

The Middle Classes and the Future of London

Aims and Objectives

The broad aim of the research is to investigate the social and economic consequences of the middle-class settlement of inner London in recent decades in order to assess whether there are variations between different areas. A subsidiary aim will be to investigate the relationships between the middle class and other social groups in these neighbourhoods and whether, if these differ, the quality of these relationships can be related to the area and the social composition of the groups involved. Have the middle class exacerbated social exclusion in the city as some claim (Smith 1996)?

At the heart of the research proposal is the assumption is that it is no longer possible to identify a single middle class and that different groups will have different social, economic, political and cultural interests and, for this reason, will have different relationships to their localities and populations.

More specific objectives are:

1. To identify what are the dominant patterns of middle-class settlement in inner London and how these are differentiated - by occupational characteristics, by social background, or by age-cohort?
2. To identify the consequences of middle class settlement particularly in terms of networks, patterns of sociation, the relations between work and non work associations.
3. To investigate to what extent these social and possibly economic interactions involve other social groups and if so how these variations might be explained.
4. To identify if possible what one area might learn from another; in other words, are there policy recommendations that can be made to improve the attractiveness of some areas and minimize their negativities?

The Research Proposal

1. The research problem

The middle class is widely seen as part of the problem in relation to issues of social exclusion and the city; particularly in a 'global city' such as London. Smith (1996) provides the most recent evidence for this thinking; he argues - as the title of his book The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City suggests - that gentrification and the middle class in New York are the storm troopers of class polarization and social exclusion. He is not alone, Sassen (1991) also suggests that social polarization is an unavoidable concomitant of the global city and that the growth of an international service class plays an important part in creating a dependent 'servicing class' of badly paid and insecure workers whilst others are excluded from work altogether. On the other hand, Hamnett (1994) has argued that whatever may have happened in New York City, this has not been the case in London where, if anything, there has been a process of social upgrading. Nevertheless, the experience of the development of Docklands points to a very social exclusionary process having taken place in at least part of London. With the increasing fragmentation of the middle class and of the inner city, the problem has to be seen in terms of different sections of the middle class who are likely to be attracted to different parts of the inner city.

2. Aims and Objectives

The general aim of the research is to investigate what have been the consequences of the middle-class settlement of inner London in recent decades and the variety of social relationships with other social groups that has emerged. At the heart of the proposal is the assumption that it is no longer possible to identify a single middle class and that different middle-class groups have different social, economic and political interests and, for this reason, will have different relationships to their

localities and their populations (Butler and Savage 1995). Whilst in some areas the middle class may have exacerbated tendencies to social exclusion in ways similar to those portrayed for example by Smith (1996) in New York City and by Goodwin (1991) in London's Docklands, in other areas the effect may have been more neutral or have been positively inclusionary. The interaction between social, economic and spatial factors is likely to be complex and it is this interplay of factors that the research will address by undertaking a number of area based studies. This gives rise to four specific research objectives:

1. To identify what are the dominant patterns of middle-class settlement of inner London and how these are differentiated - for instance: by occupational characteristics, by social background, or by age-cohort?
2. To identify the consequences of middle-class settlement particularly in terms of networks, patterns of sociation, the relations between work and non work associations.
3. To investigate to what extent these social and economic interactions involve other social groups and if so how these variations might be explained.
4. To identify what one area might learn from another; in other words, are there policy recommendations that can be made to improve the attractiveness of some areas and minimize their negativities?

3. *Background*

1. Social exclusion is a fashionable concept but it is more political than sociological. Nevertheless, social exclusion is also not a new problem for London, it was first recognized more than 100 years ago; historically one response to the problem has been the development of working class institutions which have adopted a leadership position vis-à-vis other more disadvantaged groups. This policy came to fruition in the post war decades, in the context of the so-called Keynes-Beveridge settlement, when inner London was largely run by Labour councils many of whose elected members were drawn from the ranks of trades union officialdom. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, with the decline in manufacturing industry, the growth of the suburbs and the general 'devalorization' of great swathes of inner London, large sections of the working class joined the middle class exodus to the suburbs and beyond. This left the membership and leadership of the Labour parties in London in the hands of an increasingly corrupt and incompetent gerontocracy. The Labour Party went into the local elections in 1968 controlling 20 London boroughs and came out with four - and one of them only on the casting vote of an Alderman. The reasons for this were demographic as much as political and when Labour began to rebuild its organization and reassert political control in the 1970s it was on the basis of a different class constituency: the 'new' middle class and its successes were in the gentrified inner London boroughs - typified by Islington (Gyford 1985). As gentrification spread around the inner London boroughs, the middle class began to replace the working class in the leadership of the Labour Party and by extension in the local government of inner London. Nevertheless, the middle class has the *potential* through its networking and other skills to engage with emerging forms of governance (such as inner city partnerships and single regeneration budget schemes) in ways that will benefit all local residents and not just the middle class. The middle class could, potentially at least, be an important group in promoting social inclusion and leading resistance to the social exclusion and environmental decay which has become endemic to much

of inner London; its motives would be partly selfish and partly altruistic. Equally, it can pursue exclusionary approaches towards its fellow citizens. What, in fact, have been the consequences of the middle class settlement of different areas of London?

2. Thanks to a reasonably efficient network of commuter railways, London's middle classes have over the last fifty years been able to enjoy the economic benefits of working in London and its cultural facilities whilst being able to live in pleasant and non threatening single class suburban communities. During the 1980s the tendency to suburban growth and inner urban population decline slowed in part as a consequence of the decision by some middle-class people to live as well as work in inner London; there are an increasing number of case studies of the gentrification of various parts (Munt 1987; Butler 1992; Bridge 1994; Lyons 1996). Its causes appear to be in part a reaction to the extension of the working day especially for those working in so-called global and cultural industries, to the increase in two career households, and to a reaction against the 'sterility' of the suburban childhoods of many of today's younger and middle-aged middle class (Butler and Hamnett 1994). For those with children, life is much easier if the journey to work is minimized and for others the attractions of the restaurants, clubs and cultural facilities of London are not compatible with a late night journey back to the suburbs. The problem however is that the traditional areas of middle-class settlement (in London: Kensington and Chelsea and further out Hampstead and Blackheath) which remained as such during the years of suburban growth have moved beyond the means of most middle-class people. Gentrification has meant 'resettling' areas abandoned by the working class as the process of 'white flight' began in the 1960s and which have since suffered most from the malign neglect of social policy and the growth of an urban underclass. This, it seems is the greatest countervailing pressure to long term middle class settlement - particularly in relation to education, perceptions of personal safety and the degradation of the physical environment.
3. The middle classes in the last decade have become more diverse (Butler and Savage 1995) and those groups that can afford to live in the traditional areas of middle-class settlement have devised methods of dealing with the problems of urban stress largely through the 'market' whilst those living in the suburbs have used their control of the local political process to ensure high quality services in areas of relatively low social stress. In gentrified inner London these problems are more complex. The market route is an option although access to such provision is more difficult both financially and physically and has forced many households to leave - usually for outer boroughs with well-regarded schools. In Hackney many people leave for Haringey which overall is probably no less a deprived area but has pockets of middle-class settlements with some 'good' schools which contrasts to the uniformly 'bad' perception of schools in Hackney. Different areas are attracting different groups: research in Docklands suggests that the new inhabitants have little personal or social investment in the area being young couples without children, or 'empty nesters' often with a second home to retreat to at weekends (Crilley et al 1991). The middle class in Hackney, Islington and Camden have, it would appear, made more of a social investment in the area in which they live and in its institutional and cultural infrastructure. What have the consequences of this been - has it led to an upgrading of facilities for all or merely led to a greater share of scarce resources going to the middle class?

4. It is not just the middle class that has become diverse but so too has the process of gentrification. *“From a social scientific point of view there is an enormous difference between the collective action of individuals who construct in a piecemeal way an environment with a particular aesthetic unity and large corporations that invest in land and buildings in major construction projects. The first is amenable to analysis in terms of a theory of collective action, the latter in terms of the logic of capital.”* (Warde 1991: 230). The gentrification of Islington or Hackney comes under the first heading and that of Docklands under the second, although in Warde’s view: *“attempts to establish theoretically the links between fractions of the middle classes and gentrification have proved inconclusive”* (Warde 1991: 226). His basis for arguing this is that the existing accounts given by Jager (1986) on Melbourne, Rose (1984) on Montreal, Mills (1988) on Vancouver and others all give different answers to the questions ‘who are the gentrifiers?’ and ‘who consumes gentrified housing?’. Jager considers them an ‘in-between class’ who disguise their lack of class self-confidence by adopting a highly stylised form of domestic consumption. Rose identifies a somewhat different group who consist of relatively highly credentialed but lowly paid technical, managerial and professional workers, mainly from the public sector who are, to an extent, forced into gentrification because it offers relatively cheap, but potentially attractive, housing. Mills, on the other hand, identifies an emergent, affluent group who use their financial power to create an appropriate infrastructure for their desired lifestyle in new condo developments in Vancouver. There is however, as Warde points out, a world of difference between the large-scale gentrification of Fairview Slopes, Vancouver and the restoration of Victorian houses in Stoke Newington, East London (Warde 1991: 224). My own work on Stoke Newington has argued that one can establish the link between class and gentrification but that it is highly mediated by gender (Butler and Hamnett 1994). The issue for this research however is that we might expect to find a number of different consequences which will depend partly on the type of gentrification (social action vs. capital logic), the extent to which the gentrified area has emerged from the ghetto of its origins and the social density of gentrification.
5. It may not matter for the economic viability of London whether the middle class lives in the city. Indeed the growth of social exclusion is perhaps a consequence of London’s economic success, although there are well-founded fears that ‘exclusion’ could now become a long term threat to London’s continued ability to attract inward investment and the international ‘service class’ - whether it be the discomfort of seeing people sleeping in cardboard boxes, the threat of having your headlamp kicked in by a disgruntled ‘squeegee’ operator or being ‘taxed’ after a visit to the cash machine. Economic and social regeneration are self-evidently linked but it may be different groups living in different enclaves that are involved in the different parts of the process. For this reason the presence of middle-class groups across inner London who are able to lead the political process and influence the growth of institutions which will work towards social inclusion may be vital but it is not clear that this is happening. The issue of cross-class relations in gentrified areas is neglected, although May’s (1996) study of Stoke Newington has interesting potential here. These ‘socially altruistic’ groups are not economically able, or ideologically disposed, to survive solely through the market and need the oxygen of social policy programmes to thrive. The most important social policy area is undoubtedly to be education but other important areas include health and environmental policy. Despite - perhaps because of - the fact that the middle class

has been the unintended beneficiary of social policies designed to compensate for the disadvantages faced by other groups it remains a neglected group in terms of explicit social policy formation. Traditionally, the argument has always been that the middle class is capable of helping itself either through the market or through privileged access to public services (Legrand 1982). It might be time to reassess this assumption.

4. *Research Design*

The research will concentrate on answering the questions posed in the aims and objectives. It will build on and extend the proven methodology used in researching the Hackney middle class in the late 1980s (Butler 1992, 1997). The research design will have three components:

1. A preliminary 'mapping exercise' using secondary analysis. This will be oriented to the first objective stated above: 'are there identifiable patterns of middle-class settlement in inner London which can be identified in terms of demographic and/or occupational characteristics?'. It will draw on sources of census data:
 - The Longitudinal Study of the Census will be used to quantify flows of population by social class between 1971 and 1991 in and out of inner London boroughs;
 - The Sample of Anonymised Records (SARs) from the 1991 Census will be used to investigate basic demographic characteristics of the middle classes in the inner and outer London area and to analyse the relationships between key variables, which is not possible with normal Census tables.
2. The second stage which will be concerned with objectives two and three:
 - What are the social and economic consequences of the middle class settlement of the inner London areas?
 - What is the nature and content of the social networks within such middle-class groups and how much do they extend to other groups?

Six areas in inner north and east London will be selected to ensure a diversity of middle-class experience and type. In each area one ward will be selected and by using the electoral registers 125 homeowners will be interviewed. The problems in using the electoral registers as a sampling frame, particularly in inner London, are well known but were satisfactorily overcome in my original (1988-9) research on Hackney. Each household will be asked to provide an interview based on an updated and expanded version of the interview schedule which is currently (1996-7) being used for a follow-up survey of those of the 245 original Hackney respondents who can be traced. These will be used to gather data about the household and its members, their social background and their employment and housing history. A basic exploration of their social relationships within the area in which they live will be undertaken, this key aspect will be explored in more depth in the unstructured interviews which are discussed below. A number of ways will be used to get data on social interactions, such as by asking questions about:

- Membership of any local organizations: football clubs, gardening clubs, sports clubs;
- Who their children's best friends are and whether respondents include the parents of their children's friends as *their* friends;

- The names of their three most salient local contacts and a description of them;
- Use of local pubs, restaurants, gyms etc. and whether people they meet there form part of their friendship networks;
- Involvement in local groups: amenity, parent teacher associations, school governors;
- Where they go shopping for a range of ordinary and exceptional purchases;
- Whether and, if so whom, they employ to look after their children either in pre-school years or after school/babysitting;
- Whether they employ people and, if so whom, to clean their houses and what other 'informal' employment practices they engage in.

Data from the Panel Study gathered by the Essex Centre for Micro Social Change which asks detailed questions about social relations will be used as a control group.

Whilst no final decisions will be taken about where to interview until the preliminary census based work has taken place, the following three groupings of areas are indicative of what might be regarded as different middle-class settlement patterns in north and east London:

- A cluster of long established gentrified areas mainly in Islington and Camden, such as Barnsbury; Canonbury, Kentish Town and Camden Town: gentrification and the cultural infrastructure have had twenty five years to become established here and it might be supposed that social relations will also have had a chance to become established;
- A cluster of areas that became gentrified more recently such as Stoke Newington; De Beauvoir Town, Dalston and Finsbury Park (in Hackney), Highbury and Tufnell Park (in Islington) where the process has been more uneven and less dense although some of the middle-class inhabitants have been there for a considerable period of time;
- Finally, new build sites in London's Docklands in the Isle of Dogs and more recently in the Royals. In both these areas the gentrification process has been led by the 'logic of capital' as a consequence of large scale investment by construction firms and developers. Here the social relations between the incomers and existing residents would appear to be much less well-developed although the housing recession of the early 1990s will have mitigated some of this by the sale of some properties to Housing Associations for social housing.

3. A sub-sample of the above will be selected for a detailed follow-up interview which will be non structured and will explore the reasons for their decisions about where to live and their interactions with other social groups and more general involvement in the area. It is intended to achieve approximately 25 interviews in each area giving 150 interviews in total. In drawing up the schedule to decide on who to approach for the follow up interviews, the following criteria will be used:

- Occupational criteria: it will be necessary to balance between those working in private, public and voluntary sector and those who are self-employed. My

original work in Hackney showed that the self-employed were a large and significant group.

- Differences in household type between those living in single households, those living in multi adult households and those living in households with children - in this group a balance will be struck between those with pre-school, primary school and secondary school age children.

Respondents will be asked to keep a short diary of contacts over a one week period to give an indication of the range and intensity of contacts. In addition to exploring the network and social contact questions in more depth, the follow up interviews will ask about the destination of broad categories of household income - to whom it goes and for what purposes. In the previous research in Hackney, no difficulties were experienced in discussing household resources.

5. Analysis of the findings

The data analysis of the quantitative data will be undertaken using SPSS, key characteristics of the survey population will be generated and will be compared to control data from BHPS data from the Essex Micro Social Change Centre. Further multivariate analysis, such as loglin will be undertaken in order to explore the relationships between the variables further and to explore to what extent there are area variations and if so what they are and how they might be explained. A mapping package such as MapInfo will be used to draw up a spatial representation of the key relationships found. Thematic and content analysis of the in depth interviews, observations and field notes will be conducted possibly with the aid of the QSR Nudist software package.

A more serious problem will how to deal with the conceptual complexity of the likely findings and some very initial consideration has been given to this. It is likely that there will be considerable variation in the degree of social interaction between social groups in different areas and the content of the interaction is also likely to be very different. It is tentatively suggested that Lockwood's (1964) article 'Social Integration and System Integration' might be useful in handling these inter-relations and dealing with instances where there is dissonance between the relations at the two levels. It might be proposed that there are potentially four outcomes ranging from good on both system and social relations to bad on both with two intermediate positions. These could then be mapped on to likely social outcomes e.g.:

1. *Positive social relations - negative system relations*: this equates to a traditional small town situation with little development or innovation but with a 'comfortable' social equilibrium and a coalition against outsiders.
2. *Positive system relations - negative social relations*: an area with new strata creating economic dynamism but NIMBYite rows going on. Stacey's Tradition and Change (1960) was an example of this process.
3. *Negative system and social relations*: potential urban riot situation
4. *Positive system and social relations*: good social coalitions and dynamic growth

This schema is tentative and will need refinement as well as thought concerning the operationalization of the key variables and what constitutes social and system integration. It will need to distinguish between attitudes and social relationships, on the one hand, and structural effects, on the other. In the city this difference is

important because most people are strangers to each other, and can benefit or lose from each other's presence without much subjective awareness or relationship.

6. Dissemination

Apart from the normal means of academic dissemination and those that will be available through the operation of the Programme, the main forum for dissemination will be through the advisory group which will feed into the policy making process for London at local, sub-regional and regional level.

Three articles are planned at this stage:

1. Mapping inner London gentrified areas and their social characteristics;
2. Explaining social differences amongst the middle classes in inner London;
3. Exploring social relations between social classes in inner London and the implications for issues of social inclusion and exclusion.

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The Middle Classes and the Future of London

1. Background

The general background to the research was contained in the specification of the *Cities: Competitiveness and Cohesion Programme* which posed the question about the relationship between the economic competitiveness of cities (in the UK) and their social cohesion. Both were perceived as problems and a relationship between the two was posited. My concern however was with a group who generally do not cause policy makers (although not politicians) much loss of sleep: the middle classes. The urban middle class has only been seen as a problem in so far as it causes the displacement of existing and less privileged social groups. My own 'take' on this has been rather different which has been to ask whether the urban middle class has at least the *potential* to act as a force for social inclusion. This is based partly on previous work that I had undertaken on the gentrification of Hackney in the 1980s (Butler 1997). An important finding was that these middle-classes were more socially and politically radical and committed to a form of inclusive urban living than suggested by the gentrification literature with its emphasis on displacement. In addition, the collapse of the working class leadership of the Labour Party in London and other major cities had left a power vacuum in urban governance. I was suggesting that the middle-classes had the potential to fill this vacuum in formal political institutions and at neighbourhood levels. The research proposal therefore was aimed at investigating some of these issues across London – hence the title. The pan London aspect was important because it seemed apparent to me that the increasing diversification of the middle classes about which I had also written (Butler and Savage 1995) was likely to have a spatial dimension in their settlement of inner London. In different areas we were likely to find different relationships with neighbourhoods, non middle-class groups and social/political institutions.

2. Objectives

Following on from this, I identified the following four objectives to be investigated in the course of the research project:

1. To identify what are the dominant patterns of middle-class settlement of inner London and how these are differentiated - for instance: by occupational characteristics, by social background, or by age-cohort?
2. To identify the consequences of middle-class settlement particularly in terms of networks, patterns of sociation, the relations between work and non work associations.
3. To investigate to what extent these social and economic interactions involve other social groups and if so how these variations might be explained.
4. To identify what one area might learn from another; in other words, are there policy recommendations that can be made to improve the attractiveness of some areas and minimize their negativities?

Broadly, I am able to say that all four of these objectives have been met. The details are discussed in section four below, which reports on the results of the research. However, these findings were not perhaps quite the ones that we expected. Although we found there were considerable differences between our areas, what they had in

common was a general disengagement from other social groups and a lack of involvement in both formal and informal aspects of urban governance. This contrasted to my earlier research on Hackney where many respondents had expressed a desire to get involved. For whatever reason (e.g. disinclination or lack of time) the middle classes of London do not appear to have taken up the mantle of civic involvement. This is not to argue that they are not involved in issues of political or social concern but generally speaking these are undertaken either as part of their formal employment or else by largely passive membership of charitable-type organizations. The main dimension of involvement, as predicted in the proposal, concerns education. However, our finding is that this has been negotiated almost entirely instrumentally either by purchasing private educational solutions for their children or by constructing complex educational strategies to negotiate the new market in state educational provision. There is an implication here that, in the absence of either of these, they tend to leave London.

3. Methods

The proposal envisaged the use of three stages/methods for the investigation.

1. Census data including the Sample of Anonymised Records (SARs) to identify likely areas for study;
2. A detailed survey of six selected areas using a questionnaire of approximately 125 respondents in each area;
3. A follow up unstructured interview with approximately 25 respondents in each area once the detailed survey had been completed.

The methods were modified at two stages. Following acceptance of the proposal, the Principal Investigator was invited to respond to the referees' comments which considered the target numbers ambitious given the requested resources. It was subsequently agreed with the programme director (Professor MacLennan) to reduce the number of interviews in each area to approximately 75 and to reduce the amount of resource given to first stage Census analysis and in particular the work on the Household Panel Study. It was agreed in 2000, in discussion with the new programme director (Professor Parkinson), not to undertake the follow up interviews. The justification for not undertaking a specific programme of follow-up interviews was threefold.

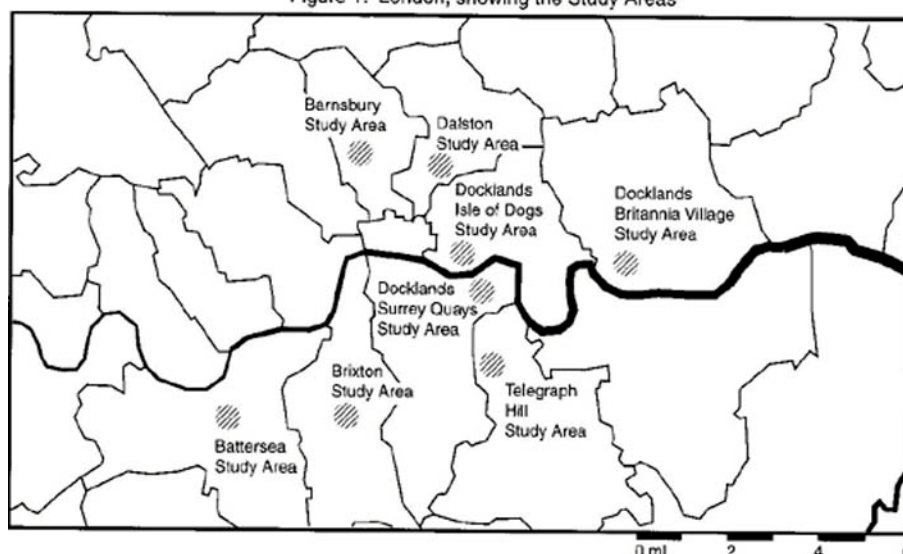
1. Some time had been lost from the main programme of interviewing because of the illness of the Research Fellow (Garry Robson) in the winter of 1998/9 for approximately two months which put the programme approximately three months behind schedule;
2. That the interviews had generated considerably more qualitative data and recorded comments than had originally been anticipated;
3. A concern by the research team which was shared by the programme director to devote time to developing a publication strategy and writing up of the project for publication – this would have been compromised by continuing to gather data up to Christmas 2000.

The limited census analysis was extremely helpful in identifying the initial decisions about where to concentrate the fieldwork. In particular, it pointed us to splitting the research between north and south London. In the original proposal, although the areas

were not identified, there was a discernible North London bias. The gentrification of areas of South London has been more recent and carrying out fieldwork here has corrected this.

- Our selection of areas was driven by concerns to reflect both the history of gentrification of inner London over the past thirty years and to embrace the primary divisions within the middle class. Crudely, the gentrification of inner London can be traced back to the late 1960s and the ‘upgrading’ of areas of Islington identified by Ruth Glass (1963) who coined the term and investigated by Peter Williams (1976). What has been termed (by Warde 1981) as the process of gentrification by collective action spread across North London and areas of SouthWest and more recently SouthEast London during subsequent decades. A more recent phenomenon, characterised by Warde as ‘gentrification by capital’, has been the regeneration of large swathes of London Docklands both north and south of the Thames to the east of the city. Our wish was to ‘capture’ aspects of this history but also to identify areas that had apparently been colonised by different sections of the middle classes. Following earlier work (Butler 1997 and Butler and Savage 1995) we decided to base this around Savage’s (1992) three fold division. This looks at the middle classes not just in terms of occupational divisions but also those based around lifestyle and values. Savage identifies two main groups that are typified as ‘liberal ascetics’ mainly but not entirely working in the welfare professions and ‘corporates’ who are associated with the managerial and professional sector. He also rather more tentatively identifies a third group which he terms ‘postmoderns’ whose tastes do not easily break down into either major group. The strength of this analysis is that it moves beyond crude splits into managers versus professionals, private versus public sector workers. This is particularly important in contemporary London where middle-class careers and occupations have undergone very rapid change in the shadow of globalization and the creation of an economy based around financial services and the production and distribution of knowledge and culture in its widest form.

Figure 1: London, showing the Study Areas



Our work on the census was helpful in identifying potential areas that were then subjected to some initial fieldwork. We finally selected six areas, as follows:

1. 'Telegraph Hill' (New Cross in the London Borough of Lewisham)
2. Brixton (Herne Hill and Tulse Hill in the London Borough of Brixton)
3. 'Between the Commons' (Battersea in the London Borough of Wandsworth)
4. 'Barnsbury' (in the London Borough of Islington)
5. 'London Fields' (Dalston in the London Borough of Hackney)
6. Docklands: this was subdivided into three areas-:
 - 'The Isle of Dogs' (in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets)
 - 'Surrey Quays' (in the London Borough of Southwark)
 - 'Britannia Village' (in the London Borough of Newham)

4. Results

Most of our time and energy following the completion of the fieldwork has gone into 'making sense' of the general findings and identifying some broad approaches to the patterns of gentrification in London. Our publication strategy (see section 6) has involved us in either addressing general issues arising out of the research (notably the variation in the gentrification process between our six areas) or specific issues (such as social capital and education). Consequently, it is only recently that we have begun to analyse the considerable amount of data generated by the survey data as a whole. What follows is therefore preliminary. Much of this will be refined in the forthcoming monograph (Berg forthcoming) and chapter being proposed for the Cities Programme collection (Palgrave forthcoming).

4.1 Characteristics of the Populations

Given the requirements of the research design, it would be surprising if our respondents were not largely drawn from professional and managerial groups, albeit with a significant number of non-professional own account workers. The results were classified according to the new ONS social class categories:

Table 1: Respondents Social Class

Social Class	Description	Frequency	Percent
Class 1	Higher managerial & professional	148	35.3
Class 2	lower managerial & professional	179	42.7
Class 3	Intermediate occupations	26	6.2
Class 4	Small employers & own account workers	23	5.5
Class 5	lower supervisory & technical occupations	2	.5
Class 6	Semi routine occupations	4	1.0
Class 7	Routine occupations	1	.2
Class 8	Never worked & long term unemployed	4	1.0
	Not classified	32	7.6
Total		419	100.0

Approximately four out of five respondents were in social classes one and two, which might be narrowly defined as the employed 'service class', an additional 5.5% were self-employed non manual workers. Almost all of the 'not classified' category were

women with domestic responsibilities who chose not to participate in paid employment. Unfortunately insufficient questions were asked to allocate them to a class category on the basis of their previous employment. Area differences between class 1 and 2 are interesting:

Table 2: Respondents' Social Class by Area (%)

	Tel Hill	Brixton	Battersea	Barnsbury	London Fields	Dockland Areas	Total (n)
Class 1	18.3	22.5	42.5	52.8	32.4	43.8	35.3 (148)
Class 2	56.3	50.7	34.2	31.9	48.5	34.4	42.7 (179)
Class 3	7.0	9.9	8.2	2.8	4.4	4.7	6.2 (26)
Class 4	7.0	4.2	2.7	5.6	7.4	6.3	5.5 (23)
Class 5		1.4			1.6		0.5 (2)
Class 6		1.4	1.4		3.1		1.0 (4)
Class 7	1.4						0.2 (1)
Class 8	1.4	1.4	1.4		1.5		1.0 (4)
Not class	8.5	8.5	9.6	6.9	5.9	6.3	7.6 (32)
Total (n)	100 (71)	100 (71)	100 (73)	100 (72)	100 (68)	100 (64)	100 (419)

Barnsbury in particular, but to a lesser extent Battersea and Docklands, emerge as areas with a higher concentration of respondents in social class 1 (i.e. senior managers, owners and employed or self-employed professionals). This partly reflects the status of Battersea and Barnsbury as iconic and relatively long established areas of gentrification and of Docklands as providing a pied-à-terre for well paid 'empty nesters' (an observation borne out by the data). It also represents the reality of the inner London housing market: in these areas the cost of property often begins at approximately £500,000 which puts it beyond all but the better paid, or longer established. It also represents the manner in which these areas are perceived. On the other hand, Telegraph Hill, in particular, but also Brixton and London Fields tend to be populated by what Goldthorpe (1980) has referred to as 'cadet members' of the service class. With reference to the earlier classification of residents, Telegraph Hill reflects the concept of 'welfare professionals' proposed by Savage et al (1992) not just in terms of their occupations but also their lifestyle proclivities, identifications and anxieties. Although Brixton also has a majority of class 2 residents, its residents are rather different, as we shall see.

There are significant variations here in household incomes that reflect different abilities to participate in the two key markets: housing and education. Table 3 indicates the household income of those living in two adult households.

Table 3: Total gross annual household income for multiple person households

Income	Frequency	Valid Percent
less than £10,000	1	.4
£10-20,000 pa	11	4.0
£20-30,000 pa	19	7.0
£30-40,000 pa	38	14.0
£40-50,000 pa	33	12.1
£50-60,000 pa	38	14.0
£60,000-100,000 pa	74	27.2
£100,00-150,000 pa	24	8.8
More than £150,000 pa	29	10.7
Refused	5	1.8
Total	272	100.0

Approximately half the two adult households had a household income in excess of £60,000 per annum. In the case of single person households approximately a quarter had an income in excess of £60,000. £60-100,000 is the modal category for every area except Barnsbury (in excess of £150,000) and London Fields (£50-60,000). This suggests that housing market concerns (ie houseprices) may not be the major drivers in determining residential location in inner London. This claim supports our initial hypothesis that values and lifestyles may drive class fragmentation as much as income and occupation.

Brixton has the highest percentage of respondents who were brought up in London, whilst by contrast Battersea has the highest brought up in the 'Rest of the South East' by a considerable margin. Barnsbury and London Fields both have a relatively disproportionate percentage of residents drawn from the rest of the UK.

*Table 4: Six Research Areas * Where were you brought up?*

	London	ROSE	Rest of the UK	Elsewhere	Total (n)
Tel Hill	22.5	33.8	21.6	21.0	100.0 (71)
Brixton	28.2	32.4	21.1	18.2	100.0 (71)
Battersea	20.5	49.3	17.8	12.2	100.0 (73)
Barnsbury	23.6	26.4	33.4	16.8	100.0 (72)
London Fields	23.5	26.5	35.2	14.7	100.0 (68)
Docklands	15.6	36.0	26.7	21.8	100.0 (64)
Total	22.4	34.1	26.0	17.4	100.0 (419)

Respondents' parents' occupations were classified according to their socio-economic group (SEG). Battersea and Barnsbury stand out with 58.8% and 63.4% respectively

having fathers in the highest SEG (higher professional/senior managerial). In the case of Battersea a further 19.1% came from second highest SEG, thus approximately 80% come from indisputably middle-class backgrounds; this compares to approximately 45% in the case of Telegraph Hill, Brixton and London Fields - Docklands occupying a middle position. London Fields was interestingly split between fathers in the highest SEG and the lowest.

This is further reinforced in terms of the kind of school respondents attended. The percentage attending a private fee paying school in Barnsbury (40.3%) was more than double the next highest (Battersea and London Fields (19.4%) and Docklands (18.8%)). London Fields had the highest proportion of respondents who had been to 'direct grant schools'. Telegraph Hill can be characterised by the proportion (nearly half) who had been to selective grammar schools and Brixton where nearly a third went to non-selective comprehensive schools. Approximately 80% of respondents in Barnsbury attended selective or fee-paying schools and a quarter went on to Oxbridge. The Battersea figures are distorted by the proportion (29.4%) going to 'other' schools, this included being educated abroad but needs further investigation although it is indicative of selective and/or fee paying education. Crudely, it would appear that London Fields was characterised by the greatest degree of upward/downward social mobility whilst the others reflected, to a greater or lesser extent, their respondents' socio-economic origins – albeit in different ways.

4.2 Education

Children, and in particular their schooling, are a major concern to middle-class people living in inner London. This statement despite being a well-worn cliché is nevertheless well founded amongst our respondents with children. Concerns about schooling however merely represent a far greater anxiety about the responsibilities and uncertainties of parenting in a fast-moving society where the running is no longer made by middle-class norms of deferred gratification. We attempt to deal with some of these issues in our paper on 'gentrification and globalization' [attached]. One of our claims in this paper is that concerns about inter-generational social reproduction are at the forefront of decisions about where (and how) to live by those who are operating at the front end of the new global economy. By this we don't just mean the investment bankers, media executives and consultants but also those members of the 'welfare professions' whose role has, to put it gently, been called into question by two decades of neo liberal social policy. Nevertheless, Richard Sennett (*The Corrosion of Character* 1999) argues – inter alia – that many of the most successful denizens of the new economy, whilst decrying the boring stability of their parents' lives, are now recognising the downside in their own lives when it comes to their relations with their children. One of his respondents, chatting at back of the front cabin during a transatlantic crossing, confessed that he feared his children had become 'mall rats'. Tellingly, the kids take their current exalted status for granted and don't appreciate their parents' stellar rise from working class backgrounds. In a recent survey on wealth and inequality, *The Economist* (June 16th 2001) opines

There are more rich people than ever before, including some 7 million millionaires, and over 400 billionaires. From sipping champagne to taking trips into space, they are getting plenty of pleasure – though, as our survey into the new rich in this issue shows, these sad souls have worries, too, not least about the damaging effect their wealth may have on their children.

Whilst most of the subjects of our research would not be classified as the new rich (although some are), the concerns are the same. Fears and concerns about schooling are an incomplete, partial and in many ways misleading way to instance this but they do form part of a recognised discourse which relates to policy and family strategies. In previous work on Hackney (Butler 1997), I discovered that *not a single family* in one of the areas I investigated was educating their children at schools in Hackney. Education is also – at least in its state provided (‘bog standard’) comprehensive guise – one of the major mechanisms for cross class interaction/socialisation. One of our objectives in this research was to investigate the extent to which this was happening in inner London (i.e. what was the relationship between social and spatial distance in gentrified areas?). Education is therefore an important focus and, as the cliché suggests, a major concern for those respondents with school age children and, to a lesser extent, those contemplating parenthood or with pre-school children. Thirty nine percent of households had children living at home; of these thirty nine percent had one child, forty four percent had two whilst seventeen percent had more than two. Child rearing was not equally distributed across the areas

Table 5: Distribution of households with children

Area	Households with children at home %
Tel Hill	63.8
Brixton	36.8
Battersea	41.2
Barnsbury	47.0
London Fields	37.1
Docklands	13.8
Total (n)	100 (159)

It seems unlikely that this distribution is accounted for by age: the mean age was 44.47 and that of Telegraph Hill was the second highest (46.80) behind London Fields (47.12); the standard deviation was very similar between the various areas.

Table 6: Schooling by Area %

	Tel Hill	Brixton	B'sea	B'bury	London Fields	Docks	Total (n)
Pre School	18	11	21	29	30	60	23 (31)
State Primary	23	32	38	18	30		26 (35)
Private Primary	3		4	14		20	5 (7)
Comprehensive	10	21	4		10		8 (11)
Grant Maintained	8	11		4			4 (6)
CTC/Selective	13						5 (4)
Private Secondary	18	16	25	25	20	20	21 (28)
6 th Form college		11		4			2 (3)
University	8		8	7	10		7 (9)
Total (n)	100 (39)	100 (19)	100 (24)	100 (28)	100 (20)	100 (5)	100 (135)

‘Family centredness’ is very much part of the ‘ethos’ of Telegraph Hill and this comes across in many of the interviews. The differences between Telegraph Hill and the other areas notwithstanding, children are an important and often dominating influence over respondents’ households everywhere other than in Docklands. In Brixton and Battersea *all* the children at comprehensive schools were being taught outside the borough, as were half of those in London Fields. Only in Telegraph Hill were they going to school in the borough but, even here, all were ‘out of catchment’. These findings suggest that there are complex patterns of educational choice being constructed by parents in inner London.

This is probably most complicated in Telegraph Hill¹ which has access to a range of state and private sector schools. The primary school which is central to the research area is critical in informing parents of the appropriate routes through secondary education and helping them find their ways through these (see Robson and Butler 2001 - attached). This help not only identifies the appropriate school (CTC/Selective/Private) but also advises them on the selection criteria and on ways to present themselves and their children. The dominant social networks, which were very strong in Telegraph Hill, played a crucial role in parents supporting each other through this selection process. The strategy for choosing a secondary school was a sophisticated one, complete with options and fall-back positions, which was formally at least constructed around the individual child, so that different children in the same family would have individualised and often different strategies. Much was made of the ‘expressive order’ of the school and not just the formal results. This was interesting because the local primary which was so crucial in all of this, did not in fact have particularly impressive results at Key Stage 1 and 2. It was valued precisely because of its educational values and role as a gateway to the secondary sector.

In many ways Telegraph Hill is different. It had considerably the largest proportion of households with children living at home. It also had a very extensive network of secondary schooling that was readily accessible. Locally, there was Haberdashers Aske (a long established school, recently rebranded as a City Technology College). In addition there were high quality private schools in neighbouring Southwark (e.g. Dulwich College, James Albyn’s). Finally, there were also selective secondary state schools such as Sydenham College for Girls. All of these were in relatively easy travelling distance and there was much carpooling by parents of children to and from such schools or more particularly their extra-curricular activities. Private schools form the largest single category for secondary schooling. This is particularly striking given the relatively modest household incomes and the fact that a high proportion of parents were themselves working in the public sector. Many respondents went to considerable lengths to ‘justify’ these decisions to us (although not prompted so to do!). The justifications were usually based around ‘wanting the best for my child’ or pointing to particular learning difficulties or exceptional abilities possessed by the child which could not be met within local state provision.

The proportion of parents in Brixton who sent their children to private school was lower than any other area. However none of the children was currently going to

¹ We discuss this further in our article ‘Plotting the middle classes’ (Robson and Butler 1999). Here we discuss the work of Stephen Ball and others on the ways in which (middle-class) parents map out complex educational strategies which take advantage of the educational market. This has always existed but has been formalised and extended by the 1988 Education Act and the growth of choice in the non-private sector.

secondary school in the borough. Unlike Telegraph Hill, there was not a successful local primary that acted as a gateway and parents felt very much on their own. Paradoxically, they were probably physically nearer to the private schools and some selective state networks used so successfully by the respondents in Telegraph Hill but did not access these. In part at least, we explain this by the lack of a comparable primary school and the much looser social networks built around the school (see again Robson and Butler 2001 for a fuller discussion of this). Interestingly we found that a higher proportion of respondents in Brixton than elsewhere were considering leaving London for the countryside because of the secondary school ‘problem’. The irony being that, in many ways Brixton respondents were more ‘urban’ in their values than those in any other area, but at the same time were least able to deal with the dilemmas presented by secondary schooling. Partly at least this reflects a disinclination or inability to ‘go private’.

Elsewhere, notably Barnsbury and Battersea, the issue of education was resolved by a simple recourse to the market. In London Fields there was a ‘mixed solution’ but this appeared to be implemented with considerable less ‘angst’ than in Telegraph Hill. Parents either sent their children to the local comprehensives and compensated for the educational deficiencies by extra curricular support or sent them to a private school, but this was a private rather than social network decision. In Telegraph Hill there is strong evidence of the role played by social networks in constructing and implementing educational strategies for secondary education in both state and private sectors. In Brixton there are no such strategies with the consequence that parents contemplate leaving London.

4.3 Sociation

A key objective for the research was to investigate how respondents interacted socially; in particular, whether there was evidence that the social distance between gentrifiers and other inhabitants – identified in previous research (Butler 1997, Moore 1992) - was breaking down or at least varied between areas. Was it the case that some forms of gentrification were more ‘benign’ than others and that any displacement was compensated for by some form of ‘halo’ effect. For instance, it was hypothesised that the presence of incoming middle-class residents might lead to environmental enhancements and improvements in local school performance from which all might benefit. The alternative hypotheses were that either the improvements would be of disproportionate benefit to middle-class residents or they would worsen the situation by excluding the non middle-class. We felt that one way to look at inter-class relations would be by investigating patterns of sociation of respondents’ children which might indicate the extent of neighbourhood integration. This proved a complicated issue to untangle, partly because patterns of friendship change with age and partly because of the fact that as the children grew older they tended, as we have seen, to disperse geographically often travelling great distances to their secondary schools. Not surprisingly, the overwhelming percentage of children made their friends through school (87.4%) compared to just under half who made their friends living in the area (46.7%). Clearly there is an interaction effect here, children at primary school tended to have school friends who lived in the area. This was particularly the case in Telegraph Hill where the percentage who were allowed to play and socialise without direct supervision outside the home was the highest (57.1%) which coincided with the highest who reported their children making friends through school (97.1%). In Battersea nearly as many reported school as being the focus for their children’s friendships (94.4%) but the lowest who were allowed to play or socialise

unsupervised in the streets (27.8%). Clearly this is affected by the age of the children concerned but this does not account for the difference. Indeed, our perceptions (supported by respondents) were that Battersea was the ‘safest’ of all six areas yet respondents were most reluctant to allow their children to play outside. We believe that this has to do largely with respondents’ relationship to their area. In Telegraph Hill there were strong social networks based around friendships formed at the primary school gate that carried over into the neighbourhood. There was no evidence that the children played outside these middle-class networks and our fieldwork strongly suggests that the middle-class pre-school clubs were and remain highly exclusionary of non middle-class children. In Telegraph Hill there is a strong overlap between (primary) school and neighbourhood that carries over into secondary schooling. This is not the case elsewhere as indicated in table 7.

Table 7: children’s friendships/socialisation patterns %

	Playing/ socialising outside the home	Friends made through school	Friends made through the locality
Tel Hill	57.1	97.1	75.0
Brixton	33.3	70.6	47.1
Battersea	27.8	94.4	16.7
Barnsbury	45.8	80.0	54.5
London Fields	27.8	84.2	42.1
Docklands ²	50.0	100.0	100.0

We asked about where the children’s best friends lived and we have a lot of detail on this for each child and intend in future to map this by postcode. However at this stage we have only been able to code this crudely. On this basis, Barnsbury is the most local with just over seventy percent of the eldest child’s friends living in the same locality (ie Barnsbury), followed by London Fields (66.7%) and Telegraph Hill (63.6%). The lowest is Brixton at fifty percent – Battersea and Docklands being sixty percent. At first sight, the Barnsbury figure is surprising, given the number of children being educated outside the borough especially at secondary level. On the other hand it confirms the pattern of tight middle-class settlement with many of the children having gone to the same nursery and primary schools and then often to the same private secondary schools elsewhere in North London. The figures for London Fields are more surprising but perhaps point to the sense of ‘people like us’ in what is a much less middle-class area. In Brixton which is the lowest there is little sense of community and a much greater individualism, or what we have termed elsewhere the ‘flight from social obligation’ (Butler and Robson 2001 forthcoming).

Our initial reading of these data are that they point to different forms of middle class exclusiveness and suggest that the middle class tend to sociate with other middle-class people through their children. This works out differently in different areas but

² There were very small numbers here, so the figures should be treated with great caution.

schooling appears to be the crucial determinant of where the best friends are³. However there is no evidence from our research that there is any significant cross class friendships.

This is borne out by our investigation of the friendship and leisure patterns of respondents; we asked a series of questions about where their three best friends lived and also about the context in which they met those friends. The data still require further analysis but preliminary analysis suggests that the locality is important. With the exception of Docklands and - to a lesser extent - Battersea, at least forty percent of respondents claimed that her/his best friend lived in the same borough. In Barnsbury over forty percent of those best friends lived in the locality (i.e. the area understood as Barnsbury). Even in Docklands and Battersea just under a quarter (23%) had their best friend in the same locality. The figures are given in table 8.

*Table 8: Where does Friend live now * Six Research Areas Crosstabulation %*

	Tel Hill	Brixton	Battersea	Barnsbury	London Fields	Docklands	Total (n)
Same locality	34.8	35.8	24.3	42.3	23.5	24.6	31.0 (126)
Same borough	7.2	9.0	14.3	14.1	20.6	4.9	11.8 (48)
Same quarter of London	30.4	35.8	24.3	22.5	22.1	16.4	25.4 (103)
Elsewhere in London	21.7	11.9	21.4	11.3	22.1	34.4	20.2 (82)
Elsewhere in the UK	5.8	7.5	14.3	8.5	10.3	19.7	10.8 (44)
Abroad			1.4	1.4	1.5		0.7 (3)
Total (n)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (67)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (71)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (61)	100.0 (406)

Respondents were asked to describe the context in which they had got to know their best friend. Again the responses have only been crudely coded so far and are displayed in table 9:

*Table 9: Origin of friendship * Six Research Areas Crosstabulation %*

	Tel Hill	Brixton	Battersea	Barnsbury	London Fields	Docklands	Total (n)
Family, school or university	20.0	20.0	36.2	27.1	25.4	23.3	25.4 (102)
Work	27.1	27.7	24.6	24.3	22.4	33.3	26.4 (106)
Through the locality	24.3	16.9	11.6	12.9	16.4	15.0	16.2 (66)
Through the children	10.0		8.7	10.0	7.5	1.7	6.5 (26)
Other	18.6	35.4	18.8	25.7	28.4	25.0	25.2 (101)
Total (n)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (67)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (401)

³ A very similar point was made in Nick Davies' series of articles about Education in Sheffield in the *Guardian* in November 1999: middle class kids tend to stick together in non selective schools.

These findings demonstrate a number of things. Firstly, clearly there are a range of situations in which people form friendships, particularly arising out of situations that might be described as depending on ‘elective affinity’ – hobbies, interests, beliefs such as politics, religion etc. These constitute the ‘other’ category. Secondly, work is an important factor for most respondents, in all areas approximately one in four had met their best friend through work. When we examine all three friends, normally at least one of them was initially met through work. Perhaps not surprisingly, it was highest in Docklands given that many people live there simply as a work-based pied-à-terre. However, it is the salience of long-standing friendships based around university, school and family of origin that is striking. In between twenty (Brixton and Telegraph Hill) and thirty six percent of cases (Battersea) the respondent’s best friend originated from when they were living at home or during university. It is also striking that so many of these friends lived in the same area of London or inner London more generally. This reinforces the understanding of gentrification as being based around networks of university graduates who do not leave London. Neighbourhood and the children’s parents were significant but not important sources of friendship – although if non-child households is controlled for, the latter does become more significant.

We also investigated the nature of respondents’ non-work associations and leisure time activities. Respondents were not large users of local authority provided services; just over a quarter (26.5%) used their local library and a third (32%) sports centres although nearly two-thirds (64%) used (and valued) their local park. Eighty percent had never been anywhere near a local community centre! In terms of how they spent their leisure time, sixty percent claimed to do some kind of keep fit or sporting activity. Table 10 indicates the proportion engaging in mainstream cultural and leisure activities:

Table 10: Leisure

Activity	% engaging at least monthly	Location
Cinema	62	Mainly local
Theatre	28	Central
Art Galleries	46	Central
Musical Events	31	Central
Pub	58	Central/local
Winebar	44	Central/local
Clubs	11	Central

There are interesting area variations in these figures, which are broadly in line with the trends already identified. Generally speaking, Telegraph Hill respondents are more home centred and less likely to go out. For instance 88% of those in Brixton went to the cinema once a month compared to 47% in Telegraph Hill; 47.2% in Barnsbury went to the theatre compared to 18.6% in Telegraph Hill. Nearly sixty percent of respondents in Barnsbury and London Fields went to galleries/exhibitions at least once a month, with the lowest here being Docklands (35.5%). On the other hand Docklands respondents were most likely to go to a musical event (39.3%), with the lowest again in Telegraph Hill (25.7%). When it came to drinking and going out to

clubs, the highest proportions were in Docklands and (for clubs) Brixton and the lowest in Telegraph Hill. This corresponds to the idea of those in Docklands having few family responsibilities and often being there during the week with little else to do whilst those in Telegraph Hill had a large commitment to home and family.

Eighty percent of all respondents 'went out' at least once a week for some leisure/cultural activity and forty percent ate out in a restaurant at least once a week. By comparison, sixteen percent invited others to their home for a meal once a week, although this rose to seventy percent once a month. When asked about how frequently they went out during the week for leisure purposes over a third of those in Telegraph Hill replied 'less than once a week', whilst a similar proportion in London Fields and Battersea (and in the case of Docklands 39.0%) replied 'more than twice'. A third of those in Telegraph Hill ate out rarely whilst the same proportion in Docklands and Battersea ate out more than twice a week. In terms of inviting friends for a meal, this was least frequent in Docklands and Battersea and most frequent in Barnsbury and Brixton. Those in Barnsbury and Battersea were most likely to see a family member once a week – over half of all respondents, whilst in other areas the same proportion answered less than once a month. These findings are complex but suggest that those in Telegraph Hill were very much focused around the immediate family and household, whilst those in Battersea were most focused on the extended family and hedonism. There appeared to be some similarities between Barnsbury and London Fields in a commitment to 'high culture'.

Fifteen percent were active in some form of school association (Battersea 25% elsewhere about 10% except for London Fields 6%), nine percent in an amenity association (Telegraph Hill 16.2%; London Fields 13.8% and 1.6% in Brixton) and fifteen percent in a neighbourhood association (Barnsbury 30.8%; Docklands 22.4% and Battersea 4.7%).

Finally we asked people a set of questions about their leisure time activities and other non-work time associations. These responses are given in tables 14 and 15. The categorisations are crude in both - particularly table 15. In order to test for any significance the categories would have to be recoded. Nevertheless, there are some interesting indications that support the initial hypothesis drawn from Savage et al (1992). The role played by sport in Battersea and Docklands fits with the notion of 'corporates' outlined by Savage. The proportion of 'hedonists' in Brixton is compatible with the area's promotion as the centre of a new 'hedonism' in London. The focus on cultural activities in Barnsbury is compatible with the high scoring aspects of cultural capital associated with the 'new professionals' but also a relatively high score is placed on sport which again fits with the Savage 'model'. The high proportion of domestic activity in Telegraph Hill is also compatible with the sense of home-centredness already identified. Once again, London Fields perhaps remains the most enigmatic, and is perhaps illustrative of its mixed social class background. The data need more work because these categorisations are only based on the major leisure time activity mentioned. Nevertheless they underscore an emerging typology of difference which we discuss in our conclusions below.

*Table 11: Respondent Leisure Category * Six Research Areas Crosstabulation*

	Tel Hill	Brixton	Battersea	Barnsbury	London Fields	Docklands	Total (n)
Sport/outdoor activity	14.5	14.5	29.0	20.8	10.3	28.6	19.5 (80)
Cultural	33.3	43.5	30.4	45.8	23.5	33.3	35.1 (144)
Domestic	24.6	11.6	11.6	2.8	13.2	7.9	12.0 (49)
Hedonistic	13.0	20.3	11.6	9.7	16.2	12.7	13.9 (57)
Other	2.9	2.9	2.9	4.2		6.3	3.2 (13)
Combination of above	11.6	7.2	14.5	16.7	36.8	11.1	16.3 (67)
Total (n)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (410)

*Table 12: Non work association memberships*Six Research Areas*

	Tel Hill	Brixton	Battersea	Barnsbury	London Fields	Docklands	Total (n)
Do Good Charity		3.7	8.0	2.0		8.6	3.8 (9)
Activist Charity	21.1	14.8	10.0	8.0	19.4	2.9	12.3 (29)
Conservation Charity	13.2	7.4	4.0	4.0	5.6		5.5 (13)
Active Culture	5.3		6.0	8.0	16.7	8.6	7.6 (18)
Passive Culture	7.9	22.2	10.0		2.8	2.9	6.8 (16)
'Friends of		7.4	4.0	10.0	11.1	2.9	5.9 (14)
Active Leisure	13.2	3.7	12.0	10.0	8.3	2.9	8.9 (21)
Passive Leisure	2.6		4.0	2.0	2.8		2.1 (5)
Sport	5.3	11.1	24.0	16.0	13.9	40.0	18.6 (44)
Religion	5.3	7.4	8.0	12.0	8.3	8.6	8.5 (20)
Social Club			4.0	6.0		5.7	3.0 (7)
Political	5.3	7.4		2.0	2.8	2.9	3.0 (7)
Hobbies	2.6	11.1		10.0	2.8	5.7	5.1 (12)
Amenity	13.2	3.7	4.0	8.0	2.8	2.9	5.9 (14)
Other	5.3		2.0	2.0	2.8	5.7	3.0 (7)
Total (n)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (50)	100.0 (50)	100.0 (36)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (236)

The categorisation tentatively used here for non-work association membership is extremely crude and will need considerable refinement. Nevertheless it highlights a number of traits which are largely compatible with those identified above in relationship to leisure time activities. The focus on 'activist charity' in Telegraph Hill, Brixton and London Fields is indicative of the conscience driven, ascetic, welfare professional approach adopted by Savage et al (1992). Activist charity refers to organizations such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, Amnesty and Shelter that mix conscience and a degree of activism. Passive culture refers, for example, to reading and listening to music whereas active culture is making music, going out to the theatre

etc. Brixton, Barnsbury, London Fields and to a lesser extent Battersea are salient here. The role played by sport in Battersea and Docklands has already been commented on. The diversity of interests in London Fields is once again notable, they are involved in a surprising range of activities. The importance of religion, particularly in Barnsbury, was surprising.

Overall, 13.2% belonged to a political party, but this hid wide variation from thirty percent in Barnsbury to fewer than five percent in Docklands with the remainder around ten percent. Two thirds belonged to the Labour party, only in Battersea did this fall to fifty percent. Just over half claimed that, if there were to be a general election the next day, they would vote for the Labour party; this rose to nearly seventy percent in London Fields and Brixton and fell to twenty percent in Docklands. Overall, the Conservatives were supported by 9.6%, rising to fifteen percent in Battersea and approximately a quarter in Docklands; they came in fourth behind 'other' parties (19%) and the Liberal Democrats (13.7%). Nearly forty percent read the *Guardian* regularly followed by the *Times* (13%).

Conclusions

Three of the areas in our study (Battersea, Barnsbury and Brixton) are not simply inner city areas that have been improved through gentrification but rather, in their different ways, have become key nodal points on the new map of the global metropolis. They function in different ways, and present different aspects of the impact of globalization on urban space. All – with the exception of Battersea – abut sharply on to very different areas still far more rooted in 'local' economies of social exclusion. Battersea and Barnsbury are recognised stopping points for the international service class diaspora. They are however different in that Battersea is a place that is constructed according to, and run by, the market whereas Barnsbury still has a strong social capital cachet (Butler and Robson forthcoming - attached). Life in Barnsbury has become problematised by its 'success', whereas Battersea and Brixton could be considered as successes in their own terms - in terms of relations between individual and place. Nevertheless Barnsbury has a social capital-rich discourse which is becoming more difficult to fulfil in the new circumstances, and longer-standing middle-class residents are becoming increasingly alienated by the commodification of their area. Battersea is something different. It caters for a more homogeneous social group, but these are, in the main, key personnel in the London economy. Like Barnsbury, it is a place that has changed largely in recent years as a consequence of the deregulation of the City and London's recent success. The servicers of the global node must themselves be serviced - whether by a night-time leisure economy or by a safe and bounded residential area with access to a strong circuit of schooling in which to raise their children. It is part of the logic of London's renaissance that areas such as this had to be brought into existence.

Brixton is another place again. The market has been at work here too, but the area has been connected to globalization in significantly different ways, and remains somehow 'local'. Brixton is now a very particular kind of nodal point, attracting the newer migrants from all over, as people increasingly go on the move. So Brixton is a little more slippery than the others, but nevertheless a genuinely 'global' phenomenon for different reasons. It has a chaotic vibrancy and unpredictable immediacy of its own. It is one in which the middle classes play their part in the uncertain, unpredictable but socially necessary experiment of coming to terms with the kinds of novel social structures and interactions being thrown up by globalisation processes. Brixton is one

of the key places in which we can glimpse what this might actually mean in an area which is not merely an 'underclass' ghetto. Might therefore Brixton be seen as a model for the future? There is in Brixton a dialectic which recognises and draws the local excluded into a 'Brixton of the mind', but which insists on the middle-class right to belonging and identification. We describe the social structure of Brixton as 'tectonic' – like the plates under the earth, for the most part they rub across each other and in so doing dissipate the potential energy of social conflict. The potential of an earthquake remains but in the meantime social exclusion and displacement are managed in ways which are not so apparent in more obviously gentrified areas. The costs, but also the benefits, of gentrification appear higher in Brixton.

By contrast in Telegraph Hill there is no 'New Cross of the mind'⁴; rather a middle-class enclave is made distinctive by juxtaposition with what is around it. This appears to make it no less successful an experiment, in its own terms, in enclave building in an urban jungle. Unlike the other non docklands areas or London Fields, there is no cultural or consumption infrastructure – only a Sainsbury's supermarket on the periphery of the research area. It as if the 'hillers' have pulled up the drawbridge from the city around them – both the socially excluded of the immediate area and the glitzy aspects of London as a global centre. They are, as it were, in the city but not of the city. There are elaborate social networks mainly constructed around maximising advantage for their children through the construction of complex educational strategies that operate both in the public and private sectors. This is a group that perceives itself as being under threat from neo-liberalism and has responded by a degree of autarchy. We argue elsewhere that social capital is crucial in Telegraph Hill in compensating for relative disadvantage (Robson and Butler 2001 [attached] and Butler and Robson 2001 forthcoming).

London Fields, at face value, is socially the most similar to Telegraph Hill, but is very different. There is no drawbridge and no huddling together as middle-class insiders. There is a sense of a 'Hackney of the mind' but (compared to Brixton) this is a somewhat nostalgic and backward looking reference to a past *working class* identification which is in contrast to respondents' present circumstances although not necessarily their biographical antecedents. This area is, in many ways, the most enigmatic of the ones which we studied. Like Telegraph Hill it is an enclave lacking in a cultural and commercial infrastructure (although there is a growing artistic one) but unlike Telegraph Hill it is not in denial of its surrounding area. Being in Hackney is important – many residents claimed that they did not wish to move to more established areas even though they could afford to. For example, more than one respondent claimed they did not want to follow the 'Blair route' from London Fields to Barnsbury, precisely because they did not wish to make that kind of statement about themselves and have to engage with 'those kind of people'. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that they are much more 'private' than residents in other areas.

Finally, our Docklands areas are completely different again. The majority of respondents lived in Docklands simply because it provided them with the kind of 'stripped down' and convenient urban living which made minimum demands on them. This was utterly compatible with the distinctions drawn by Warde (1991) between

⁴ Telegraph Hill is located in a highly deprived area of South East London near to New Cross which is essentially a run down ex white working class ghetto that has attracted many migrants and refugees from global conflicts in recent years.

gentrification by collective action and that by capital. For the majority of Docklands respondents what mattered was convenience to work, minimum maintenance and low social obligation.

In relation to our original objectives therefore we found considerable variation between the various areas in which we undertook our research. Broadly we found that people tended to live in areas with people of similar background and outlook. There was broad support for Savage's (1992) division between 'ascetics' and 'corporates' although these distinctions were perhaps more spatially nuanced than Savage allows for. There was little evidence of a 'post modern' group, even in Brixton. At the same time there was little evidence of high degrees of interaction between our respondents (and importantly their children) and other social groups. By and large respondents interacted with people like themselves and many of their closest friends lived in the locality and were often friends from childhood or university. With the exception their children's education and their immediate neighbourhoods, very few respondents were directly involved in the civic life of their wider communities. There appears to be little evidence that the middle classes have taken on some of the responsibilities for inner London communities: very few were magistrates, councillors or otherwise active in their local communities for the benefit of other social groups.

5. Activities

We fully participated in the activities of the programme, attending programme meetings. In particular, I presented initial findings at the briefings arranged with DETR as part of the preparation for the Urban White Paper. Garry Robson and I participated in joint event in Glasgow in November 1999 between Wayne State University and the Cities Programme on neighbourhoods. In June 2000 I attended the neighbourhoods symposium organised in Liverpool and in June 2001 took part in the media training course organised for the programme by the ESRC. I also presented work from the project at seminars at the Universities of York (1998) and Uppsala (2000), Kings College London (1999) and the 'Cities in the Year 2000' conference (1999). Papers were presented at the annual conferences of the Urban Affairs Association (Los Angeles 2000 and Detroit 2001), the American Association of Geographers (2001), the Institute of British Geographers (2001) and the British Sociological Association (2001). I was an invited speaker to the 'Cultural Change and Urban Contexts: Lifestyles, Leisure and Consumption' held in Manchester in September 2001 and to an urban geography study group of the Institute of British Geographers also in September 2001.

The advisory group which was chaired by Professor Drew Stevenson (UEL and GLA) was an extremely useful sounding board for the project. Its members included Professors Sophie Watson (UEL), Chris Hamnett (Kings College), Dr Les Back (Goldsmiths), Martyn Simmonds (LPAC and GLA) and David Albury (Office for Public Management).

6. Outputs

Robson G and T Butler 'Plotting the Middle Classes' in preparation for *Housing Studies* draft version available from www.uel.ac.uk/cities

Robson G and T Butler (2001) 'Coming to terms with London: middle class communities in a global city' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25(1) 70-86. (attached)

Butler T and Robson G (2001 forthcoming) 'Social Capital, Gentrification and Neighbourhood Change in London: a comparison of three South London neighbourhoods' *Urban Studies*

Butler T and Robson G 'Middle-class households and the remaking of urban neighbourhoods in London' submitted to *Urban Studies* for a forthcoming special issue (attached)

Butler T and Robson G (forthcoming 2002) *Thinking global, acting local: the middling classes and the remaking of inner London* contract from Berg

There will also probably be two chapters one each in the programme books to be published by Palgrave and the Policy Press.

7. Impacts

Apart from the academic dissemination and the policy seminars referred to above interest has been expressed by a councillor in Brixton. The presentation at the British Sociological Association conference attracted wide interest from a range of senior academics. I am committed to sending an abstract of the findings to the respondents and this will go out during the late summer. Given the nature of the respondents this may feed back into a number of policy and media arenas.

8. Future Research Priorities

The immediate task is to complete the data analysis, disseminate the findings to respondents, to complete the book manuscript and work up the 'plotting the middle classes' article which links housing and education markets. I am very keen to develop this aspect of the research but am at present puzzling over how to develop a methodology which allows me to identify middle class people who have abandoned London for the sake of their children's education.

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Social Change in London

Respondent code

.....

1. Type of building respondent is resident in:

- a Terrace house ☐ 1
- b Semi detached house ☐ 2
- c Detached House ☐ 3
- d Purpose built flat ☐ 4
- e Converted Flat ☐ 5
- f Maisonette ☐ 6
- g Other ☐ 7

2. Respondent's sex:

- Male ☐ 1
- Female ☐ 2

3. Are you are the owner or joint owner of this house/flat, or is there another owner ?

- a Sole owner ☐ 1
- b Joint owner ☐ 2
- c Tenant of owner ☐ 3
- d Partner/spouse of owner ☐ 4
- e Other ☐ 5
- f Tenant ☐ 6
- g Don't know ☐ 7

Background

4. Where were you brought up ?

- a London ☐ 01
- b Home Counties ☐ 02
- c Elsewhere in the South and East ☐ 03
- d The Midlands ☐ 04
- e The North ☐ 05
- f Wales ☐ 06
- g Scotland ☐ 07
- h Ireland ☐ 08
- i 'New Commonwealth & Pakistan' ☐ 09
- j Other Commonwealth ☐ 10
- k EU ☐ 11
- l Elsewhere in Europe (specify)..... ☐ 12
- m Elsewhere (specify)..... ☐ 13

5. Do members of your family still live there ?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

6. What is/was your father's job (or his most recent job) ?

.....
.....

- a) Higher professional/Senior managerial ☐ 1
- b) Associate professional/Junior managerial ☐ 2
- c) Other administrative and Clerical ☐ 3
- d) Own account non-professional ☐ 4
- e) Supervisors, technical and related ☐ 5
- f) Intermediate ☐ 6
- g) Other ☐ 7
- h) Never worked/other inactive ☐ 8

7. Would you describe this, broadly, as:

- a Professional ☐ 1
- b Managerial ☐ 2
- c Self-employed ☐ 3
- d Other (specify skilled, semi-skilled etc.) ☐ 4

8. In which sphere was/is his employment?

- a Public ☐ 1
- b Private ☐ 2
- c Voluntary ☐ 3
- d Self employed ☐ 4

9. What, to your knowledge, was your father's highest educational/professional qualification?

- a 'O' Levels ☐ 1
- b 'A' Levels ☐ 2
- c Degree ☐ 3
- d Higher Degree ☐ 4
- e Other (specify)..... ☐ 5
- f Professional qualification (specify)..... ☐ 6

10. Did your mother work during any of the time you were at school ?

- a Full time ☐ 1
- b Part time ☐ 2
- c Not gainfully employed ☐ 3

11. Does she work now ?

- a Full time ☐ 1
- b Part time ☐ 2
- c Not gainfully employed ☐ 3

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

IF MOTHER NEVER WORKED GO TO QUESTION 15; OTHERWISE ASK:

12. What is/was your mother's job (or her most recent job)?

-
- a) Higher professional/Senior managerial ☐ 1
- b) Associate professional/Junior managerial ☐ 2
- c) Other administrative and Clerical ☐ 3
- d) Own account non-professional ☐ 4
- e) Supervisors, technical and related ☐ 5
- f) Intermediate ☐ 6
- g) Other ☐ 7
- h) Never worked/other inactive ☐ 8

13. Would you describe this, broadly, as:

- a Professional ☐ 1
- b Managerial ☐ 2
- c Self-employed ☐ 3
- d Other (specify) ☐ 4

14. In which sphere was/is this employment?

- a Public ☐ 1
- b Private ☐ 2
- c Voluntary ☐ 3
- d Self employed ☐ 4

15. What, to your knowledge, was your mother's highest educational/professional qualification?

- a 'O' Levels ☐ 1
- b 'A' Levels ☐ 2
- c Degree ☐ 3
- d Higher Degree ☐ 4
- e Other (specify)..... ☐ 5
- f Professional qualification (specify)..... ☐ 6

16. Did your parents own their house when you lived at home?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

IF YES GO TO QUESTION 18; OTHERWISE ASK:

17. Have they (or one of other of them) subsequently bought their own house?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

Education

18. What type of secondary school did you go to ? (If more than one ask for last attended)

- a Comprehensive ☐ 1
- b Grammar ☐ 2
- c Secondary Modern ☐ 3
- d Public ☐ 4
- e Direct Grant ☐ 5
- f Other ☐ 6

19. At what age did you leave ?

- 15/16 ☐ 1
- 17/18 ☐ 2
- Don't Know ☐ 3

20. With what qualifications did you leave ? (Enter highest gained)

- a None ☐ 1
- b GCSE/O Levels ☐ 2
- c A Levels ☐ 3
- d Other (e.g. Scottish) ☐ 4

21. Did you continue on to Higher Education ?

- Yes, at.....years of age ☐ 1
Enter Age
- No ☐ 4

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 26 OTHERWISE ASK:

22. To which institution did you go for your Higher Education?

-
- a Oxbridge ☐ 01
 - b Redbrick ☐ 02
 - c Plateglass ☐ 03
 - d Polytechnic ☐ 04
 - e University of London (any institution) ☐ 05
 - f College of Higher Education ☐ 06
 - g Teacher Training College ☐ 07
 - h Nursing training ☐ 08
 - i Other ☐ 09

23. What did you study ?

- a Arts & Humanities ☐ 1
- b Social Science ☐ 2
- c Science, Technology & Engineering ☐ 3
- d Business Studies ☐ 4
- e Law or Accountancy ☐ 5
- f Education ☐ 6
- g Medicine/Health ☐ 7
- h Other ☐ 8

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

24. Did you go on to gain a post graduate qualification ?

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 26; IF YES ASK:

25. What qualification did you gain ?

- a MA/MSc/MPhil/Postgraduate diploma ☐ 1
b PhD ☐ 2
c Professional Qualification (e.g. Law) ☐ 3
d Other ☐ 4

26. Do you have any other post school qualifications and, if so, what are they ?

- a ONC ☐ 1
b HND ☐ 2
c City & Guilds ☐ 3
d Other Diploma/Certificate ☐ 4
e Other (specify)..... ☐ 5
f No ☐ 6

Housing and housing career

27. How long have you lived here ?

- a Less than a year ☐ 1
b to 3 years ☐ 2
c to 5 years ☐ 3
d to 10 years ☐ 4
e to 15 years ☐ 5
f to 20 years ☐ 6
g More than 20 years ☐ 7

28. Do you share this flat/house with anyone else, if so whom ?

- a Husband/Wife ☐ 1
b Partner (other sex) ☐ 2
c Partner (same sex) ☐ 3
d Others (e.g. collective, lodger, tenant - specify)..... ☐ 4
e No ☐ 5

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 31 OTHERWISE ASK:

29. Is this the first house that you have both had together ?

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 31; IF YES ASK:

30. Did either of you own a flat or house before ?

- a Both ☐ 1
b Self ☐ 2
c Partner ☐ 3
d Neither ☐ 4

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

IF YES GO TO QUESTION 32; IF NO ASK:

31. What was your previous form of housing tenure ?

- a Owner Occupation ☐ 1
- b Council Rented ☐ 2
- c Housing Association ☐ 3
- d Housing Co-op ☐ 4
- e Private Rented ☐ 5
- f Living with Family ☐ 6
- g Living with Friends ☐ 7

32. How long did you live at your previous residence ?

- a Less than a year ☐ 1
- b Between 1 and 3 years ☐ 2
- c Between 3 and 5 years ☐ 3
- d More than 5 years ☐ 4

33. Where was your previous residence ?

- a Same area ☐ 1
- b Central London ☐ 2
- c Inner London ☐ 3
- d Outer London ☐ 4
- e South east England ☐ 5
- f Elsewhere ☐ 6

34. Could you tell me briefly the main reasons why you moved from your previous residence ?
(please tick all which apply)

- | | Very
Imp | Quite
Imp | Not
Imp |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a Wanted to own your own home | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| b Wanted to get on the housing ladder | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| c Wanted bigger property | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d Wanted to be nearer job | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| e Wanted to trade up | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| f Wanted a garden | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| g Moved because of change in job | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| h Moved because job location changed | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| i Change in financial circumstances | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| j Change in household circumstances | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| k Other (specify)..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

35. Has the membership of your household changed from your previous residence?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 37 IF YES ASK:

36. How have your circumstances changed

- a Married/living with a partner ☐ 1
- b Divorced/separated from partner ☐ 2
- c Changed partner ☐ 3
- d Children born ☐ 4
- e Children left home ☐ 5
- f Moved from friends/family home ☐ 6
- g Other (specify) ☐ 7

37. When you began looking for somewhere to buy, did you:

- a First work out the maximum price that you could afford, then look at different areas ? ☐ 1
- b First decide you wanted to live in this area, then look within your price range ? ☐ 2
- c Other..... ☐ 3

38. What, in the end, made you decide to buy in this particular area ? (*please tick all which apply*).....

- | | Very
Imp | Quite
Imp | Not
Imp |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a The price ? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| b Liked the street? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| c Journey to work? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d Social mix ? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| e Friends in area? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| f Liked the area? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| g Liked the house? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| h Garden? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| i Schools? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

39. What alternative areas did you consider, if any ? (*please tick all which apply*)

- | | Yes | No |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a Elsewhere in borough | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b Camden | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Greenwich | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d Hackney | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e Islington | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f Kensington and Chelsea | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g Lambeth | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| h Lambeth | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| i Lewisham | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| j Newham | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| k Southwark | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| l Tower Hamlets | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| m Wandsworth | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| n Elsewhere in Inner London | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| o Elsewhere in Outer London | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

40. Did you consider buying outside London?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 42 OTHERWISE ASK:

41. What decided you on London in the end ?

a London's social and cultural attractions

Very
Imp

Quite
Imp

Not
Imp

b Disinclination to commute

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

c Social ties in London

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

d Job ties in London for both/either partners

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

e Other

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

42. In deciding to buy where you did, how important a consideration was the likely increase in capital value of the property ?

a Very important

☐ 1

b Quite important

☐ 2

c Not important

☐ 3

43. Would you mind telling me how much you paid for the property?

£.....

Enter 3 digits

44. What amount of mortgage did you get ?

£.....

Enter 3 digits

45. How did you finance the balance? (tick all that apply)

a Previous property

Yes

No

b Savings

☐ 1

☐ 2

c Loan

☐ 1

☐ 2

d Interest free loan

☐ 1

☐ 2

e Parental/family gift

☐ 1

☐ 2

f mortgage

☐ 1

☐ 2

g Other

☐ 1

☐ 2

46. What do you reckon the house/flat to be worth now ?

£.....

Enter 3 digits

47. Have you carried out any improvements

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

48. How much do you estimate you have spent on improving the property ?

£.....

Enter 3 digits

49. Was any of this gifted by parents/family?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

50. In carrying out repairs and improvements what were your major considerations ?

(please tick all which apply)

- | | Yes | No |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a Adding to the capital value ? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b Fulfilling mortgage requirements ? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Maintaining the integrity of the structure | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d Providing more living space ? | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e Reorganising living space | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f Change in the household e.g. arrival of children | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

Household tasks and employees

51. Do you have any children in the household?

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No children | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| How many children? | Enter number |

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 54, OTHERWISE PLEASE ANSWER THE NEXT QUESTION

52. Do you have anybody to help you with child care?

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

IF NO GO TO THE QUESTION 54, OTHERWISE ASK

53. What kind of child care do you employ?

- | | Yes | No |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a Nanny | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b Childminder | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Nursery | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d Private Nursery | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e Au Pair | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f Relative | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g Rota amongst friends etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| h Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

54. Do you have anybody to help you in and around the house - apart from child care?

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 58, OTHERWISE ASK

55. How many people do you employ?..... Enter one digit

56. Approximately what do they receive per hour? £ : p per hour Enter four digits

57. For what kinds of task is/are the person(s) employed?

(please tick all which apply)

- | | Yes | No |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a Cleaning | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b Gardening | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Shopping | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d Walking the dog | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e Ironing | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f Cooking | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g Other (please state) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

58. Have you employed, on more than one occasion, employed the services of the same tradesperson?
(please tick all which apply)

	Yes	No
a Builder	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b Decorator	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c Plumber	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d Electrician	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e Other equivalent tradesperson (specify).....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

IF YOU ANSWERED NO TO ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS THEN GO TO 62 OTHERWISE ASK

59. If yes, did you come into contact with each via advertising? *Circle appropriate responses*

	Local paper		Yellow pages		Local ad		Other	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Builder	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Decorator	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Plumber	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Electrician	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Other	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

60. Or by word of mouth? *Circle appropriate responses*

	From other tradesmen		From other householders	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Builder	1	2	3	4
Painter and decorator	1	2	3	4
Plumber	1	2	3	4
Electrician	1	2	3	4
Other	1	2	3	4

61. Do you know, roughly, where any of the above live? (please tick all which apply)

	Yes	No
a Builder	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b Painter and decorator	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c Plumber	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d Electrician	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f Interior designer (if appropriate)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

62. Have you employed an interior designer/decorator

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

Children (if none then skip to end of next section and ask question 76)

63. How do you organize childcare between yourselves ?

a Share fairly evenly	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
b Male predominantly	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c Female predominantly	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

64. What educational institutions is your child/are your children currently attending?

	Child One	Child Two	Child Three	Child Four	Child Five	
Pre-school	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Child 1
State primary	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Child 2
State LEA maintained	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Child 3
State grant maintained	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	Child 4
State selective/CTC	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	Child 5
Private secondary	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	
Sixth form college	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	
University	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	

65. What arrangements, if any, do you make for looking after your children after school and during the holidays? *(please tick all which apply)*

	Yes	No
a Parent(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b Relative	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c Nanny	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d Childminder	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e After school club	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f Local authority nursery	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g Private nursery	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
h Mix of the above	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

66. Are any of your children being schooled outside the borough?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 68 OTHERWISE ::

67. Why are they not being schooled in the borough?

	Yes	No
a Lived elsewhere previously	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b General dissatisfaction with state provision	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c Prefer private education	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d Dissatisfaction with borough schools	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e More suitable school elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f Marital break up	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g Other (please state)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

68. Have you ever considered moving out of the borough for the sake of your children's education?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
No	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Do not know or cannot remember	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

IF ALL CHILDREN ARE ALREADY IN SECONDARY SCHOOL, GO TO QUESTION 70, OTHERWISE ASK:

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

69. Thinking about the options for secondary education, which is your currently preferred one?
- a State school in borough ☐ 1
 - b State school elsewhere ☐ 2
 - c Selective state school in borough ☐ 3
 - d Selective state school elsewhere ☐ 4
 - e Private ☐ 5
 - f Don't Know ☐ 6
 - g Other ☐ 7
70. Do you intend for your children to go on to university?
- Yes ☐ 1
 - No ☐ 2
 - Don't know ☐ 3
 - Up to them ☐ 4
71. Do you currently pay for your child(ren) to receive extra private (curricular) tuition?
- Yes ☐ 1
 - No ☐ 2
72. Do you pay for your children participate in any organised extra-curricular activity?
- Yes ☐ 1
 - No ☐ 2
- 73.. If yes, is it in the sphere of: *(please tick all which apply)*
- | | Yes | No |
|------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Drama/Dance | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Music | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Other 'artistic' | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Sport (specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
74. Which of the following school sports do you most approve or disapprove of your child(ren) doing?
Please circle the appropriate response: 1=Strongly approve, 2=approve, 3=neutral, 4=disapprove, 5=strongly disapprove
- a Competitive team (e.g. football, netball) 1 2 3 4 5
 - b Non-competitive team (e.g. co-operative games) 1 2 3 4 5
 - c Competitive individual (e.g. athletics, tennis) 1 2 3 4 5
 - d Non-competitive individual (e.g. gymnastics, movement) 1 2 3 4 5
75. Do/did your children play/socialise unsupervised outside the home (e.g. in 'the street')?
- Yes ☐ 1
 - No ☐ 2
76. Would you say that the majority of your children's friends with whom they have out-of-school contact are made through *(please tick all which apply)*
- | | Yes | No |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a School | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b Extra-curricular activity | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c The locality | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

77. Where do your children's three best/most seen friends live?

Child one

Friend 1.....

Friend 2.....

Friend 3.....

Child two

Friend 1.....

Friend 2.....

Friend 3.....

Child three

Friend 1.....

Friend 2.....

Friend 3.....

Child four

Friend 1.....

Friend 2.....

Friend 3.....

78. How involved, would you say, your children were in decisions concerning the decoration/furnishing of their room?

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
Fully involved/consulted	1	1	1	1
Quite involved/consulted	2	2	2	2
Barely involved/consulted	3	3	3	3
Notionally involved/consulted	4	4	4	4
Uninvolved	5	5	5	5
Too young	6	6	6	6

Child 1

Child 2

Child 3

Child 4

Personal (political) identifications

79. Do you belong to any political party?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

IF YES ANSWER QUESTION 80 OTHERWISE GO TO 81...

80. To which party do you belong?

a Conservative

☐ 1

b Labour

☐ 2

c Liberal Democrat

☐ 3

d Other (specify)

☐ 4

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

81. If there were a general election tomorrow which party would you vote for ?

- Labour ☐ 1
- Conservative ☐ 2
- Liberal Democrats ☐ 3
- Other ☐ 4

82. Did the way you voted at the general election represent a change from the way you voted previously?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 84; IF YES ASK:

83. Which direction did you change your vote ?

- Alliance to Conservative ☐ 1
- Alliance to Labour ☐ 2
- Conservative to Alliance ☐ 3
- Conservative to Labour ☐ 4
- Labour to Alliance ☐ 5
- Labour to Conservative ☐ 6
- Other (note) ☐ 7

84. Would you vote for a different party at a local election ?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2
- Don't Know ☐ 3

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 86 ; IF YES ASK:

85. Which party would you vote for in a local election ?

- Labour ☐ 1
- Conservative ☐ 2
- Liberal Democrats ☐ 3
- Green ☐ 4
- Other ☐ 5

86. Please indicate which of the following locally provided services you make use of :

	Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely.	Never	Regularly elsewhere.
Libraries	1	2	3	4	5
Sports and leisure centres	1	2	3	4	5
Parks	1	2	3	4	5
Community centres	1	2	3	4	5
Other (specify)	1	2	3	4	5

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

87. In what order would you prioritize the following services? *Circle each choice to give a rank order of services from 1 to 5 where 1 = Extremely Important, 2 = Quite Important, 3 = Important, 4 = Important but not a priority, 5 = Not Important*

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| a Education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b Environmental Services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c Housing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d Leisure Services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e Social Services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

88. Would you personally be prepared to pay more in council taxes if it enabled the council to offer improved local services?

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Yes, depends which services | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Yes, if they were to be more efficiently delivered | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Don't Know | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

89. What do you think of health care that you receive from your GP

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Good | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Satisfactory | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Poor | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Very poor | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| N/A (specify- e.g. don't use, 'alternative') | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

90. What generally do you think of hospital provision?

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Good | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Satisfactory | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Poor | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Very poor | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| No recent experience | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

91. Do you have private health care insurance ?

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

IF YES GO TO QUESTION 93 OTHERWISE ASK:

92. Have you ever considered taking out private health care insurance ?

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

Leisure/Social networks

93. What would you describe as being your main leisure time activities ?

.....
.....

94. Your partner's?.....

.....

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

95. Do you regularly engage in a Sporting or a Keep Fit activity ? (specify)

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

96. Does your partner?

- Yes ☐ 1
No ☐ 2

97. Do you regularly (monthly or less?): *(please tick all which apply)*

- | | Yes | No |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a Go to the cinema | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b Go to the theatre | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Go to an art galleries or exhibition | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d Go to a concert or other live musical event | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e Go to a pub | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f Go to a winebar | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g Go to a nightclub | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

98. Which of these would you describe as 'local', as opposed to 'central' or 'elsewhere'?

	Local	Central	Elsewhere in London
Cinema	1	2	3
Theatre	1	2	3
Gallery	1	2	3
Concert venue	1	2	3
Pub	1	2	3
Nightclub	1	2	3

99. On average how often would you say that you 'go out' each week

- Less than once a week ☐ 1
Once a week ☐ 2
Twice a week ☐ 3
More than twice ☐ 4

100. Normally, how often do you eat out in a restaurant?

- More than once a week ☐ 1
About once a week ☐ 2
About once a fortnight ☐ 3
About once a month ☐ 4
Rarely ☐ 5

101. Where are the three London restaurants - and types - you are most likely to eat out in for an evening meal?

- a name.....type.....location.....
b name.....type.....location.....
c name.....type.....location.....

102. Where is your favourite local restaurant, if you have one? *Given the name and street*

.....

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

103. How frequently do you invite friends to your home for a meal?

- About once a week ☐ 1
 About once a fortnight ☐ 2
 About once a month ☐ 3
 Rarely ☐ 4

104. How often do you see (non household) parents/members of immediate family?

- About once a week ☐ 1
 About once a fortnight ☐ 2
 About once a month ☐ 3
 Other (specify) ☐ 4

105. Are you - or have you recently been - active in any of the following areas?

	You		Partner		Both
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
PTA	1	2	3	4	5
Other School	1	2	3	4	5
Amenity Association	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbourhood Association	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbourhood watch	1	2	3	4	5

106. If yes to any of these, do you hold/have you held any position? *(please tick all which apply)*

- | | Yes | No |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a PTA | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b Other School | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Amenity Association | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d Neighbourhood Association | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e Neighbourhood Watch | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

107. Do you belong to any other (non work-related) associations, clubs, groups etc.?

- Yes ☐ 1
 No ☐ 2

If yes, please specify

.....

108. Can I ask you to think of the three people - beyond the household and other than family - with whom you are most likely to socialise?

a) Where do they live?

Person 1.....
 Person 2.....
 Person 3.....

b) In what context did the relationship originate (e.g. work, university, locality, etc.)?

Person 1.....
 Person 2.....
 Person 3.....

Consumption

109. Do you have your own car(s)? (Specify number)
 Enter number

110. How often do you use public transport?
 Daily ☐ 1
 At least once a week ☐ 2
 Rarely ☐ 3
 Almost never ☐ 4

111. How many holidays have you taken in the last year ?
 (specify)..... Enter number

112. What is your preferred holiday destination? (specify).....

113. Do you own a second or holiday home ?
 Yes (UK) ☐ 1
 Yes (Abroad) ☐ 2
 No ☐ 3

IF ANSWER NO PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 115, OTHERWISE ASK

114. If yes, where is it?.....

115. Which daily newspapers and magazines, if any, does your household take? *Tick one only*
 a Guardian ☐ 1
 b Independent ☐ 2
 c Times ☐ 3
 d Daily Telegraph ☐ 4
 e Daily Mail ☐ 5
 f Financial Times ☐ 6
 g Other ☐ 7
 h None ☐ 8

116. Are these read by all adults in the household? (If not, specify)
 Yes ☐ 1
 No..... ☐ 2

117. Which Sunday papers do you read? *Tick one only*
 a The Sunday Times ☐ 01
 b Independent on Sunday ☐ 02
 c Sunday Express ☐ 03
 d Mail on Sunday ☐ 04
 e The Observer ☐ 05
 f The Sunday Telegraph ☐ 06
 g News of the World ☐ 07
 h Sunday Mirror ☐ 08
 i Other (specify)..... ☐ 09
 j None ☐ 10

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

118. Which weekly/monthly magazines do you read?

- a New Statesman ☐ 01
- b New Scientist ☐ 02
- c New Society ☐ 03
- d Spectator ☐ 04
- e Listener ☐ 05
- f Economist ☐ 06
- g Private Eye ☐ 07
- h Time out ☐ 08
- i 'Men's glossy' (Loaded, GQ etc.) ☐ 09
- j 'Women's glossy' (Cosmo, Elle, Marie Clare etc.) ☐ 10
- k Other (specify) ☐ 11

119. Are these read by all adults in the household? (If not, specify)

- Yes ☐ 1
- No..... ☐ 2

120. In descending order, what three types of TV programme are you most likely to watch?

- Favourite type.....
- 2nd favourite type.....
- 3rd favourite type.....

121. Do you have satellite/cable television?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

122. Do you listen to the radio on a regular basis?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

123. If yes, is this most likely to be

- Radio 1 ☐ 01
- Radio 2 ☐ 02
- Radio 3 ☐ 03
- Radio 4 ☐ 04
- Classic FM ☐ 05
- Capital FM ☐ 06
- Virgin ☐ 07
- Kiss FM ☐ 08
- Jazz FM ☐ 09
- Other (specify) ☐ 10

124. In which of the following do you shop at least once a week for general provisions? (bread, milk, newspapers, cigarettes etc. excepted) ? *(please tick all which apply)*

- | | Yes | No |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Local shops | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Local Market | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Supermarket (specify name and branch)..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

125. Do you smoke?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

126. Does your partner smoke?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

127. Do you drink alcohol?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

128. Does your partner drink alcohol?

Yes

☐ 1

No

☐ 2

129. Would you say that you drink, on average:

a Less than the recommended guideline

☐ 1

b About the recommended guideline

☐ 2

c More than the recommended guideline

☐ 3

d Don't know

☐ 4

130. Would you say that your partner drinks, on average:

a Less than the recommended guideline

☐ 1

b About the recommended guideline

☐ 2

c More than the recommended guideline

☐ 3

d Don't know

☐ 4

131. Which of the following do you drink most frequently?

	Yourself Yes	Partner Yes	Neither
Wine	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Lager	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Other beers	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Spirits	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Cocktail	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3

Occupation/Finances

132. Please would you describe your present occupation ?

.....

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

133. What is your employer's business ?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| a Public Sector: Central Government | <input type="checkbox"/> 01 |
| b Public Sector: Local Government | <input type="checkbox"/> 02 |
| c Public Sector: Other (specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 03 |
| d Voluntary Sector | <input type="checkbox"/> 04 |
| e Private Sector: Finance and Commerce | <input type="checkbox"/> 05 |
| f Private Sector: Manufacturing | <input type="checkbox"/> 06 |
| g Private Sector: Services | <input type="checkbox"/> 07 |
| h Private Sector: Other (Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 08 |
| i Profession (Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 09 |
| j Self employed | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| k Other (Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 11 |

134. How long have you worked for your current employer ?

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| a Less than 1 year | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b to 3 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c to 5 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d to 10 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| e More than 10 years | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

135. Is your employment

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| a Permanent | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b Fixed contract | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

136. Where is your place of work ?

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| City | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Other Central London | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| In borough of residence | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Other Inner London | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| Outer London | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| Elsewhere | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Home | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |

137. Do you belong to a trade union ?

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

IF YES, ASK NEXT QUESTION - IF NO, GO TO QUESTION 140

138. Which one (specify)

139. What are your reasons for belonging? (Instrumental/Ideological)

140. Do you have any particular reason for not belonging to one?

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| a Ideological | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b Nothing particular/neutral | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Not appropriate (e.g. self employed, non-unionised sector) | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

141. Does your partner work ?

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Not applicable | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

IF NO GO TO QUESTION 138 IF YES ASK:

142. What is his/her present occupation?

.....

143. What is his/her employer's business ?

.....

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| a Public Sector: Central Government | <input type="checkbox"/> 01 |
| b Public Sector: Local Government | <input type="checkbox"/> 02 |
| c Public Sector: Other (specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 03 |
| d Voluntary Sector | <input type="checkbox"/> 04 |
| e Private Sector: Finance and Commerce | <input type="checkbox"/> 05 |
| f Private Sector: Manufacturing | <input type="checkbox"/> 06 |
| g Private Sector: Services | <input type="checkbox"/> 07 |
| h Private Sector: Other (Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 08 |
| i Profession (Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 09 |
| j Self employed | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| k Other (Specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> 11 |

144. Is her/his employment

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| a Permanent | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b Fixed contract | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Other | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

145. Where is his/her place of work ?

.....

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| a City | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b Other Central London | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c In borough of residence | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d Other Inner London | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| e Outer London | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| f Elsewhere | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| g Home | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |

146. Please could you tell me your gross annual pay before deductions, if you are employed?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| a Between £10-20,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| b Between £20-30,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c Between £30-40,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d Between £40-50,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| e Between £50-60,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| f Between £60,000-100,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| g Between £100,000-150,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
| h Over £150,000 pa | <input type="checkbox"/> 8 |

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

147. Please could you give me a similar indication of your partner's salary, if appropriate?

- a Between £10,000-20,000 pa ☐ 1
- b Between £20,000-30,000 pa ☐ 2
- c Between £30,000-40,000 pa ☐ 3
- d Between £40,000-50,000 pa ☐ 4
- e Between £60,000-100,000 pa ☐ 5
- f Between £60,000-100,000 pa ☐ 6
- g Between £100,000-150,000 pa ☐ 7
- h Over £150,000 pa ☐ 8

148. Do you have any active plans to change job/employer at the moment?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

149. If yes, would this be into a similar job?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

150. Does your partner have any such plans?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

151. Would this be into a similar job?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ 2

152. Would you mind telling me what forms of savings (other than pension) you (or your partner) have ? *(please tick all which apply)*

- a Building society ☐ 1
- b Life Assurance ☐ 2
- c Shares, inc. PEPs ☐ 3
- d Other ☐ 4

153. Please could you give me an estimate of your total gross annual household income including bonuses, investments, state benefits etc. by indicating which of these groups it falls into?

- a Between £10-20,000 pa ☐ 1
- b Between £20,000-30,000 pa ☐ 2
- c Between £30,000-40,000 pa ☐ 3
- d Between £40,000-50,000 pa ☐ 4
- e Between £50,000-60,000 pa ☐ 5
- f Between £60,000-100,000 pa ☐ 6
- g Between £100,000-150,000 pa ☐ 7
- h More than £150,000 pa ☐ 8

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

IF THE HOUSEHOLD HAS CHILDREN, ASK

154. What kind of financial arrangements have you made/might you make for your children's future?
.....
.....

Before moving on to ask you a few more general questions,

155. Can I ask you your age?..... Enter two digits

156. What is your partner's age?..... Enter two digits

157. How would you describe you and your partner's 'ethnic' identity?

	You	Partner
White British	01	01
White European	02	02
White Other	03	03
Black Caribbean	04	04
Black African	05	05
Black Other	06	06
Indian	07	07
Pakistani	08	08
Bangladeshi	09	09
Chinese	10	10
Vietnamese	11	11
Other	12	12

158. How do you see your career(s) developing ?

IF THE HOUSEHOLD HAS CHILDREN, ASK

159. Do you have a fairly long term plan for your child(ren)'s future?

160. Do you think this is a pleasant place to live ? What are the positive and negative aspects of living in this area as far as 'quality of life' is concerned?

MIDDLE CLASS IN LONDON SURVEY

161. How much would you say you mix with people ‘like yourself’ and not ‘like yourself’?

162. Do you think you will be staying here or moving on. If the latter, where to?

163. Is there anything else that you would like to add - particularly on changes that have taken place in the area over recent years and how they affect both you and other local residents ?

164. If you could choose to live in any area of the city, which would be your first three choices be?

1.....
2.....
3.....

165. Would you be prepared to participate in a further, in depth, interview?

Yes

No

Thank you very much for your time