 2021). With the improved transit connectivity introduced with the Overground, City workers may choose to settle in neighbourhoods that would have been difficult to commute from in past years (Spittles, 2018). This may be particularly pertinent to Waltham Forest, where a passenger on the Chingford line may now travel from Walthamstow Central station to Liverpool Street station in just 17 minutes. The Chingford line joins other transit networks in the borough that provide rapid transport for residents, such as the Victoria line, which impressively shuttles travellers from one end in Walthamstow Central to the other in Brixton in 30 minutes, or the Central line, on which travellers can complete their journey from Leytonstone station to Bank station in 16 minutes.

As previously mentioned, the advent of improved transit connectivity in Waltham Forest has helped to better connect the borough with nearby Hackney, as well as Newham and Haringey at its southern and western boundaries, respectively. These three boroughs experienced significant gentrification in the first half of the 2010s (as reflected in Table 2) and may have played a role in the gentrification of Leyton and Walthamstow. A quantitative analysis performed by Christafore and Leguizamón (2019) of inequality in US cities found that gentrification tended to have a ‘spillover effect’, whereby ‘low-income [areas] which neighbour newly gentrified areas experience a statistically significant increase in inequality’ and reflect the influx of wealthier residents into traditionally working-class neighbourhoods. As gentrification develops in an area and displacement pressures continue to increase, the effect is that working-class communities (as well as marginally wealthier middle-class residents, such as creatives and students) are dispersed out and relocated to new zones further from the city centre. As *Time Out* magazine put it satirically in an end-of-decade review of London in the 2010s, ‘the early 2010s hipster ... still lived in Shoreditch, had a fixie bike that he couldn’t quite work out ... Soon enough he was outpriced to Clapton and swapped pints of lager for small cans of craft ale... When he was priced out of Clapton he

moved to Walthamstow' (Time Out London editors, 2019). However, the difference between poorer and wealthier households that are displaced outwards is that poorer residents often attempt to remain locally, as their desire to maintain social capital through established localised networks and their reliance on familiar ancillary goods and services, such as schools, medical care, employment opportunities, endures (Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard and Lees, 2020a).

Similarly to Waltham Forest, Brent likely also represents a form of spillover gentrification from the bordering boroughs of Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, Camden, Ealing, and Hammersmith and Fulham along its eastern and southern boundaries, all of which scored a higher mean gentrification score than Brent in the analysis (as reflected in Table 2). During the 2000s, Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea experienced 'significant changes [that] were concentrated towards the north ends of both boroughs where pockets of deprivation and un-upgraded housing remain' (Reades, De Souza and Hubbard, 2019). These areas are situated adjacent to Kensal Rise, Brondesbury Park and Kilburn, which saw high gentrification levels in the 2010s according to the quantitative analysis (Figure 3). While Brent has witnessed some major estate regeneration schemes (principally in South Kilburn), its relatively small stock of council housing units has meant that the effect of this on gentrification across the borough is likely limited (Brent Council, no date, b).

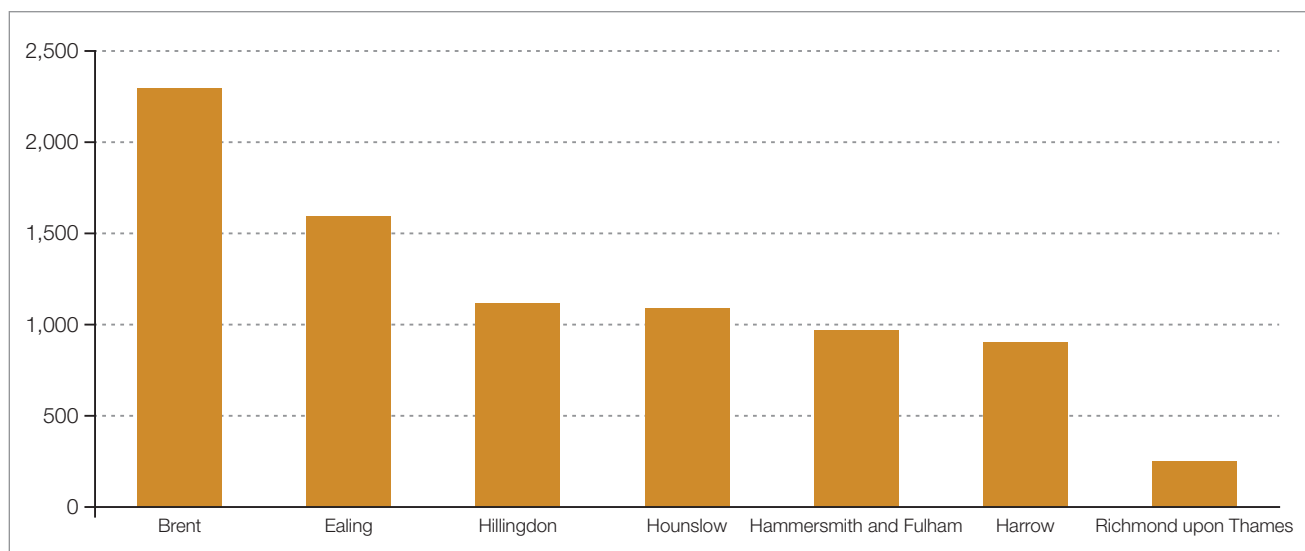
The ascent of Brent as a prominent provider of newly constructed homes in the 2010s may have been a more likely contributing factor to gentrification in the borough. By the end of the 2010s, Brent held the fourth highest number of 'new-build homes'

of all London boroughs (following Tower Hamlets, Greenwich and Newham, in descending order). Within West London boroughs, construction of newly built homes in Brent far outpaced others in comparison, as seen in Figure 7 (GLA, 2019).

As London is currently in the midst of a housing crisis, the number of newly constructed homes has steadily grown over the past decade in Brent and other boroughs across the city to keep up with rising demands. In terms of housing affordability, one-third of the nearly 300,000 homes built in the capital in the 2010s fell within the designation of affordable housing, with the proportion rising to over 40 per cent in Brent (MHCLG, 2021a). While this is a commendable improvement to the state of housing in London, the broad designation of 'affordable housing' covers 'social rent, affordable rent, intermediate rent and low cost home ownership' (MHCLG, 2021a) with no further specifications of which was built. While the traditional term 'social rent' includes renters in council housing and housing associations, 'intermediate rent' and 'affordable rent' capture those who are paying 60–80 per cent of market rents (GLA, no date, a). These rates continue to be out of reach for many in the working class, as an affordable housing policy background report produced by Brent Council found:

Evidence from across London, in the form of Affordable Rent levels set to date, and their comparison with local incomes for both working households and those in receipt of welfare benefits, shows that 80 per cent of market rent in most areas is not affordable to those who the product is intended for. (Sullivan, no date).

Figure 7: Number of new-builds constructed in 2019–20, West London boroughs



Development in Brent, as an Outer London borough, is perceived to be marketed towards 'future homeowners as well as more temporary residents such as students and a mobile cosmopolitan class of young professionals', with the regeneration of Wembley cited as a prime example (Peyrefitte, 2020). In this case, Brent may be demonstrating an example of 'new-build gentrification' and employing exclusionary displacement rather than direct displacement. While the previously mentioned examples of displacement via demolition of council

housing or rising rents feature the out-migration of people from an area, exclusionary displacement offers a form of indirect gentrification, 'where lower income groups would be unable to access property' and are therefore restricted from gaining entry into recently developed neighbourhoods (Davidson and Lees, 2010). However, there is a debate within the academic field as to whether exclusionary displacement does in fact constitute a form of gentrification, and further development of such arguments is therefore encouraged.

Policy recommendations

- 1. Introduce rent controls into the private rental sector.** As an increasing number of working-class and BME people are entering the private rental sector, provisions should be introduced to curtail spiralling rent prices in London. Rent caps (set at 30 per cent of the median household income for each borough) should be introduced alongside other measures to improve the security of housing tenure, such as extending the lengths of tenancies, altering the terms of break clauses in favour of tenants or prohibiting rent increases beyond inflation. Variations of these policies have been supported by organisations such as Shelter, Generation Rent and Just Space.
- 2. Ensure that all developments within Opportunity Areas (OAs) deliver at least 50 per cent social housing.** This proportion is in line with what was originally proposed by the Mayor of London when OAs were first introduced. The employment of viability assessments to avoid social housing provisions in the National Planning Policy Framework should be scrutinised further. The 35 per cent genuinely affordable housing target that is set for developments throughout London should also be more strictly enforced.
- 3. Build more social housing units and expand community-land trusts.** While the inclusion of mandatory affordable housing provisions in mixed-use developments can ensure more homes for working-class residents, developments that are owned by the council or local communities should also be pursued. New homes and improvements on existing housing estates should be encouraged, to grow the council-residing population. Architects for Social Housing, Common Wealth and the London Community Land Trust have provided examples, through consultation documents and development projects, of alternative policies to help address London's housing crisis.
- 4. Secure a 'right to return' for all residents living in estates undergoing regeneration schemes.** Council tenants and resident leaseholders who live in estates that are regenerated should be able to exercise choice over whether to return to the original site of their home in a timely manner or to be immediately rehoused in a nearby neighbourhood. The upholding of similar rent prices, security of tenure and minimal maintenance fees should all be accounted for, and residents should be relocated (either temporarily or permanently, depending on their choice) in safe and secure housing.
- 5. Establish a Social Impact Assessment in Strategic Plans.** Using an Integrated Impact Assessment (IIA), the Mayor of London conducts audits to assess strategic documents used in development for their impact on the environment, crime, health and equality. Currently, no measure exists of the social dimension of pre-existing community assets, such as public spaces and culturally or linguistically competent ancillary services for housing, employment and medical care. These are fundamental to building the resiliency of BME and migrant communities and are not accounted for in development plans, therefore risking these communities' displacement from the area post-regeneration. Social Impact Assessments, such as those developed by Just Space, should be pursued in all developmental plans and strategic documents.

Conclusion

Gentrification, as it has been empirically measured in the present quantitative analysis, has had a significant impact on the lives of ethnic minorities and working-class people living in London in the 2010s. Though the analysis has focused on three of the 32 boroughs that make up the city, the findings presented in this report may shed light on some of the dynamics of race and class that are at play across the capital. The intense rates of gentrification across numerous Inner and Outer London boroughs portray a trajectory of movement outwards by those who are marginalised in British society and have lost their grasp on the fabric of the city. As traditionally working-class neighbourhoods are transformed by the entrance of wealthier residents, it is important to recognise what has been lost and to retain a hopeful optimism that some of the necessary improvements that have been introduced to the city may one day be enjoyed by all.

It is the driving force of those who are committed to the hard work of fighting inequality and racism in the city to ensure that all who may choose to live in London are able to live in dignity and to exercise control over the factors that shape their lives, regardless of their race, ethnicity or class. While there are many areas of everyday life in which the impact of inequalities is borne out (whether they are found in education, employment or health), housing remains a fundamental building block that must be obtained for all else to prosper. Without a strong

sense of certainty in our home lives, it is difficult to achieve the quality of life that should be guaranteed to all. Establishing strong channels in which all of us are able to contribute to the developments that shape our neighbourhoods and communities is of paramount necessity to building the resiliency of cities and maintaining that they are for the benefit of the majority who reside there.

Despite the changes of the past decade, London continues to be a truly global city in the 2020s and offers unparalleled settings in which communities are able to co-exist and live in relative harmony. For some, the city has provided them with a space where they are able to live authentically and creatively, to learn from one another or to search for adventure and challenge themselves to grow. For others, economic necessity and an escape from dire instability may have precipitated their arrival in the city. While our relationships and the factors that have brought us to the city may differ from one another, we are all connected through the spaces that we share at different points in time – irrespective of how transient or fleeting those moments may be. The capacity for London to continue to be a distinctive home for the multiracial working class has not yet diminished. As the opening lines of Ruth Glass's 1964 'Aspects of change' ring out, 'London can never be taken for granted. The city is too vast, too complex, too contrary and too moody to become entirely familiar.'

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APPENDIX

Methodology (complete)

As previously noted, the equation used to calculate the gentrification index for this analysis is as follows:

$$G = \frac{1}{2}c - \frac{1}{4}e + \frac{1}{8}h - \frac{1}{8}d + 0.25$$

Population churn

c represents the **population churn** at the household-level within an area between the start of 2010 and the end of 2016, or 'a ratio of the households that have changed in each LSOA ... between [2010 and] 2016' (CDRC, 2016).

Relative change in proportion of non-white residents

The equation used to calculate the relative change in the proportion of non-white residents of an LSOA is as follows:

$$e = \frac{n_{2016} - n_{2010}}{n_{2010}}$$

where:

- e represents the relative change in the proportion of non-white residents on an individual level
- n_{2016} represents the proportion of non-white residents in 2016
- n_{2010} represents the proportion of non-white residents in 2010

Relative change in median house sale price, with respect to borough-wide average

The equation used to calculate the relative change in the median house sale price of an LSOA is as follows:

$$h = \frac{\frac{s_{2016}}{b_{2016}} - \frac{s_{2010}}{b_{2010}}}{\frac{s_{2010}}{b_{2010}}}$$

where:

- h represents relative change in **median house sale price** compared with the borough-wide average between December 2009 and December 2016
- s_{2016} represents the **median house sale price** in an LSOA in **December 2016**
- s_{2010} represents the **median house sale price** in an LSOA in **December 2009**
- b_{2016} represents the **mean** of all median house sale prices in each LSOA across the borough in December 2016
- b_{2010} represents the **mean** of all median house sale prices in each LSOA across the borough in December 2009

Relative change in IMD score

The equation used to calculate the relative change in IMD score is as follows:

$$d = \frac{i_{2015} - i_{2010}}{i_{2010}}$$

where:

- d represents the **relative change in the IMD** between 2010 and 2015
- i_{2015} represents the IMD score in an LSOA in 2015
- i_{2010} represents the IMD score in an LSOA in 2010

The raw data used to calculate c were provided by UCL's Consumer Data Research Centre (CDRC), an ESRC-funded Data Investment, under project ID CDRC 650-01, ES/L011840/1; ES/L011891/1. The e dataset was provided through the use of the Ethnicity Estimator software, produced by the CDRC in association with the Office for National Statistics. The data used to calculate h were taken from the HM Land Registry price paid data (LR-

PPD) (HM Land Registry, 2021). The data used to calculate d were taken from the English IMD, 2010 and 2015 (MHCLG, 2011, 2015). The IMD contains seven different domains of deprivation: (i) income deprivation; (ii) employment deprivation; (iii) health deprivation and disability; (iv) education training and skills deprivation; (v) barriers to housing and services; (vi) crime; and (vii) living environment deprivation. All data were provided at the LSOA level and covered the period 2010–16 (except IMD data).

Statistical differences in mean scores in the 'Analysis' section were ascertained using an independent-samples t -test when the mean values were normally distributed, corresponding to a p -value over the alpha level of 0.05 using the Shapiro-Wilk test. When mean values were not normally distributed, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U -test was used. R version 1.3.1073 and Microsoft Excel version 16.45 were used in this analysis. Analysis was undertaken between June 2020 and May 2021.

Data considerations and limitations

Due to the novelty of the work embarked upon (quantitative analysis of gentrification-related data beyond the 2011 census), there are many, wide-ranging data limitations that will be signposted in this section. The unique nature of the gentrification index (emerging from the constructed ‘gentrification index equation’, as explored in the Methodology sections) required varying weights to be assigned to the dependent variables used. The equation in question was derived after consideration of the academic literature on gentrification and, in particular, how the urban processes of gentrification manifest in London. Of note, the terms ‘BME’, ‘person of colour’ and ‘non-white’ are all used interchangeably throughout the body of this report. For the purposes of the study, these terms signify those who are Asian, Black and ‘Any Other Ethnic Group’ (as reflected in Figure A1). Further specifications on race and ethnicity will be explored in this section.

Figure A1: Census ethnicity categories

- WBR - White: British (including English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish)
- WIR - White: Irish
- WAO - White: Any Other
- ABD - Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi
- ACN - Asian/Asian British: Chinese
- AIN - Asian/Asian British: Indian
- APK - Asian/Asian British: Pakistani
- AAO - Asian/Asian British: Any Other
- BAF - Black/Black British: African
- BCA - Black/Black British: Caribbean
- OXX - Any Other Ethnic Group (including Mixed; Black/Black British: Any Other; Arab; All Other Ethnicities.)

Population churn (*c*) is assigned the highest weight, representing 50 per cent of the total gentrification score. The 2019 work of Adam Elliott-Cooper et al., ‘Moving beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, displacement and the violence of unhoming’, argues that displacement is a core, defining feature of gentrification and references the work of eminent scholars, such as Ruth Glass and Peter Marcuse, to offer that displacement has been the central pillar of the process since its inception and continues to be, into the 2010s, the ‘central point that needs to be addressed’ (Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard and Lees, 2020a). However, displacement is notoriously difficult to measure empirically and therefore indirect markers, like population churn, are required to bypass this

issue (Easton et al., 2020). The use of population churn data as a proxy for displacement will be explored later in this section. An additional limitation of the population churn dataset is its accuracy in following households in multiple occupation (residential properties where multiple households share a common space). For the purposes of this analysis, a household ‘begins’ when the first individual is identified in the home and ‘ends’ when the last individual has left.

Relative change in the proportion of non-white residents (*e*) is the variable given the second-highest weighting, representing 25 per cent of the total gentrification score. As reflected in the literature, we determine that the process of urban displacement, particularly in the global north, is heavily experienced along racial lines and there exists a long history of factors fostering displacement (e.g. discrimination, overcrowding, demolition of social housing) occurring unequally on the basis of race, specifically in London and in Britain (Elahi and Khan, 2016; Lukes, De Noronha and Finney, 2018; Roy, 2019). London is the region in the UK with the highest proportion of BME residents (40.2 per cent), who are disproportionately represented in social housing and comprise a significant portion of the urban working class (Gulliver, 2016). According to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 70 per cent of those in Inner London experiencing income poverty are from BME backgrounds and 50 per cent of those in Outer London (Palmer and Kenway, 2007). Therefore, any marked decreases in the proportion of BME residents in an area can be used as a proxy indicator of displacement of working-class residents and can be used to measure the process of gentrification across the city. Of additional note, major gaps exist in the literature on the effects of gentrification specifically on ethnic minorities in Britain when compared to the richer research that is undertaken in the US context.

The two indicators that are assigned the lowest weighting (12.5 per cent each) are the relative change in the median house sale price, compared with the borough-wide average, (*h*) and the relative change in IMD score (*d*). These variables represent class-based identifiers, as diminished home-buying potential and deprivation are disproportionately experienced by people of lower socioeconomic status. The vast majority of working-class people occupy the rental sector, as the lowest 40 per cent of income-earners represent only 10 per cent of all homeowners in England (Edwards, 2017). For nearly all in the working class, the prospect of purchasing a home is considerably low, making this variable a relatively weak indicator of class. However, the limitation of available data with the level of granularity

required during the period in question necessitated its inclusion. In addition, the HM Land Registry dataset does not include the sale of council homes through the right-to-buy scheme, representing a major limitation to the study. Housing tenure status, eviction data, right-to-buy sales and open-access data on council estate demolition at the LSOA level would have all supplemented the study and provided a more robust methodology.

Another limitation is the use of the English IMD scores for 2010 and 2015. The period of study (2010–16) is left without a year of data and leaves out neighbourhood changes that have occurred more recently. The IMD scores were released only in 2010, 2015 and 2019 in England, making 2015 the best year for consideration. Furthermore, most indicators in the Indices of Deprivation 2015 relate to 2012–13 data, and indicators in the Indices of Deprivation 2010 mostly relate to 2008 data, presenting a slight delay in the time frame of analysis (MHCLG, 2011, 2015). Additionally, the IMD 2010 and 2015 contain a component on ‘Barriers to Housing and Services’, which means that housing-related data could possibly be counted twice when appearing alongside other variables in the gentrification index equation. However, ‘Barriers to Housing and Services’ accounts for only 9.3 per cent of the IMD score and represents only 1.2 per cent of the final gentrification score, so it poses only a marginal possibility of alteration.

The race- and ethnicity-based data and the class-based data are weighted equally to reflect the shared impact of gentrification across London’s multiracial working class. Yet these two categories are artificially represented as discreet and independent in the formula, representing a constraint of the analysis. It has been noted that race and ethnicity have been central to Britain’s class composition since the inception of the British Empire, the impacts of which continue to be borne out in the present day (Snoussi and Mompelat, 2019). As a result, people of colour in Britain are disproportionately constituted within the working class, and these two categories (race and class) do not exist as truly separate, introducing a challenge to the rule of independence of variables widely used within the scientific field. As Stuart Hall aptly wrote, ‘race is the modality in which class is lived’ (Hall et al., 1978).

The race and ethnicity dataset, in and of itself, further represents a limitation in the robustness of the work. The *e* data follow the race and ethnicity categories as established in the 2011 UK census (Figure A1), which has been previously scrutinised for its selection of distinct ethnicity categories (Thompson, 2015). For example, there are approximately 400,000 people

of Chinese ethnicity living in the UK and identified distinctly within the ‘Asian’ category, yet there are an estimated 800,000 Polish nationals living in the UK who are not distinctly counted within the ‘White: Any Other’ category (Statista, no date; O’Brien, 2015). As a result, people belonging to different ethnic groups which tend to have extremely varied lived experiences in Britain are flattened into a single, homogenised group (e.g., Japanese and Filipino nationals are grouped into ‘Asian: Any Other’, French and Romanian nationals are grouped into ‘White: Any Other’). The omission of additional ethnicity-specific data means that communities that typically occupy lower class positions in Britain and experience the sharp end of gentrification are inadvertently grouped with communities that tend to exercise more potential buying power and are less likely to be displaced. Future qualitative research and policy work will be undertaken by the Runnymede Trust to better understand the particularities of racialised minorities and their experiences in the context of gentrification and urban displacement.

As well, the nature of national censuses and the use of self-identification by respondents can also obfuscate the true embodiment of racialised forces. In other words, people of ethnic minority backgrounds who experience racism, discrimination or ‘otherisation’ in the UK may self-identify with a racial or ethnic category that does not necessarily reflect their community’s generalised experience of race. For example, two-thirds of people of Turkish ethnic origin and nearly half of people of Egyptian ethnic origin self-identified as ‘White’ in the 2011 UK census despite widespread experiences of racial profiling, Islamophobia and discrimination while living in Britain (O’Brien, 2015; Dearden, 2017; Kartal, 2019).

Further on the subject of ethnicity-related data, there exist inherent limitations in the use of the CDRC dataset, which employs highly novel methodologies to provide demographic data beyond the 2011 UK census. The CDRC’s ‘Ethnicity Estimator’ (EE) algorithm, which produces the *e* data included in this analysis, pairs census data with consumer-related data to estimate race and ethnicity using aggregate prediction technology to predict forenames and surnames (as well as combinations of both). As such, the EE algorithm is a welcome tool which allows self-identification (recorded as responses in the census) to form the foundation of the data. However, the algorithm produces depressed prediction accuracy for specific populations (i.e. White Irish, White: Any Other, Black Caribbean and Other/Mixed) (Kandt and Longley, 2018).

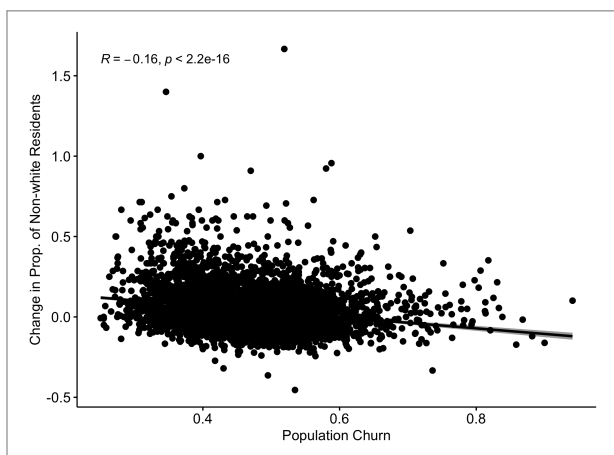
Authentication of the validity of the maps generated and related analyses relies on the use of *a priori*

knowledge of neighbourhood-level changes that have occurred in London in the past decade, indicating a major limitation and potential for bias on the part of the researcher. To mitigate this, the research and maps were studied and dissected by multiple actors who are deeply embedded in gentrification studies in London or have a grassroots-level understanding of urban processes from the perspective of community-led organisations. The novelty of these maps and the methodology behind them leaves the reader to interrogate and decide for themselves whether they resonate with their own understanding of the city or not.

As previously discussed, the population churn variable includes all people who have changed residences between 2010 and 2016 and does not differentiate between those who have been displaced from their homes and those who have moved of their own volition. Interestingly, as population churn increases, the relative change in the proportion of BME residents decreases by a coefficient factor of 0.16, with a p-value of approximately 0 (2.2×10^{-16}) according to Kendall's τ coefficient test (as seen in Figure A2). Using the qualitative arguments that have been made in the literature on the racial nature of displacement and gentrification in London, it can therefore be reasonably assumed that displacement constitutes a substantial portion of the population churn variable and can be used as an imperfect measure of gentrification.

Specific to the OA analysis section of this publication, the boundaries of OAs do not perfectly map onto the unit of measurement (LSOAs). This means that the LSOAs corresponding to OAs were selected qualitatively, risking the employment of bias by the researcher. The criteria for inclusion of LSOAs were whether it appears that all, most or at least half of the LSOA is located within the OA and whether it covers

Figure A2: Correlation plot of change in the proportion of BME residents vs population churn



a residential area rather than a commercial area. Specifics of which LSOAs were included in each OA are found in the 'Opportunity Area LSOAs' section of this Appendix.

Finally, the quantitative analysis that forms the core of this publication was carried out to analyse residential gentrification, rather than retail, leisure or industrial gentrification. Many Londoners' impressions and perspectives on gentrification arise from noticeable changes on the high streets and through major commercial developments, but these do not form a part of this study and should be explored in further quantitative and qualitative research.

Data alterations

In some cases, thresholds were used to taper the effects of large absolute values for particular variables and prevent an artificial skew in the gentrification score produced at the LSOA level. The reasoning behind this choice was that multifold changes in particular variables did not correlate directly with gentrification processes, and a limiting factor to these components must be employed in order to produce an accurate gentrification index.

In the two cases where the proportion of non-white residents had more than doubled (Havering 002C and Havering 003C), values were lowered to a threshold of 1.0, signifying purely a doubling in the BME population.

In the 31 cases where the house sale price value exceeded 1.0 (representing multifold increases in the value of homes sold in the LSOA between the end of 2009 and the end of 2016), values were lowered to a threshold of 1.0. Of these altered LSOAs, five were located in Westminster, four each were located in Wandsworth and Hammersmith and Fulham, three each were located Southwark and Kensington and Chelsea, two were located in Lambeth and one each was located in Haringey, Barnet, Camden, Merton, Hackney, Hillingdon, Redbridge, Richmond upon Thames, Hounslow and Croydon.

A total of 511 LSOAs were excluded from the house sale price variable due to missing data for either December 2009 or December 2016 (or both), accounting for 10.6 per cent of all LSOAs in London. Of these 511 LSOAs, approximately half (45 per cent) are located in just six boroughs (Newham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Brent, Hackney and Greenwich, in descending order). These LSOAs disproportionately represent areas with a significant number of council housing units, and this acts as a limitation to the present analysis (MHCLG, 2021c).

Opportunity Area LSOAs

Southwark LSOAs within Opportunity Areas

Bankside, Borough and London Bridge OA
002A
002B
002C
002D
002E
003E
003I
003J
006F
034D
034E

Elephant and Castle OA
009B
009C
009F
012E
012F
014B
014F
014G
016A
034A
034B
034C

Canada Water OA
007B
007C
007E
008D

Waltham Forest LSOAs within Opportunity Areas

Upper Lea Valley OA
009A
009B
009C
009D
009E
012A
014A
014B
014C
014D
014E
017A
017B
017E
018A
018D
022A
022C

Olympic Legacy Supplementary Planning Guidance/ OLSPG OA
018A
018D
022A
022B
022D
022E
023A
023B
023C
023D
023E
025A
025B
025C
025D
025E
026A
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027C
027D
027E
027F
028B
028F

Brent LSOAs within Opportunity Areas

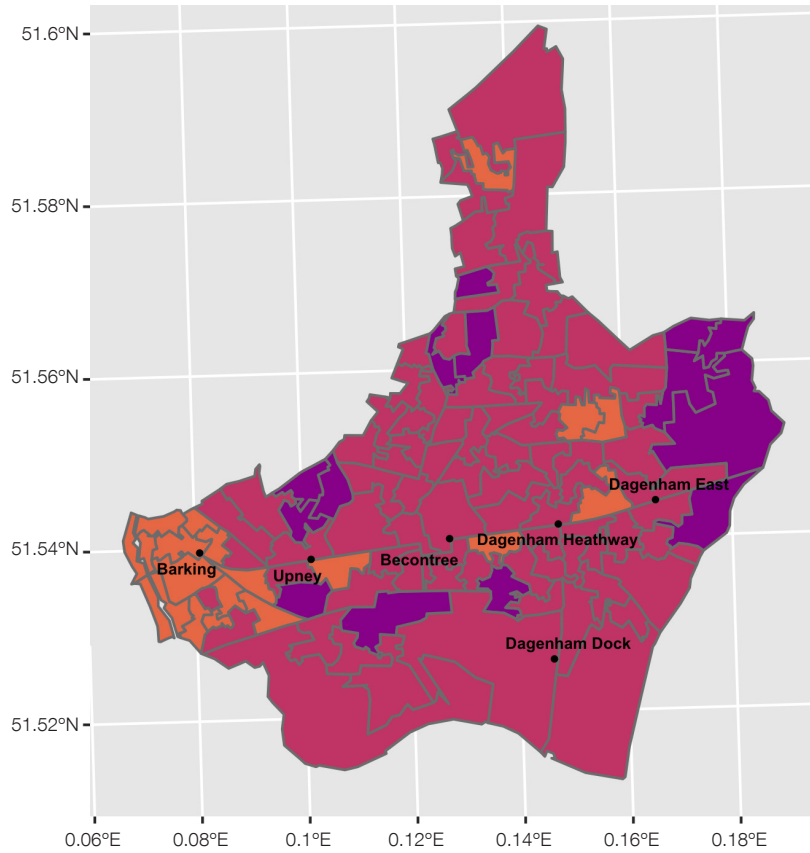
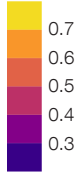
Wembley OA
017B
017F
020D
026E

Old Oak and Park Royal OA
027E

Maps

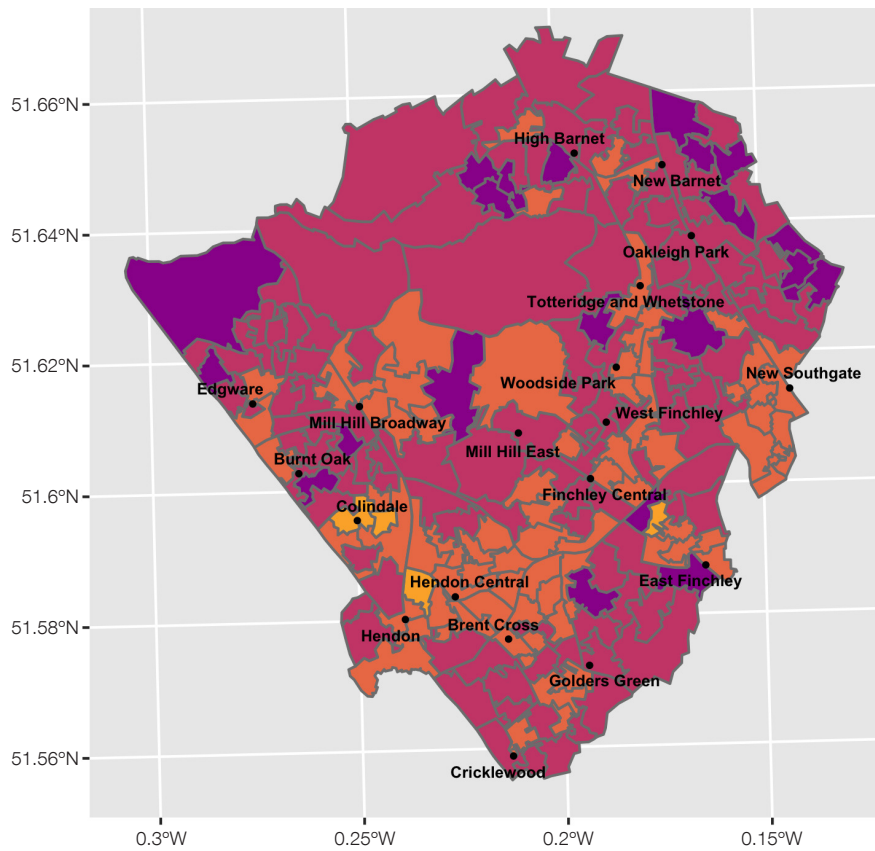
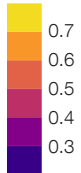
Gentrification in the Borough of Barking and Dagenham, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



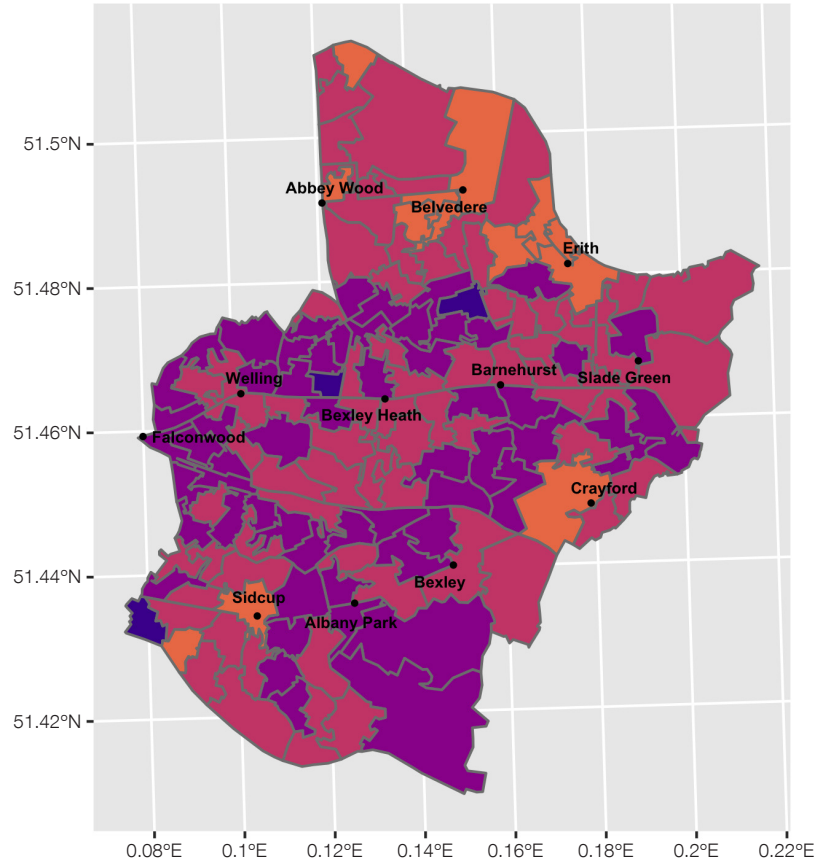
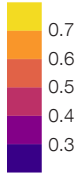
Gentrification in the Borough of Barnet, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



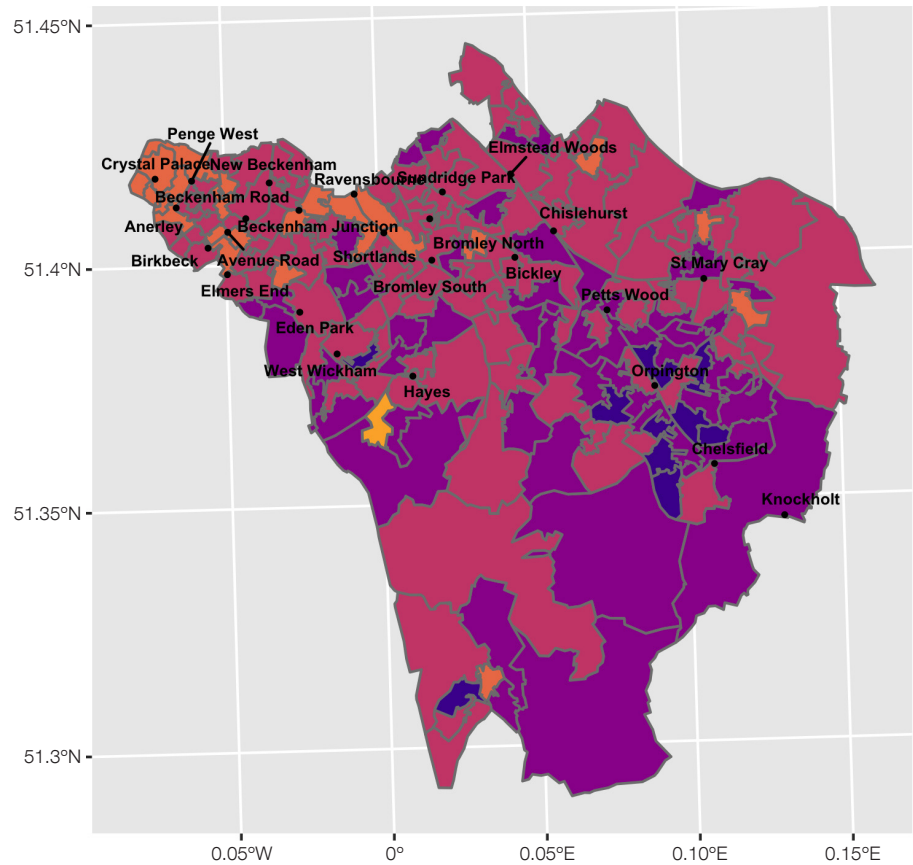
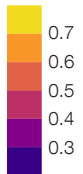
Gentrification in the Borough of Bexley, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



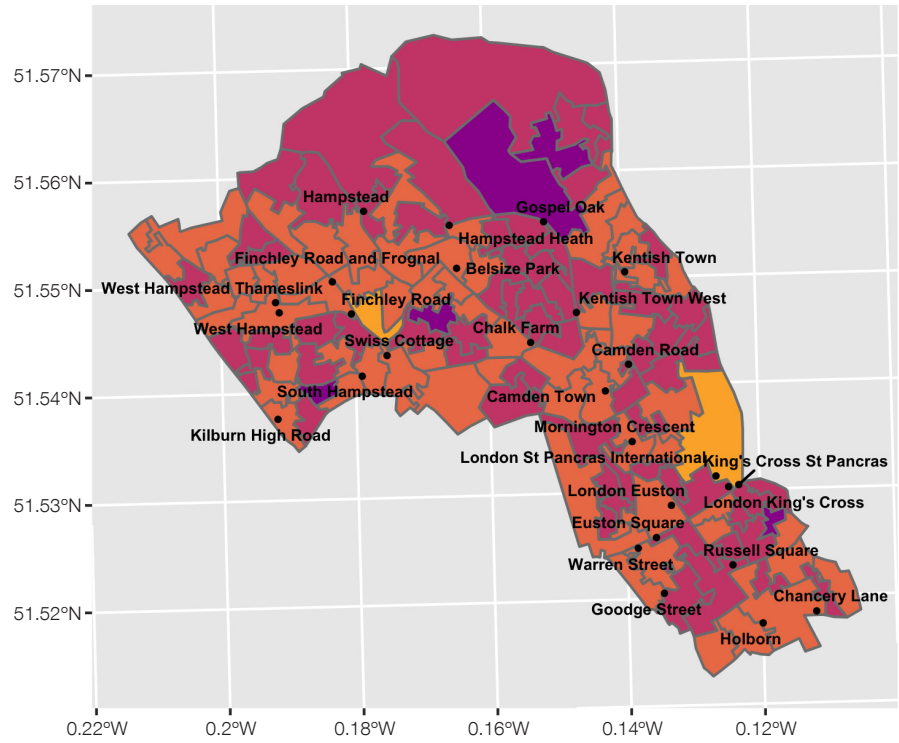
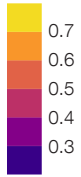
Gentrification in the Borough of Bromley, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



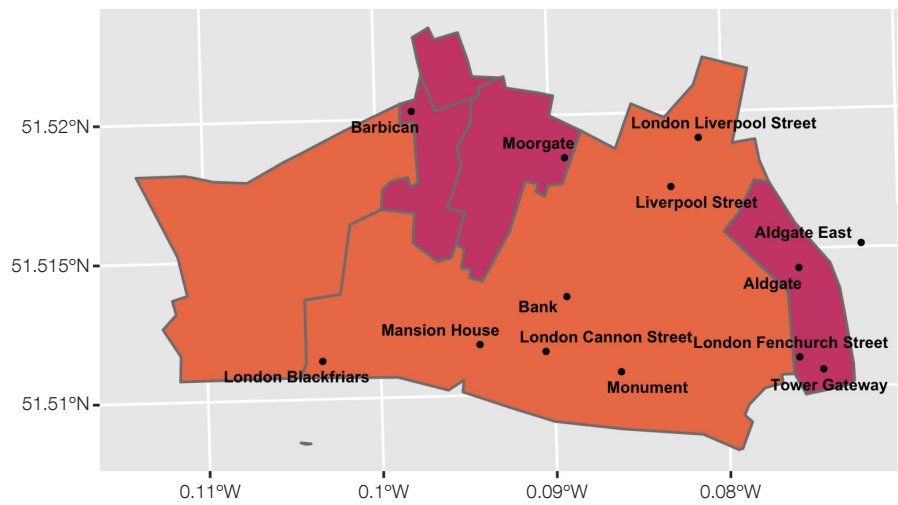
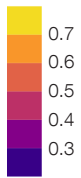
Gentrification in the Borough of Camden, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



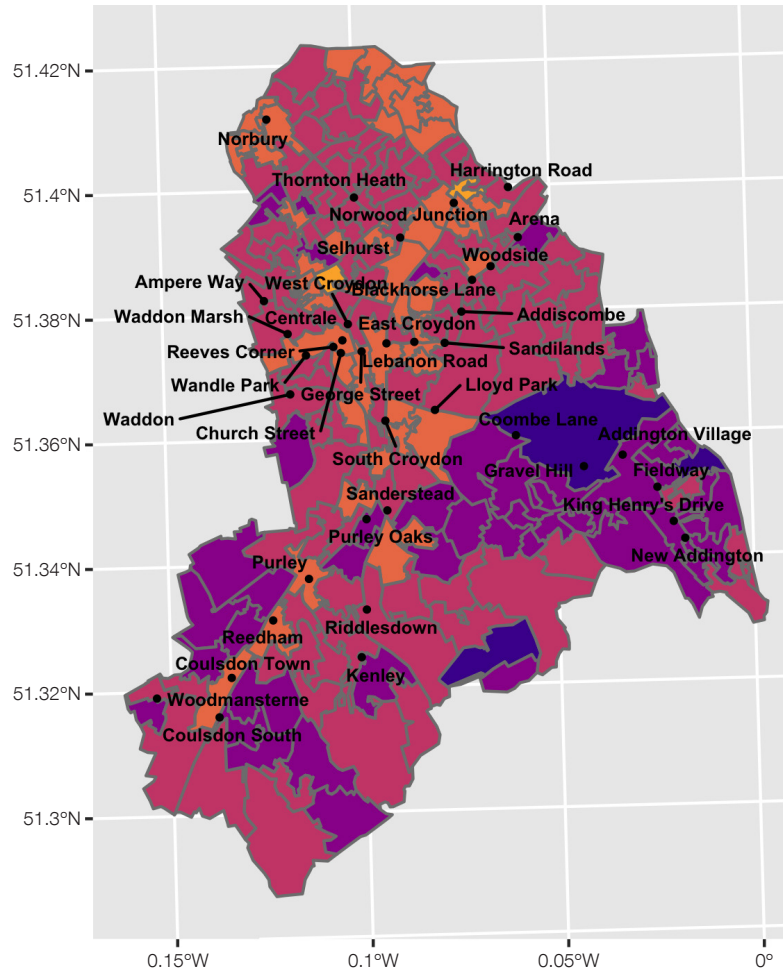
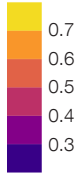
Gentrification in the City of London, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



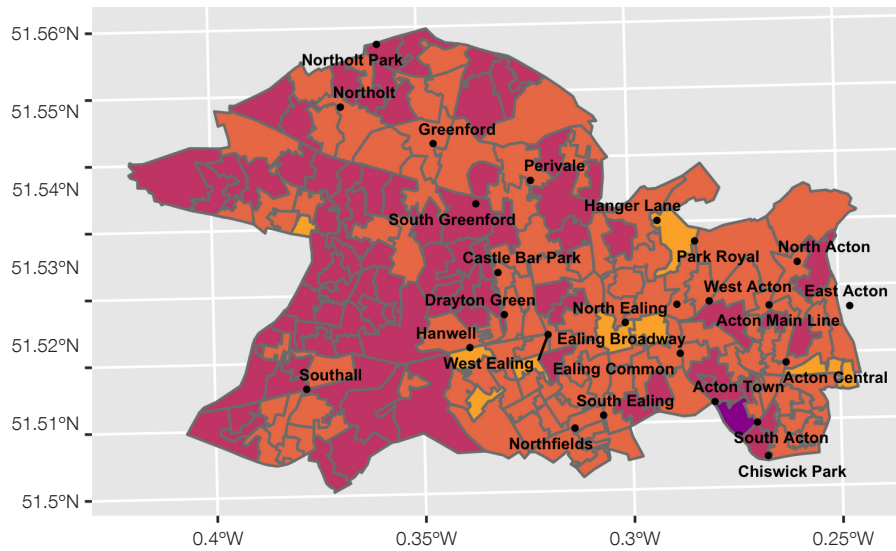
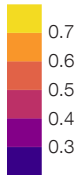
Gentrification in the Borough of Croydon, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



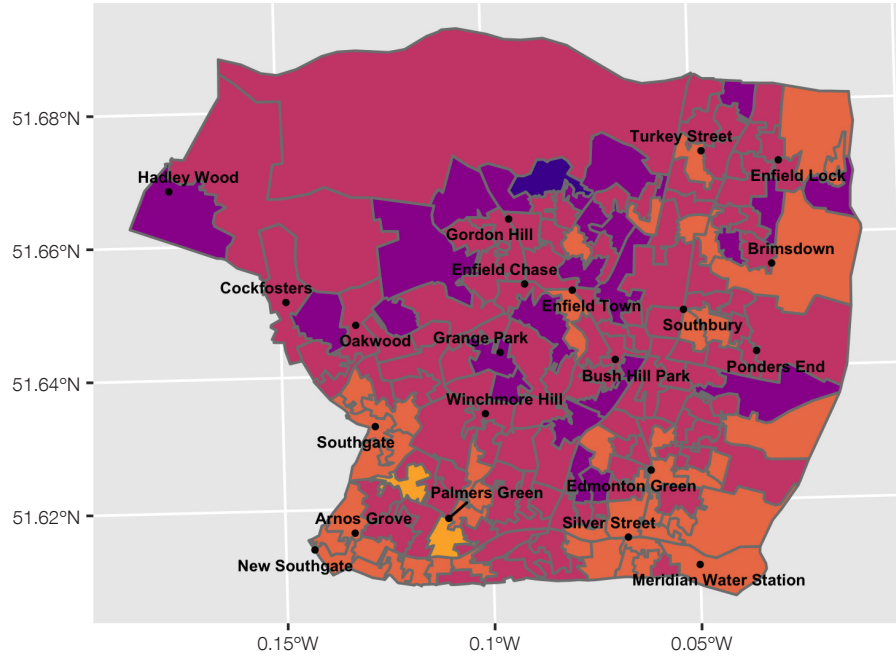
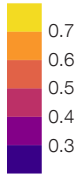
Gentrification in the Borough of Ealing, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



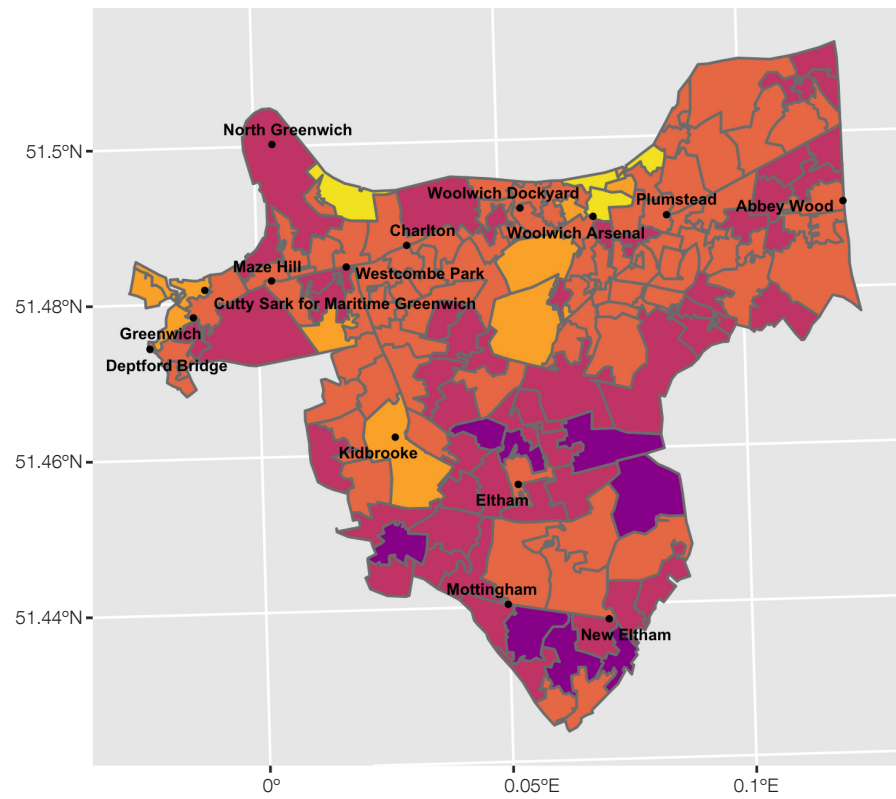
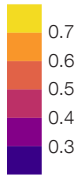
Gentrification in the Borough of Enfield, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



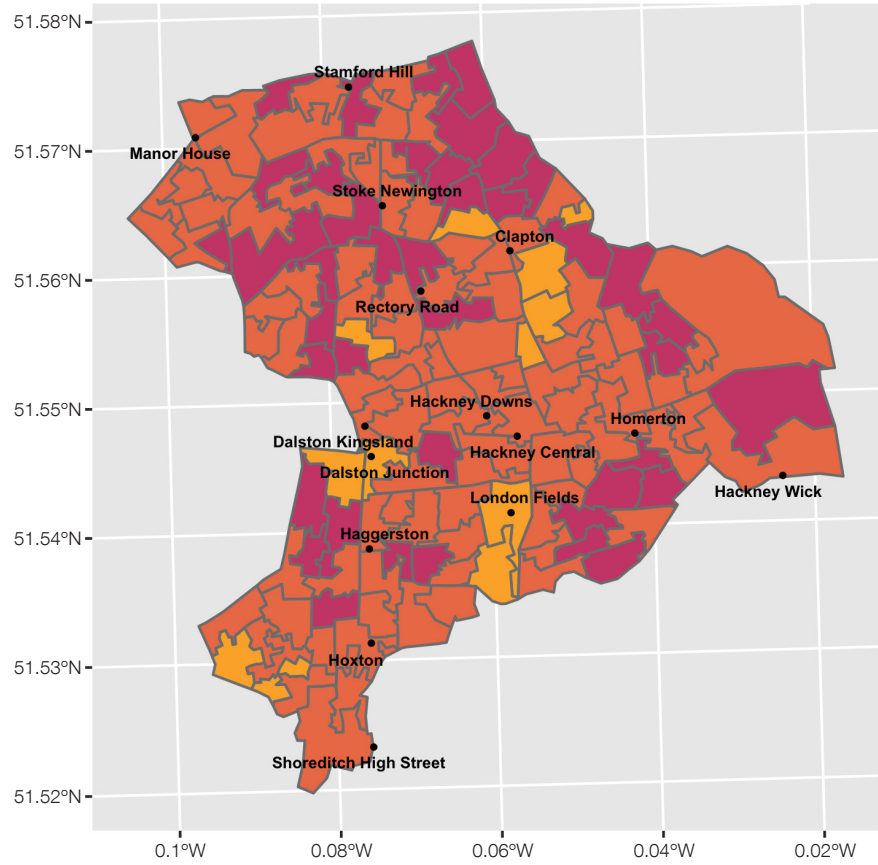
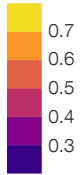
Gentrification in the Royal Borough of Greenwich, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



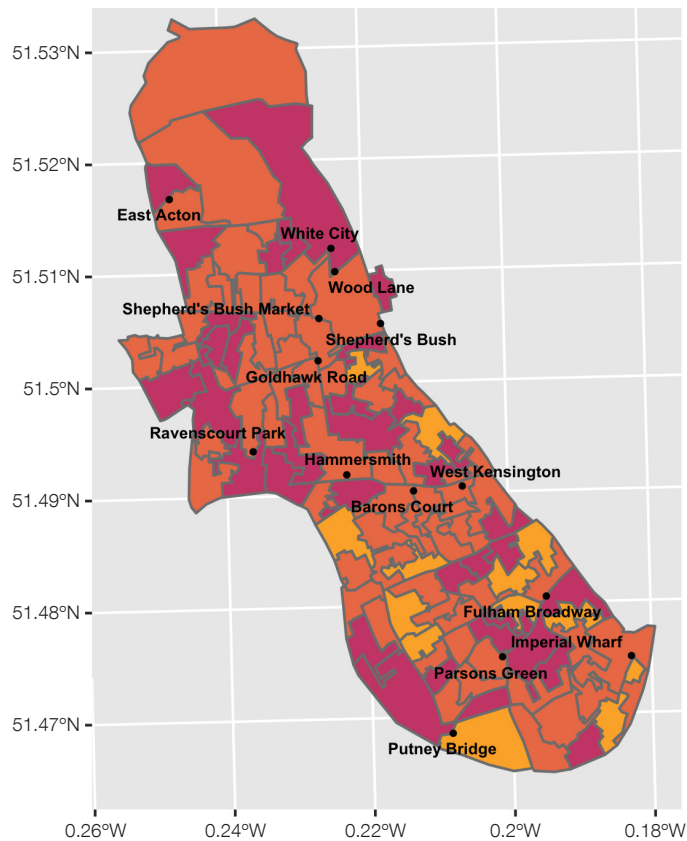
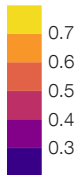
Gentrification in the Borough of Hackney, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



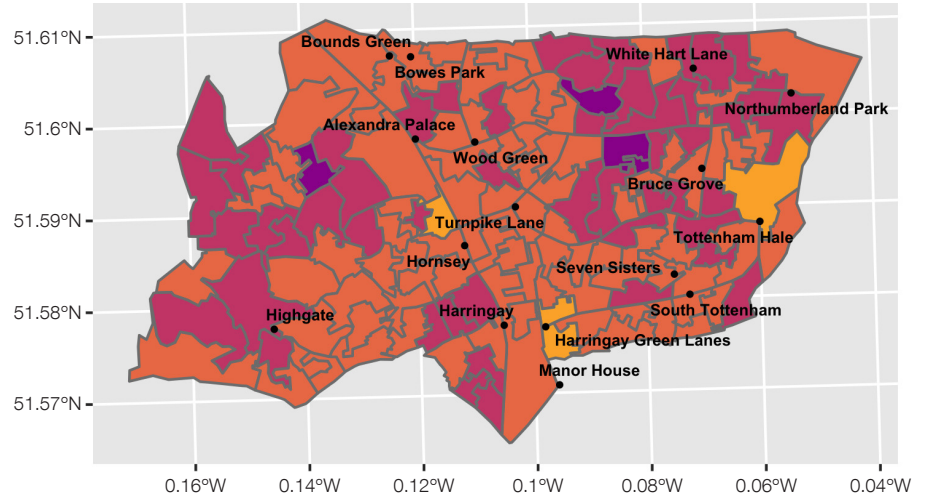
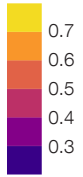
Gentrification in the Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



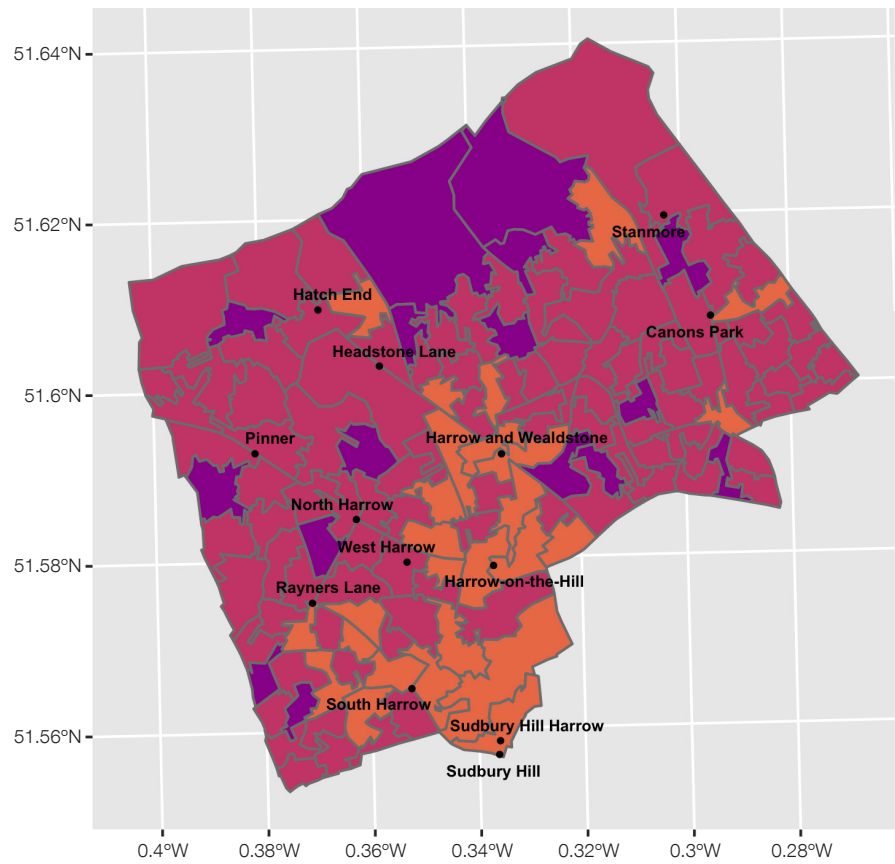
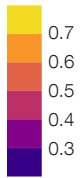
Gentrification in the Borough of Haringey, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



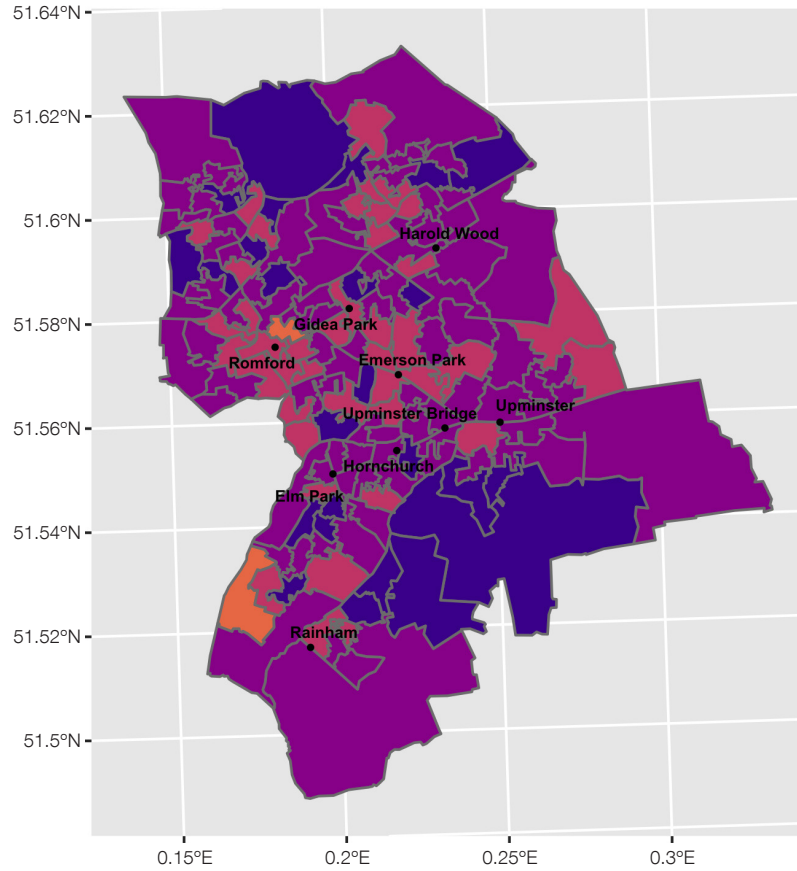
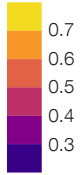
Gentrification in the Borough of Harrow, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



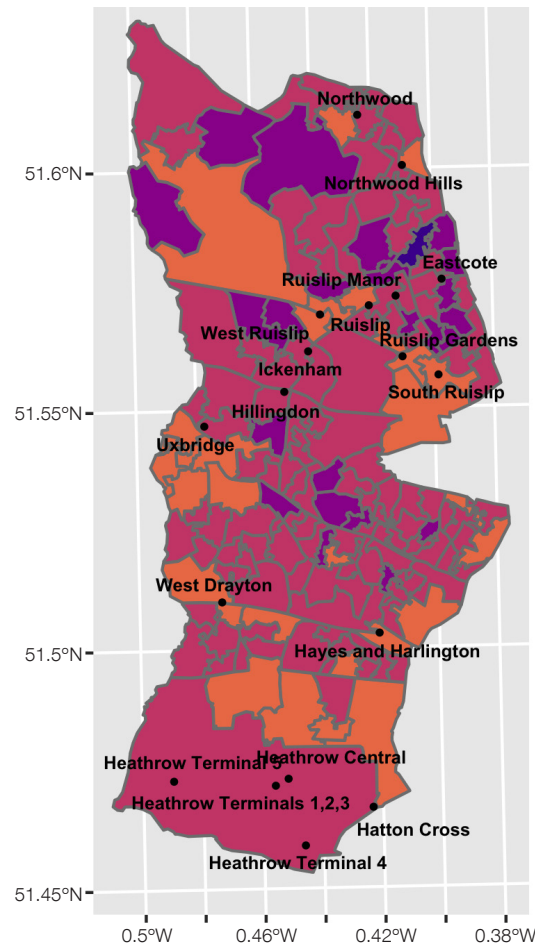
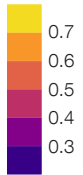
Gentrification in the Borough of Havering, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



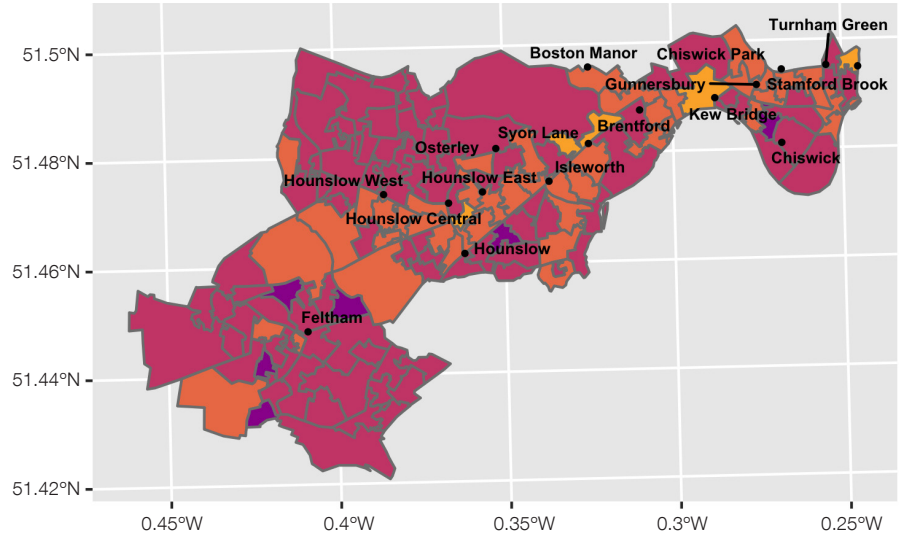
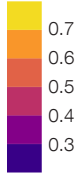
Gentrification in the Borough of Hillingdon, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



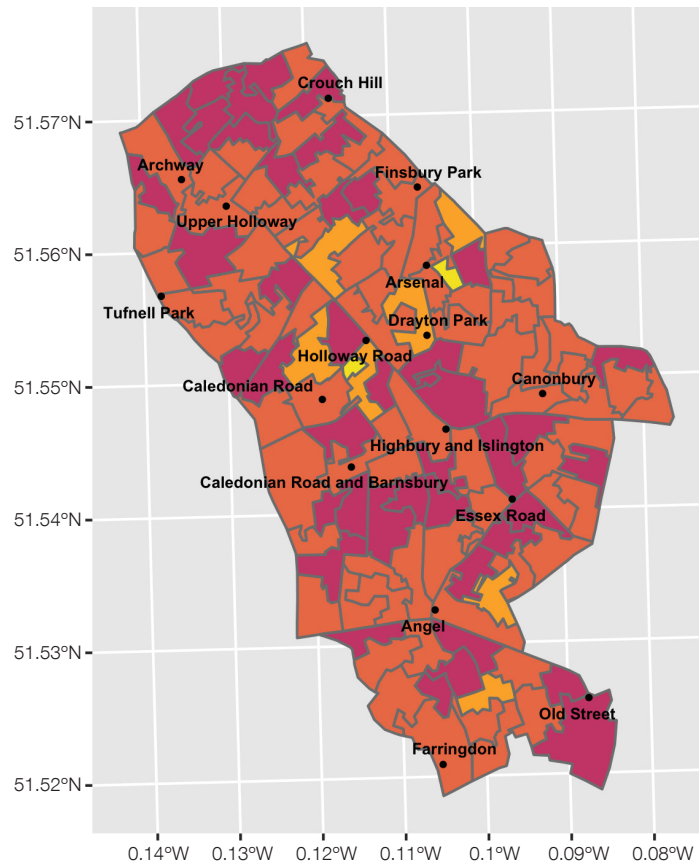
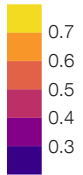
Gentrification in the Borough of Hounslow, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



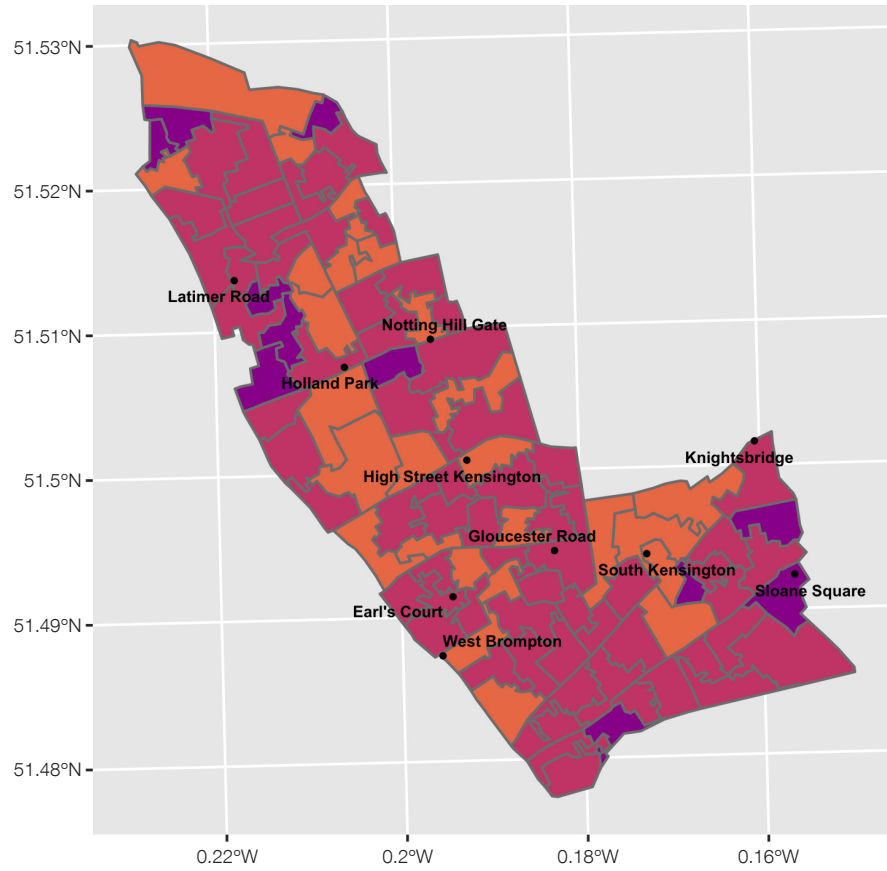
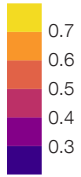
Gentrification in the Borough of Islington, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



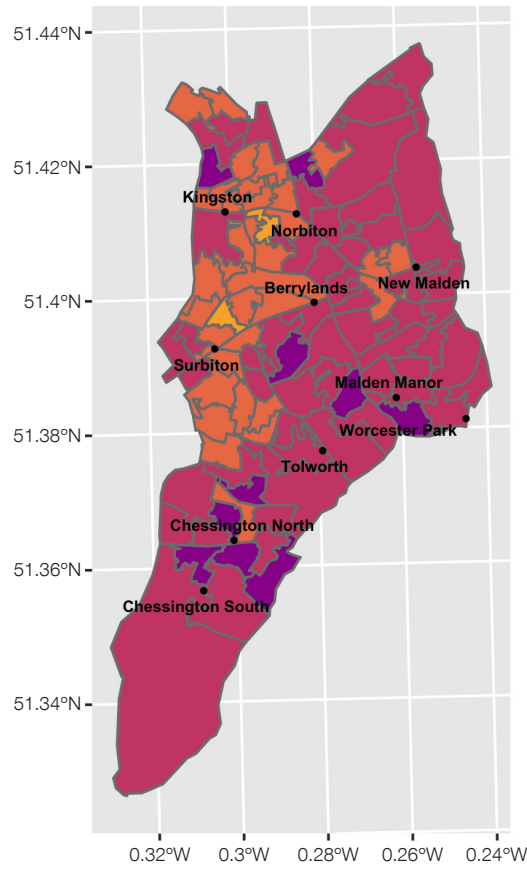
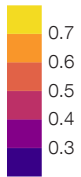
Gentrification in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, 2010–16

Gentrification Index



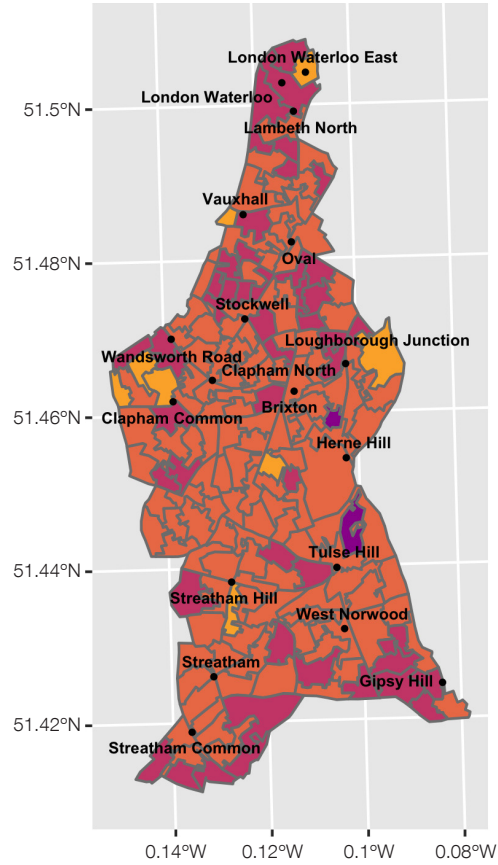
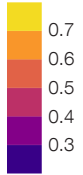
Gentrification in the Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames, 2010–16

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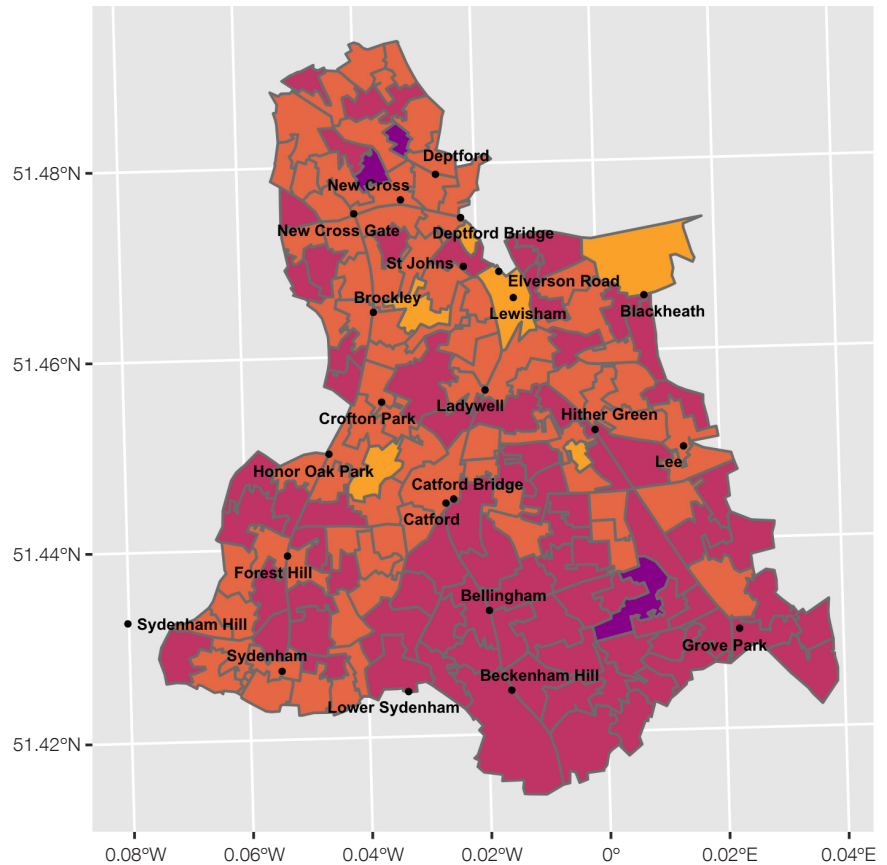
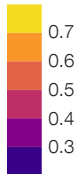
Gentrification in the Borough of Lambeth, 2010–16

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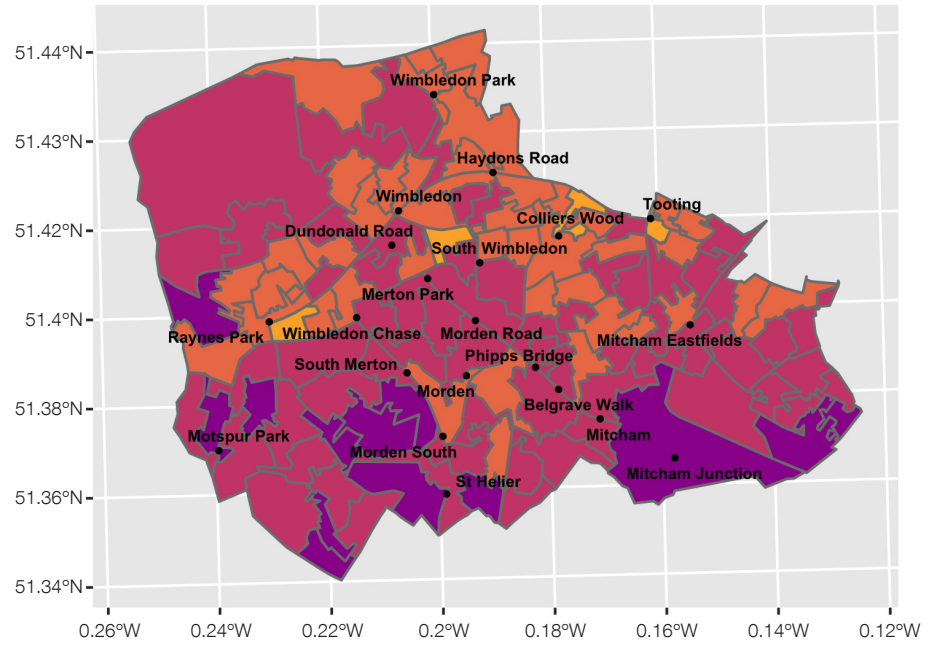
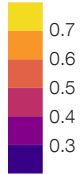
Gentrification in the Borough of Lewisham, 2010–16

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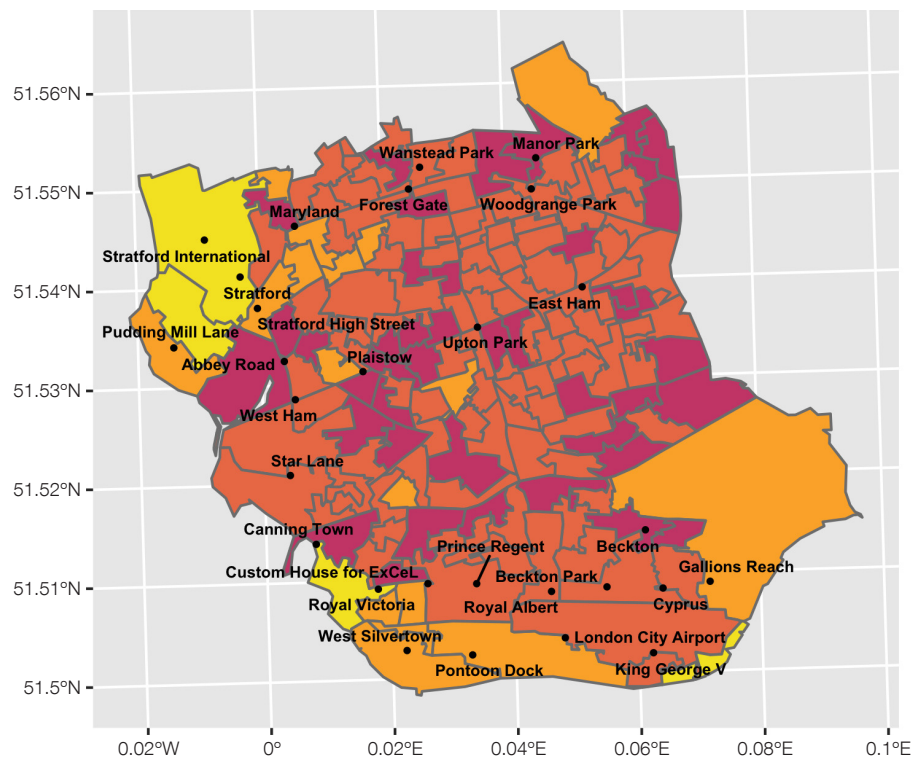
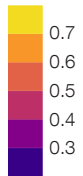
Gentrification in the Borough of Merton, 2010–16

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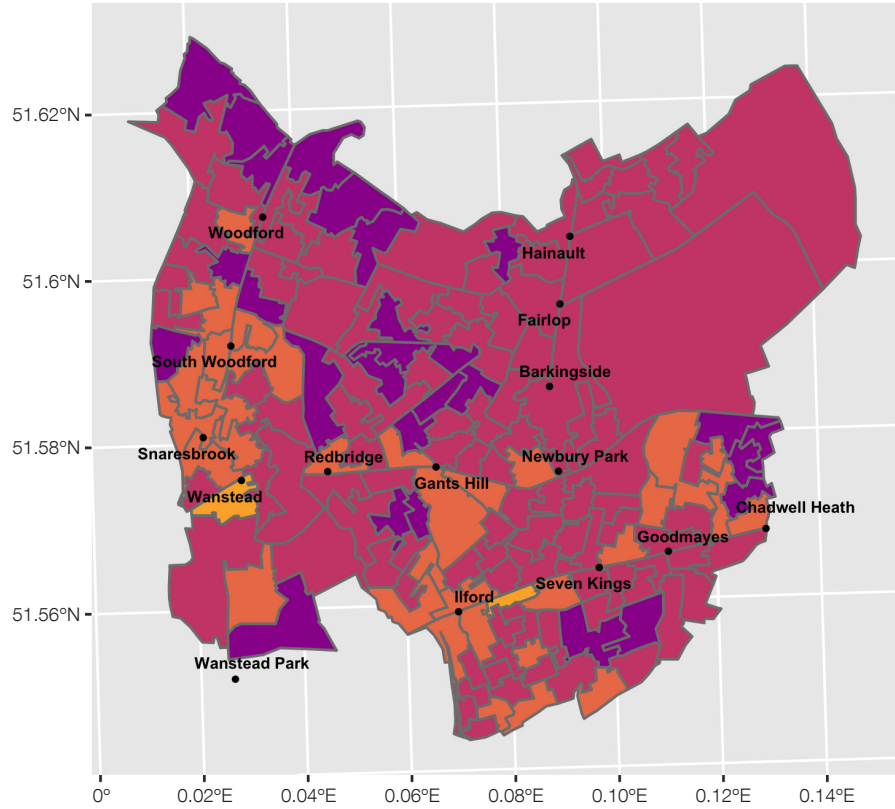
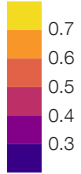
Gentrification in the Borough of Newham, 2010–16

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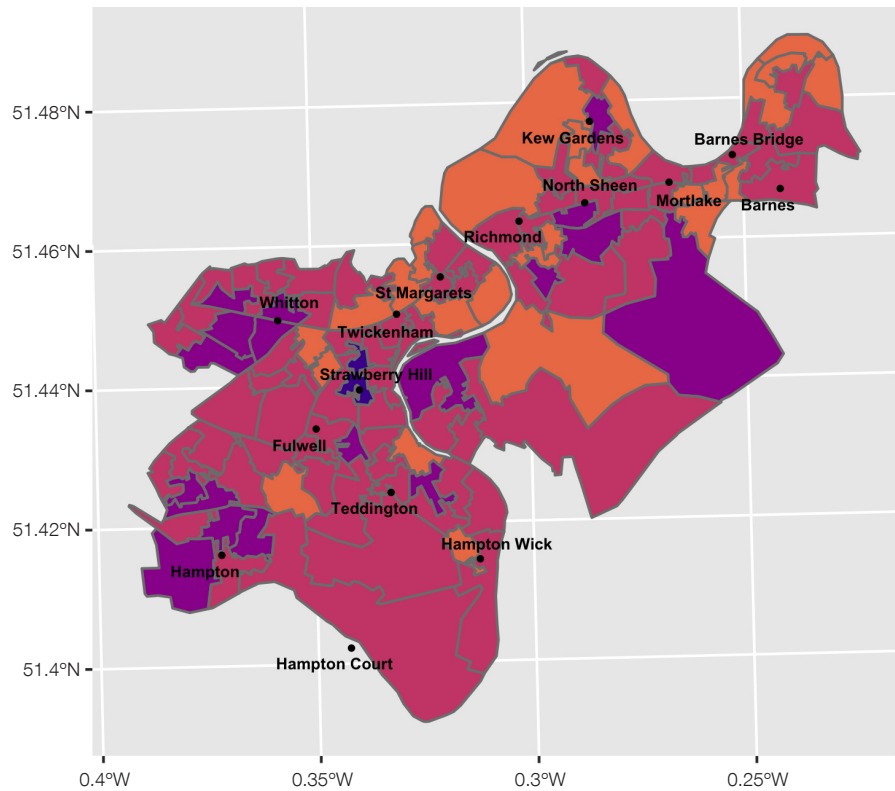
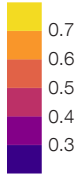
Gentrification in the Borough of Redbridge, 2010–16

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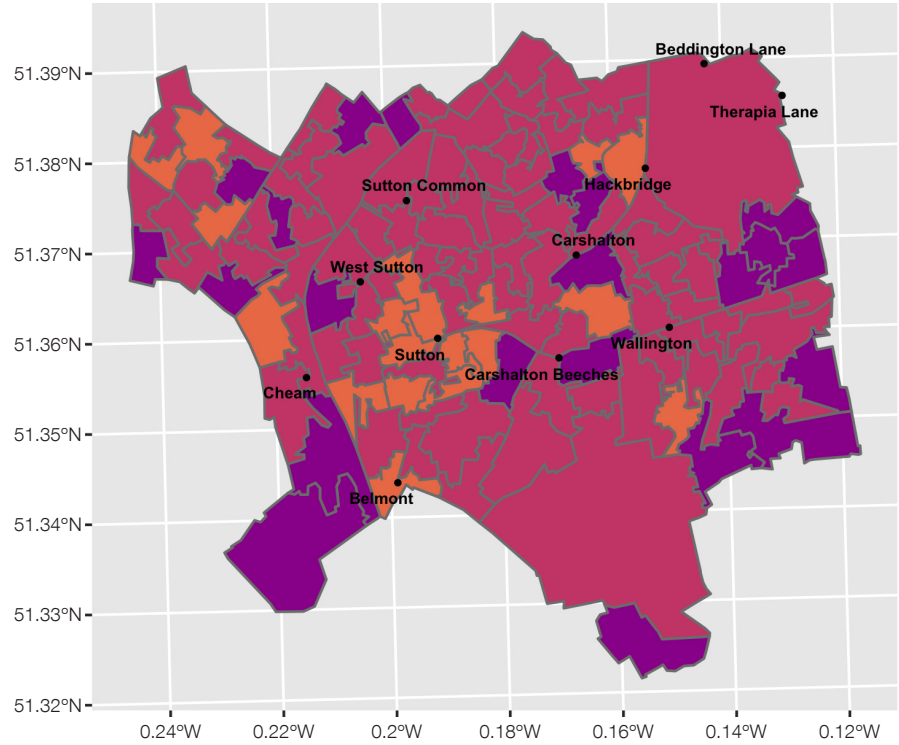
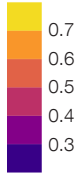
Gentrification in the Borough of Richmond upon Thames, 2010–16

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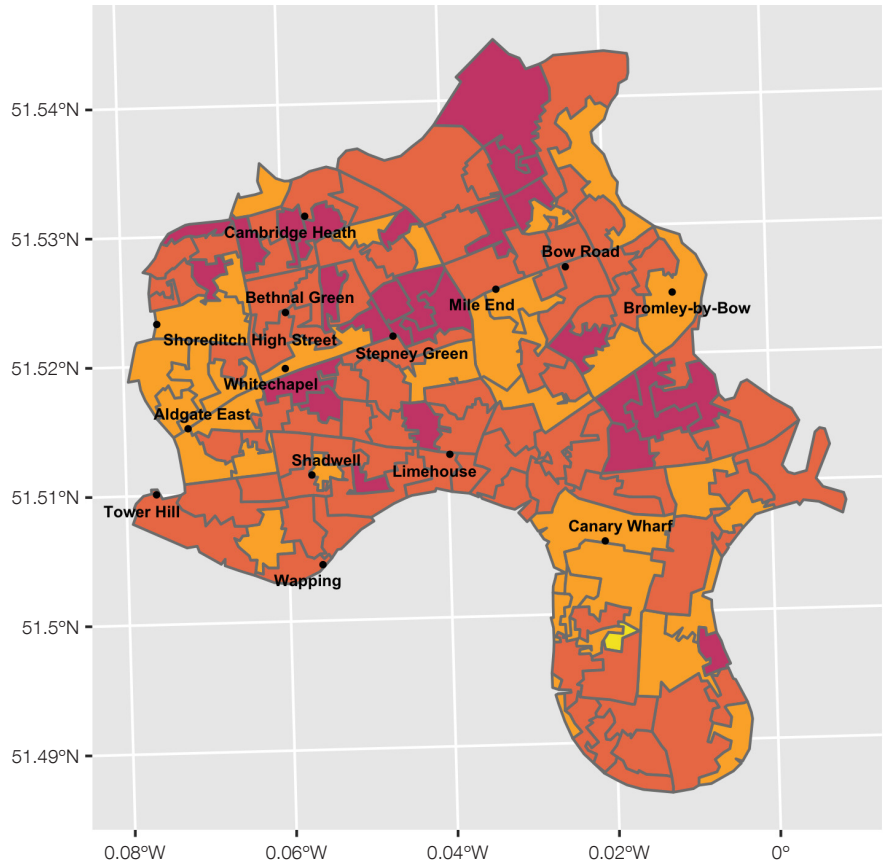
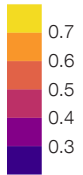
Gentrification in the Borough of Sutton, 2010–16

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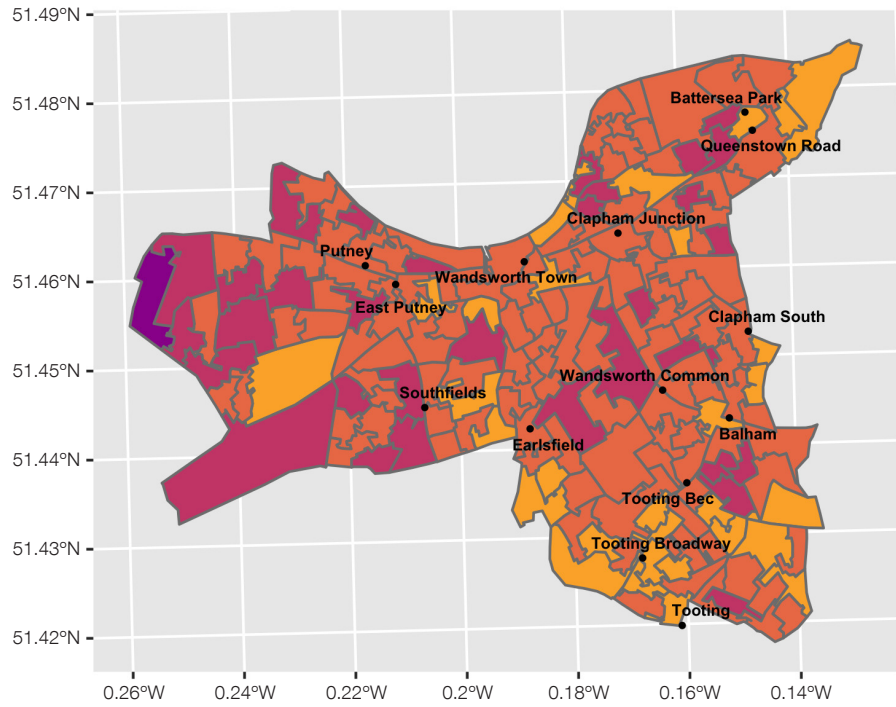
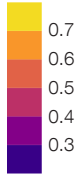
Gentrification in the Borough of Tower Hamlets, 2010–16

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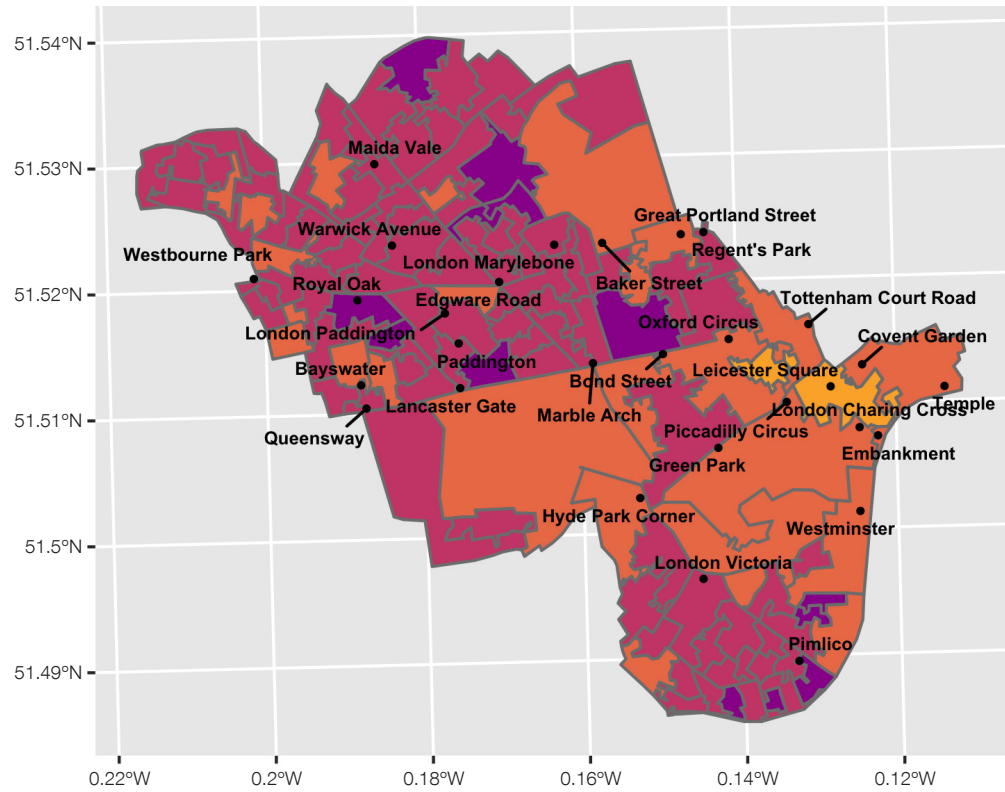
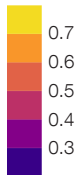
Gentrification in the Borough of Wandsworth, 2010–16

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Gentrification in the City of Westminster, 2010–16

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About the Author

Adam Almeida is a research analyst at the Runnymede Trust and CLASS. Previous research includes quantitative analyses of health programmes for women and girls in the Global South, as well as qualitative studies of TB treatment-related disability and the impact of austerity measures on HIV care in Portugal.



Runnymede

Unit 119
Pill Box
115 Coventry Road
London E2 6GG
T 020 7377 9222
E info@runnymedetrust.org

Registered in England 3409935
Registered Charity 1063609

www.runnymedetrust.org

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