Living at Saffron Square

A social sustainability report commissioned by the Berkeley Group
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Executive summary

This report

This report presents the findings of LSE London’s mid-term social sustainability study of Berkeley Homes’ Saffron Square development in central Croydon. It sets out what residents said they appreciate about living at Saffron Square and what they think could be improved; it assesses the quality of design and management of the scheme; and it offers some recommendations for the future of Saffron Square and for similar developments elsewhere.

The place

Saffron Square is a dramatic addition to the drab cityscape of central Croydon. It consists of five podium blocks (now occupied) around a triangular landscaped plaza, as well as a striking 43-storey purple-clad tower (exterior complete but as yet unoccupied) that is visible from several miles away. The location is exceptionally good for transport, sitting almost equidistant from East and West Croydon stations and next to the tram and bus routes on busy Wellesley Road.

Saffron Square stands on a site of less than one hectare, formerly occupied by two office blocks. It is almost entirely surrounded by office and retail buildings so this is a genuinely new residential community. Some 378 flats are now occupied; when complete in 2017 the development will contain 791 homes, of which 36 are shared-ownership affordable homes and the rest for private sale. As a condition of planning permission Berkeley also provided 104 social rented homes offsite, some of which are located a short walk away.
This scheme is the first to offer high-quality new residential stock in Croydon, and other developers are now following suit. Croydon Council sees this increase in residential provision as an essential part of its long-term plan to regenerate central Croydon.

The research

This research was carried out by a team of researchers from LSE London, a research centre at the London School of Economics, and led by Kath Scanlon and Max Walmsley. We followed a methodology developed by Social Life and the University of Reading (Bacon et al 2012), with subsequent small modifications by Berkeley (Berkeley Group 2014). Empirical research was carried out in summer 2015 and involved a series of site visits and interviews with local stakeholders.

We also surveyed current residents of Saffron Square, asking about the experience of living at the scheme, about the local area and its facilities, and about respondents' general levels of satisfaction. The questions were taken from large-scale national surveys, which allowed us to compare the responses of Saffron Square residents to those of people living in similar areas elsewhere in the country. This benchmarking produced a Red/Amer/ Green rating. Red ratings were given where Saffron Square responses were significantly less positive than those of similar neighbourhoods elsewhere in the country; Amber shows responses did not differ significantly from those of similar neighbourhoods; and Green were significantly more positive.

The residents

The survey showed that most respondents were couples and singles; there were few families. Almost 60% of respondents were under 35. They had relatively high incomes, and almost all households had someone in work. About half of respondents had previously been living in south London, but a significant proportion had come from elsewhere in the UK and abroad. Just under 2/3 of respondents were renting privately – a high figure compared to the borough (17%) or London as a whole (25%) but typical for new urban sites of this kind.
The findings

Two and a half years after the first residents moved in, Saffron Square meets or exceeds 10 of the 13 benchmarks for social sustainability.

The development was rated on three dimensions of social sustainability: social and cultural life, voice and influence, and amenities and infrastructure. The ratings for the first two dimensions were based on responses in the residents survey, while the ratings for the third dimension were assigned by an architect and planner based on visits to the site.

The development scored particularly strongly on local identity, transport, and distinctive character. Respondents gave almost uniformly positive, indeed glowing, reports about the experience of living in Saffron Square and in Croydon. They were attracted by the quality of the flats, the area’s diversity, excellent transport, and the low prices relative to other parts of London.

There was excitement about planned changes in the area, especially the new development by Westfield Europe and Hammerson and further improvement to transport links, but some thought these would inevitably lead to higher rents and property prices. There were some complaints about the perceived lack of safety of the surrounding area.

The scheme did not score highly on links with neighbours, ability to influence or integration with the local neighbourhood. Given the residents’ demographic and the fact that the first occupants moved in only 2 ½ years ago, it is not surprising that links with neighbours are still developing. The scheme represents a radical break with the existing building typology of the area, and was intended to attract a different and more affluent demographic to central Croydon rather than serve the existing population. In this it has succeeded. However, there are specific challenges involved in building a strong and active community among a resident population comprised of significant numbers of private tenants. Recommendations on how to address this follow below.
Recommendations

Saffron Square residents report high levels of individual happiness and satisfaction with their lives. Most are young professionals and most are in private rented accommodation. As part of Generation Rent, many can expect to remain in the private rented sector for a considerable period of time.

We believe that many of the fundamentals of community-building in new developments apply regardless of tenure profile. Rather than focusing narrowly on tenure, it is more useful to think about and how people of all ages and incomes in the neighbourhood can engage and interact.
In that context, there are a number of practical ways that a development team can encourage social sustainability on sites like Saffron Square.

These include:

- running an events programme
- supporting communication via social media
- encouraging the natural activists who emerge in every community
- responding to the growing demand for co-working space
- creating spaces to socialise, drawing on the tradition of parish halls

All these things can help create a ‘new normal’ in which socialising and neighbourliness are commonplace. Some of them are already happening at Saffron Square and provide a good foundation from which a strong community can emerge.

While the fundamentals of neighbourliness are the same across tenures, the dominance of private renting does have implications for residents’ quality of life. Respondents at Saffron Square echoed familiar concerns about security of tenure and the potential threat of rising rents. This uncertainty militates against wellbeing.

Thought should be given to the length of tenancy agreements, the definition of leasehold contracts and the scope to unify services provided to individual renters. Buy to let remains a valid and important part of the housing market and this would give all parties greater certainty as well as creating a more stable social environment.

At a strategic level, private developers will increasingly need to take the lead in community development. Given the squeeze on local government and housing associations, private residential developers with a genuine interest in placemaking should act not just as traditional estate managers, but also develop the skills to catalyse genuine community development.
1. Introduction to Croydon

Saffron Square sits at the northern approach to central Croydon. This is a mini-Manhattan – the UK’s best example of a 1960s high-rise landscape. It has long been deteriorating and in recent decades, despite significant advances in transport connectivity, central Croydon continued to decline. Today, it is experiencing a resurgence, led by a can-do council, that centres around excellent transport links and the planned regeneration of the Whitgift shopping centre by a new Croydon Limited Partnership (CLP), a joint venture between Westfield Europe Ltd and Hammerson PLC. The town centre is now identified as a GLA Opportunity Area in the London Plan.

When the office towers were built, the intention was that central Croydon should rival central London as a location for corporate headquarters. The area did attract some, but through the 1970s and 80s, Croydon gradually became a place for back offices, small companies looking for low rents, and government agencies. Saffron Square’s next-door neighbour is Lunar House, where the Home Office processes visas and residence applications for foreign nationals. And as the buildings lost their attractiveness for corporate tenants, they became increasingly vacant and down at heel.

This began to change because of the enormous demand for housing in London, combined with the permitted development rights (PDR) introduced in 2013. These exempt office-to-residential conversions from planning permission. This caused developers to look at the sites afresh: could they be turned into flats? The answer was yes, and more than 40 buildings in Croydon have undergone or are undergoing conversion.

Since then, the Council has introduced an Article 4 designation requiring planning permission for these conversions, as a way to control and guide development. This builds on a progressive approach to planning policy in the Local Plan and Opportunity Area Planning Framework (OAPF) which aims to introduce significant residential provision to the metropolitan centre.

Central Croydon, which had been almost exclusively commercial/retail with a sometimes disreputable nighttime economy of clubs and pubs, is now increasingly a place where people live – an explicit goal of the OAPF.

Alongside the conversion of existing buildings has come the construction of new ones. There are a number of major residential developments underway which will bring thousands of homes to central Croydon over the next few years – the council’s target is 9,600 by 2019. Berkeley’s Saffron Square will be the first to be completed, and many
of those we interviewed as part of this research referred to it as a ‘flagship’ or ‘beacon’ for residential development in the borough.

One goal of Croydon’s regeneration master plan is to reunite the eastern and western parts of the centre. Wellesley Road (the address of Saffron Square) is a busy divided roadway with tram tracks which bisects the area. The Council’s intention is to transform it ‘into a world class urban space’. Planned improvements include new sports, leisure and entertainment facilities as well as new housing in the centre, and the upgrade of the two stations that serve the area (East and West Croydon). The latter in particular is very grim.

Central Croydon is one of South London’s main retail centres, with two major shopping centres (Whitgift and Centrale) flanking the pedestrianised high street. The Whitgift Centre, which introduced the American enclosed ‘mall’ concept to south London in 1968 to great local acclaim, had been looking increasingly tired and in early 2013 lost anchor department store Allders to bankruptcy. Shoppers preferred the more modern offerings of Kingston to the west and Bromley and Bluewater to the east, with Croydon seen as a rather down-market offering.

This is set to change dramatically in the next few years as both Centrale and Whitgift will be demolished and replaced by CLP’s retail and leisure development, which will be one of the largest in Europe. The Westfield developments at White City and Stratford have transformed those neighbourhoods (although not entirely without side effects). When complete in 2019, the regenerated Whitgift Centre can expect to be similarly revolutionary, although until then the neighbours will have to contend with an enormous construction site in the centre of town.

Saffron Square is trying to do for Croydon’s residential image what the CLP regeneration of the Whitgift Centre will do for the retail image – deliver a step change.
2. Saffron Square: the scheme

Berkeley’s Saffron Square development is located in the heart of central Croydon, almost midway between West Croydon and East Croydon stations, on the busy four-lane Wellesley Road. The site had been occupied since the 1960s by Pembroke House and Randolph House, two large modernist office blocks typical of Croydon commercial development. These became vacant and were demolished in 1993. There was planning permission for two replacement office buildings but this was never taken up, and the site – the gateway to Croydon for drivers approaching from the north – remained empty and unattractive.

Berkeley Homes acquired the site in 2006 and received planning permission for a mixed-use residential-led development with 736 dwellings in 2008. Because of the fall in house prices in the wake of the global financial crisis the scheme was put on hold and a revised application was submitted in 2010. Construction started later that year and the first apartments were completed in March 2013. The development is consistent with the borough’s Local Plan and Croydon’s OAPF, which identifies the site as a northern gateway to the metropolitan town centre.

The tower is the final element of the scheme. Construction of this phase began in July 2013. The frame is now complete, as is the striking purple exterior cladding which forms the image of a crocus. The word ‘Croydon’ literally means ‘crocus valley’, referring to early saffron cultivation in the town. The first occupants will arrive in autumn 2016 and the development should be complete by summer 2017.

Saffron Square will have 791 homes in 5 podium buildings and a dramatic 43 storey tower all set around a one acre public square. The key features of the scheme are as follows:

- 791 dwellings (of which 378, or just under half, are currently occupied)
- Of the total number, 36 are shared ownership homes (managed by Affinity Sutton) and 755 for private sale. 104 social rented homes have also been provided elsewhere in the borough of Croydon but do not form part of this assessment

The site is small, covering less than a hectare. The buildings to the south and east of the site are in commercial and retail use, and a railway line runs a few hundred metres to the west. There is little housing in the immediate area, but a few minutes’ walk to the north is
an area of modest single-family homes and converted flats.

Pedestrian entry is from Wellesley Road into a triangular landscaped square. Entry to four of the podium buildings is from this square, while the tower, when completed, will have its main entrance on the street. There is an underground garage for residents providing 150 car spaces and 755 cycle spaces, with direct lift access to all the buildings.

The ground-floor square is flanked on one side by commercial space, which is currently occupied by an estate agent, a café and the residents’ gym, as well as the estate’s concierge (temporarily). There is also a Tesco on the ground floor of one of the buildings, with entry from the main road. More commercial and gym space is included at the base of the tower. However, this is not yet open for use.

Each of the podium buildings is topped by a communal terrace and landscaped roof garden, accessible only to the residents of that particular building. The majority of flats in the podium buildings also have an individual balcony, most of which face into the courtyard.

‘When we granted consent, the site had been vacant for many years. Our aim was to create a significant development that would signify a step change in built design and quality and signify the council’s intention to encourage the renaissance of a residential offer within the metropolitan centre.’

CROYDON COUNCIL
3. What is ‘social sustainability’?

The term ‘sustainability’ is most often associated with environmental issues but the 1987 Brundtland Commission on Sustainable Development identified three ‘pillars’ of sustainable development: environmental, economic and social. The commission’s chair, former Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, defined sustainable development as that which “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.

The framework that forms the basis for this research is grounded in academic research about the relationship between social sustainability and the built environment. Human beings affect the built environment by designing, constructing, demolishing and altering buildings. Our individual well-being is then affected by the characteristics of these structures: our homes, workplaces and schools – the quality of light that enters, the aspect of rooms, and the amount of space available for daily activities. Equally, our social relationships are conditioned by the structures and spaces around us. Is there a convenient bench to sit and chat with neighbours? Can children play safely outside?

Bacon and Woodcraft developed a standardised way of judging new residential developments, and we have followed their methodology in this report. They argued that the factors contributing to local quality of life could be categorised as both physical and non-physical:

- ‘Physical factors’ include decent and affordable housing, access to opportunities, high quality public services, good quality and sustainable public realm, good transport connections.
- ‘Non-physical factors’ encompass safety, local social networks, social inclusion and spatial integration, cultural heritage, a sense of belonging and identity, and wellbeing. (Bacon et al 2012)

The methodology not only provides a way of assessing the quality of placemaking but also allows comparisons to be made between different schemes. The quality-of-life factors were organised into three core dimensions: social and cultural life; voice and influence; and amenities and infrastructure. New developments are scored on thirteen different metrics, and these provide an indication of how well each scheme performs against the three dimensions. The indicators were created using questions (45 in all) from national surveys and Building for Life.
4. Methodology

This research was carried out in summer 2015 by a team from the LSE London research centre at the London School of Economics. We followed a methodology developed for Berkeley Homes in 2012 by Social Life and Professor Tim Dixon at Reading University (Bacon et al 2012) as modified by Berkeley Group in 2014. This sets out a framework for measuring the quality of life and sense of community in new housing developments. The concept of ‘social sustainability’ is meant to capture and quantify the range of factors influencing local quality of life both in and around new housing developments.

This is the fifth social sustainability study using this methodology that has been published, and the first carried out by LSE. The others, all of Berkeley developments, are:

- Woodberry Down, Hackney
- Beaufort Park, Hendon
- Kidbrooke Village, Greenwich
- Royal Arsenal, Woolwich

All were ‘mid-term’ assessments, carried out when about a third to half of the eventual homes were occupied.

The aim of the research was to find out how the first residents of Saffron Square feel about living there and about living in Croydon, and about the contribution that Saffron Square is making to the surrounding area. Given the enormous changes already going on in Croydon, and even more those that are set to come, these impressions and relationships are certain to change; this is only a snapshot. Nevertheless it can provide useful guidance as to where the scheme is succeeding and which elements may need more attention.

The assessment is based on four elements:

- First, residents were surveyed to find out how they describe their quality of life, including their satisfaction with local amenities, transport and shops, and whether they feel a sense of community in the development. While the research teams that carried out previous studies undertook face to face surveys of residents, we chose to distribute paper and e-mail versions.

The survey questions were drawn from various large-scale national surveys, which made it possible to compare responses from Saffron Square residents to those of residents in similar neighbourhoods across the country. There are a few original questions about subjects not well covered in national surveys. We also added some Croydon-specific questions to elicit information about tenure (as most of the development is privately rented) and opinions about...
Croydon's regeneration. Appendix A contains the survey questionnaire.

The survey was distributed to residents both online and in paper form. We received 118 completed questionnaires, representing 32% of Saffron Square households – an excellent response rate for a survey of this type, and comparable to the response rates on previous assessments of this kind. It was not possible to determine whether the responses were biased, and the results are subject to the usual caveats about margin of error.

• Second, the buildings themselves were assessed against six criteria focused on the provision of amenities and infrastructure. These criteria are partly drawn from the Building for Life framework adapted for use by Berkeley (Birkbeck and Kruczkowski 2015, Bacon et al 2012, Berkeley Homes 2014). Building for Life is a government-endorsed industry standard for well-designed homes and neighbourhoods that was developed in 2001 and since has been updated several times, most recently in 2015. It provides a way of judging the quality not only of the buildings themselves but also of the space between them and the way they relate to their neighbourhoods. The assessor, an architect and planner, gave Saffron Square a RAG score for each of these criteria. The assessor’s scores were reviewed at a seminar held at LSE and attended by invited academics and built-environment professionals.

• Third, we conducted a programme of interviews to find out what a range of stakeholders felt about the development. We spoke to council officers, local businesspeople and residents themselves.

• Fourth, we visited the site at various times. We were shown around all areas of the development (except inhabited flats), and spent time in the triangular ground-floor courtyard and roof gardens, observing who used the spaces and how.
5. Profile of residents

This section presents a general profile of the people who currently live in Saffron Square.

Figure 2 shows that most of the respondents were couples and singles; there were very few families. Just eight had children – seven had a single child, and one had two. Most of the children were babies, and the oldest was 8.

Survey respondents had relatively high incomes, reflecting the fact that the scheme itself contains relatively few affordable homes (36 shared-ownership flats) and no social rented housing.

Figure 2: Household composition of survey respondents
Figure 3: Ages of respondents

Figure 4: Household incomes
The survey respondents were a relatively young group (Figure 3). Almost 60% were under 35, and they were about equally split between men and women.

Survey respondents had relatively high incomes (Figure 4), reflecting the fact that the scheme itself contains relatively few affordable homes (36 shared-ownership flats) and no social rented housing. Almost all households had someone in work; only a single couple that responded to the survey were both retired. There was a broad mix of professional occupations, including several actuaries and software engineers as well as a voice-over actor and a cheese broker.

The largest group of respondents, making up 39% of those who replied, characterised themselves as British. A quarter were of other white backgrounds, while Indians and Chinese made up 8% and 6% of respondents respectively. The rest were from a variety of ethnicities including African, Caribbean and mixed backgrounds.

Residents were about evenly split between those who had been living somewhere in south London, and those who had come from further away (Figure 5). This included a not insignificant number who had most recently been living abroad.

Figure 5: Place of previous residence
Figure 6: Housing tenure

- Own: 20%
- Rent: 63%
- Shared ownership: 15%
- Other / no reply: 2%

Figure 7: Having a longer lease would make me stay longer in the area

- Strongly agree: 5%
- Agree: 25%
- Neither agree nor disagree: 15%
- Disagree: 10%
- Strongly disagree: 10%
- Don’t know: 5%
Just under 2/3 of residents who replied were renting privately (Figure 6). The remainder were split between owning (either outright or with a mortgage) [20%] and shared ownership [15%].

In the context of London’s current high-pressure housing market, there is increasing political discussion about whether to change the standard lease so as to provide greater security for private tenants. Knowing that a high proportion of Saffron Square residents rent privately, we asked those who were tenants whether they agreed with the proposition that having a longer lease would make them more likely to stay longer in the neighbourhood. About half of the 69 who responded to this question agreed or strongly agreed, and about a quarter had no strong opinion (Figure 7).
6. RAG ratings from residents survey

This section presents our analysis of findings from the survey of residents. These findings feed into the scores on the first two dimensions of the social sustainability assessment (Social and cultural life, and Voice and influence).

The survey was distributed in July 2015 to residents, who had the choice of responding online or on paper. The results of the survey were compared to the responses given on national surveys by people who live in similar areas elsewhere in the country. The differences between Saffron Square and national responses were analysed and coded according to a RAG (red/amber/green) scale. The interpretation of the colours is as follows:

- **RED**: Saffron Square responses were significantly less positive than those of similar neighbourhoods elsewhere in the country
- **AMBER**: The responses from Saffron Square residents did not differ significantly from those of similar neighbourhoods elsewhere
- **GREEN**: The responses from Saffron Square were more positive than those from similar neighbourhoods elsewhere

### Dimension I

**Social and cultural life**

**Local identity: overall GREEN**

- Do you plan to remain a resident of this neighbourhood for a number of years?
- Do you feel like you belong to this neighbourhood?
- How important is where you live to your sense of who you are?

Most of the respondents to the survey had moved to Saffron Square from outside the area. Only about 23% of the respondents could be considered ‘locals’ (that is, their previous residence was within about five miles), and the newness of the development means that even the longest-standing residents had been in their homes for less than three years.

In that short time, though, most had grown to appreciate the neighbourhood. Some 56% of

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1. The three questions about local facilities had no equivalent in national surveys. For these, the RAG scores were based on whether the average response was within one standard deviation of the ‘neutral response (i.e., ’neither satisfied nor dissatisfied’).
respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they were likely to remain in the area for a number of years. This was higher than the proportion found in surveys of similar areas nationwide, which is 49%. The free-text answers gave residents a chance to say why this was, and they stressed the excellent transport, convenient access to a range of facilities and the planned improvements to the town centre. However several expressed concern that these improvements would be reflected in rents, effectively pricing them out.

While there was a strong feeling that residents appreciated the neighbourhood, some did not yet feel a part of it. When asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, ‘I feel like I belong to this neighbourhood,’ some 39% of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed – a high level of ambiguity.

The newness of the development and the fact that most residents did not previously live in the area probably go some way to explain the low scores on the ‘links with neighbours’ indicator. Some of the questions that feed into this indicator – about asking for advice, borrowing things and doing favours – measure social ties that develop slowly over time.

The other Berkeley Homes developments assessed using this methodology all accommodated some social housing tenants who had previously lived in the area, so existing friendships and networks were maintained. Saffron Square, by contrast, is an entirely new community.

While most of the survey respondents did know other people in their building, 44% said they knew no one (Figure 8). This cannot entirely be explained by recent arrival, as only 35% of respondents had been living in Saffron Square for less than a year. The demographics of the development – in particular the fact that there are very few children – might go some way to explaining this, as parents often meet and form links with other local parents as their children progress through primary school.

Some of the questions that feed into this indicator – about asking for advice and borrowing things – measure social ties that develop over time.

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**Links with neighbours:**

**overall RED**

- If I needed advice I could go to someone in my neighbourhood
- I borrow things and exchange favours with my neighbours
- I regularly stop and talk with people in my neighbourhood
- Friendships in my neighbourhood mean a lot to me
- Most people can be trusted or you cannot be too careful with people
- People from different backgrounds get on well
Wellbeing: overall AMBER

- Have you recently felt that you were playing a useful part in things?
- Have you been feeling reasonably happy?
- How dissatisfied or satisfied are you with life overall?
- Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your local area as a place to live?

Overall, Saffron Square residents are satisfied with their lives. 69% said they were mostly or completely satisfied with their lives. This compares to an average of 59% in comparable places. 86% said they were feeling reasonably happy, compared to 68% of those in similar areas. While their residential situation will contribute to this, it is unlikely to be the determining factor.

The final question – about residents’ satisfaction with the local area – is specifically about place. Here 70% of respondents said they were ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ satisfied (Figure 9). Nevertheless this question received a RAG rating of red, because at a national level residents of similar areas tend to be even more satisfied with their local area as a place to live (93%).

The survey question followed the wording used in a national survey in order to ensure that the data were comparable, but it gives no guidance as to the meaning of ‘your local area’; it could be understood to refer to Saffron Square alone, to the immediate neighbourhood around it or to all of central Croydon. Given that the development still represents something of an enclave, the answers might be very different depending on the meaning assigned.

Figure 8: How many people do you know in your building?

[Bar chart showing distribution of responses]

- 0% - 10% No one
- 10% - 20% 1-3 people
- 20% - 30% 3-6 people
- 30% - 40% 6-10 people
- 40% - 50% More than 10 people
- 50% - 60% No reply
Figure 9: Satisfaction with the local area as a place to live

![Satisfaction with the local area as a place to live]

Figure 10: Feelings of safety, daytime and nighttime

![Feelings of safety, daytime and nighttime]
Saffron Square residents generally felt safe walking in the local area, especially during the day - 87% of respondents said they felt ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ safe walking alone in daylight hours. None felt ‘very unsafe’ walking alone in the day. There was much more concern about walking alone after dark, when 47% said they felt ‘a bit’ or ‘very’ unsafe (Figure 10) compared to 25% nationwide.

These figures likely reflect the fact that Saffron Square is a pioneer. The surrounding area until relatively recently was very dead at night. Office blocks and retail units would empty out at the end of the business day and there were few homes in the area. As new residents move into other central Croydon residential schemes (both new-build and office conversions) the night time character of the area will change.

2. These three questions do not have equivalents in national surveys. The RAG ratings for them were determined as follows: If the mid-point (i.e. coded as 3, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) was within one standard deviation, Amber; If the mid-point was above this, Red; If the mid-point was below this, Green.
Saffron Square residents were on the whole satisfied with local places to socialise, sports and leisure and health facilities. Health facilities produced the highest satisfaction rating, with 15% saying they were ‘very satisfied’ (although about 18% did not make use of health facilities locally and therefore expressed no opinion). The greatest deficiency was in places to socialise; both this and sports and leisure attracted a high number of suggestions as to things that could be improved locally.

Dimension II
Voice and influence

Willingness to act:
overall AMBER

- Willingness to work together with others to improve the neighbourhood
- Perception that local people pull together to improve the neighbourhood
- Have taken action to get something done about the quality of your local environment

Compared to people living in similar neighbourhoods elsewhere in the country, the residents of Saffron Square were less likely to say they were willing to work with others to improve their neighbourhood, or to feel that local people pulled together. By contrast, they were more likely to say that in the last 12 months they had personally taken action (such as contacting the council or writing to a newspaper) to try to improve the quality of the local environment. This bifurcation between willingness to act privately but reluctance to become involved in group activity may reflect the newness of the neighbourhood and the fact as shown in responses to other questions that many residents don’t actually know other people locally yet.

Ability to influence:
overall RED

- Whether residents have been consulted about local facilities
- Feeling of influence over decisions affecting the local area
- Importance of feeling they can personally influence decisions affecting the local area

The survey asked residents whether they had been consulted in the last twelve months about local cultural or sporting facilities, or the local environment. Compared to residents of similar areas elsewhere, they reported significantly less engagement – and less confidence that they could influence local decisions. This is perhaps surprising in the Croydon context, as the council’s management of the plethora of major developments around Saffron Square includes a great deal of public consultation. The low scores reported on this indicator suggest that Saffron Square residents may not have engaged fully with such consultation.
This section presents RAG ratings for the final dimension of the social sustainability assessment, Amenities and infrastructure. Five of the six criteria were assessed via a site survey. The sixth, transport, was evaluated using Transport for London’s Public Transport Accessibility Level (PTAL) score for this location.

Dimension III

Amenities and infrastructure

**Community space:**
overall GREEN

- Does the development provide (or is it close to) community facilities, such as a school, parks, play areas, shops, pubs or cafés?
- Have the community facilities been appropriately provided?
- Is public space well designed and does it have suitable management arrangements in place?

**Does the development provide (or is it close to) community facilities, such as shops, schools, workplaces, parks, play areas, pubs or cafés?**

The development is very close to Croydon town centre. This has several large employers including the UK Borders Agency, as well as one of London’s largest shopping centres (Whitgift and Centrale), which is due to be replaced in the next few years by the Westfield development. There are many schools in the surrounding area, and the scheme is immediately next door to St Mary’s High School, a Catholic school for girls. On-site there is a Tesco Express, an ATM, a cafe and a gym for residents.

Saffron Square is located in a built-up area on a very busy arterial road. There is limited green space locally; Wandle and Park Hill are the closest parks. Both are about 15 minutes away on foot, and involve crossing busy roads.

Overall the development scored a GREEN rating on this element.

**Have the community facilities been appropriately provided?**

Saffron Square provides relatively few community facilities; its location in the heart of central Croydon means that
residents can access almost anything they need within a short walk. The main facilities at the moment are the gym for residents and the retail offer in the ground floor.

The residents’ gym is on the ground floor of one of the podium blocks, facing into the courtyard. Residents must undergo a paid induction before using the gym and beyond that there is no cost. The gym’s location makes it convenient for most residents but it affords little privacy (it has floor-to-ceiling windows), which may deter more self-conscious exercisers.

The Tesco Express in the ground floor faces outward to the street rather than inwards to the square, making a facility for the entire community rather than one just for residents. Coffee Village, an attractive café with outside seating, also faces into the square.

Overall the development scored an AMBER rating on this element.

Is public space well designed and does it have suitable management arrangements in place?

The development is arranged around a triangular square that is open to the public. The podium buildings have roof terraces and most of the flats, except for those facing Wellesley Road, have balconies.

The square is landscaped – mostly with hard landscaping and water features, softened by some planting. The quality of materials and design is high. There are no barriers on the benches to inhibit rough sleeping (as are often seen in similar schemes); the concierge’s office currently opens onto the square and most residents must walk through the square to reach the entrances to their buildings, so this is a well monitored environment. The square and roof terraces are also well maintained, overseen by the concierge and cleaned regularly. Although the architect’s images of the scheme show the square as a bustling public square, in fact the entrance acts as a wind tunnel, which amplifies the noise of the traffic on Wellesley Road and activates sensors that turn the fountains off.

The roof terraces offer a landscaped outdoor amenity space with seating, decking and areas of grass lawn. Children must be accompanied by an adult, and the fact that each roof terrace is for that block only limits the interaction between children from different buildings. At the moment there is no dedicated play area, but one is currently under construction and will be available from 2017. Various restrictions on what can be done on the roof terraces (no barbecues, no drinking, no ball games) may in fact limit their utility as a social or play space.

Despite these reservations we have given this element a GREEN rating, as the wording focuses specifically on design and management, both of which are of high quality.

Transport links: overall GREEN
- Does the development have easy access to public transport?

The PTAL score for Saffron Square is 6b – the highest possible.

Distinctive character: overall GREEN
- Does the scheme feel like a place with distinctive character?
There is no doubt that the scheme’s most distinctive element is the 43-storey corner tower. It is not yet occupied but the exterior is complete. Although the tower is massive (2/3 the height of the Shard), it harmonises with the existing landscape of towers in central Croydon. The colour scheme, involving repeat cladding in purple, pink and gold, creates a vivid contrast with other tall buildings locally, most of which are rather grey.

The courtyard provides a pleasant contrast to the traffic and congestion of Wellesley Road just outside, giving a sense that Saffron Square is a place apart. The development is very popular and the yet-to-be completed tower is already sold out. Estate agents say that Saffron Square is considered a benchmark for residential development in Croydon and that locally, nothing matches the quality.

Overall the development scored a GREEN rating on this element.

### Local integration: overall AMBER

- Is there an accommodation mix that reflects the needs and aspirations of the local community?
- Does the design of the local environment promote engagement with the wider community?
- Is there a tenure mix that reflects the needs of the local community?

**Is there an accommodation mix that reflects the needs and aspirations of the local community?**

The mix of homes is clearly aimed at young professionals, with the majority being studios or one bedrooms. Fewer than 5% of units are ‘family sized’, with three or more bedrooms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>% of homes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private (755, or 95% overall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studio</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One bedroom</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two bedroom</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three bedroom</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four bedroom</td>
<td>Less than 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We accept that the dearth of family sized units probably reflects the demand profile at this location. The usual policy requirement for a mix of units can be relaxed for high density schemes in accessible locations, allowing for a higher proportion of small homes as at Saffron Square. The mix of commercial and retail uses nearby suggests that non-family sized units are more appropriate than family sized ones, as they will be suitable for professional couples and those who want to live in central urban locations, which are typically noisier and busier than elsewhere.

The methodology requires us to assess the accommodation mix against ‘the needs and aspirations of the local community’. This implies that a significant percentage of the residents in new developments can be expected to come from the immediately surrounding area (‘the local community’). This is fair enough for schemes that involve redevelopment of social housing estates, with re-housing of displaced residents (as, for example, two of the other Berkeley developments assessed using this methodology). But in Saffron Square only about half the residents had previously been living in south London – and very few in the local area.

Overall the development scored an AMBER rating on this element.

Is there a tenure mix that reflects the needs of the local community?

More than 95% of the homes in this scheme are for private sale, with the remainder in affordable shared ownership. Berkeley provided 104 social rented homes elsewhere in Croydon as a condition of planning permission; some are in Sydenham Road, a short walk from the development, and all were delivered before the private housing at Saffron Square. We were told by a borough officer that offsite provision of affordable housing would not be permitted for such a development today. Of the 791 homes, fewer than 5% are affordable, and these are shared ownership rather than social rental. The shared ownership housing is all located in Block E, which faces Wellesley Road.

Most of the purchasers are buying for investment rather than to live there themselves, although local estate agents predict owner occupation to increase over time. About two-thirds of respondents to our survey were living in private rented homes.

Current rents for a one-bedroom flat range from £1,050 to £1,250 pcm, while two-beds are renting for £1,350 to £1,473 pcm; these prices are at the top end for rentals in CR0 (central Croydon). Turnover among tenants used to be high but is slowing down now, and more families have gradually moved in as the development is considered quiet and safe.

Given the paucity of social rented housing, the development scored a RED rating on this element. However the market realities at the time the scheme was started arguably would have meant that a development with on-site social housing would not have been built; this was certainly the view of the council when it granted planning permission.

Does the design of the local environment promote engagement with the wider community?

Despite the rather hard entrance, locals can sit in the courtyard and go to the café and shop, and we were told that
some do. Local office workers eat lunch there, and children sometimes play in the courtyard with their scooters and throw coins in the fountains. Other, less-welcome local people also occasionally come into the space looking for somewhere to drink alcohol, and are asked to leave by the concierge.

A pedestrian through route originally planned to the west does not currently exist. This hampers integration with the wider neighbourhood and would provide a welcome quiet route to East Croydon station for residents and local people. There is provision to open it, should adjacent third party land be made available. Evidence from both the survey and our interviews showed that many residents were concerned about safety in the area, especially at night; we were told that those living in ground-floor flats facing into the courtyard would be particularly concerned.

The development scored an AMBER rating on this element.

**Do the buildings and layout make it easy to find your way around?**

Croydon town centre is notoriously difficult to navigate for both pedestrians and drivers. The Tower is an obvious landmark and makes orientation easy, and within the development there is signposting (not as legible as it might be) that directs the visitor to the various buildings.

However the car park entrance on Bedford Park is not very obvious and what could be a clear and direct pedestrian exit to Bedford Park and onwards to the new entrance to East Croydon station is blocked off.

The development scored an AMBER rating on this element.

**Does the scheme integrate with existing streets, paths and surrounding development?**

Long before the scheme was built, this location presented an uncomfortable juxtaposition of 19th century housing with 1960s office blocks. The planning documents refer to integration with the Wellesley Road Masterplan, but Saffron Square’s hard-edged concrete-and-glass façade does not easily relate to the surrounding urban realm. The transition in scale, form and mass to the residential development to north and east is abrupt. On the north side of the development a sheer wall faces the car park of St Mary’s School, giving the impression that the development is turning its back on the surrounding neighbourhood. On the other hand, the design does avoid overlooking the neighbouring residential properties of Shannon Court and Saxon Court through clever use of orientation and balcony screening.
The site is convenient for both East and West Croydon stations, and the new bridge entrance to East Croydon makes it even handier for the pedestrian to reach Saffron Square. The pedestrian route to West Croydon from the main entrance is short and direct, but going to East Croydon requires skirting the site on the busy Wellesley Road. According to the 2008 planning application there was to be a second pedestrian entrance at the rear of the courtyard, but this reference was removed from the 2010 application. There is an opening at the rear of the ground-floor courtyard but it is currently blocked by a barrier, leaving an awkward and uncomfortable space. If this were opened up it could create a much shorter and more convenient route to East Croydon for both residents and other pedestrians.

The development scored a RED rating on this element.

Does the design of the local environment adequately support the needs of people with limited physical mobility?

Like all new residential buildings, Saffron Square complies with Part M of the building regulations, which cover access for disabled people. The building entrances and flats themselves are all wheelchair accessible. The roof terraces are also accessible via lifts, although the terrace doors are not automatic. There are 12 Blue Badge car parking spaces, which are evenly dispersed about the basement and accessible to all the blocks.

The development scored a GREEN rating on this element.

Are the streets pedestrian, cycle and vehicle friendly?

The site is extremely well located for public transport, with excellent access to bus routes, trains, overground and trams, and indeed many of the respondents to the residents survey said they had chosen Saffron Square specifically because of the excellent transport.

However, the busy Wellesley Road is dangerous for cyclists and not particularly pleasant for pedestrians. Once within the development, the central courtyard is an inviting environment for the pedestrian.

There seems to be sufficient car parking and cycle spaces. Cycle parking is located close to each lift core, and there is a separate bike ramp so cars and cycles do not have to share an entrance route.

The development scored an AMBER rating on this element.

Are public spaces and pedestrian routes overlooked and do they feel safe?

The main public space – the central square – is overlooked by hundreds of flats, and the podium-block roof terraces are overlooked by the tower (which however has no balconies). Facing onto the square are a coffee shop, the concierge’s office (for now), an estate agent and the residents’ gym, all of which generate activity and passive surveillance.

The balconies of the different blocks face each across the square, which provides security but may also result in a lack of privacy.

The development scored a GREEN rating on this element.
Adaptable space: 
overall GREEN

• Do public spaces and layout allow for more than one use, and would it be possible to change their use easily in future?

Do public spaces and layout allow for more than one use, and would it be possible to change their use easily in future?

The revised assessment framework (Berkeley Group 2014) requires that it should be possible to use public spaces for more than one purpose. The civic square has already hosted a range of different community events, such as the Christmas Carol evening and summer fete, with others currently being planned by the Estate Management Company. Its design offers considerable potential for small performances, exhibitions or food fairs, or to accommodate children’s parties. Small vehicles (e.g. food trucks) could drive in for special events. Fundamental changes of use, while possible, would be more difficult, as the planters and fountains are relatively permanent and would be costly to change.

The roof gardens – while strictly speaking not public spaces – could also serve other purposes; for example, the planters could be used for growing food or the space could be divided up as allotments.

The development scored a GREEN rating on this element.
The survey asked residents what else they like to see in the area, and some 53 of them replied. Almost half (23) said they would like to see more independent restaurants, cafes and bars. ‘More higher end/quality places to socialise. Places for shopping, eating and drinking are not those I’d like to invite friends and family to come around for,’ said one. Several said explicitly that they expected this to come with the Westfield project: ‘Looking forward to the regeneration of Croydon in general, especially the Cultural Quarter (Fairfield Halls/College Green) and the new Westfield/Hammersmith development with its improved shopping and eateries,’ one respondent wrote.

Apart from restaurants and cafes, respondents wished they had more sports facilities (mentioned by 20) and parks (mentioned by 13). The most-requested facility was a public swimming pool: ‘I don’t count Virgin as it is very expensive,’ said one.

Residents were asked why they moved to Croydon, what they valued most about living there, and which factors about the neighbourhood contributed most to their quality of life. One thing was mentioned in almost every response: the transport. ‘Despite being in Zone 5, Croydon is so well connected,’ said one. Most commute into central London (and some southwards towards Gatwick) and a few said that they could walk to work.

Apart from transport, several talked about the general convenience of living at Saffron Square, with a major shopping centre, a fruit-and-vegetable market and several supermarkets all in walking distance. Many cited price – saying both that prices generally were lower in Croydon and that Saffron Square was relatively affordable. Some were attracted specifically by the area’s diversity: ‘Cultural/ethnic mix of the area makes it a balanced and interesting place.’ And several said they were looking forward to the changes in the area, especially the Westfield development and planned improvement to transport links. One cited ‘The feeling that Croydon is improving dramatically with the current regeneration. By buying a flat in the Saffron Square development I feel that I have contributed to the regeneration and that I have a stake in it.’

But there were some complaints as well, mainly about the perceived safety of the surrounding area. One said, ‘If I work late and they shut the side entrance at West Croydon station, I hate walking from the main entrance – there’s always dodgy sorts about’ Another said, ‘We should have night patrolling in our building area. We sometimes see dodgy people sitting outside.’ On the other hand,
several respondents explicitly said they appreciated Saffron Square and the area around it because it felt safe and secure.

We also asked residents what they thought the major developments planned for Croydon town centre over the next decade would mean for them. They were almost uniformly positive about the changes themselves: ‘Brilliant,’ said one succinctly. But many also thought that they would inevitably lead to higher rents and property prices – and their attitude to this depended on whether they were homeowners or renters. One said cheerily that ‘The fact that my property has increased in value by 50% in the last two years (and continues to do so) means that I will be able to retire at 55, sell the flat for a huge profit and go to live on a tropical island.’ A contrasting view from a tenant was that ‘my rent will continue to go up by £100+ per month every year because … letting agents have promised their investors they will maximise the rent, at whatever cost.’

‘By buying a flat in Saffron Square I feel that I’ve contributed to the regeneration and that I have a stake in it.’
9. Conclusions and recommendations

Two and a half years after the first residents moved in, Saffron Square meets or exceeds 10 of the 13 benchmarks for social sustainability.

It scored particularly strongly on local identity, transport, and distinctive character. The design presents a strong contrast to the rather dreary streetscape of the surrounding area. We heard different opinions – some found the scheme (and the tower in particular) dramatic and interesting, while others considered it too contemporary – but all agreed it was distinctive. Transport accessibility is excellent, the quality of the public elements is high and the scheme is beautifully maintained.

Residents were generally young, childless singles or couples who had not previously been living in Croydon. They were attracted by the quality of the flats, by the excellent transport, and by the low prices relative to other parts of London. They were not on the whole seeking specifically to live in central Croydon and few had existing ties to the area. About two-thirds were renting from private landlords.

Respondents gave almost uniformly positive, indeed glowing, reports about the experience of living in Saffron Square and in Croydon, and said they were looking forward to further improvement in the area. They expected Westfield and other new developments to attract new residents and investment and counter Croydon's down-market image. On the other hand some feared that prices and rents would rise, forcing them out of Croydon.

Given the residents’ demographic and the fact that the first occupants moved in only 2½ years ago, it is perhaps unsurprising that the scheme did not score highly on integration with the local neighbourhood. Relatively few residents felt they knew and could rely on their neighbours; in any case at the moment there are few neighbours except for fellow residents of Saffron Square, as most of the surrounding buildings are currently in commercial or retail use. In terms of physical integration with the surrounding area, the scheme’s internal square, with fountains and seating, is open to the public, and some non-residents do use it. Subject to third party land, it would be possible to open up a through pedestrian route that would allow both residents and locals to walk to East Croydon station without going along the car-dominated Wellesley Road.
As one element of the ‘Local integration’ criterion (page 39), the methodology required us to assess whether the accommodation mix of the scheme reflected the needs of local residents. The scheme received a low score on that issue. This was not unexpected, as the developers did not intend to build for the existing community: their goal (and that of the council) was to attract a new, more affluent demographic to central Croydon. In that they have succeeded.

Another element of this criterion looked at whether the tenure mix reflected local needs, and again the score was low. Our assessment was limited specifically to Saffron Square, where 36 of 791 eventual homes are in shared ownership and there is no on-site social housing. It should be noted, however, that as a condition of planning permission the developers also provided 104 social rented homes elsewhere in Croydon, some only a few minutes’ walk away, and these were delivered in advance of the private homes at Saffron Square.

This type of off-site provision would no longer be permitted in Croydon, but market realities at the time the scheme was started arguably would have meant that a development with on-site social housing would not have been built. This was certainly the view of the council when it granted planning permission.

Although the methodology was designed to facilitate comparisons between developments, there are inevitably factors that could make straightforward comparisons misleading. For one thing, the other developments assessed using this methodology are much larger than Saffron Square – indeed cover entire neighbourhoods. Saffron Square is just a group of buildings. It has a large population but is physically very small. So while the developer owned or controlled much of ‘the local area’ around the other schemes studied, here it does not. This makes interpretation of the results difficult. For example, safety within the scheme was rated highly on the assessment of Amenities and Infrastructure, but residents rated safety in the area as more problematic. This low score does not necessarily mean that Berkeley could or should be doing something differently. More likely it simply reflects the fact that the development is in central Croydon.

Recommendations

Saffron Square residents report high levels of individual happiness and satisfaction with their lives. Most are young professionals and most are in private rented accommodation. As part of Generation Rent, many can expect to remain in the private rented sector for a considerable period of time.

We believe that many of the fundamentals of community-building in new developments apply regardless of tenure profile. Rather than focusing narrowly on tenure, it is more useful to think about and how people of all ages and incomes in the neighbourhood can engage and interact.

In that context, there are a number of practical ways that a development team can encourage social sustainability on sites like Saffron Square.

These include:
• running an events programme
• supporting communication via social media
• encouraging the natural activists who emerge in every community
• responding to the growing demand for co-working space
• creating spaces to socialise, drawing on the tradition of parish halls

All these things can help create a 'new normal' in which socialising and neighbourliness are commonplace. Some of them are already happening at Saffron Square and provide a good foundation from which a strong community can emerge.

While the fundamentals of neighbourliness are the same across tenures, the dominance of private renting does have implications for residents' quality of life. Respondents at Saffron Square echoed familiar concerns about security of tenure and the potential threat of rising rents. This uncertainty militates against wellbeing. Thought should be given to the length of tenancy agreements, the definition of leasehold contracts and the scope to unify services provided to individual renters. Buy to let remains a valid and important part of the housing market and this would give all parties greater certainty as well as creating a more stable social environment.

At a strategic level, private developers will increasingly need to take the lead in community development. Given the squeeze on local government and housing associations, private residential developers with a genuine interest in placemaking should act not just as traditional estate managers, but also develop the skills to catalyse genuine community development.

At a strategic level, what is clear is that private developers will increasingly have to take the lead in community development. Nobody else has both the resource and motivation to do so.


References
Appendix A: Survey questionnaire

Introductory questions about household, tenure and property

1. How long have you lived in this flat?
   _______ years  _______ months

2. What is your building name and flat number? (This information will only be used to prevent double counting)

3. How many people currently live in your household?  
   _______ (number of people)

4. Who do you live with (please check all that apply)?
   □ I live alone
   □ I live with my spouse
   □ I live with my civil partner
   □ I live with my partner who is not my spouse or civil partner
   □ I live with my child(ren)
   □ I live with other adults who are related to me (e.g. siblings)
   □ I live with other adults who are not related to me
   Other: _______

5. How many bedrooms does your flat have?
   □ Studio  □ 1  □ 2  □ 3  □ 4

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3. By household, we mean everyone who lives in your flat.
6. Where did you live immediately before moving to this flat? Please give the name of the neighbourhood, London borough or town where you previously lived.

7. Approximately how long did you live in your last house or flat for?
   - ☐ Less than one year
   - ☐ 1 up to 2 years
   - ☐ 2 up to 3 years
   - ☐ 3 up to 5 years
   - ☐ 5 up to 10 years
   - ☐ More than 10 years
   - ☐ Don’t know

8. Is the flat in which you live:
   - ☐ Owned outright by you or another member of your household
   - ☐ Owned with mortgage by you or another member of your household
   - ☐ Part self-owned, part owned by a Housing Association
   - ☐ Other affordable home ownership scheme such as HomeBuy or NewBuy
   - ☐ Rented from employer
   - ☐ Rented private unfurnished
   - ☐ Rented private furnished
   - ☐ Don’t know
   - Other: _______

**Questions related to facilities**

9. Are you registered with a local GP or medical centre?
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No
   - ☐ Don’t know

10. How satisfied are you with the quality of health facilities in your local area?
    - ☐ Very Satisfied
    - ☐ Satisfied
    - ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
    - ☐ Dissatisfied
    - ☐ Very dissatisfied
    - ☐ Don’t Know
    - ☐ Inapplicable

11. How satisfied are you with the quality of sport and leisure facilities in your local area?
    - ☐ Very Satisfied
    - ☐ Satisfied
    - ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
    - ☐ Dissatisfied
    - ☐ Very dissatisfied
    - ☐ Don’t Know
    - ☐ Inapplicable
12. How satisfied are you with the facilities in your local area to socialise with friends and family?

☐ Very Satisfied    ☐ Satisfied    ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
☐ Dissatisfied    ☐ Very dissatisfied    ☐ Don’t Know    ☐ Inapplicable

13. What kind of facilities and services would you most like to see in this neighbourhood? Please give as much detail as possible.

__________________________________________

14. Do you have any children who live in the household who are aged 18 or under? If so, how old are they?

☐ Yes  Number of children: _______  Ages (numbers): _______
☐ I do not have any children (Please skip to question 17)

15. If you have children, does your child/do your children have an outdoor space or facilities where they can play safely?

☐ Yes  ☐ No  ☐ Don’t know

15a. Only those with children aged 0 to 4 in the household: How satisfied are you with the quality of facilities for children and young people aged 0 to 4 years old in your local area?

☐ Very Satisfied    ☐ Satisfied    ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
☐ Dissatisfied    ☐ Very dissatisfied    ☐ Don’t Know

15b. Only those with children aged 5 to 11 in the household: How satisfied are you with the quality of facilities for children and young people aged 5 to 11 years old in your local area?

☐ Very Satisfied    ☐ Satisfied    ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
☐ Dissatisfied    ☐ Very dissatisfied    ☐ Don’t Know

15c. Only those with children aged 12 to 15 in the household: How satisfied are you with the quality of facilities for children and young people aged 12 to 15 years old in your local area?

☐ Very Satisfied    ☐ Satisfied    ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
☐ Dissatisfied    ☐ Very dissatisfied    ☐ Don’t Know
15d. Only those with children aged 16 to 18 in the household: How satisfied are you with the quality of facilities for children and young people aged 16 to 18 years old in your local area?

□ Very Satisfied □ Satisfied □ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
□ Dissatisfied □ Very dissatisfied □ Don’t Know

16. Does your child/children attend a local school?

□ Yes □ No □ Don’t know

Questions related to belonging and neighbourliness

*Please say how strongly you agree or disagree with each of these statements about your neighbourhood. By neighbourhood, we mean the area that is a 15-20 minute walk around your home.*

17. I plan to remain a resident of this neighbourhood for a number of years.

□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neither agree/disagree
□ Disagree □ Strongly disagree □ Don’t know

18. (If you are renting your flat) If I had a longer lease, I would plan to stay longer in this neighbourhood

□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neither agree/disagree
□ Disagree □ Strongly disagree □ Don’t know

19. I feel like I belong to this neighbourhood.

□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neither agree/disagree
□ Disagree □ Strongly disagree □ Don’t know

20. The friendships and associations I have with other people in my neighbourhood mean a lot to me.

□ Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neither agree/disagree
□ Disagree □ Strongly disagree □ Don’t know
21. If I needed advice about something, I could go to someone in my neighbourhood.
   □ Strongly agree  □ Agree  □ Neither agree/disagree  □ Disagree  □ Strongly disagree  □ Don’t know

22. I borrow things and exchange favours with my neighbours.
   □ Strongly agree  □ Agree  □ Neither agree/disagree  □ Disagree  □ Strongly disagree  □ Don’t know

23. I regularly stop and talk with people in my neighbourhood.
   □ Strongly agree  □ Agree  □ Neither agree/disagree  □ Disagree  □ Strongly disagree  □ Don’t know

24. I would be willing to work together with others on something to improve my neighbourhood.
   □ Strongly agree  □ Agree  □ Neither agree/disagree  □ Disagree  □ Strongly disagree  □ Don’t know

25. To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?
   □ Definitely agree  □ Tend to agree  □ Tend to disagree  □ Definitely disagree  □ Strongly disagree  □ Don’t know

26. How important is where you live to your sense of who you are?
   □ Very important  □ Quite important  □ Not very important  □ Not at all important  □ Don’t know

27. How many people do you know in your building?
   □ No one  □ 1-3 people  □ 3-6 people  □ 6-10 people  □ More than 10 people
Questions about satisfaction with area and safety

The following questions are about how you have been feeling recently

28. Have you recently felt that you were playing a useful part in things?
   □ More so than usual    □ Same as usual    □ Less than usual
   □ Much less than usual  □ Don’t know

29. Have you been feeling reasonably happy?
   □ More so than usual    □ Same as usual    □ Less than usual
   □ Much less than usual  □ Don’t know

30. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?
   □ Most people can be trusted    □ Can’t be too careful
   □ Depends    □ Don’t know

Please say which you feel best describes how dissatisfied or satisfied you are with the following aspects of your current situation.

31. Satisfaction with life overall
   □ Completely satisfied    □ Mostly satisfied    □ Somewhat satisfied
   □ Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied    □ Somewhat dissatisfied
   □ Mostly dissatisfied    □ Completely dissatisfied    □ Don’t Know

32. Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your local area as a place to live?
   □ Very satisfied    □ Fairly satisfied    □ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
   □ Fairly dissatisfied    □ Very dissatisfied    □ Don’t know

The following questions are about safety

33. How safe do you feel walking alone in this area (15-20 minute walk from your home) after dark?
   □ Very safe    □ Fairly safe    □ A bit unsafe    □ Very unsafe    □ Don’t know
34. How safe do you feel walking alone in this area (15–20 minute walk from your home) during the day?

- Very safe
- Fairly safe
- A bit unsafe
- Very unsafe
- Don’t know

35. Compared to the country as a whole do you think the level of crime in your local area is...

- Higher than average
- Lower than average
- About the same
- Don’t know

36. Overall, what five factors about living in this neighbourhood contribute most to your quality of life? Please give as much detail as possible

Questions about influence in local area

37. In the last 12 months, has any organisation asked you what you think about your local environment? (please select all that apply)

- Local sporting facilities
- Local cultural facilities
- Local environment

- None of these
- Don’t know

38. Do you agree or disagree that you can influence decisions affecting your local area?

- Definitely agree
- Tend to agree
- Tend to disagree

- Definitely disagree
- Don’t know

39. How important is it for you personally to feel that you can influence decisions affecting your local area?

- Very important
- Quite important
- Not very important

- Not at all important
- Don’t know

40. In the last 12 months, have you taken any of the following actions to try to get something done about the quality of your local environment? (please select all that apply)

- Commented on internet such as a local forum, website or blog

- Contacted a local radio station, television station or newspaper
☐ Talked to / written to a sporting or cultural facility directly
☐ Contacted the council
☐ Contacted a local councillor or MP
☐ Joined a local residents’ group or attended a neighbourhood forum
☐ Attended a protest meeting or joined a campaign/action group
☐ Or helped organise a petition
☐ No problems affecting facilities in local area
☐ None of the above
☐ Don’t know

41. To what extent do you agree or disagree that people in this neighbourhood pull together to improve this neighbourhood?
☐ Definitely agree  ☐ Tend to agree  ☐ Tend to disagree
☐ Definitely disagree  ☐ Don’t know

Questions about Croydon

42. Why did you move to Croydon?

43. What do you most value about living in Croydon?

44. Throughout the next decade, the centre of Croydon will be undergoing a major redevelopment, including the construction of a new Westfield shopping centre. What do you think this will mean for local residents over the next 10-15 years?

Demographics

45. What was your age at your last birthday? _______

46. What is your gender? _______
47. What is your ethnic group?

☐ British  ☐ Irish  ☐ Gypsy/Irish Traveller  ☐ Other White background

☐ White & Black Caribbean  ☐ White and Black African  ☐ White and Asian

☐ Other mixed background  ☐ Indian  ☐ Pakistani  ☐ Bangladeshi

☐ Chinese  ☐ Other Asian background  ☐ Caribbean  ☐ African

☐ Other Black background  ☐ Arab  ☐ Any other ethnic group: ______

☐ Don’t know

48. The Chief Income Earner is the person with the largest income, whether from employment, pensions, state benefits or any other source. If two or more related people in the household have equal income, please answer this questions with the oldest in mind. The Chief Income Earner can be either male or female, with no preference to either. Are you the Chief Income Earner in your household?

☐ Yes  ☐ No  ☐ Don’t know

49. Which of these best describes your current employment situation?

☐ Self-employed  ☐ Paid employment (full-time/part-time)  ☐ Unemployed

☐ Retired  ☐ On maternity leave  ☐ Family care or home

☐ Full-time student  ☐ Long Term sick or disabled

☐ Government training scheme  ☐ Unpaid, family business

☐ Doing something else

50. If you are not the Chief Income Earner, which of these best describes the current employment situation of the Chief Income Earner in your household?

☐ Self-employed  ☐ Paid employment (full-time/part-time)  ☐ Unemployed

☐ Retired  ☐ On maternity leave  ☐ Family care or home

☐ Full-time student  ☐ Long Term sick or disabled

☐ Government training scheme  ☐ Unpaid, family business

☐ Doing something else
51. What was your main job last week?

52. If you are not the Chief Income Earner, what was the Chief Income Earner in your household’s main job last week?

53. Thinking about your (main) job, about how long does it usually take for you to get to work each day, door to door in minutes?

54. What is the combined annual income of your household, prior to tax being deducted?
   - Up to £7,000
   - £7,001 to £14,000
   - £14,001 to £21,000
   - £21,001 to £28,000
   - £28,001 to £34,000
   - £34,001 to £41,000
   - £41,001 to £48,000
   - £48,001 to £55,000
   - £55,001 to £62,000
   - £62,001 to £69,000
   - £69,001 to £76,000
   - £76,001 to £83,000
   - £83,001 to £100,000
   - £100,001 to £150,000
   - £150,001 or more
   - Don’t know
This project was carried out by LSE London, a research centre at the London School of Economics. LSE London specialises in policy-oriented housing and urban research, with a particular focus on issues affecting the capital. We carry out research for government departments, local authorities, property developers, housing associations and international organisations. The centre brings together a range of social science disciplines including economics, geography, sociology and government. LSE London carried out the resident survey, analysis and interpretation of the findings. Max Walmsley MRICS carried out the site survey.