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Inner Area Study

LAMBETH

Housing and Population Projections

Report by the Consultants

**Published by the
Department of the Environment**

IAS/LA/8

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**Shankland/Cox Partnership in association with
the Institute of Community Studies**

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SIX TOWNS STUDIES - A TOTAL APPROACH

In the autumn of 1972 the Department of the Environment initiated six urban studies with the purpose of developing a more comprehensive approach to the improvement of the environment. The studies are intended to provide guidance for local authorities; there are two types of studies, 'Urban Guidelines' and 'Inner Area'. Consultants were engaged to undertake the studies in collaboration with selected local authorities, the direction of each study being provided by a Steering Committee under the chairmanship of a DOE Minister.

URBAN GUIDELINES STUDIES

Studies undertaken in Oldham, Rotherham and Sunderland were designed to assist local authorities to develop a broad approach to identification of problems and to improvement of the environment looking at the town as a whole. The studies were particularly directed at the functions for which the new district councils were to be responsible from April 1974; they were completed in the summer of 1973 and the reports published by HMSO under the title 'Making Towns Better'. They provide practical guidance to local authorities, complementary to the 'Bains Report'* and in particular draw attention to inter-relationships between activities and utilizing available resources, both of finance and manpower, to the best effect.

* The New Local Authorities - Management and Structure HMSO 1972 £1 net

INNER AREA STUDIES

Studies at Birmingham, Lambeth and Liverpool are concerned with the particular problems of inner city areas. They are analytical studies involving action-research which are expected to extend over several years. A study area has been selected in each city. The functioning and the needs of the area are being examined from the point of view of the people living there, in order to derive lessons about powers, resources and techniques. Reports by the consultants are being published from time to time during the course of the studies; a list of those published so far is on the inside front cover. The consultants are:

Birmingham - Llewelyn-Davies Weeks Forestier-Walker and Bor

Lambeth - Shankland/Cox Partnership, in association with the
Institute of Community Studies

Liverpool - Hugh Wilson and Lewis Womersley

THE LAMBETH INNER AREA STUDY

The Study is directed by a Steering Committee under the chairmanship of Mr Reg Freeson MP, Minister for Housing & Construction which includes members of Lambeth Borough Council and a representative of the Greater London Council. The consultants are the Shankland/Cox Partnership, 16 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3JH, in association with the Institute of Community Studies, 18 Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green, London E2 9PF. The consultants' office address for the Study is 73-75 Stockwell Road, London SW9.

The consultants' Project Report - IAS/LA/1 - was published in 1974. This dealt with the selection of the study area and set out the consultants' proposals for action and research to be carried out in that area. Since then the consultants have produced a series of documents. These have been presented to the Steering Committee and were also considered, along with other material, at seminars organised by the consultants. Four of these documents were published earlier this year (IAS/LA/2-5). The report which follows is one of a number of others from the series now being published. Details of publications from the Study are on the inside front cover.

July 1975

HOUSING AND POPULATION PROJECTIONS

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Introduction.

1. This paper describes the results of a series of population projections carried out to measure the effect which various alternative policies could have on the population of the Study Area. First of all, we are dealing with two different types of policy:
 - a) Replacement of existing privately owned housing by new local authority housing.
 - b) Redevelopment of existing privately owned housing for non residential uses - primarily open space and schools.

2. Various parts of the study area (shown in the diagram at the end of this paper) have been earmarked for redevelopment under these two headings. But the 'firmness' of these proposals varies from one site to another. In some cases, compulsory purchase orders have already been confirmed by the DOE. Other cases fall within the current local authority programmes but have not yet achieved DOE approval. Finally, a number of proposals are neither confirmed nor programmed. They are 'gleams in the local authority eye', but they could be implemented by 1981, which is the time span of our exercise.

3. For these reasons we have distinguished 'firm' 'probable' and 'possible' proposals and have carried out separate projections to measure the effect of each category on the Study Area's 1981 population.

Proposals which involve redevelopment for non-residential uses clearly involve a complete loss of population (except, as we point out below, some loss could be expected in any case because of the long term decline in occupancy rates). Redevelopment for housing purposes presents greater technical problems and here our approach has been to 'wipe out' the existing populations of the areas concerned and replace them by populations which reflect the characteristics of new local authority estates. (But again, we have adjusted the 'existing' and future populations to take account of the long term decline in occupancy rates).

4. There is a further type of development not mentioned above - namely the rehabilitation of existing housing by public or private developers, which at present is confined to straightforward improvement of council dwellings and the conversion of multi-occupied private houses into self contained flats - or, occasionally, into single family houses. We know that this process can bring about changes in the density at which the housing stock is occupied. But, for reasons mentioned elsewhere we have no firm evidence to estimate the scale of future

rehabilitation, even up to 1981. (The market conditions facing private 'rehabilitators' have completely changed in the past two years and public policy on rehabilitation is still in the melting pot). For these reasons, we have sidestepped the issue for the time being, and have simply assumed that future changes in occupancy due to rehabilitation can be subsumed by a straight projection of past changes in the private and public sectors.

5. We are, of course, aware of the limitations of our techniques, based as they are on current conditions and current trends. Nevertheless, we believe that the differences between the occupancy characteristics of our starting (1971) and future (1981) situations - i.e., between private housing and non residential development, or between private housing and public housing - will be sharp enough to have made a relatively economical exercise such as this worthwhile.

The effect of existing policies

6. All the proposed redevelopment shown on the Draft District Plans for both housing and other uses, has been divided into 'firm', 'probable', or 'possible' proposals. These areas are shown on the map, and detailed notes about them are at the end of this paper (Note 1.). Calculations by each house type have been repeated three times, first with 'firm' proposals only, second with 'firm' and 'probable' proposals, and finally including the 'possible' (but unlikely) group. These calculations establish the effects of proposed physical changes on the housing stock. (The methods of calculation are explained in Note 2.).
7. In addition to redevelopment proposals the character of the population is likely to be affected by changes in occupancy rates throughout the housing stock. Occupancy rates have been falling for some considerable time, and since there is, as yet, no evidence of slowing down, we have assumed that this change will continue until 1981, in line with changes from 1961-71. For the Study Area as a whole the rate of decline is about $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ in ten years. (These calculations are explained in Note 3.).
8. The Borough has proposals for creating General Improvement Areas in the old stock of housing, but as none of those in the Study Area has been officially designated it seems very unlikely that any changes will take place before 1981 as a result of GIA's.
9. The results of allowing for proposed physical changes and the effects of a continuous decline in occupancy rates are shown in the table at the end of this paper and are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of Housing and Population Projections

1971-1981

	House Units	Households	People	Children
1971	14,391	18,890	51,269	12,693
1. 1981 'Firm' proposals	15,639	19,667	54,127	13,330
Ditto plus occupancy rate change	15,639	19,392	50,538	12,400
2. 1981 'Firm' plus 'probable' proposals	15,233	18,807	51,732	12,629
Ditto plus occupancy rate change	15,233	18,683	47,371	11,664
3. 1981 'Firm', 'probable' and 'possible' proposals	13,889	16,852	46,755	11,420
Ditto plus occupancy rate change	13,889	16,755	42,838	10,545

10. The table shows that the number of people in the Study Area is unlikely to change much if only the 'firm' proposals are carried out. The main reason for this is that there were two very large sites under construction in 1971, Stockwell Park and Ashmole, so that there will be a substantial increase in the number of dwellings by 1981, offset by the declining occupancy rates to produce a very small decline of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ in the population. The addition of the 'probable' proposals implies more demolition for open space and more reconstruction under way by 1981, resulting in fewer dwellings at that date and a decline in population of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$. The further addition of the 'possible' proposals accentuates the situation, implying several large sites under construction and resulting in a population reduction of $16\frac{1}{2}\%$.

Other possible policies

11. What we have described so far could be called trend planning - that is an investigation of what would happen under a straightforward continuation of existing policies and other socio-economic trends. It was useful to go beyond this and pose various "ideal" situations, to look at the

implications of these situations and thereby obtain some estimate of the 'gaps' which future changes in policy could possibly bridge.

12. So far, our scenarios have been concerned with the problem of child density. We found in our housing analysis that there was some correlation between areas of very high child densities and housing dis-satisfaction, especially in the old local authority estates and the private terrace flats. We also found that throughout the Study Area nearly two-thirds of all parents thought that it was not a good area to bring up children.
13. This data indicated that the quality of life in the Study Area would be significantly improved if child densities could be reduced. We have therefore attempted to quantify the implications of reducing child density to two levels: first to 30 children per acre in the four house types where it exceeds this figure, and second to 15 children per acre throughout the Study Area. These two standards are almost entirely arbitrary, and we would not claim that they possess scientific validity. Instead, they represent two degrees of improvement over the present situation: the first involves a significant reduction below the present level, while the second involves a further reduction of child densities to the general levels of the Outer London suburbs.
14. The results of these calculations are shown in the table at the end of this paper, and are summarised in Table 2. (The methods of calculation are described in Note 4.)

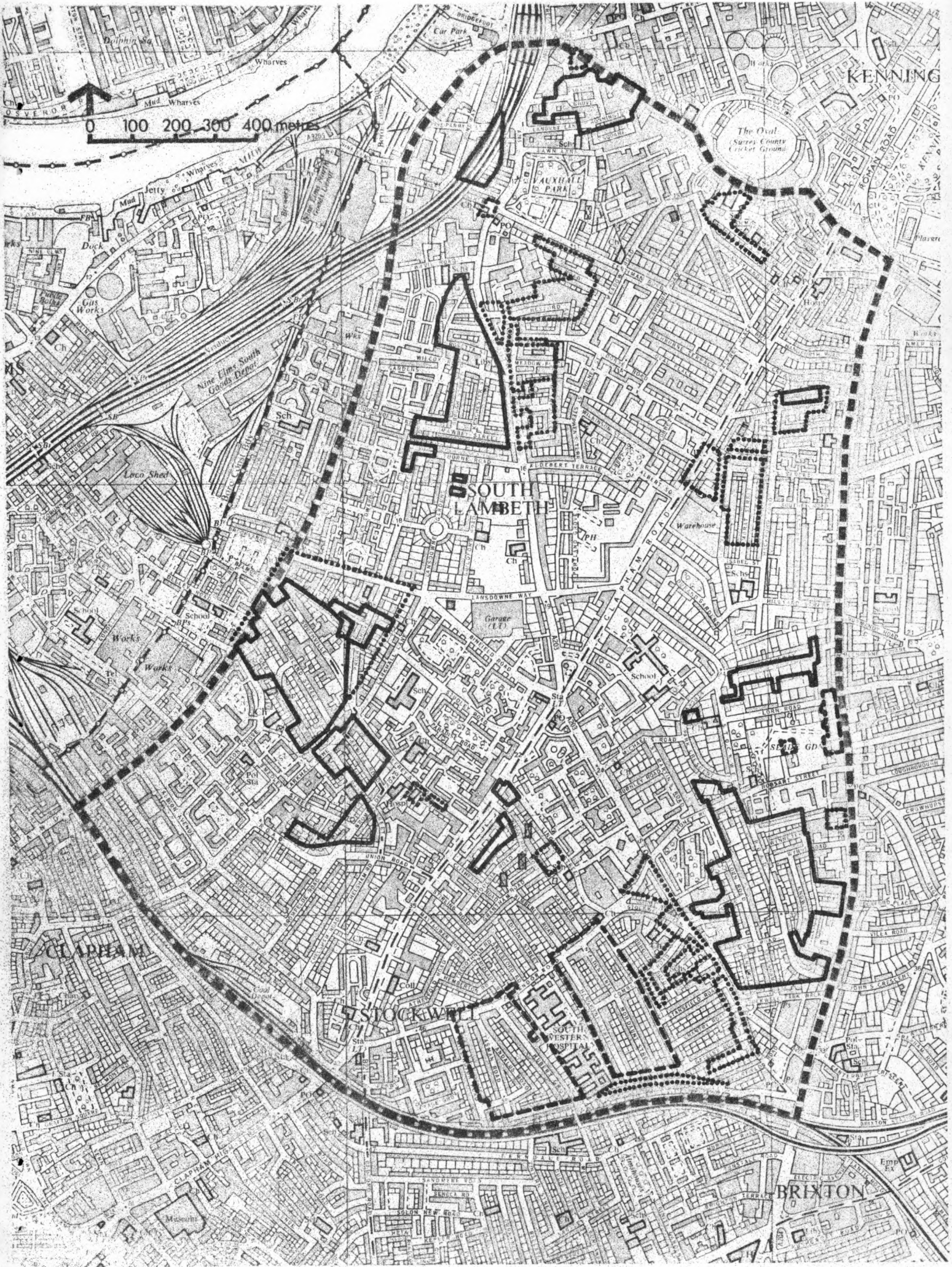
Table 2. Implications of Reducing Child Densities.

	Households	%	People	%	Children	%
Number who must move to make:						
30 cpa with 'firm' proposals	470	2½	2,056	4	910	7
Ditto plus 'probable' "	470	2½	2,056	4	910	7
Ditto plus 'possible' "	433	2	1,904	3½	856	6½
<hr/>						
15 cpa with 'firm' proposals	2,678	14	11,074	22	4,358	34
Ditto plus 'probable' "	2,498	13	10,355	20	4,038	32
Ditto plus 'possible' "	2,240	12	9,309	18	3,593	29

15. The number of households with children who need to move out to reduce the density to 30 cpa represent only 2½% of all 1971 households. Of these the great majority are in local authority tenure, representing about 6% of all local authority households. If the opportunity to move was offered, and if family houses outside the inner area were available

such a reduction might be quite possible, bearing in mind the high proportion of people in the household survey who expressed a desire to move .

16. The numbers needing to move to reduce the child density to 15 cpa amount to 14% of all households, of whom two thirds are in local authority tenure and one third in the private sector. Those in local authority tenure amount to over a fifth of local authority households.
17. There is of course no control over who moves into the private sector, and on the face of it, to re-house a fifth of all local authority households in family houses outside Inner London would represent a major upheaval. However, we are not convinced that it is totally infeasible, given a reasonable time scale and an increase in the opportunities for population overspill (which we advocate elsewhere). If carried out over the whole of Inner London, and phased over a ten year period, such a policy might involve a yearly movement of around ten thousand households. The dwellings falling vacant as a result of this movement would be available to rehouse childless couples and single people. Such a readjustment of Inner London's population-in favour of small households - is probably in line with current migration trends.
18. The problems of population restructuring need to be looked at in the light of potential advantages. It is clear that changes of the order detailed above would require a significant alteration in the direction of the regional housing effort and in housing allocation procedures. At the same time, such changes could make the family life of existing residents much more rewarding and, as we point out in the Labour Market Study,^{*} they offer a clear way out of the current mis-match of skills and employment in Inner London.



- Firm Proposals
- Probable Proposals
- Possible Proposals

Redevelopment Proposals **Fig 1**

Notes.

1. Proposed Redevelopment Areas.

a) Residential Redevelopment

- i. Firm demolition. These areas include Mawby-Brough and all the other areas on the map with dates, including area 9, Rhodesia Road, stated 'under review'.
- ii. Probable demolition. - The two large areas south of Landor Road, subject to uncertainty until the CPO is or is not confirmed.
- iii. Possible demolition. - The remaining areas shown on the map, ear-marked for redevelopment but not yet programmed.
- iv. Replacement. The projections allow for the occupation of Stockwell Park Estate and the Ashmole Estate as well as those shown on the map. We assume that all the smaller, dated sites will be cleared, built and occupied by Census date 1981, but that only half of Mawby-Brough Phase 2 will be occupied, and only half of Phase 1 of the Landor Road sites if these 'possible' areas go ahead.

This means there will be a considerable number of sites under construction in 1981. The capacity of these will be:

	Firm only	Firm and probable
Units	63	762
People at 1971 occupancy	179	2162
" " 1981 "	172	2077
Excess of households with children if only 15 cpa	11	138

No replacement on 'possible' sites is considered likely by 1981.

b) Non-Residential Redevelopment

- i. Schools. We are advised that the Vauxhall Manor site is to be regarded as firm, but all the others, even the small primary school extensions, as only 'possible'.
- ii. Open Space. Phases 1 and 2a of Larkhall Park are regarded as firm, but the rest (as yet unprogrammed) as only 'possible'.

The open space proposed south of the residential development in the Landor Road schemes is 'probable', being subject to the CPO enquiry like the rest of the redevelopment proposals. The two small areas round Slade Gardens are also 'probable'. The demolition of Coronation Buildings for open space is assumed (or at least people to be moved out) by 1981.

the other open space proposals are only regarded as 'possible'.

iii. Industry and Commerce. The site to the south-west, with a firm date involves no demolition and so does not feature in the projections. Other sites are 'possible' only.

iv. Lennox Buildings. The District Plan makes no proposals but we assume it remains out of residential use, as at present.

2. Calculations of Numbers Involved in Proposals.

a) Demolitions etc.

The sites affected are expressed as all or part of one or more housing areas. Where part of one or more housing area is involved, a count was made of the number of house units, and we have assumed that in 1971 these were characteristic of the housing area as a whole, so that the number of households, people and children could be determined.

b) Occupation of new local authority schemes .

We have assumed that those moving in will be, in 1971 terms, characteristic of those in other less new mixed development estates. There is some evidence from the Stockwell Park estate that newcomers may have above average household size, but quite a number of sites are designated for old peoples' housing, which will, overall, bring down the average household size. It may be necessary to modify our assumptions when we have evidence about the Ashmole Estate.

3. Occupancy Rates.

We have assumed that the changes from 1971 to 1981 will be in line with those that took place between 1961 and 1971. For all the house types with one household per house unit this implies a straight reduction in numbers of people and children, since, except in the tower blocks, vacancy levels are unlikely to rise. In houses in multi-occupation the 1961-1971 experience suggests that in all except the two-storey terraces the number of households per house unit is unlikely to fall on average, the reduction in occupancy rate coming from a fall in average household size. For the two-storey terraces the number of households per house unit has been falling, while average household size and the proportions of children have risen. It seems that houses previously occupied by several small households are being taken over by fewer, larger (coloured?) families. There is still scope for this process to continue, which accounts for the 'untypical' effect of declining occupancy shown for this house type in the table.

4. Calculations of Numbers Involved in Reducing Child Densities

The families who would need to move out are determined by first adjusting the 1971 household size distribution to fit the occupancy levels which are likely to pertain in 1981, and also calculating the corresponding revised child densities.

From this the proportion who must move can be calculated. Comparisons with the hypothetical standards of 30 and 15 children per acre showed by what further proportion numbers of children had to be reduced to meet these standards. For the purpose of this exercise, children are assumed to occur in all households of three or more persons, which are then reduced in the same proportion. This method probably slightly overestimates the number of households which might have to move, though not the number of children, since households of three or more persons without any children will probably exceed those of two persons comprising a lone parent and one child, which we have assumed to balance out. At present these calculations are only designed to give some idea of the scale of the problem; this stage could be refined if necessary. The result of moving away families with children will obviously be to leave a corresponding number of vacant dwellings.

These must be filled by households without children. We do not attempt to quantify how many people might be involved since it would depend on whether or not some of the larger dwellings were converted to smaller units before re-occupation. In this case, this part of the exercise must be regarded as somewhat speculative.

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