Life on Hilgrove: Better Living Together

Final Report

November 2021

Executive Summary

About the survey

Life on Hilgrove: Better Living Together Survey investigates people's lived experiences on the Hilgrove Estate, focusing on residents' experience of living on the estate, where they have lived before and why they moved to Camden. Our findings may help to develop a stronger, more connected community in the long term and help improve our understanding of what it's like to live in Camden and London today.

This report provides data from the *Life on Hilgrove: Better Living Together* Survey. It is part of the *Open City* project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (grant reference ES/T009454/1), and organised by a team of researchers from the Universities of Warwick, Oxford, West London, and the Open University.

The survey took place online and in person between August and October 2021. 111 households (c.30%) took part in the survey. Survey design was informed by conversations with residents and organisations active in the local community.

Key findings

- People generally like living on the Hilgrove estate. More than half said the estate has a good reputation and spoke highly of the close relationships among Hilgrove residents.
- More than half of residents on Hilgrove estate often chat to their neighbours and help each other out.
- More than one quarter of respondents reported that they have done something in response to a neighbourhood issue over the past year.
- Around 20% of residents have moved house in the past year.
- Around 70% of residents who have moved house in the past five years have moved to Hilgrove from other parts of Camden, London, or other parts of the UK.
- Younger residents and private tenants are more likely to move house.
- People who have lived on the estate for a long time and securely housed, think that people on the estate move houses a lot.
- People who have lived on the estate for less time, think that people on the estate move houses less often.
- Relatively positive perceptions/experience of living on Hilgrove are more likely to be reported by less mobile groups, especially those who perceive lower levels of churn.

The survey findings have implications for policy makers wishing to plan resource provision and allocation. It also provides up-to-date information on the demographic make-up of the estate. Third sector practitioners may also wish to draw on these findings for their own research and to inform planning community activities.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Understanding migration patterns and population change is vital when it comes to spatial planning, service provision and budget estimates as well as democratic participation and community engagement. Existing evidence of and debate about migration into, out of and around London tend to focus on the city and/or the borough scale, with very limited insight into the sub-borough scales, such as the ward, the street or the estate. According to the 2011 census, in some parts of London, almost half of the population churned in a single year before the census date, of which nearly half moved within the borough boundaries. Beyond this decennial data, however, we have limited knowledge about what changes are taking place on the ground in London's neighbourhoods, especially when we consider the significant impact of Brexit and Covid-19.

To address this gap and build on ongoing work on residential churn in London, we organised the Life on Hilgrove: Better Living Together Survey. The survey intended to investigate people's lived experiences on the Hilgrove Estate, focusing on micro-geographies of residential churn (i.e. churn on the estate level) and intersections between residential churn and practices of neighbourliness, welcoming and participation both on the estate and beyond. Along the two lines we organised the survey questions:

- *Residential churn*, including questions on residents' housing careers, tenure types, where they have moved to and from in the past five years and why they decided to move to Hilgrove and Camden
- *Neighbourliness*, including questions on neighbourhood reputation, civic participation, use of neighbourhood space / place, and social connections and disconnections both on the estate and beyond.

The survey is part of the *Open City* project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (grant reference ES/T009454/1), and organised by a team of researchers from the Universities of Warwick, Oxford, West London, and the Open University. The survey aimed to act as the first stage of our long-term engagement with life on the Hilgrove Estate, in Camden, North London.

This report presents data from the 11 weeks of data collection (16/8/2021- 31/10/2021). In compliance with Covid-19 guidelines, we adopted a mixed-mode design to elicit higher response rates and access hard-to-reach groups. We blended online data collection and targeted door-knocking and distributed the survey through a variety of channels, including social media, postcards delivered to each address, postering on the estate, targeted door-knocking and postal surveys delivered to a sample of addresses.

In this report, we treated the data collected from August to October 2021 as cross-sectional and presented the descriptive results for the key findings. The analysis presented here only includes

adults who proved to be genuine residents currently living on the Hilgrove Estate (n=111), covering more than 30% of addresses on the estate (n=369). Full methods and demographics for the sample included are reported in the Appendix. Notably, this survey is not designed to be representative of the Hilgrove population and caution in interpretating the results is encouraged.

The remaining part of the report proceeds as follows: in section two, we review recent research, policy paper and surveys on population churn and neighbourliness, which informed our study design. This is followed by the method section in which we describe how we designed, piloted and conducted the hybrid survey. We then present the main findings, focusing on residential churn (section four) and neighbourliness (section five). We go on to present some qualitative findings in section six, drawing primarily on our fieldwork diaries. We conclude with a consideration of the implications of our findings for policy makers, third-sector practitioners and scholars, and point out some directions for future work.

Literature Review

The survey acts as the first stage of our long-term engagement with life on the Hilgrove Estate, in Camden, North London. The survey aims to contribute to the existing literature on churn, neighbourliness, and civic participation. To build on ongoing work to map the scale of residential churn in London, the survey elicited responses on the micro-geographies of churn. That is, residents' housing careers, tenure types and where they have moved to and from in the past five years. We aimed to complement this with questions that elicited responses on practices of neighbourliness on the estate, that is, how residents' housing careers intersect with their connections and disconnections both on the estate and beyond and what this means for forms of civic participation and welcoming on different scales – from the estate to the city and beyond.

Following a grey literature search of large-scale housing surveys such as the Community Life Survey, Camden Residents Survey and Camden Social Capital Survey, we conducted a literature review of academic outputs that use survey methods to explore population turnover, churn, neighbourliness, and civic participation. This section will review the literature on population churn and neighbourliness with a focus on studies that use survey methods.

Churn

An understanding of the scale of population churn can enable greater insight into the size of a population, service provision, capitation, and budget estimates as well as democratic participation and community engagement. The 2011 census showed that in parts of London, almost half of the population churned in a single year before the census date. However, we have limited knowledge beyond this decennial data and limited insight into the granularities of churn since existing studies often use imprecise or out-of-date measures of population change or churn. To address gaps left by census and existing data, one section of the survey aimed to capture data on population churn, perceptions of churn and residents' experiences of household mobility.

One way of defining churn is to view it as migration flows relative to population size, calculated as the sum of in and out migration divided by the total population (Camden Profile, 2021). Population churn can be seen as longer term international out and inflows, internal out and inflows and movement within an area. One typology of churn is comprised of: escalator areas where residents whose circumstances improve move out of the area; gentrifier areas, where better off households move into an area; transit areas, where households move in and out, to and from less deprived areas; and isolation areas, where households move in and out, to and from similarly or more deprived areas (Whitehead, Edge, Gordon, Scanlon, & Travers, 2011).

Most studies reviewed measure population churn against neighbourhood satisfaction. Studies that measure the relationship between churn (or population change) and neighbourhood satisfaction, belonging or place attachment are inconclusive (Finney & Jivraj, 2013). Bailey et al. (2012) in their study of place attachment in deprived neighbourhoods, which measures population turnover using UK census data, finds that high population turnover leads to lower

levels of neighbourhood attachment. This is echoed in a qualitative study by Livingstone et al. (2010) which found that population turnover in the UK can undermine social networks, lower social interaction and erode trust, leading to lower levels of neighbourhood attachment.

In contrast, Saggar et al. (2012) who measure population turnover against a variety of measures of neighbourhood experience including belonging, trust and civic participation find that turnover has no effect on cohesion. Their report concludes that population change because of immigration in the UK has no effect on social cohesion. Similarly, based on modelling of the 2005 Citizenship Survey, Laurence and Heath (2008) find that population turnover does not have a significant effect on the perception of cohesion in a neighbourhood.

There are fewer studies that directly survey experiences and perceptions of churn. The majority use statistical data on population turnover as the independent variable against which they measure attachment, belonging or perceptions of cohesion. To contribute to this gap in the literature, we designed questions that ask about everyday experiences and perceptions of churn. The aim of this is to give us more insight into the granularities and micro-geographies of churn. These include questions about how often residents have moved in the past five years, where they have moved to and from, and whether their neighbours have moved. We combined this with how respondents perceive their neighbourhood and how respondents perceive neighbourliness on the estates (see: appendix 3).

In addition, our survey aimed to explore the ways that people move back and forward between everyday civility or indifference to forms of hospitality and community that make a difference to patterns of coexistence and dwelling the city. By considering people's everyday connections at different scales, we aim to find out about practices of neighbourliness as well as what is meant by neighbourliness in the city. We couple this with civic participation, exploring the different ways and scales at which neighbourliness can be enacted. Based on this, and building on the existing literature, one section of the survey aimed to capture neighbourliness and civic participation.

Neighbourliness

There is a significant body of literature that engages with neighbourliness and uses survey based methods to measure neighbourliness at different scales. The literature variously explores the relationship between neighbourliness and neighbourhood satisfaction (Batson & Monnat, 2014; Dassopoulos, Batson, Futrell, & Brents, 2012); neighbourliness (or social bonding) and civic action (Larsen et al., 2004) and social engagement (Glaeser, 2001; Tselios, Noback, McCann, & van Dijk, 2015); neighbourhood attachment (which includes neighbouring, attitudes and problem solving) and neighbourhood disorder (Woldoff, 2002); and neighbourliness (or neighbourhood ties) and perceptions of cohesion (Hipp & Perrin, 2006). Conceptually, studies that engage with neighbourliness understand neighbourly interactions through the lenses of belonging and attachment (Woldoff, 2002); trust (Batson & Monnat, 2014; Yau, 2020); and

social networks (Hipp & Perrin, 2006; Chaskin & Joseph, 2011) understood as strong and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973; Henning and Lieberg, 1996) and neighbourhood satisfaction (Hipp & Perrin, 2006; Sirgy & Cornwell, 2002; Woldoff, 2002). Batson and Monnat (2014) for example address neighbourliness by asking whether respondents value or take interest in their neighbours' concerns. They find that in areas with high rates of foreclosure in the state of Nevada, feelings of neighbourliness alleviate negative associations of neighbourhood distress (measured as perceptions of disorder, crime – perceived and actual – and foreclosure). Using data collected from the same study, Dassopoulos et al. (2012) find that neighbourliness is a strong indicator of social cohesion and neighbourhood satisfaction. Both Larsen et al. (2004) and Woldoff (2002) use questions that build on whether neighbours can be trusted by asking about the routine ways in which neighbours interact.

To avoid presupposing any definition or conceptual approach to trust or attachment, we chose to focus on respondents' daily routines and habits in place and space. This is because they do not ask respondents about their subjective perceptions of trust/attachment. Building on Woldoff (2002), we organised questions on neighbourliness into its routine, social and evaluative components (see: appendix 1). The aim of this is to explore how neighbourliness is understood by respondents and how can begin to conceptualise neighbourliness and its relationship to churn in our findings.

Methods

This section will describe the methods we used. Question design was informed by the literature discussed above as well as a grey literature search of existing household surveys. The section will discuss the approach we took to survey design, data collection and ethical considerations.

Using a hybrid approach

Survey design took place before all Covid-19 restrictions were lifted. As a result, we took a hybrid approach to data collection. We complemented the online element of the survey with face-to-face door knocking once restrictions were lifted. The decision to launch a hybrid survey with door-knocking to complement and boost response rates took place was partially driven by Covid-19 restrictions. This decision was influenced by the emerging literature on survey methods under pandemic conditions. Existing studies (Dodds & Hess, 2021; Roberts, Pavlakis, & Richards, 2021; Will, Becker, & Weigand, 2020) predominantly switched to online methods in response to the pandemic. In contrast, we planned for the survey to be online first and then to incorporate a face-to-face element thereby giving us as much flexibility as possible. In addition, by planning a face-to-face element of data collection, we aimed to gather data that was as representative of residents on the estate as possible. At the design stage, we noted that an online only survey would likely privilege those who are digitally literate, have reliable Internet access and are confident with written English. We were concerned that this would skew our responses towards younger, more educated, and white British respondents.

The presumption of online only responses skewing towards younger people with higher socioeconomic status was evident in the data. 63% of online responses were from people with degrees. Based on 2011 census data, however, 44% of residents have university degrees. In addition, 100% of online respondents were economically active. Overall, however, 59% of respondents are economically active and 64% of residents are economically active according to 2011 census data. The door knocking phase of data collection yielded a higher proportion of responses from women and women of colour and residents with no formal qualifications or secondary education. This suggests that although online methods provide ease and cost efficiency, they are less likely to be inclusive in research settings such as ours. As a result, a hybrid approach is more likely to yield a more representative and inclusive sample. Existing studies (Yau, 2020) suggest that household surveys are more likely to be completed by male heads of household. However, this was not reflected in our findings. In the online phase of data collection, 54% of respondents were female and, at the door, 59% of respondents were female. It is worth noting, however, that we did not specify that the survey should be completed by the 'head' of a household to avoid imposing gendered expectations about household and family composition.

Piloting and distribution

Following a three-stage pilot, the data collection period lasted for a total of 11 weeks. The pilot was initially shared with the project team using different web browsers and on different types of devices. The aim of this was to make sure that the survey was functional and accessible. We then shared an amended draft survey with community partners for feedback and comments. Following this stage of pre-piloting, we recruited eight pilot participants who were estate residents. We asked the eight pilot participants to trial the survey on a browser and device of their choice. Following their completion of the pilot survey, we drafted an interview schedule which asked about clarity, length, navigability, ethics, functionality, and accessibility. Pilot participants took part in a 45-minute structured interview online or over the phone. The outcome of the pilot interview led to further revisions to the survey and the addition of two new questions.

Prior to survey launch, we promoted the survey using social media in collaboration with our community partners and put posters up around the estate and wider neighbourhood. In addition, we sent each address on the estate three postcards inviting residents to complete the survey with a QR code link to the survey. We sent postcards at 1.5-week intervals with varied text on the reverse for each wave.

Data collection

Data collection comprised of two phases. The first was an online only phase for the first four weeks and the second used blended data collection including postal surveys and door-knocking. Prior to starting the face-to-face component of the survey, we had 36 valid responses and 548 invalid or suspicious responses. In the first week of the survey being available online, we received seven online responses all of which were valid. In the second week of the survey, we saw a massive upsurge in clearly fabricated or auto-generated survey responses (n=540) of which all but nine were suspicious. What appeared to be auto-generated responses included similar patterns of 100s of text-based responses submitted within an hour of each other and randomly generated email and postal addresses. In response to this, we revised and reformulated our verification measures and introduced a three-stage set of exclusion criteria. Our initial verification measures included a required question asking for a postal address and a correctly inputted flat block name. When revising our verification measures, we introduced a captcha question to eliminate bot generated auto-responses; introduced a verification question which asks respondents to select an image of where they live; and replaced the drop-down menu for “which block do you live in” with a text box. We then complemented this with an assessment of mode of access (via QR or via weblink); Internet Protocol (IP) address through which we were able to ascertain respondents’ rough geographical locations; and, where respondents’ privacy settings allowed, respondents’ latitude and longitude at the time of survey completion. As QR codes were distributed via postcards, posters displayed on the estate and in the local area, we were able to assume that QR code access to the survey was more likely to

come from genuine estate residents. By the end of the data collection period, we received 607 online responses. We excluded 84% of these responses. Table 1 below shows exclusions:

Table 1 Staged online exclusions

Online exclusions	
COUNT Excluded (first stage)	498
COUNT Excluded (second stage)	27
COUNT Excluded (third stage)	31
COUNT Valid	51
SUM	607

Owing to the relatively low valid online response rate by the end of our third week of data collection, we trialled postal surveys. In our review of the literature, we found that similar surveys had relatively high response rates for postal surveys. Yau (2020) had a response rate of 21%, Hipp and Perin (2006) had a response rate of 42% and Sirgy (2002) had 13%. Based on this we trialled postal surveys for 10% (n=37) of households. We generated a random list of 37 addresses excluding those which had already completed the survey online. For these households, we replaced the third postcard reminder with a survey pack. We hoped that postal surveys would increase response rates from older people as well as from those who are less confident using online platforms thereby increasing the accessibility of our survey. We received a total of six valid postal survey responses. Half the valid postal surveys were completed by respondents living at the randomly selected addresses. Two were returned by those who expressed a preference for a hard copy survey during the door knocking stage of data collection. One respondent did not fill in their postal address. The low response rate for the postal surveys (8%), relatively high costs and possible intrusion of sending a further wave of survey packs to addresses who had already received three postcard reminders meant that we decided against expanding the trial to a larger sample of addresses.

We ran a total of eight door knocking sessions and completed two rounds of door knocking on the estate. Each door knocking session was conducted by at least two researchers working in pairs to ensure researcher safety. We varied the times and days of the door knocking sessions to elicit as broad a range of respondents as possible. This included daytime, evening, and early evening sessions on both weekdays and weekends. This approach allowed us to access respondents who were working from home, respondents who work away from their home address and families with school age children returning home after school hours. We accessed blocks of flats with intercom entry systems using fire brigade keys which grant access to buildings for postal and emergency service workers with some access facilitated by our community partners. In the first round of door knocking, 40% of residents answered their doors.

Of the percentage of residents who answered their doors, 31% completed a survey at the door, 5% took a paper survey, 35% took a leaflet, 20% expressed no interest and 9% gave another response such as "self-isolating" or "come back later". In this round, we completed 38 surveys. In the second round of door knocking, 34% of residents answered their doors. Of the percentage of residents who answered their doors, 18% completed a survey at the door, 39% took a leaflet, 16% expressed no interest in the survey and 27% gave another response such as "self-isolating". The first round of door knocking excluded addresses who had already completed the survey online. The second round of door knocking excluded all residents who had expressed no interest in being surveyed or had already completed a survey at the door. The Table 2 shows the proportion of valid responses that were collected online, at the door and by post:

Table 2 Valid responses by data collection type

Valid response type	**Count**
Door	51
Online	54
Paper	6
TOTAL	111

It is evident from the table above that door knocking was more successful at gaining valid responses than online distribution. Although door knocking is more labour intensive, one advantage of pursuing this form of data collection was that we were able to gain greater knowledge of the estate and begin to build relationships with residents for the next phase of data collection. It is possible that an online only survey would have yielded a higher response rate if we had built greater trust and rapport with residents prior to survey launch (Dodds & Hess, 2021; Roberts, Pavlakis, & Richards, 2021; Will, Becker, & Weigand, 2020). Overall, with 111 valid responses from 370 addresses, we reached a sample of 30% of households.

Ethics

This sub-section discusses the ethical considerations we took when designing and implementing the survey. It considers how we dealt with asking sensitive questions before turning to the measures taken to mitigate Covid-19 risk. We considered the ethical implications of asking respondents about their housing tenure type and immigration status. We were concerned that asking respondents about their immigration status and tenure type directly would lead to a higher incidence of non-response (Landolt, Goldring, & Pritchard, 2021).

Sensitive questions

Non-response rates to survey questions on immigration status in the US are not typically higher than response rates to questions on ethnicity and country of birth (Bachmeier, Van Hook, & Bean, 2014). When discussing surveys of ethnic minorities in Britain, Erens (2018) finds that questions which ask about ethnicity, place of birth and nationality(ies) do not usually yield low response rates. With respect to nationality(ies) and immigration status, 91% of respondents told us which passport(s) they hold. Of the 31 (out of 111) respondents who do not hold a British passport, 87% (n=27) responded to the question about their current immigration status. Of the 12% of (n=13) respondents who do not have Leave to Remain, the most common types of visas held are T2 worker visas and T4 student visas. Most responses from those who do not hold British passports were collected face to face. For Erens (2018), it is important for researchers to replicate the standard nationality and ethnicity questions used in the UK census. This is because using these questions will allow for greater comparability. However, for Landolt et al. (2021) a major concern in survey methods in migration studies is that they replicate and reproduce state centred categorisations of migrants. State centred categorisations are not likely to coincide with individual experience and can be alienating to respondents. They argue that this can lead to methodological nationalism. Although we felt state-centred categorisations of visa status were necessary for our data on churn, we avoided replicating state centred categorisations by asking respondents to self-define their ethnicity using a text box. We found that asking respondents to self-describe yielded responses such as “Black African Somalian”, “British Moroccan or North African” or “Polish, Eastern European with German family”. Such responses suggest that self-definition gives respondents the opportunity to choose how to express their own ethnic background. This has not only given us greater insight into the ethnic origins of respondents that would have otherwise been offered by ONS categorisations but also provides insight into affective relationships to ethnicity. This was evident, for example, in face-to-face responses where respondents took time to reflect and consider how best to describe their ethnic origin. This was clear with one respondent who described herself as Albanian Kosovan and in doing so expressed her own feelings about her identity as a Muslim Albanian Kosovan refugee. Overall, 18% of respondents chose not to answer the question asking for self-defined ethnicity, 7% chose not to answer country of birth, 9% chose not to answer the nationality(ies) question. It is possible that the unfamiliar format of the self-described ethnicity question led to a relatively high rate of non-response in comparison to the literature discussed above.

It is perhaps unsurprising that survey methods are not often used to elicit responses on illegalised housing practices such as subletting social housing tenancies. Owing to the relative distance of survey methods, we aimed to use proxies on tenure type to ensure sensitivity, particularly with regards to those whose tenure types are informal or illegalised. Based on this, we adapted questions from the UK Census and the English Housing Survey to gain as much

insight into tenure types without causing discomfort to respondents. 1.8% of respondents chose not to answer questions on tenure type. We were also able to infer informal tenancies or sublets through three questions, the first of which asked respondents who they pay their rent to, the second which asked how they found the property (online, through the Local Authority, or through an estate agent) and the third which asked if residents rent a room, part of a room or the whole flat. Responses that include "other" or "private landlord" for the former *and* "other" or "through word of mouth" for how residents found their property were intended to indicate less formal tenancy types. Except for three "don't know" responses and two "prefer not to answer" responses, no respondents chose this combination of answers. The third question revealed that 14% (n=16) percent of respondents rent a room in a shared house and 0.1% rent part of a room (n=1) in a shared house.

Covid-19

The online survey was launched in mid-August 2021 shortly after the lifting of the government's final Covid-19 restrictions. The survey launch coincided with two of the researchers receiving their second dose vaccines – providing maximum protection to researchers in the face-to-face phase of data collection. In the piloting stage of the survey (prior to all covid-19 restrictions being lifted), we used online only methods. This involved conducting online interviews with pilot participants. To ensure accessibility and ease for pilot respondents, we asked them to specify a platform of their choice. While collecting face-to-face responses, we took relevant measures to protect ourselves and respondents. We followed social distancing guidelines and offered to wear masks on the three occasions we were invited into respondents' homes. As most flats on the estate open onto outdoor walkways, there was sufficient natural ventilation for us to not need to wear masks while door-knocking.

Residential churn

Residential churn reflects 'the outcome of mobility of all types' (Scanlon, Travers, & Whitehead, 2010, 11). Depending on the origin and destination of the movement, we identify five types of churn that happen across multiple scales; those moving to and from overseas (i.e. international movement); to and from the rest of the UK (i.e. inter-regional movement), to and from other London boroughs (i.e. inter-borough movement), to and from other parts of Camden (i.e. intra-borough movement), and those moving within the 1-mile radius (i.e. local movement).We define the first type of movement as 'macro churn', the second type as 'meso churn', the third type as 'micro churn' and the fourth and fifth type as 'nano churn'.

To capture changing patterns of residential churn across multiple scales, we asked survey respondents to recall their previous address (if any) and why they decided to move to Hilgrove. Survey respondents were also encouraged to talk about their length of residence in different places and geographical relationships in and beyond Hilgrove, such as those in Camden, in London, in other parts of the UK and internationally. This would provide more insight into the granularities and geographies of churn, especially nano churn on the estate scale which has rarely been measured precisely in existing research.

Specifically, we asked respondents not only whether they moved houses (i.e. actual churn), but their perceptions of neighbours moving houses (i.e. perceived churn). By comparing perceived with actual levels of churn – captured both by the survey and secondary data sources (e.g. the Census and consumer data), we aim to uncover the unneglectable differences between churning behaviours and perceptions, which shed light on the complex albeit under-researched social psychological mechanism linking neighbourhood perceptions and neighbourliness (which will be discussed in the next section).

Length of residence

To measure residential churn across multiple scales, respondents were asked how long they have lived in their current home, in Hilgrove, in Camden, in London and in the UK, respectively. Notably, it is the in-migratory behaviours that are captured by these questions. Out-migration and other types of migratory behaviours are not recorded by the survey.

If one-year is used as a cut-off point for measuring a relatively high level of residential churn, 20.91% of our respondents reported a relatively high churn rate at the household level since they spent less than one year at their current address (Figure 1). Among such a group of respondents, more than half were highly transient and spent less than 6 months in their current home. The churn rate declines when moving to larger scales. It drops to 16.67% at the estate level, 13.76% at the borough level, and 9.35% at the city level, meaning that less than 20% of respondents moved to Hilgrove Estate and/or Camden and less than 10% moved to London in the year preceding the survey.

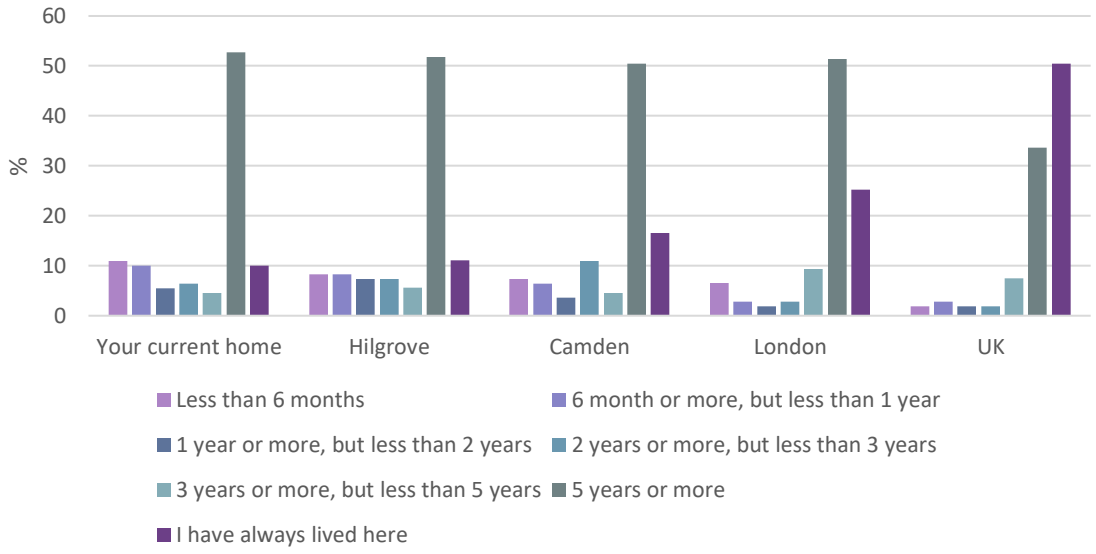

Figure 1 Length of residence

Compared with Census data (2011) and ONS local migration statistics (2020), our respondents reported similar levels of churn at the estate level, and slightly lower levels of churn at the borough level Table 3. When it comes to the London and the UK level, survey respondents reported higher levels of churn, compared to the Census and ONS data. For meso churn at the city/regional level, 9.35% of survey respondents moved to London within the past 12 months – 4.69% higher than the corresponding rate provided by ONS (2020) and 4.62% higher than the Census estimates. For macro churn measuring international migration, the difference was 2.44% between the Life on Hilgrove Survey and ONS local migration statistics, and 3.58% between the survey and 2011 Census.

Table 3 In-migration rate: comparison across multiple sources

		Life on Hilgrove Survey (2021)	ONS (2020)	Census (2011)
In the past 12 months, did you…?	move to Hilgrove Estate (Output Area level)	16.67%	-	16.80%
	move to Camden	13.76%	14.70%	15.30%
	move to London	9.35%	4.66%	4.73%
	move to the UK	4.67%	2.23%	1.09%

When thinking back over the last three years, 32.73% of our respondents have moved house and 31.48% have moved to Hilgrove. When thinking back over the last five years, the corresponding churn rate reaches 37.27% at the household level, 37.04% at the estate level, 33.03% at the borough level, and 23.36% at the city level.

For those who have ever moved home in the past 5 years, we asked for their most recent address (n=29). In this sample (Figure 2, left), 20.69% moved to Hilgrove from abroad (international movement), 6.90% from other parts of the UK (inter-regional movement), 34.48% from elsewhere in London (inter-borough movement), 17.24% from elsewhere in Camden (intra-borough movement), and 20.69% moved within the 1-mile radius (local movement).

Figure 2 The most recent address (left: those who have n

For those who have moved home in the most recent addresses skewed towards people flows have been from overseas a London boroughs (inter-borough mover address. Intra-borough movement – thc accounts for 6.67% of the changes. This figure is 10.57% lower than the corresponding rate from those who have changed address in the past 5 years.

We compared the geographical distribution of recent addresses of survey respondents with Census estimates and found some interesting patterns (Table 4). Intra-borough movement (i.e. nano churn) accounts for approximately 27%-28% of residential churn, which is consistent across two data sources. Shares of other types of movement, however, differ significantly between the survey and the 2011 Census on the one hand, inter-regional movement plays a small role in Hilgrove's population change (6.67%), but it accounts for more than one third

(35.90%) of residential movement recorded by the 2011 Census. On the other hand, international and inter-borough movements play crucial roles in explaining Hilgrove's demographic changes – each account for one third of total house moves. These two types of movement, however, play relatively modest roles in Census migration flows. The comparison demonstrates that, compared to Census estimates, the Life on Hilgrove Survey highlights the significance of residential churn on the macro and micro level.

Table 4 Distribution of migration flows across different levels: comparison between Life on Hilgrove Survey and 2011 Census

	Life on Hilgrove Survey (2021)	Census (2011)
Macro churn: international movement	33.33%	21.48%
Meso churn: inter-regional movement	6.67%	35.90%
Micro churn: inter-borough movement	33.33%	13.74%
Nano churn: intra-borough movement (including local movement)	26.67%	28.87%

Note: Since Census estimates do not distinguish local movement (i.e. those move within 1 mile radius) from intra-borough movement, we combine the two types of movement as 'intra-borough movement' in this table.

Subgroup analysis

Subgroup analysis suggests that the patterns of residential churn were far from uniform. While some groups of survey respondents reported a relative high level of churn, others remained residentially stable. Differences in residential churn depend on many factors, most notably tenure, age, and household composition.

Figure 3 breaks down the length of residence by respondents' tenure status: whether they owned (or partly owned) the property, rented from the Council or a housing association, or rented from a private seller. Across these tenure groups we found statistically significant differences. Regarding the private tenants, it is not surprising to see that they tend to be much more residentially mobile compared to other groups. 44.44% and 35.71% of private tenants surveyed spent less than 12 months in Hilgrove and in Camden, respectively. The corresponding rates are around 5% for homeowners and social tenants. When it comes to the London and UK level, the differences between tenure groups remain significant. 25% of private tenants surveyed were new to the capital (i.e., spent less than 12 months) and 10.71% were new to the UK. Such a rate drops to 1.96% for social tenants and 0% for the homeowners.

Figure 3 also suggests that social tenants are the most residentially stable group, especially at the estate level. 90% of social tenants surveyed reported spending at least 5 years at their

current address, 10.83% higher than that of homeowners surveyed. The difference in residential stability was less salient at the borough level, with 86.54% social tenants surveyed and 83.33% homeowners surveyed spending more than 5 years in Camden.

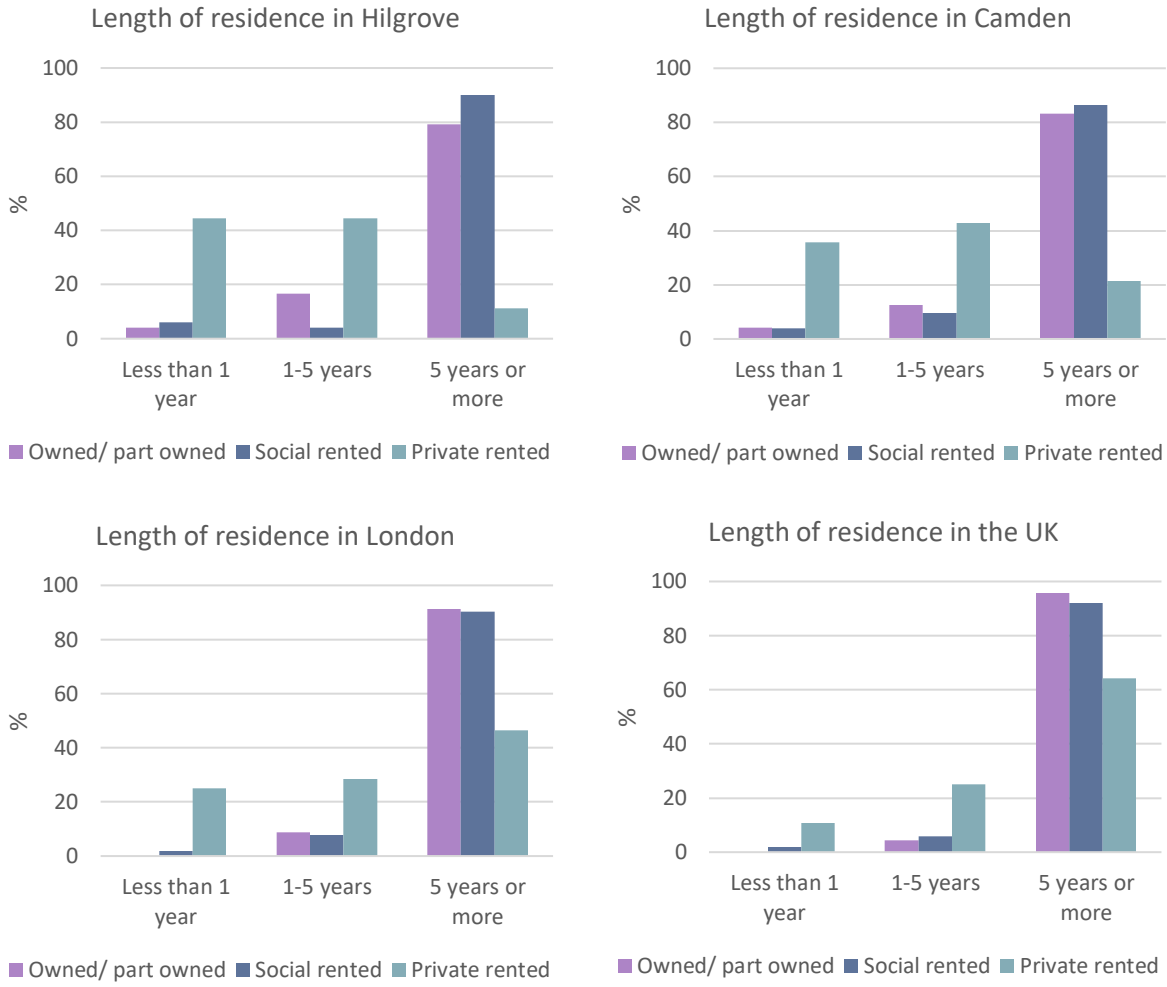

Figure 3 Length of residence by tenure group (top left: length of residence in Hilgrove; top right: length of residence in Camden; bottom left: length of residence in London; bottom right: length of residence in the UK)

Another dimension of difference is age. We classify survey respondents into four broad age groups and present their lengths of residence in Hilgrove, Camden, London, and the UK, respectively (Figure 4). A general pattern is that residential mobility declines with age. Respondents from the younger age group (i.e., 18-29) were found to be the most residentially mobile at all levels. 36.84% of respondents in this age group spent less than 12 months in Hilgrove – accounting for 77.78% of all 'newcomers' who completed the survey. Similarly, more than 30% of the younger aged group were new to Camden, a rate that is more than 20% higher than the corresponding rate of other age groups.

On the contrary, respondents from the older age group (65 and over) and middle adulthood (45-64) were relatively residentially stable. Approximately 90% of respondents from the two groups appeared to be long-term residents of Hilgrove (i.e., spending 5 years or more), compared to 48% of respondents aged 30-44 and 39.47% of respondents aged 18-29.

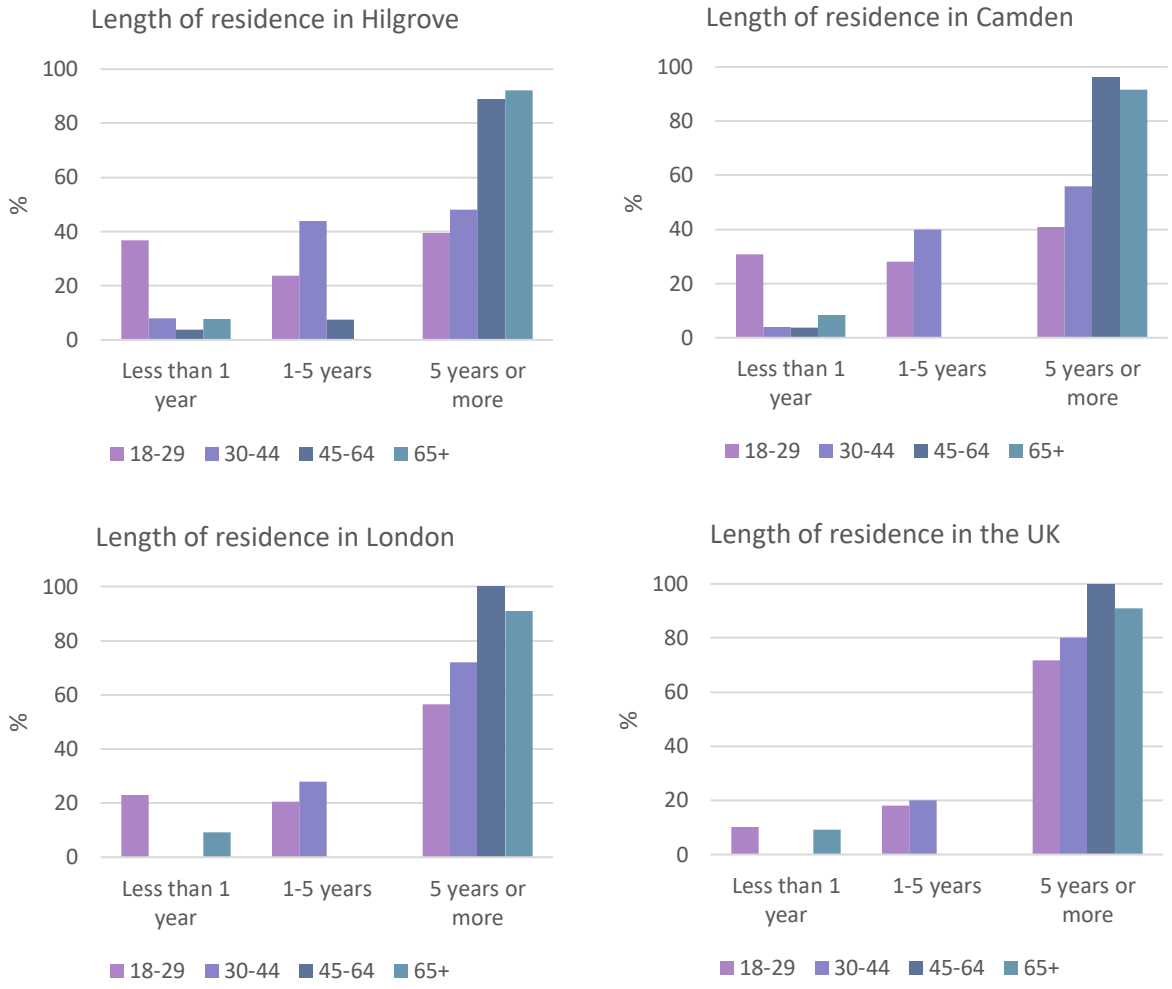

Figure 4 Length of residence by broad age group (top left: length of residence in Hilgrove; top right: length of residence in Camden; bottom left: length of residence in London; bottom right: length of residence in the UK)

Significant differences in length of residence were also observed across different types of households. As shown in Figure 5, respondents in shared accommodation (i.e., not related by blood or marriage) reported much higher rates of residential churn compared to those living alone or with a family. 55% of respondents in this group reported spending less than 12 months in Hilgrove, 45% reported so at the borough level, and 40% at the London level. These rates were higher than the corresponding churn rates for those living alone, which are 14.29% at the estate level, 10.71% at the borough level, and 3.85% at the city level, respectively. The

corresponding churn rates are the lowest for those living in a family, at 5.08%, 5% and 1.67%, respectively.

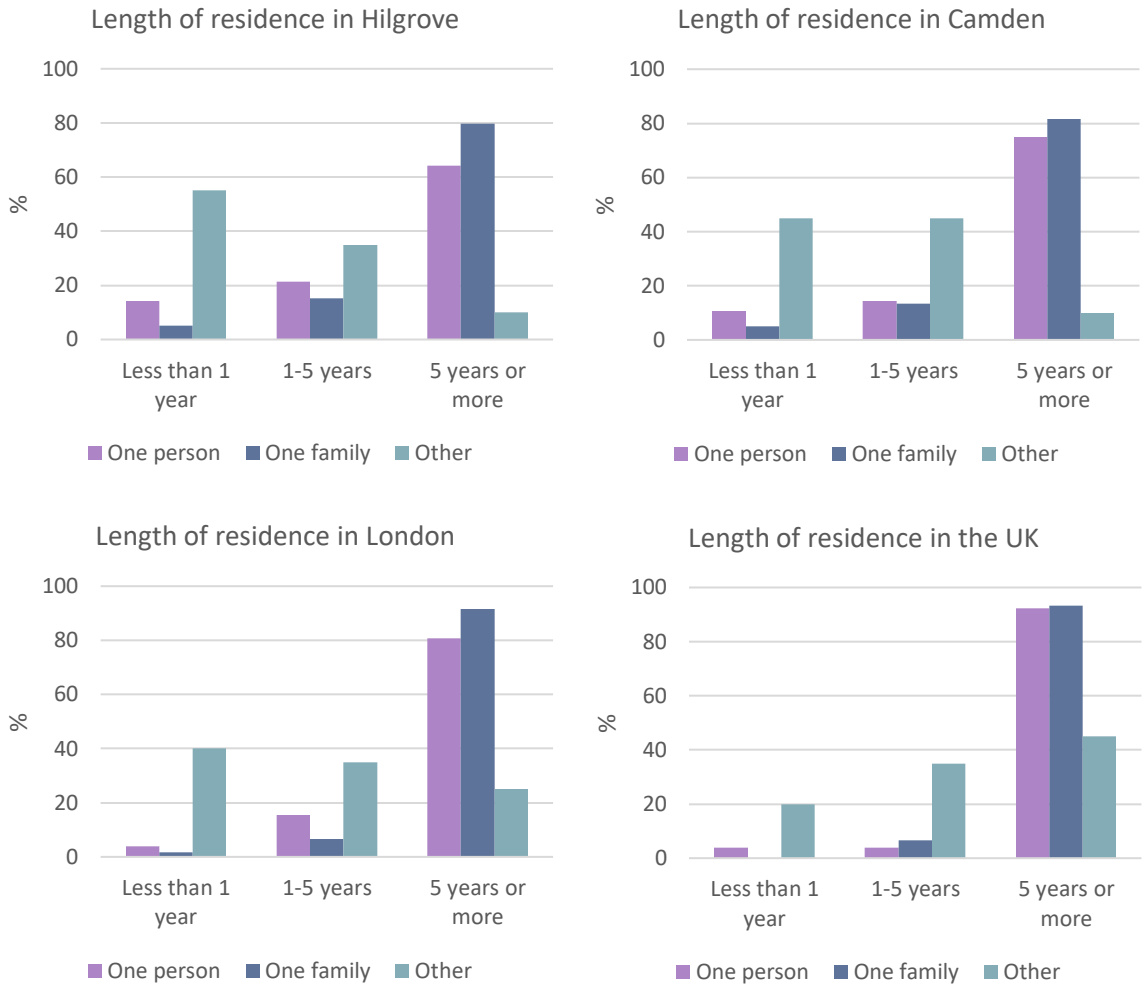

Figure 5 Length of residence by household composition (top left: length of residence in Hilgrove; top right: length of residence in Camden; bottom left: length of residence in London; bottom right: length of residence in the UK)

Taken together, the Life on Hilgrove Survey suggests that demographic changes in the Hilgrove Estate can be mostly explained by residential churn on the macro (those moving from abroad), micro (those moving from other London boroughs) and nano (those moving from elsewhere in the borough) levels. Drawing on churn rates and patterns, Hilgrove residents can be generally classified into two main types: those who are churning rapidly (e.g. spending less than 12 months in a place, 20.91%) and those who are residentially stable (e.g. spending 5 years or more in a place, 62.73%). The survey portrays the 'high churn' group as younger private tenants living in shared accommodation and the 'low churn' group is likely to include older social tenants or working age homeowners living alone or with a family.

Perceptions of churn

There is growing evidence that compared with objective measures of neighbourhood conditions, subjective measures play a more significant role in shaping residents' everyday life (Lee et al., 2017; Jones & Dantzler, 2021). Scholars have explored how neighbourhood is perceived by its residents and contributes to neighbourhood changes and residential mobility (Gosse, Ramos, Radice, Grant, & Pritchard, 2016; Lee et al., 2017). Among various aspects of neighbourhood perception, such as environment, safety, network and reputation (Bailey et al., 2012; Finney & Jivraj, 2013; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Saggar et al, 2012), existing research hardly measures how residential mobility and neighbourhood churn have been perceived, unless specifically focused on perceptions of incoming migrants.

To address this gap, we invited all survey respondents to talk about their perceptions of neighbours' residential movement and relevant neighbourhood change. Two questions were asked to capture people's sense of residential churn happening in their immediate neighbourhood and in Hilgrove more generally, including: 1) do you think that, in general, people in the neighbourhood move homes a lot, move homes a little or stay for a long time; 2) How many times have your neighbours changed in the past three years? For the second question, respondents were asked to choose from the following options: not at all, a few of my neighbours have changed, some of my neighbours have changed, most of my neighbours have changed, all of my neighbours have changed, I just moved here and don't know.

Perceptions of neighbourhood churn are relatively low amongst our sample (Figure 6 and Figure 7). Of those who completed the survey, more than 60% reported relatively lower levels of churn since their neighbours either 'stay for a long time' or 'move homes a little' and 27.93% experienced relatively higher levels of churn as expressed by 'my neighbours move homes a lot' (Figure 6). If we exclude those answered, 'don't know' (n=24), the proportion of respondents who experienced relatively higher levels of churn declines to 18.39%.

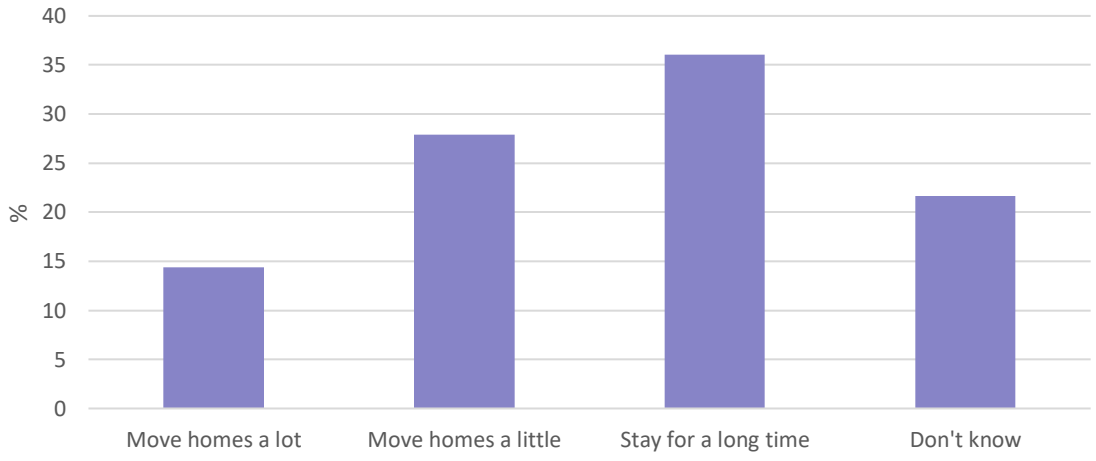

Figure 6 Perception of neighbours' moving home

When asked to recall experiences during the past three years (Figure 7), 6.31% of survey respondents thought most of their neighbours have changed and 16.22% assumed some of their neighbours have changed. Comparably, more than 60% of respondents said 'none' or only 'a few' of their neighbours have changed during the past three years. Such a rate reaches 73.68% when excluding those who just moved to Hilgrove and don't know about their neighbours. This indicates that, about one quarter of long-term residents surveyed reported that they have experienced a high (e.g., 'most neighbours have changed') or moderate level of residential churn (e.g. 'some neighbours have changed') during the past three years.

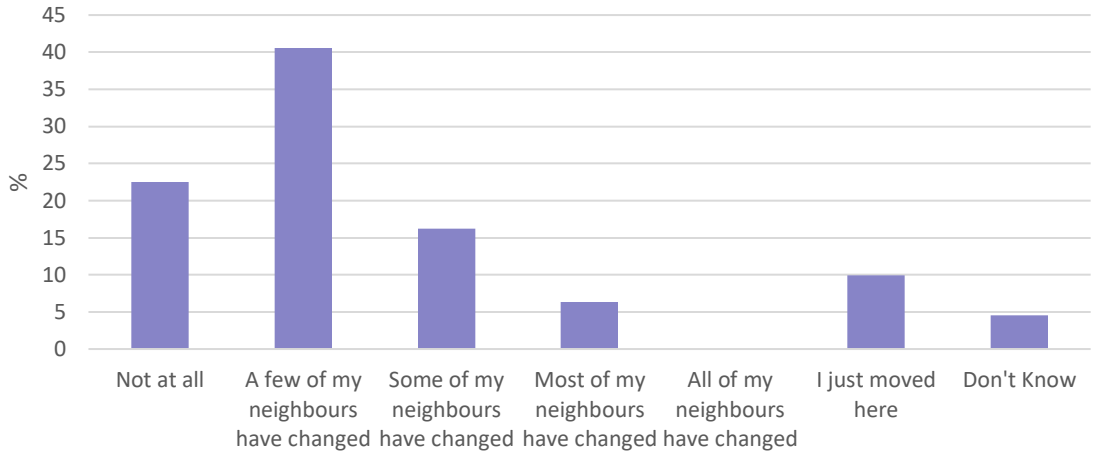

Figure 7 Perception of neighbours' change

Compared with rates of actual churn, rates of perceived churn are relatively lower when taking into consideration a moderate or high level of churn. As discussed in the previous section, 31.48% of our respondents have moved to Hilgrove during the past three years. During the same period, only 22.53% of our respondents reported that 'some' or 'most' of their neighbours had changed. However, if considering those reporting 'a few neighbours have changed' (i.e., a low level of churn), the rate of perceived churn reaches as high as 63.05% - a rate that is significantly higher than the corresponding rate of actual churn (31.48%).

Subgroup analysis

There has been much discussion on residents' widely differing perceptions of neighbourhoods (e.g. Munro & Lamont, 1985). Following these discussions, we carried out subgroup analysis to examine whether residents' perception of residential churn varies across socio-economic groups. We exclude respondents who just moved here and/or don't know their neighbours in the analysis. Similar to actual churn, statistically significant differences in perceived churn are found across tenure types, age groups and household composition types. We also observed significant differences in perceived churn between those who are currently working (economically active) and not working (economically inactive).

Figure 8 breaks down by tenure type the answers to questions relating to perceived churn. The left figure suggests that relatively higher levels of churn, as demonstrated by the expression 'my neighbours move homes a lot', are more likely to be experienced by respondents who are social tenants (21.74%), compared to private tenants (18.75%) and homeowners (14.29%). Similarly, those reporting moderate or higher levels of perceived churn, as expressed by 'some' or 'most of neighbours have changed', account for 30.61% of social tenants surveyed. This is 2.6% higher than those of homeowners surveyed, and 19.50% higher than private tenants surveyed. This observation differs from that of actual churn, in which the highly mobile group is dominated by respondents with private tenancy.

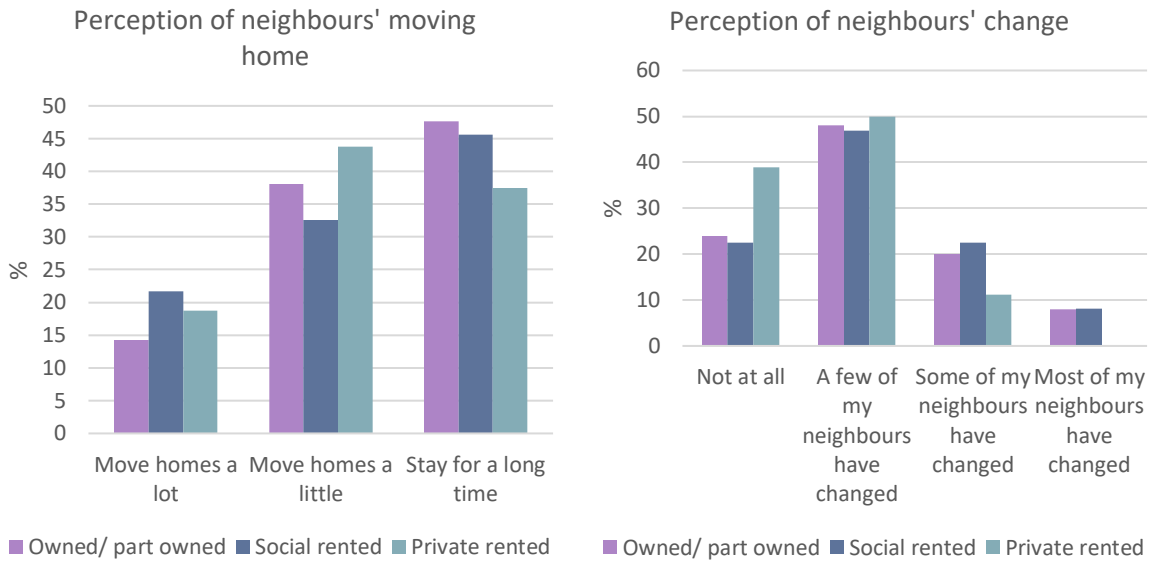

Figure 8 Rates of perceived churn by tenure type, long-term residents only (left: neighbours' moving home; right: neighbours' change during the past three years)

Across broad age groups we also found statistically significant differences in answers to the first question relating to perceived churn (but not the second question). As shown in Figure 9, respondents who perceived neighbours moving homes a lot were more likely to be respondents aged 30-44 (27.78%), compared to those aged 65 and over (27.27%), aged 45-64 (16.0%) and aged 18-29 (11.11%). On the contrary, those who reported a relatively high level of perceived residential stability are more likely to be in the younger age group (66.67%). This observation also lies in contrast with that of actual churn, in which the younger age group tends to report higher levels of residential churn and the elderly tend to report lower levels of residential churn.

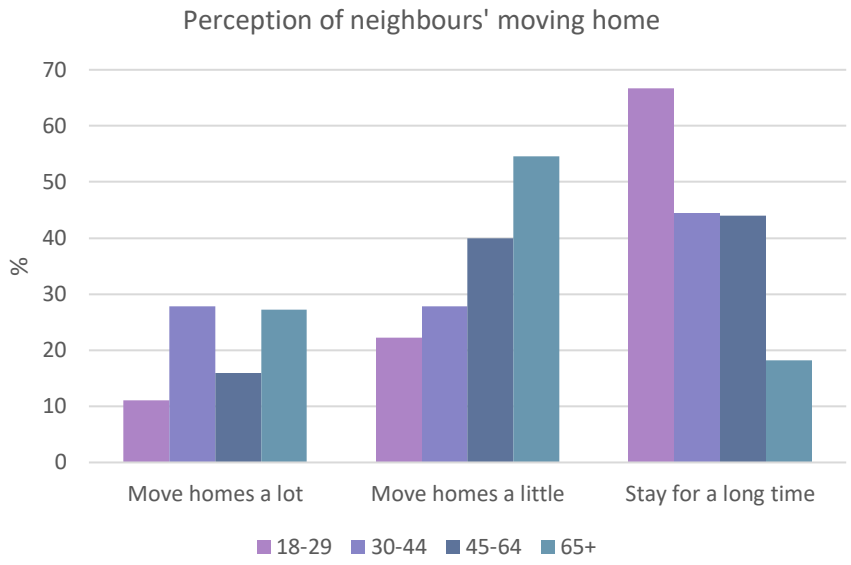

Figure 9 Rates of perceived churn by broad age group: neighbours' moving home

The relationship between household composition and perceived churn also differs from that between household composition and actual churn. According to Figure 10, higher levels of perceived churn are reported not by those living in shared accommodation – the group that reported the highest rates of actual churn. Instead, higher levels of perceived churn are reported by respondents living alone, measured both by the perceptions of neighbours' moving home (left figure) and the proportions of neighbours' change (right figure). 25% of respondents living alone said that their neighbours 'move home a lot' and 37.04% of this group of respondents recalled that 'some' or 'most of neighbours have changed' during the past three years. Both measures of perceived churn are higher for one-person households, compared to other groups.

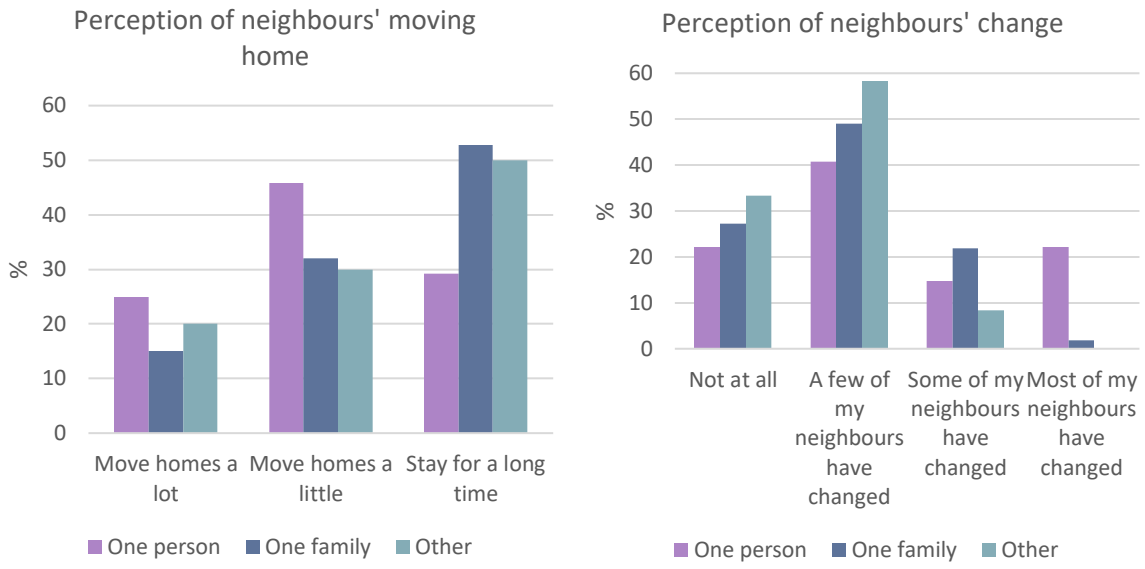

Figure 10 Rates of perceived churn by household composition, long-term residents only (left: neighbours' moving home; right: neighbours' change during the past three years)

Rates of perceived churn also differ based on employment status ((Figure 11). Compared to economically active respondents (i.e., those who are employed or self-employed), economically inactive respondents (i.e., who are retired, unemployed, full-time students, or looking after family or home) are more likely to report higher rates of perceived churn, as indicated by the higher proportion of respondents in this group said 'a few', 'some' or 'most' of their neighbours have changed during the past three years. On the contrary, the survey suggests that economically active respondents tend to perceive lower levels of residential stability.

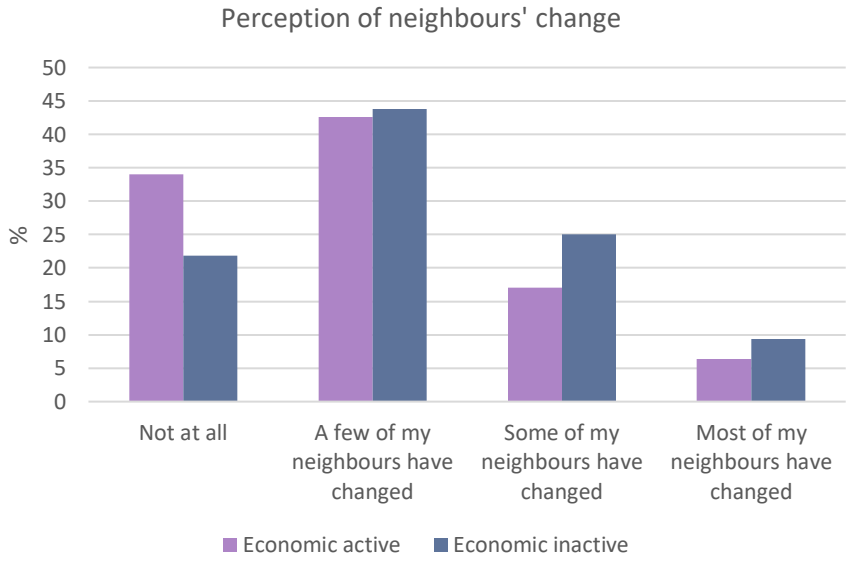

Figure 11 Rates of perceived churn by employment status, long-term residents only: neighbours' change during the past three years

To sum up, the Life on Hilgrove Survey reveals significant mismatch between actual churn and perceived churn. For the survey respondents, their general rates of perceived churn are higher than their rates of actual churn. However, if only higher or moderate levels of perceived churn are considered, rates of perceived churn are relatively lower than rates of actual churn.

More importantly, behaviours of movement do not always translate into perceptions of neighbourhood demographic change, which may originate from observed reality (i.e. actual churn), preconceived notions, extrapolations and speculations. Further analysis suggests that actual churn is more likely to happen among those who are young, private tenants, or living in shared accommodation, but these groups are *not* those who experience/perceive higher levels of neighbourhood demographic change. Instead, higher levels of perceived churn are more likely to be experienced by social tenants, those aged 30-44, those living alone, or those who are economically inactive. In other words, respondents who reported lower levels of perceived churn were *not* necessarily those who spent a long time in the neighbourhood. In fact, a proportion of residentially stable respondents reported higher levels of perceived churn, and some of those who moved a lot tended to perceive relatively lower rates of churn. This mismatch sheds light on the complex socio-psychological mechanisms generating perceptions of residential churn and calls for further investigation into how residential churn is practised and perceived on the ground.

Reasons for movement

Respondents were asked to list and rank the reasons why they decided to move to their current home in Hilgrove. A diverse range of reasons were selected. The most important reason that was mentioned the most times was 'being offered a more secure council or housing association tenancy' (n=20), followed by 'having access to more space and/or better accommodation' (n=11) and 'the chance to move to a better area'(n=8).

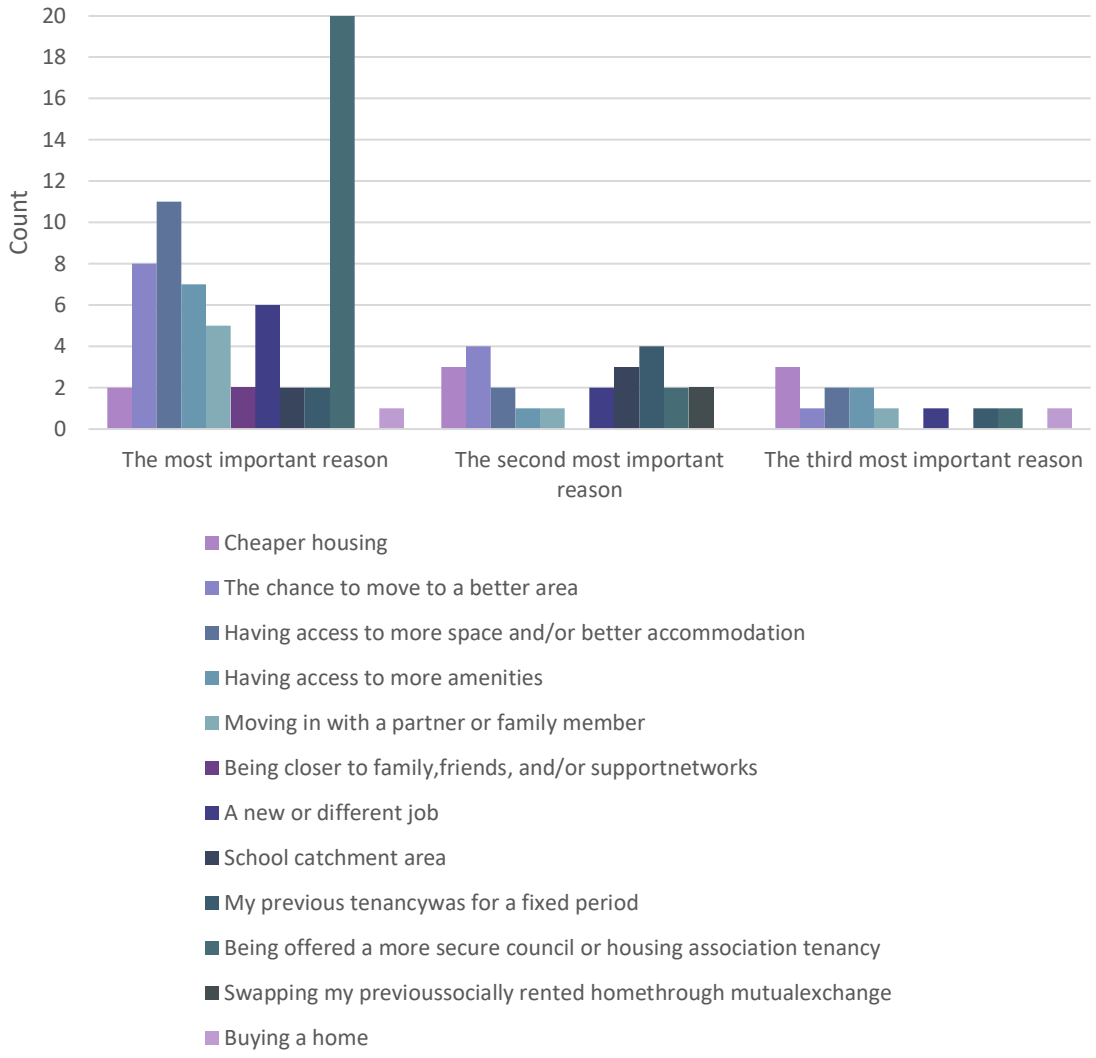

Figure 12 The top three reasons for movement

Of respondents who are leaseholders or private tenants, the top three most important reasons for movement include 'more space' (n=7), 'new job' (n=4) and 'better area and/or more amenities' (n=3).

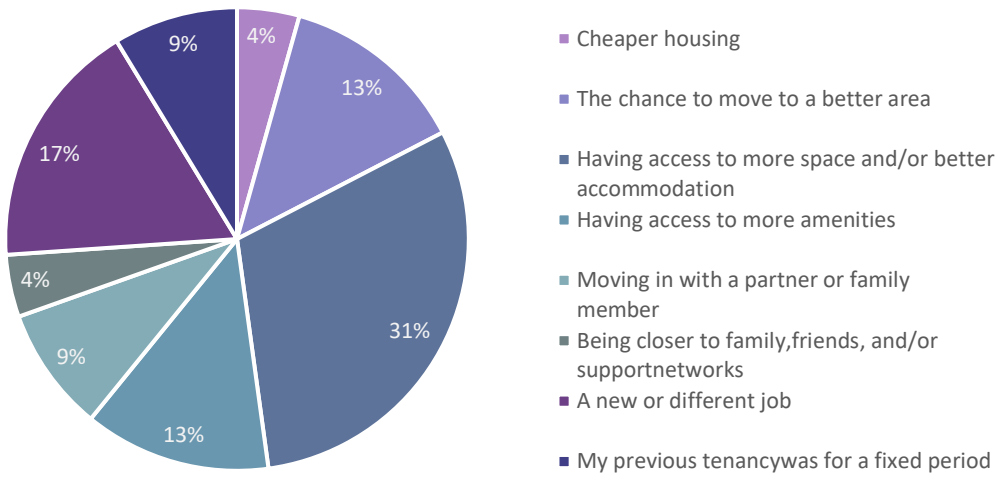

Figure 13 The most important reason for movement (leaseholders and private tenants)

Neighbourliness

To understand how respondents live their lives on Hilgrove, we asked survey respondents questions about their perceptions and experiences of living on the Hilgrove Estate, including perceptions of the neighbourhood and its reputation, interactions to and relationships with neighbours, responses to neighbourhood issues and usage of different types of places in/around the neighbourhood.

Perceptions of Hilgrove

In terms of neighbourhood perception, we invited survey respondents to talk about their general impression of the neighbourhood and summarise that in three words or phrases. The results are presented in the word cloud below (Figure 14). The figure suggests that most words and phrases entered by survey respondents are positive. The five most frequently mentioned words/phases are good (n=24), nice (n=24), quiet (n=17), friendly (n=16) and peaceful (n=13).

Figure 14 Word cloud of residents' perceptions of Hilgrove

However, of all respondents, 14.41% reported negative feelings about living on Hilgrove (n=16), especially among those aged 45-64 (n=9). Their complaints mainly focus on noise (n=12) and crime (n=3).

The relatively positive attitudes towards Hilgrove are also reflected by answers to the attitudinal questions, in which we asked respondents to rate their levels of agreement with the two

statements on a 5-point Likert scale: 1) this neighbourhood has a good reputation; 2) this is a neighbourhood where people get on well together. According to Figure 15, more than 70% of respondents provided positive answers ('strongly agree' or 'agree') to the first statement, and more than 60% of respondents to the second statement. It is worth noting that 22.73% of respondents said they 'neither agree nor disagree' with the first statement and 29.91% with the second statement. Such a neutral attitude, as pointed out by one survey respondent, is possibly since she 'keeps to herself' and has no knowledge of how others get on together on the estate.

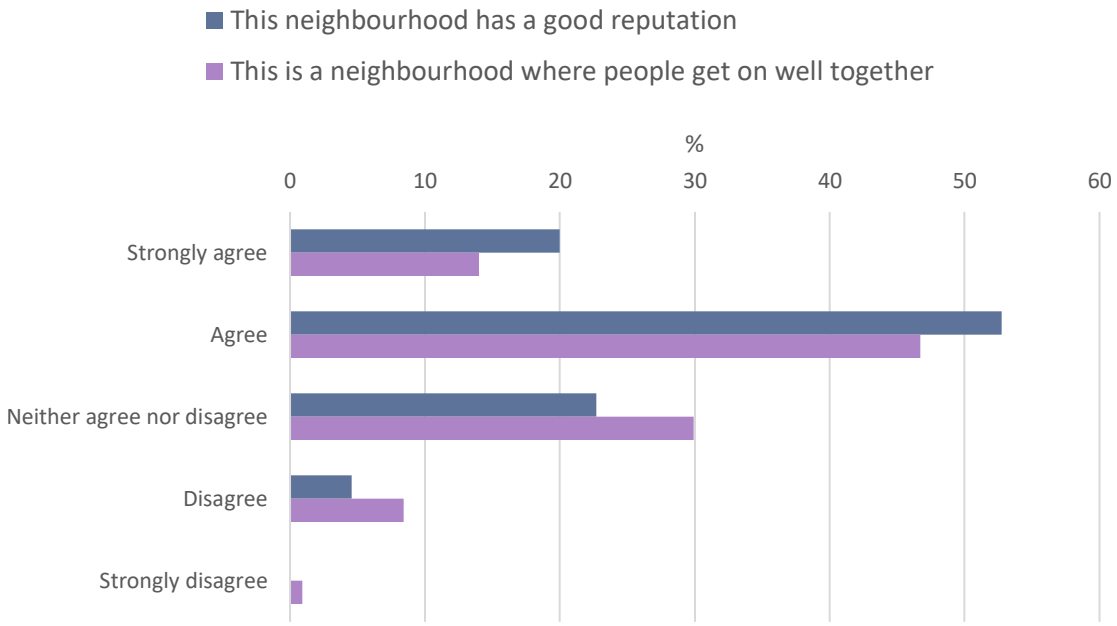

Figure 15 Answers to questions relating to neighbourhood perception

Subgroup analysis

We conducted subgroup analysis to examine if there are any significant variations in respondents' perception of neighbourhood life on Hilgrove. ANOVA tests demonstrate that statistically significant variations in neighbourhood perceptions exist among respondents of different lengths of residence, from different types of households, and living in blocks of different sizes.

Figure 16 breaks down answers to the attitudinal questions by respondents' length of time in Hilgrove. The results suggest that long-term residents (i.e. those who spent 5 years or more in Hilgrove) are more likely to have positive neighbourhood perceptions and newcomers (i.e. those who spent less than 12 months in Hilgrove) are more likely to hold negative views. Of all long-term residents surveyed, 79.41% agreed that Hilgrove has a good reputation and 69.70% agreed that people in Hilgrove get on well together. The proportion of long-term residents who disagreed with the two statements are 1.47% and 4.55, respectively. These rates are

significantly lower than those reported by the newcomers, among whom 17.65% associated Hilgrove with a poor reputation and 23.53% did not speak highly of neighbourhood relations in Hilgrove.

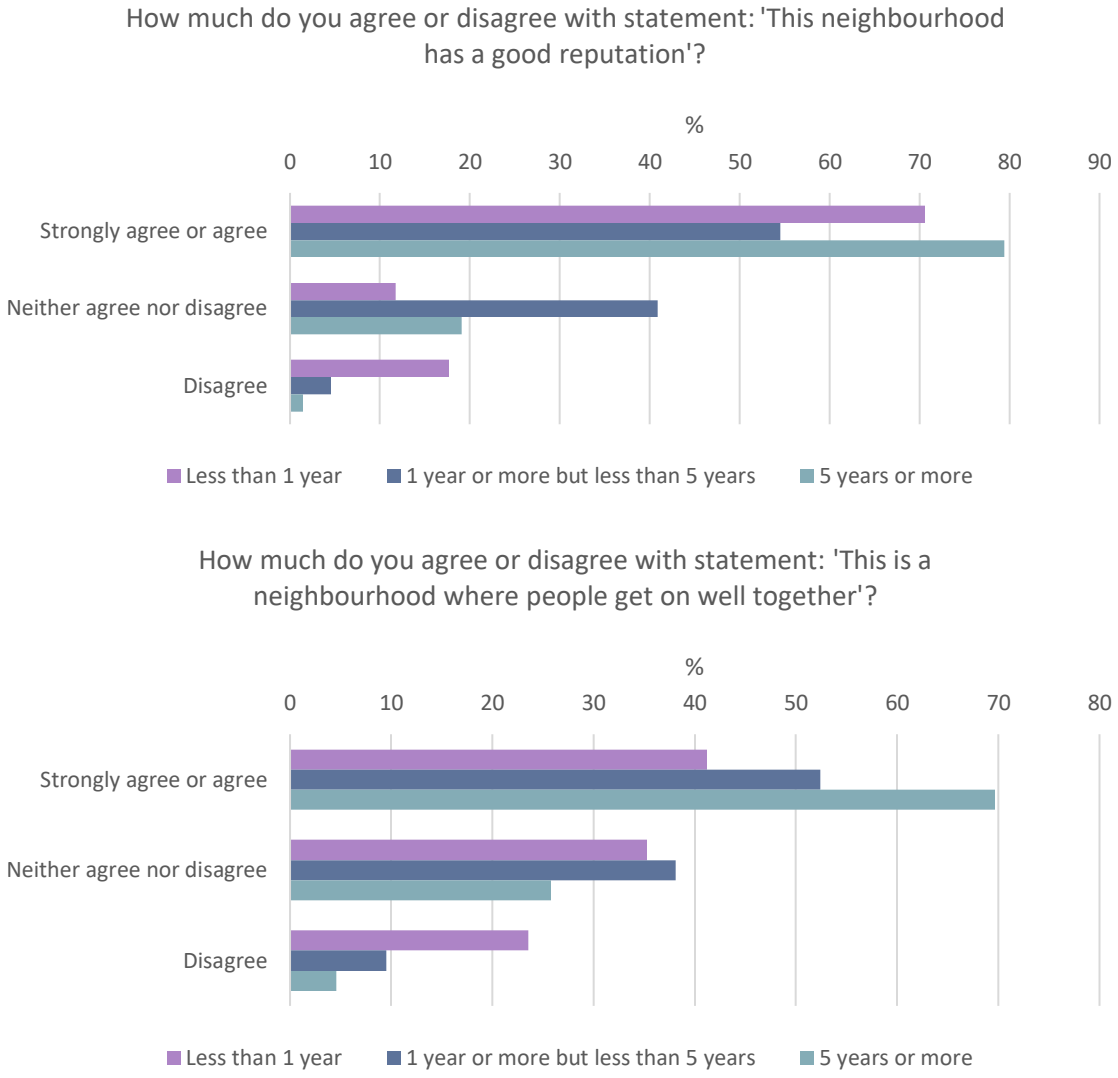

Figure 16 Answers to questions relating to neighbourhood perception (by length of residence)

Significant differences in neighbourhood perceptions were also found across different types of household composition. In general, respondents from one-family households reported more positive attitudes towards life on Hilgrove, compared to other respondents. To be more specific, regarding neighbourhood reputation, Figure 17 (top) suggests that more than 75% of respondents living alone or living with family members linked Hilgrove with a good reputation, whereas only 55% of respondents living in shared accommodations did so. Regarding neighbourhood relations (Figure 17, bottom), the highest percentage of positive response was

found among those living with family members (70%), followed by those living in shared accommodation (50%) and those living alone (46.43%).

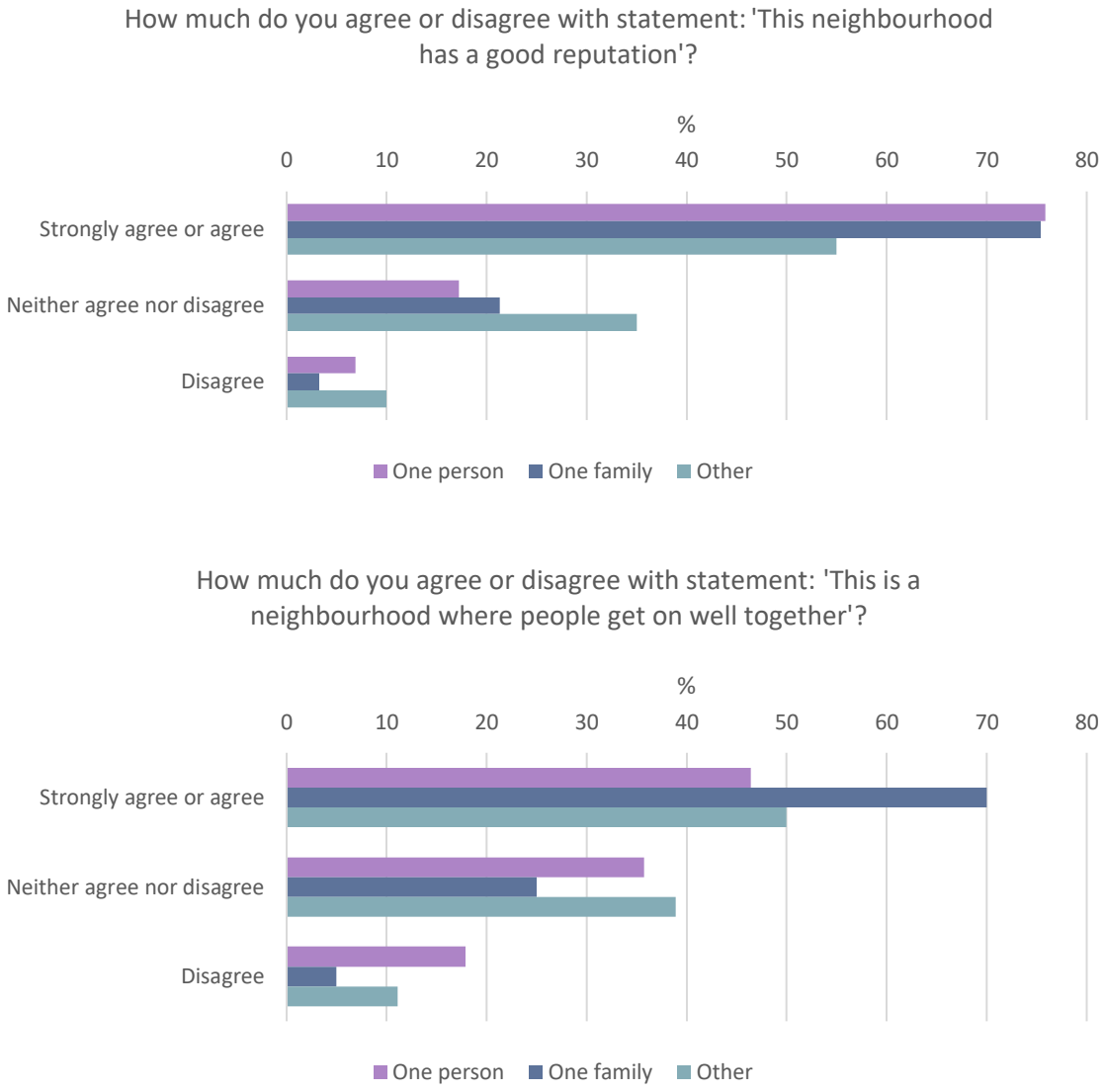

Figure 17 Answers to questions relating to neighbourhood perception (by household type)

Another interesting observation relates to architectural features of the blocks, especially number of properties in each block. If we divide blocks in Hilgrove into larger (more than 20 properties) and smaller blocks (less than 20 properties), clear distinctions were found in resident's perception of neighbourhood reputation. Of respondents living in larger blocks, 82.35% agreed that the Hilgrove Estate has a good reputation, which is 17.92% higher than the corresponding rate of respondents living in smaller blocks. Of those from the smaller blocks surveyed, 31.11 % gave a neutral answer to the reputation question, stating that they 'neither agree nor disagree' that the neighbourhood has a good reputation. This is 17.39% higher than the corresponding rate of those from larger blocks.

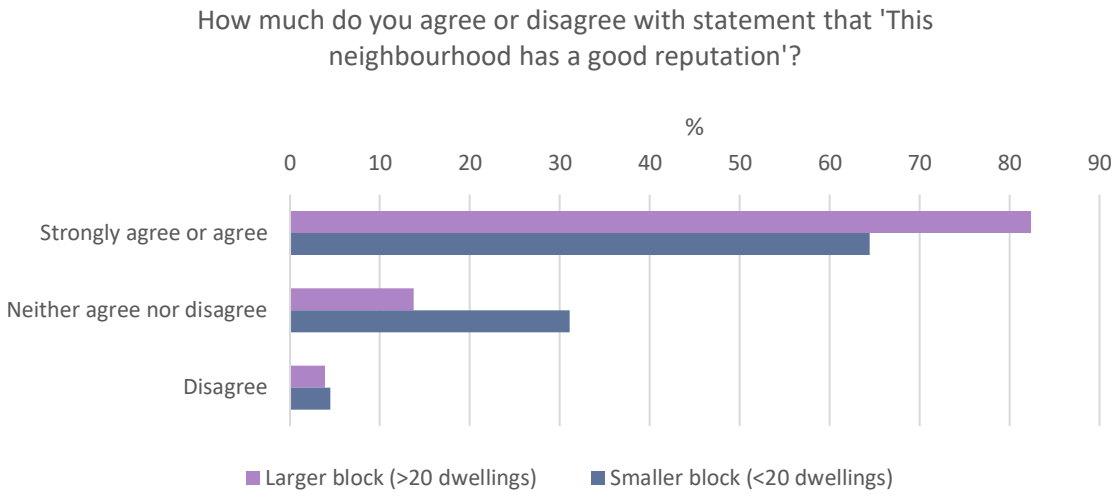

Figure 18 Answers to questions relating to neighbourhood perception (by block size)

Getting along with neighbours

In addition to attitudes and perceptions of the neighbourhood, we asked respondents to talk about their interactions with neighbours. Drawing on Henning and Lieberg (1996), we classified neighbourly interactions into three types by the extent of interactions: 1) cross-pathing with neighbours (co-presence); 2) chatting to neighbours (greeting contact); 3) exchanging practical services, such as handling parcels or picking up litter (helping contact). The first question measures levels of co-presence, the second indicates levels of weak ties and the third is 'at the edge of strong ties' (ibid, p.11).

When asked about how often they cross paths with neighbours, opinions are divided (Figure 19). Of our respondents, about one quarter reported that they met their neighbours at least once a day and more than 75% did so at least once a week. There are also quite a few respondents keeping a distance from their neighbours: 10.89% respondents met their neighbours once a month and 6.93% hardly ever met their neighbours. According to some respondents, their typical limitations to neighbourly interactions are pragmatic, such as lack of time and energy due to work arrangements, and concerns about privacy and safety, especially in the time of Covid-19.

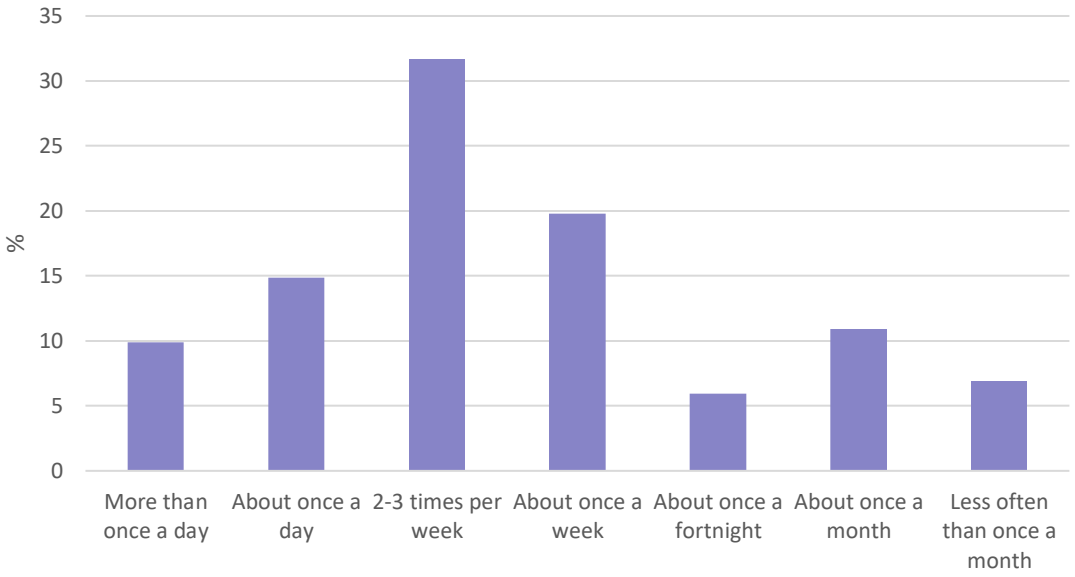

Figure 19 Frequencies of cross paths with neighbours in communal areas

Such a division is also manifested in the second indicator of neighbourhood interaction which measures frequencies of conversations when passing. As Figure 20 presents, 70% of our sample reported modest to high levels of neighbourly interactions. This consists of more than one quarter of says he/she chats to his/her neighbours every time he/she sees them, and 44.55% does so 'sometimes'. However, 21.82% of our respondents rarely chat and 8.18% never chat to neighbours when they meet, indicating a relatively low level of neighbourhood interaction among these groups.

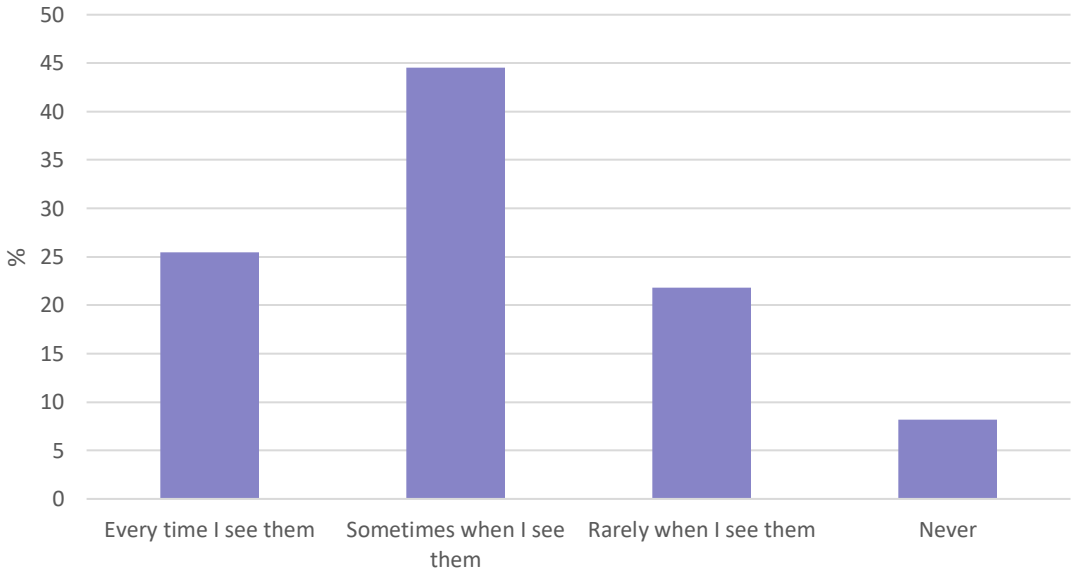

Figure 20 Frequencies of chatting with neighbours

Respondents also reported moderate to high levels of mutual aid in Hilgrove, which are similar to their levels of casual interactions. Of all respondents, 76.58% reported that they have helped each other out in the past three months (June-August 2021). This rate is significantly higher than the rate of participation in voluntary activities (35%) recorded by the Camden Residents' Survey (Camden Council, 2015)[1]. This observation also differs from existing research in other contexts where instrumental favours are substantially less observed than causal encounters in neighbourhoods (Chaskin & Joseph, 2011).

Respondents talked about various types of small-scale assistance and exchanges and listed a variety of approaches. The three most common approaches include 'swept or picked litter' (32.56%), 'listened to or shared a problem' (30.40%), and 'borrowed things or exchanged favours with your neighbours' (25.58%).

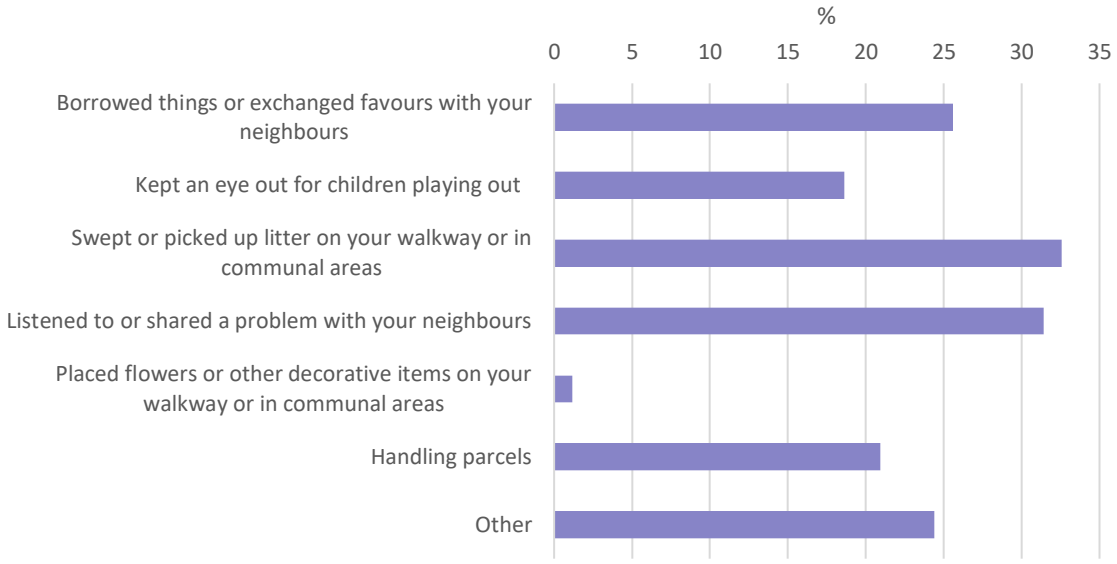

Figure 21 Approaches of neighbourhood help

Note: this is a multiple-choice question, so the total response percentage exceeds 100%.

In addition to small-scale support to their immediate neighbours, we also asked whether respondents have ever done something in response to a neighbourhood issue during the past year and more than one quarter of our respondents answered 'yes' (27.27%). The areas are

[1] Note: Camden Residents' Survey asked whether or not one has given unpaid help to a person outside his/her family or to a group or organisation in the past 12 months, which is slightly different to the question asked in this survey.

most actions happened are property management (n=9), neighbourhood environment (n=7) and neighbourhood safety (n=6).

Subgroup analysis

A closer examination provides evidence of socio-demographic differences in respondents' levels of greeting contact in the neighbourhood, but not in their levels of helping contact or co-presence with neighbours.

As presented in Figure 22, it is not surprising to see neighbourly interactions – measured by frequencies of casual conversations when passing, are less likely to be found among private tenants or new-comers (i.e., those who spent less than 12 months in Hilgrove), compared to social tenants or homeowners or long-term residents. Of all the survey respondents, 57.14% of private tenants and 55.56% of newcomers articulated relatively low rates of neighbourly interactions as they 'rarely' or even 'never' chatted to their neighbours. This may reflect the typical 'renter's mentality' (Chaskin & Joseph, 2011, 218), i.e. those with a short or insecure tenancy have less motivation for socialising with neighbours and invest less time in neighbourhood life.

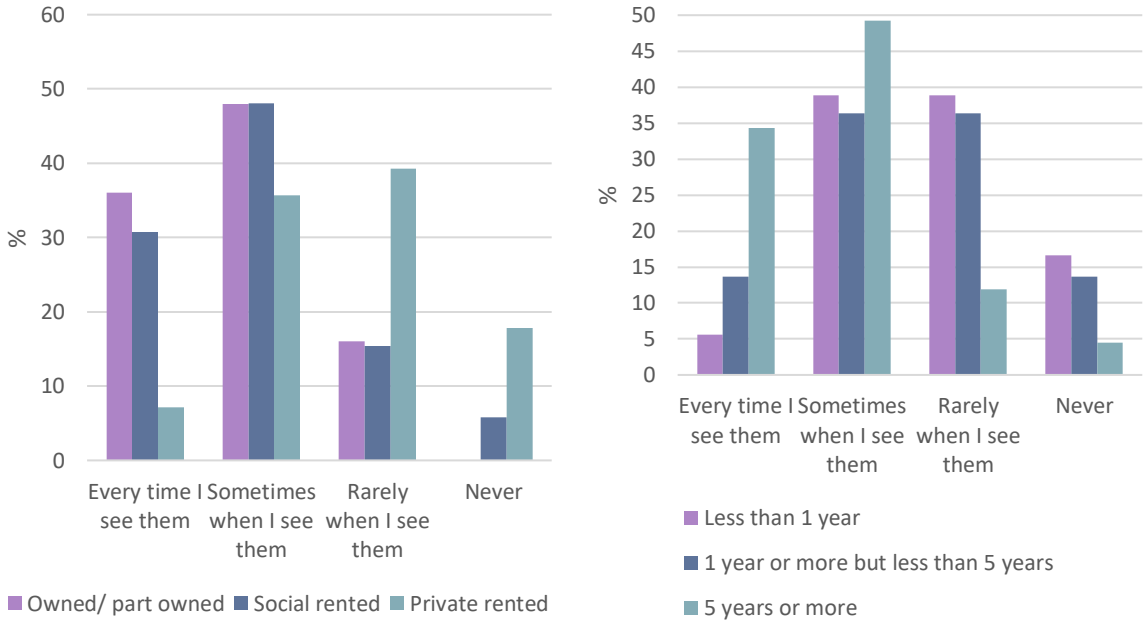

Figure 22 Frequencies of chatting to neighbours (left: by tenure type, right: by length of residence)

When it comes to distinctions across age groups and household compositions, the picture is more complex (Figure 23). Regarding relatively high levels of neighbourly interactions, the proportions of respondents who reported that they chat to their neighbours 'every time' they meet them are the highest among the eldest group (65 and over, 38.46%) and those living on their own (31.03%), and lowest among the youngest group (18-29, 15.38%) and those living in

shared accommodation (7.14%). Regarding modest levels of neighbourhood interaction, the highest rates are found among middle-aged respondents (i.e., 30-64) and one-family households. More than half of the middle-aged surveyed reported having casual conversations sometimes when they see their neighbours. These rates are significantly higher than the corresponding rates of the eldest group (30.78%) and the youngest group (33.33%). More than half of respondents living with their family members also reported modest levels of neighbourhood interactions, followed by those living alone (34.48%) and living with un-related housemates (30%). Regarding low levels of neighbourly interactions – as expressed by 'rarely' or 'never chatted with neighbours', the youngest group surveyed are more likely to do so (51.28%), compared to the elderly (30.77%) and middle-aged surveyed (24% among those aged 30-44 and 11.11% among those aged 45-64). Respondents sharing accommodations with other families are also more likely to report lower levels of neighbourly interactions (60%), and those living only with their family members are less likely to do so (18.33%).

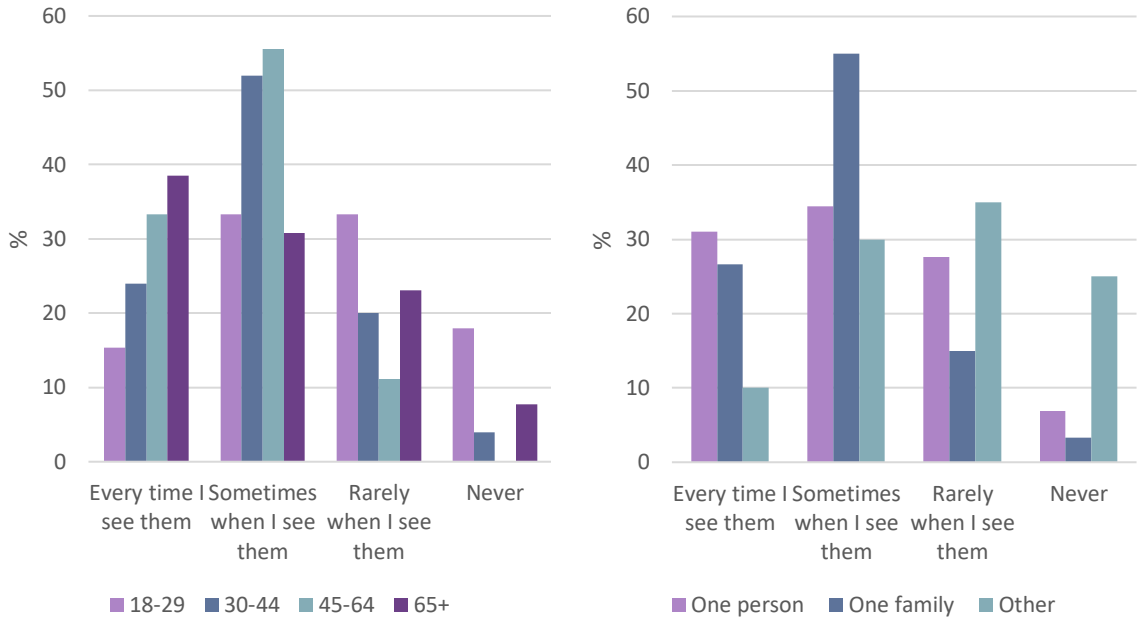

Figure 23 Frequencies of chatting to neighbours (left: by broad age group, right: by household composition)

We also observed substantial differences in neighbourhood social interaction across subgroups classified by whether they have university degrees. From Figure 24 we can see that respondents without a university degree are generally more engaged in their life on Hilgrove. Of these respondents, nearly 80% reported they sometimes (or more often) had conversations with neighbours in passing, which is more than 20% higher than the corresponding rate of respondents with university degrees. This observation contrasts with some earlier findings emphasising the positive correlation between education and local social engagement (Glaeser, 2001; Tselios, Noback, McCann, & van Dijk, 2015).

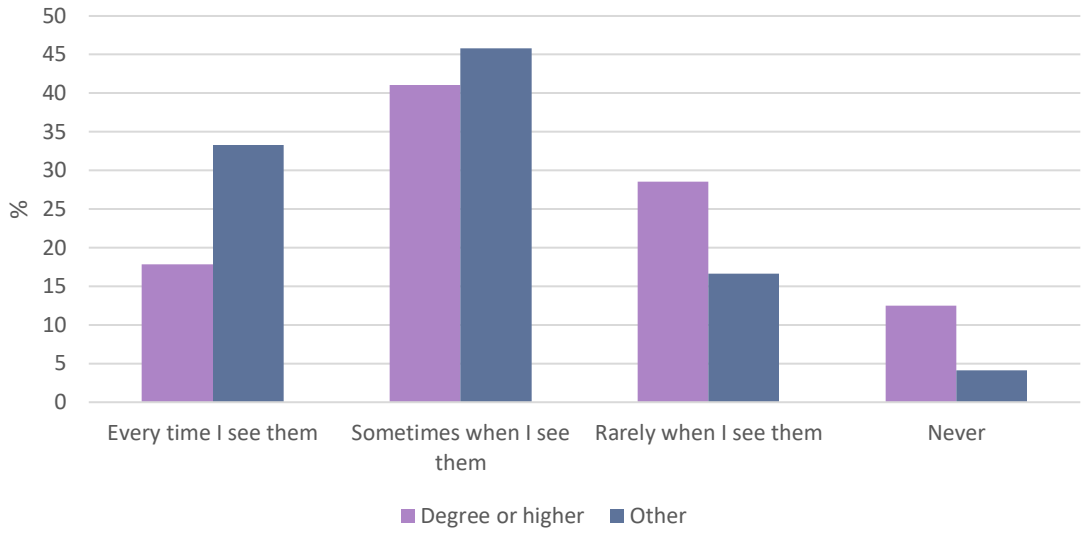

Figure 24 Frequencies of chatting to neighbours by education level

An exploration of the relationship between churn and neighbourhood experience

Research has emerged in recent years exploring the relationship between neighbourhood experiences and residential moves. Most researchers view one's perception of neighbourhood as one of the major factors affecting his/her intention to move and behaviour of moving (Dantzler & Rivera, 2019; Jones & Dantzler, 2021). A problem with this approach is that it fails to take into account perceptions of residential moves, especially among those who tend to stay, and how such perceptions of instability may affect experiences of neighbourhood life.

To address this gap, we explore potential relations between residential churn and experiences of neighbourhood life on Hilgrove. We measure residential churn both on the objective (rate of actual churn) and subjective levels (rate of perceived churn). We use four proxies to capture different aspects of neighbourhood life, including one's attitude towards neighbourhood reputation, perception of neighbourhood relations, frequency of chatting with neighbours and whether or not they have provided any forms of support to neighbours in the past three months.

We fit ordered logit models of actual and perceived churn levels on indicators of neighbourhood experience, respectively. For each indicator, we carry out analysis to test the relationship between churn and neighbourliness, controlling for a few control variables, including gender, age (broad age groups), ethnicity (white or other ethnic minorities), educational attainment (degree holders or other), whether employed or not, household composition (one person, one family or other) and block size (smaller block with less than 20 properties or other). We present in Table 5 the key relationships between churn measures and neighbourliness indicators (full results see appendix 2). Those who reported relatively low levels of actual churn, i.e., spending

less than 12 months in Hilgrove, or relatively lower levels of perceived churn, i.e., assuming their neighbours move home a lot, were used as a reference group against whom other respondents were compared. If any form of churn contributes to positive neighbourhood experiences or close-knit neighbourly ties, we expect to observe a statistically significant relationship with an odds ratio larger than 1. If churn – either actual or perceived, hinders the development of neighbourliness, then the relationship will come with an odds ratio smaller than 1.

Table 5 Relationships between churn measures and neighbourliness indicators

Variables	Neighbourhood reputation	Neighbourhood relations	Chatting with neighbours	Helping neighbours out
Length of residence in Hilgrove (ref=less than 12 months)				
1-5 years	0.413	0.558	0.902	0.769
5 years +	12.27***	5.667**	1.744	1.371
Perception of neighbours' move (ref=move home a lot)				
Move home a little	1.768	5.545**	1.614	1.312
Stay for a long time	10.72***	22.18***	5.762**	8.921**

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The table reports odds ratios.

Table 5 suggests that actual churn, measured by respondents' length of residence in Hilgrove, is negatively associated with the first two indicators of neighbourhood experience generated by the evaluative questions. A one-unit increase in the chances of spending more than 5 years in Hilgrove is related to 1127% increase in one's perceived level of neighbourhood relations and 466.7% increase in one's chances of engagement in neighbourhood conversations. Relationships between length of residence and other indicators of neighbourliness are not statistically significant.

Regarding perceived churn, its relationships with indicators of neighbourhood experience are also negative. Compared to those who perceived higher levels of churn (i.e., assuming that neighbours move home a lot), those perceived lower levels of churn (i.e., assuming that neighbours stay for a long time) are more likely to report positive experiences in Hilgrove. To be more specific, for a one-unit increase in the chances of perceiving lower levels of residential churn, we can expect to see about 972% increase in one's perceived level of neighbourhood reputation, 2118% increase in one's perceived level of neighbourhood relations, 476.2% increase in one's chances of engagement in neighbourhood conversations, 792.1% increase in one's changes of proving neighbours with any forms support.

To summarise, we found some evidence showing that good neighbourhood reputation, dense neighbourly ties and frequent neighbourhood mutual support are more likely to be found among residentially stable groups. Given the small sample size, we cautiously argue that increasing levels of residential churn might be harmful for neighbourliness in Hilgrove.

Another interesting finding is that, compared with actual churn, perceived churn is a stronger predictor of neighbourliness, since its relationships with all indicators of neighbourliness are

statistically significant, it has larger relative measures of effect (i.e., odds ratios), and it can explain larger proportions of the variance (i.e., R-squared, see appendix 2). This means that positive neighbourhood experiences are even more likely to be reported by those who *perceive* Hilgrove to be more residentially stable, compared to those who are residentially stable. This finding calls for further investigation into the mechanisms through which perceptions of residential churn influence different aspects of neighbourhood life, which may differ from mechanisms that have been widely discussed in existing research on residential mobility.

Use of neighbourhood space and place

Daily routines and habits in space and place also shape respondents' experiences of Hilgrove. Respondents were asked to select from a list of places/spaces that they used in the past month in/around Hillgrove. Figure 25 suggests that the most popular destination is green spaces on the estate (84.31%), followed by leisure centre (75.49%) and local cafes/restaurants (66.67%). The local library also attracted more than half of our respondents in the month before the survey (August 2021).

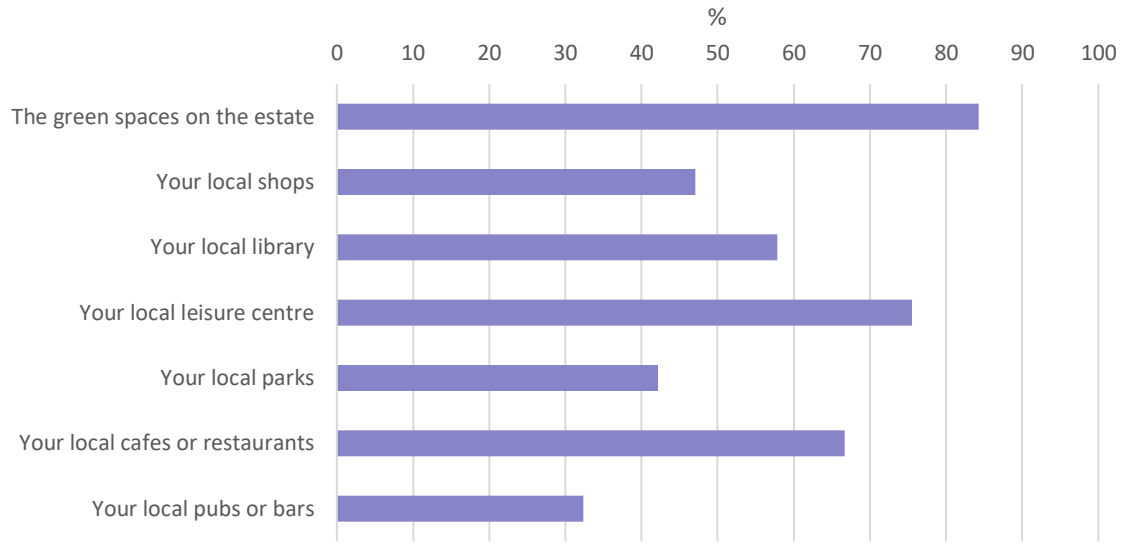

Figure 25 Use of neighbourhood space / place

Note: this is a multiple-choice question, so the total response percentage exceeds 100%.

Subgroup analysis

The clear distinctions were also observed in the use of neighbourhood space/place across lines of tenure, household composition, ethnicity, country of birth, education attainment, and length of residence (Figure 26). Regarding local shops, higher levels of usage were found among respondents who are homeowners, live with family members or not born in the UK, compared to those who are tenants, live alone or in shared accommodation, or UK-born. Regarding local

leisure centres, respondents who live with family members are more likely to be frequent users, compared to other residents. Regarding local cafes or restaurants, homeowners are more likely to be their customers, compared to private or social tenants. Regarding local pubs or bars (although there are not many in local area), their visitors are likely to be private tenants, those living in shared accommodations, white, university graduates and/or those relatively new to Hilgrove.

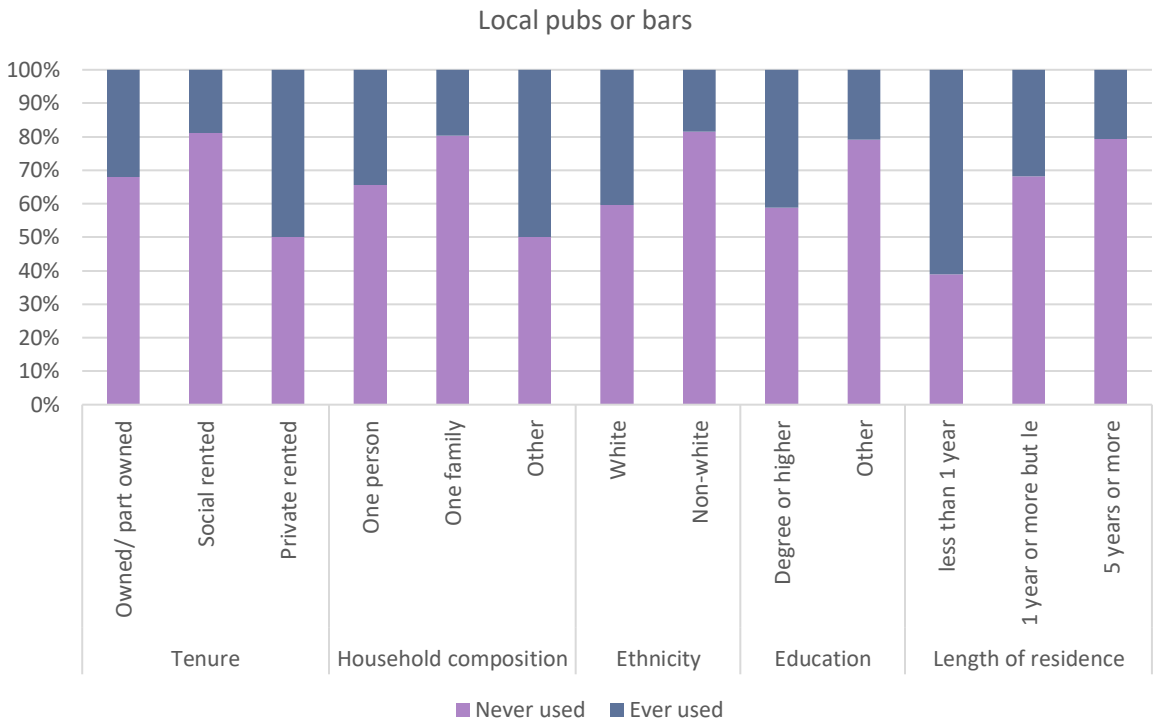

Figure 26 Variations in use of neighbourhood space / place

Qualitative reflections

We complemented our face-to-face data collection with field diaries in which we made ethnographic observations of our time on the estate and conversations we had with residents. Our field diary findings largely confirmed our quantitative findings. With respect to churn, we found that older residents who were either social housing tenants or had bought their property through right to buy were long term residents. Many of these residents had been on the estate since it was built having moved to the estate from other London boroughs. Several older respondents explained that their parents had lived on the estate, and that they had raised their own children on the estate. Among these respondents, a small number remarked that their adult children still live at home. Also of note was that in multi-generation Hilgrove families, adult children often lived next door to or in the same block as their parents or moved blocks over time as the family grew or adult children moved away. We found that more recent social tenants, that is, tenants living on the estate for ten years or less, had moved from other forms of social housing (either temporary or overcrowded) in other parts of Camden.

In general, the perception of churn was higher in smaller blocks and among long term social housing tenants. Overall, the proportion of properties in private ownership is higher in smaller blocks which to some extent explains the higher perceived churn in such blocks. Among long term social tenants, several commented that neighbours who had bought their properties now rent them out room-by-room. Among social tenants, security of tenure was the most discussed reason for movement. In contrast, among private tenants, location and cost were referred to as major reasons for movement. Several private tenants commented that the estates' transport connections and proximity to central London led them to moving to the Hilgrove.

Many residents emphasised how lucky they were to live on the estate and how much they enjoy its surroundings. One mentioned that the area is worth the relatively high mortgage cost. There was generally a low perception of crime on the estate with several describing it as a desirable area with predominantly "well educated" residents. One resident explained that she chose to move to Hilgrove based on its relatively low local crime rates. Others compared Hilgrove to other Camden estates that they had lived on, commenting that Hilgrove is a better place to live in comparison to other estates in the immediate vicinity. This, however, differed by tenure type. Several private tenants for example, described the estate as "low income" and undesirable.

Ways of getting along with neighbours not captured by the survey data included forms of mutual support including collecting prescriptions and shopping for vulnerable neighbours during the pandemic. Other forms of mutual support including printing out documents for neighbours, checking in on older neighbours and tending to their gardens. One resident remarked older, long term residents have lost connections on the estate as their children have grown up and their pets and or neighbours have died. General comments about interactions with neighbours also included residents telling us about using the estate's greenspace for children's birthday parties

and inviting neighbours to join when renting bouncy castles. Counter to this, one resident noted that he felt disconnected from the wider estate because as a ground floor resident was not given a key fob to access the rest of the block and use its shared facilities such as its tenants' stores and shared refuse areas. The lack of a tenants' meeting hall was also remarked upon as a barrier to meeting with neighbours. Overall, the qualitative findings complement our quantitative findings. They also point towards opportunities for future research on the estate including different types of neighbourly interaction and its relation to physical space and block size on the estate as well as how housing careers over the life span effect perceptions of the estate and perceptions of churn.

Discussion

Policy implications

The findings of the Life on Hilgrove Survey have clear policy implications. Firstly, with a coverage rate of 30.08%, the survey reaches more than 110 individuals/households currently living on the Hilgrove estate. It is fairly representative of Hilgrove residents and provides the most-up-to data information about life on Hilgrove, although our sample is slightly biased towards female, well-educated and young adults (see appendix 1 for a comparison between key demographic characteristics of survey respondents and data from the 2011 Census). This information may help local policymakers to gain a better understanding of residents' neighbourhood experiences during the pandemic.

Second, this survey shows that Hilgrove has experienced moderate to high levels of intra-borough movement (i.e. moving to Hilgrove from elsewhere in Camden). The survey also picked up some informal and unregistered forms of residential churn, such as those living in shared accommodations which are not necessarily licensed under the Council's HMO Licensing Scheme, on short-term tenancy and as live-in carers. These sub-borough nano-churn and informal churn have been under-documented by existing demographic data sources, such as population estimates published by the ONS and GLA. This survey thus provides policymakers with valuable information on highly mobile population and insecure tenancies, and how that may affect individual's experience on the estate and quality of life. The survey findings would help policymakers make better decisions in spatial planning, service provision and budget estimates.

Third, our findings also shed light on how specific types of spaces and places in and around the neighbourhood have attracted different groups of residents. It is evident from our findings that different usages are mostly associated with one's tenure status and household composition. This finding may help policy makers to better design local spaces and provide local services.

Implications for Third Sector practitioners

There are three key implications form our findings for third sector practitioners. The first is methodological and the remaining two shed light on housing stability and the perceptions of social housing in North London. For third sector colleagues wishing to carry out a similar survey, it is evident that the relatively low response rates from the online only phase of the survey mean that similar studies are likely to be both time and labour intensive.

In spite of this, it is clear from our findings that our data has significant implications for how third sector practitioners as well as local authorities understand residents' housing careers and residential mobility. The data here shows that it is possible to identify churn both actual and perceived and explore how this interrelates with neighbourly practices and quality of life at the estate level.

In addition, it is evident from our findings that estate residents generally have a positive view of where they live. Although these findings may not be generalisable to other estates, they

nonetheless indicate that there may be less stigma around social housing in London today or even, that in age of rising housing insecurity, formerly less desirable types of housing may now considered to be safe havens of security, stability and quality.

Academic considerations

This research makes two main contributions. Methodologically, we conduct the survey in a hybrid approach to approach respondents online, at the door and by post. This design not only helps us to reach as broad a range of respondents with as diverse housing trajectories as possible but is also in compliance with rapidly changing Covid-19 guidelines. It provides important lessons for scholars designing and conducting survey-based research during and after the pandemic.

Empirically, the research makes claims for the literature on residential mobility and neighbourliness. In this research, we measured residential mobility, or churn, in two approaches: an objective approach by asking about one's length of residence in the estate and a subjective approach by asking one's sense of neighbours' moving home and neighbourhood change. We could, therefore, construct a multi-dimensional indicator of residential churn, of which the subjective dimension is hardly considered by existing research. Our discussions on perceived churn, how it differs from actual churn, and how it acts as a stronger predictor of neighbourliness, fill the gaps in existing mobility research and highlight the significance of understanding the way in which people negotiate and experience mobility in their everyday life.

Limitations and future work

Two respondents indicated that they are live-in carers. However, we were unable to gain any insight into whether this was formal care through an agency or local authority or an informal arrangement. In future, an option to indicate whether someone is a live-in carer will be able to shed greater insight into unseen forms of tenancy as well as gendered forms of tenancy.

In addition to shedding light on churn and neighbourliness on the Hilgrove Estate, this survey will serve as a precursor to our future ethnographic and creative work on the estate by enabling us to develop familiarity with the estate, meet residents and identify potential participants for future work. By building relationships with residents, this survey is likely to support our future work. Future directions include further exploring the gaps and difference in perceived and actual churn; long term housing mobilities and trajectories for different groups of residents; and further developing an understanding of neighbourliness on the estate.

Conclusion

Overall, this report highlights the key contributions made by the Life of Hilgrove survey both in terms of empirical findings and methodological approach. Existing studies do not currently offer great insight into perceived churn and its relationship to housing churn. This study has contributed to this gap by exploring the granularities and geographies of churn, especially nano churn on the estate scale. The survey findings shed light on the complex albeit under-researched social psychological mechanisms linking neighbourhood perceptions and neighbourliness. In addition, the study engages with everyday neighbourly practices that go beyond existing studies which often measure neighbourhood interactions in terms of formal civic participation. By engaging with often unseen neighbourly practices such as taking in parcels for neighbours and sweeping walkways, we have begun to develop our understanding of the relationship between neighbourhood perception, neighbourliness, and housing churn. This is likely to point to new avenues for future research. Beyond these empirical contributions, this study has highlighted the advantages of a hybrid model of survey data collection, emphasising the benefits of combining online and offline methods to generate a representative and inclusive sample.

Key findings have included higher levels of churn among younger, less securely housed residents and lower levels of churn among older, more securely housed residents. In addition, we have found that there is a higher perception of churn among middle-aged, unemployed, securely housed residents who live alone, and a lower perception of churn among younger, employed, less securely housed residents who live with family members or housemates. These patterns are also evident in neighbourhood perceptions with relatively positive perceptions and experiences of the area for less mobile groups (especially those with higher perception of churn) and more negative perceptions among more mobile groups (especially those with higher perception of churn). The study confirms existing data on nano churn. However, it departs from existing data on macro and micro churn. This sheds new light on international and inter-borough movement.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Profiles of respondents included in this report

	Life on Hilgrove Survey (2021)		Census (2011)	
	No. of observations	%	No. of observations	%
Age				
18-29	39	37.50	373	29.82
30-44	25	24.04	387	30.94
45-59	20	19.23	252	20.14
60+	20	19.23	239	19.1
Gender				
Female	61	57.01	739	46.68
Male	40	42.99	844	53.32
Ethnicity[1]				
White	57	51.35	831	52.50
Ethnic minority	34	30.63	752	47.50
Black / African / Caribbean / Black British	12	10.81	159	10.00
Asian / Asian British	14	12.61	420	26.50
Mixed / Multiple ethnic groups	6	5.41	64	4.00
Other ethnic groups	2	1.80	109	6.90
Educational levels[2]				
GCSE or below	16	15.84	-	-
A-levels or equivalent	29	28.71	-	-
University degree or higher	56	55.45	551	44.00
Economic activity				
Economically active	63	58.88	741	64.04
Full time employees	43	40.19	408	35.26
Part time employees	15	14.02	101	8.73
Self employed	5	4.67	122	10.54
Economically inactive	41	38.32	416	35.96
Tenure[3]				
Owned/ part owned	25	22.52	206	31.40
Social rented	53	47.75	226	34.60
From the Council	43	37.84	215	32.80
Other social rented	10	9.01	11	1.70
Private rented	28	25.23	197	20.00
Living rent free	0	0.00	27	4.10
Household composition				

One person	29	26.36	197	30.00
One family and no others	61	55.45	344	52.40
Other	20	18.18	115	17.50

Note: 1. This includes 20 respondentss who answered 'don't know' or 'prefer not to answer' for the ethnicity question. 2. This includes 3 respondentss who answered 'prefer not to answer' for the educational attainment question. 3. This includes 5 respondentss who answered 'don't know' or 'prefer not to answer' for the tenure question.

Appendix 2: Residential churn and neighbourhood experiences: full models

Table 6 Ordered logit regression models predicting neighbourhood experiences (actual churn as the independent variable)

	Neighbourhood reputation		Neighbourhood relations		Chatting with neighbours		Helping neighbours out	
Variables	Model 1-1	Model 1-2	Model 2-1	Model 2-2	Model 3-1	Model 3-2	Model 4-1	Model 4-2
Length of residence in Hilgrove (ref=less than 12 months)								
1-5 years	0.917	0.413	1.387	0.558	1.378	0.902	1.700	0.769
	(0.555)	(0.339)	(0.836)	(0.440)	(0.800)	(0.682)	(1.213)	(0.793)
5 years +	3.126**	12.27***	3.892**	5.667**	6.100***	1.744	1.767	1.371
	(1.647)	(11.39)	(2.054)	(4.493)	(3.141)	(1.319)	(1.023)	(1.668)
Control variables								
Female		1.500		1.787		1.582		1.612
		(0.761)		(0.887)		(0.759)		(0.995)
Age (ref=18-29)								
30-44		1.950		3.757**		4.103**		1.743
		(1.298)		(2.456)		(2.591)		(1.628)
45-64		1.312		1.809		2.838*		0.520
		(0.865)		(1.164)		(1.765)		(0.432)
65+		0.526		1.020		2.658		0.259
		(0.496)		(0.944)		(2.398)		(0.296)
Non-white		1.241		0.833		0.720		1.399
		(0.600)		(0.396)		(0.334)		(0.866)
Non-degree holder		0.938		1.335		2.116		1.314
		(0.502)		(0.723)		(1.060)		(0.837)
Economic inactive		1.629		2.233		1.184		1.467
		(0.937)		(1.226)		(0.651)		(1.018)
Tenure (ref=owner)								
Social tenant		0.342		0.308*		0.504		0.0909**
		(0.227)		(0.205)		(0.311)		(0.106)
Private tenant		4.594		0.747		0.215*		0.225
		(4.346)		(0.607)		(0.170)		(0.332)
Other		3.789		0.715		0.557		0.265
		(5.340)		(0.869)		(0.708)		(0.523)
Household composition (ref=one person)								
One family		1.252		4.883***		1.651		0.691
		(0.735)		(2.981)		(0.896)		(0.515)
Other		0.313		3.153		1.333		0.138*
		(0.282)		(2.700)		(1.064)		(0.152)
Smaller block		0.237***		0.268**		0.698		0.769
		(0.125)		(0.141)		(0.340)		(0.453)

Observations	107	89	104	86	107	90	108	90
R-squared (%)	3.83	16.46	3.77	17.62	6.71	14.95	0.81	17.67

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The table reports odds ratios and standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 7 Ordered logit regression models predicting neighbourhood experiences (perceived churn as the independent variable)

	Neighbourhood reputation		Neighbourhood relations		Chatting with neighbours		Helping neighbours out	
Variables	Model 5-1	Model 5-2	Model 6-1	Model 6-2	Model 7-1	Model 7-2	Model 8-1	Model 8-2
Perception of neighbours' move (ref=move home a lot)								
Move home a little	1.581	1.768	2.888*	5.545**	1.062	1.614	0.815	1.312
	(0.941)	(1.372)	(1.743)	(4.472)	(0.613)	(1.171)	(0.570)	(1.274)
Stay for a long time	4.079**	10.72***	8.969***	22.18***	2.252	5.762**	4.111*	8.921**
	(2.437)	(9.085)	(5.600)	(18.79)	(1.257)	(4.260)	(3.424)	(9.481)
Control variables								
Female		3.629**		3.717**		1.957		2.395
		(2.354)		(2.422)		(1.253)		(2.251)
Age (ref=18-29)								
30-44		3.030		5.726**		4.686**		3.135
		(2.482)		(4.430)		(3.590)		(4.494)
45-64		7.225**		7.598**		3.514*		0.556
		(5.758)		(5.986)		(2.600)		(0.606)
65+		12.14**		3.203		7.934*		1.337
		(14.79)		(3.886)		(9.736)		(2.449)
Non-white		0.984		0.525		0.452		0.850
		(0.583)		(0.302)		(0.249)		(0.759)
Non-degree holder		0.252**		0.960		1.288		0.516
		(0.174)		(0.648)		(0.796)		(0.498)
Economic inactive		2.049		3.481*		1.050		0.738
		(1.440)		(2.428)		(0.715)		(0.756)
Tenure (ref=owner)								
Social tenant		0.953		0.863		0.767		0.119*
		(0.733)		(0.643)		(0.543)		(0.150)
Private tenant		1.403		0.489		0.0967**		1.199e+06
		(1.348)		(0.443)		(0.0913)		(2.702e+09)
Other		2.115		0.516		0.643		3.760e+12

		(3.291)		(0.774)		(0.922)		(1.620e+16)
Household composition (ref=one person)								
One family		1.038		4.508**		1.322		0.495
		(0.658)		(2.921)		(0.806)		(0.484)
Other		0.593		8.829**		7.270*		1.83e-08
		(0.613)		(8.797)		(7.398)		(4.12e-05)
Smaller block		0.171***		0.559		0.549		0.488
		(0.101)		(0.306)		(0.293)		(0.389)
Observations	87	71	86	70	86	71	87	71
R-squared (%)	3.68	18.00	6.62	22.63	1.78	17.37	7.69	32.27

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The table reports odds ratios and standard errors are in parentheses.

Appendix 3: Full survey

Life on Hilgrove: Better Living Together

Dear Hilgrove residents,

You are invited to participate in a short online survey called ***Life on Hilgrove: Better Living Together***. We are interested in your lived experience on the Hilgrove Estate, especially your experience of togetherness and movement, and what you think about your local area.

This will help us to better understand your story and issues that matter to you, which may help to develop a stronger and more connected community in the long-term. By sharing your experience, you can also help to improve our understanding of how people are living their lives in Camden and London and how the city works for you.

This survey is being conducted by a research team at the University of Warwick. It is part of a project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council called 'Open City'. For more about the project and the Open City team, please click https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/sociology/research/projects/isc/opencity/.

The survey should take you about 10 minutes. It covers three sections: about your neighbourhood, about where you live, and about you. Each question can be answered by ticking in the box or filling in the blank next to the answer you want to give. No special knowledge or skill is needed. You can choose 'prefer not to answer' for any question you don't want to answer. All your answers will be treated confidentially, and all results will be anonymised. For more about data protection, please see the participation information leaflet.

To complete the survey you must have lived on the Hilgrove for at least 2 weeks and be at least 18 years old. You can only complete the questionnaire once. We must receive your questionnaire by September 30th, 2021.

To thank you for your time, we are offering you a £5 high street voucher when you complete the survey. For audit-related reasons, we will ask for your name

and contact details at the end of the questionnaire. Your name and contact details will be kept separately from your answers to the survey so that they cannot be used to identify you. Your name or contact details will not be passed onto any third parties without your permission, including public organisations, corporations or individuals. You can skip these questions if you do not wish to receive the gift voucher.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information above, please take me to the next section (1)
- I do not wish to participate (2)

Consent

Q2 I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected.

- Yes, I understand that I am free to withdraw (1)
- No, I would like to withdraw from this survey (2)

Q3 I understand that data collected during the study may be looked at by members of the research team. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

- Yes, the research team can have access to the data I provide (1)
- No, the research team can't have access to the data I provide and I would like to withdraw from this survey (2)

Q4 I am happy for my data to be used in future research.

- Yes, I am happy for my data to be used in future research (1)
- No, I am not happy for my data to be used in future research and I would like to withdraw from this survey (2)

About your neighbourhood

Q5 What is it like to live in your neighbourhood? Please write ***three words or phrases*** that come to your mind.

- Word or phrase 1 (1) _____
- Word or phrase 2 (2) _____
- Word or phrase 3 (3) _____

Q6 Do you think that, in general, people in the neighbourhood... Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Move homes a lot (1)
- Move homes a little (2)
- Stay for a long time (3)
- Don't know (6)

Q7 How many times have your neighbours changed in the past three years? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Not at all (1)
- A few of my neighbours have changed (2)
- Some of my neighbours have changed (3)
- Most of my neighbours have changed (4)
- All of my neighbours have changed (5)
- I just moved here (6)
- Don't Know (7)

Q8 How often do you cross paths with your neighbours in communal areas? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- More than once a day (1)
- About once a day (4)
- 2-3 times per week (5)
- About once a week (6)
- About once a fortnight (7)
- About once a month (8)
- Less often than once a month (9)

Q9 How often, if at all, do you chat to your neighbours (more than just to say hello)? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Every time I see them (1)
- Sometimes when I see them (2)
- Rarely when I see them (3)
- Never (5)
- Don't have any neighbours (6)

Q10 In the past month have you...? Please select ***all*** that apply.

- Borrowed things or exchanged favours with your neighbours (1)
- Kept an eye out for children playing out (2)
- Swept or picked up litter on your walkway or in communal areas (3)
- Listened to or shared a problem with your neighbours (4)
- Placed flowers or other decorative items on your walkway or in communal areas (5)
- Helped your neighbours in any way (please describe) (6)

_____

Q11 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
This neighbourhood has a good reputation (1)					
This is a neighbourhood where people get on well together (2)					

Q12 In the past year, have you done anything in response to an issue in your neighbourhood? **(If yes, please describe)**

- No (5)
- Yes (please describe) (4) _____

Q13 Have you visited or used any of the following in the past month? Please select ***all*** that apply.

- The green spaces on the estate (5)
- Your local shops (1)
- Your local library (2)
- Your local leisure centre (3)
- Your local parks (4)
- Your local cafes or restaurants (6)
- Your local pubs or bars (7)

About where you live

Q14 Is your current home...? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- A flat (1)
- A studio/bedsit (2)
- A maisonette (a flat with multiple floors) (3)
- A house (4)
- Room(s) in a shared flat/maisonette (5)
- Other (please specify) (6) _____

Q15 Do you own your home or pay rent? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- I/my family own the property outright (1) ***Please GO TO Q16***
- I/my family own the property with a mortgage (2) ***Please GO TO Q16***
- I/my family pay rent (this includes those who receive Housing Benefit or Local housing Allowance) (3) ***Please GO TO Q17***
- I/my family pay both mortgage and rent (shared ownership) (4) ***Please GO TO Q17***
- Other (please specify) (5) _____ ***Please GO TO Q17***
- Don't know (13)
- Prefer not to answer (14)

Q16 Who did you buy the property from? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- The local authority/arms length management organisation (ALMO) (1)
- A housing association, registered social landlord, charitable trust or Local Housing Company (2)
- Parents/family members (5)
- Other private seller (6)
- Other (please specify) (8) _____
- Don't know (9)
- Prefer not to answer (10)

Please GO TO Q21

Q17 Who do you pay rent to? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- The local authority/arms length management organisation (ALMO) (1)
- A housing association, registered social landlord, charitable trust or Local Housing Company (2)
- Employer (organisation) of a household member (3)
- Another organisation (4)
- Relative/acquaintance of any current household member (5)
- Employer (individual) or a household member (6)

- A private landlord (7)
- Other (please specify) (9) _____
- Don't know (8)
- Prefer not to answer (10)

Q18 Do you rent your entire home? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- I rent the whole house/flat/maisonette (1)
- I rent a room and share my kitchen or bathrooms with other people who live here (2)
- I rent part of a room and share my kitchen/bathroom with other people who live here (3)

Q19 Did you sign a written tenancy agreement with your landlord? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Yes (1)
- No, but I/we have a verbal tenancy agreement (2)
- No, but my partner/housemate/family member/a previous tenant has a written tenancy agreement (3)
- No, but my partner/housemate/family member/a previous tenant has a verbal tenancy agreement (4)
- Other (please specify) (5)_____
- Don't know (7)
- Prefer not to answer (8)
- Click to write Choice 8 (9)

Q20 How long is your tenancy? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- More than one year (1)
- 7-12 months (2)
- 4-6 months (3)
- 1-3 months (4)
- On a rolling basis (5)
- Other (please specify) (7)_____
- Don't know (6)
- Prefer not to answer (8)

Q21 How did you find your current home? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Online through the council (Home Connections) (1)
- In person through the council (at the council offices) (2)
- Through a local estate agent (3)
- Online on Zoopla or Rightmove (4)
- Online on Gumtree or SpareRoom (5)

- Online on social media (Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram) (6)
- Through word-of-mouth (7)
- Other (please specify) (8) _____
- Don't know (9)
- Prefer not to answer (10)

Q22 Does anyone else usually live at this address with you? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Yes (1)
- No (2) ***Please GO TO Q28***

Q23 Who else lives here? Please select ***all*** that apply.

- Adult(s) (1)
- Child(ren) (2)

Q24 **Including you**, how many adults, if any, aged 18 or over usually live at the same address with you? Please write in the number _____**.**

Q25 What is their relationship(s) to you? Please select ***all*** that apply.

- Husband/wife/civil partner (1)
- Partner/cohabitee (2)
- Son/daughter (3)
- Parent (4)
- Brother/sister (5)
- Grand-child (6)
- Grand-parent (7)
- Other relatives (8)
- Other non-relatives (for example, housemate, friend, and tenant) (9)

Q26 How many children, if any, usually live at the same address with you? Please write in the number _____**.**

Q27 What is their relationship(s) to you? Please select ***all*** that apply.

- Son/daughter (including fostered or adopted children) (1)
- Brother/sister (2)
- Grandchild (3)
- Other relatives (4)
- Other (please specify) (5) _____

Q28 How long have you lived in ...?

	Less than 6 months (1)	6 month or more, but less than 1 year (2)	1 year or more, but less than 2 years (3)	2 years or more, but less than 3 years (4)	3 years or more, but less than 5 years (5)	5 years or more (6)	I have always lived here (7)
Your current home (1)							
Your immediate neighbourhood (2)							
The London Borough of Camden (4)							
London (5)							
The UK (6)							

Q29 Thinking back over the last 5 years, how many times, if any, have you moved house? Please write in the number _____.

Q30 Where did you live before moving into your current home? Was your previous address ...? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- In this local area (less than 1 mile) (1)
- Elsewhere in Camden (2)
- Elsewhere in London (please specify) (3) _____
- Elsewhere in the UK (please specify) (4) _____
- Abroad (5)
- Don't know (6)
- Prefer not to answer (7)

Q31 What reasons made you decide to move to your current home? **Please select all the reasons that apply and rank them in order of importance with the first one being the most important reason.**

Options	My reasons
○ Cheaper housing (1) ○ The chance to move to a better area, this could include an area with better reputation, lower crime rates or lower levels of deprivation (2) ○ Having access to more space and/or better accommodation (3) ○ Having access to more amenities (4) ○ Moving in with a partner or family member (5) ○ Family members leaving home (6) ○ Being closer to family, friends, and/or support networks (7) ○ A new or different job (8) ○ School catchment area (9) ○ My previous tenancy was for a fixed period (10) ○ Being offered a more secure council or housing association tenancy (11) ○ Swapping my previous socially rented home through mutual exchange (12) ○ Buying a home (13) ○ Other (please specify) (14)	

About you

Q31 What is your block or road name? Please write in. E.g. Hilgrove House or Alexandra Close

_____

Q32 What best describes your gender? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- ○ Male (1)
- ○ Female (2)
- ○ Prefer to self describe (3) _____

Q33 How old are you? Please write in _____.

Q34 How would you describe your ethnic identity? **Please write in. You can skip this question if you prefer not to answer.**

_____

Q35 In which country were you born? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- UK (including England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) (1)
- Elsewhere (please write in the current name of country) (2) ___
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q36 Which passport(s) do you have? Please select ***all*** that apply.

- British (1) ***Please GO TO Q39***
- EU (2)
- Other (please specify) (3) _____
- None (4)
- Prefer not to answer (5)

Q37 Do you have settled status OR permanent residence OR indefinite leave to remain? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Yes (1) ***Please GO TO Q39***
- No (2)
- Prefer not to answer (4)

Q38 Which of the following best describes your current visa status? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Entrepreneur visa/Tier 1 (1)
- Skilled worker visa/Tier 2 (worker/spouse/partner/dependent) (2)
- Student visa/Tier 4 (student) (3)
- Temporary worker visa/Tier 5 (short term worker/visitor) (4)
- EU pre-settled status (9)
- Asylum seeker (5)
- Discretionary leave to remain (10)
- Humanitarian protection (11)
- Refugee status (12)
- Don't know (7)
- Other (please specify) (6) _____
- Prefer not to answer (8)

Q39 If you have them, how would you describe your religious beliefs? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- My religious beliefs are... (please specify) (2)_____
- None (1)
- Prefer not to answer (4)

Q40 What is your best or preferred language? Please tick one box only.

- English (1)
- Other (please specify) (2) _____

Q41 What is your highest level of educational attainment? If it was obtained overseas, then we are interested to know what the equivalent qualification is in the UK. Please tick ***one*** box only.

- University degree or higher (higher education) (1)
- A-levels/apprenticeships/HNC, HND (further education) (2)
- 5 or more GCSEs or equivalent (secondary education) (3)
- Between 1-4 GCSEs or equivalent (primary education) (4)
- Other (please specify) (5)
- No qualifications (6)
- Don't know (7)
- Prefer not to answer (8)

Q42 Are you currently in paid work? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Yes (1)
- No (2) ***Please GO TO Q45***
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q43 If 'yes', please select one answer in the following category that best describes your current situation. Please tick ***one*** box only.

- Employee in full time work (31 or more hours a week) (1)
- Employee in part time work (15 to 30 hours per week) (2)
- Employee in part time work (less than 15 hours per week) (3)
- Self-employed full time (31 or more hours a week) (4)
- Self-employed part time (15 to 30 hours per week) (5)
- Self-employed part time (less than 15 hours per week) (6)
- Employee in work with no fixed hours (7)

Q44 Where is your place of work? Please tick ***one*** box only.

- I work remotely/from home (1)
- In the local area (2)

- In Camden (3)
- In London (4)
- Elsewhere in the UK (5)
- My work isn't in a fixed place (e.g. bus driver, courier) (6)

Please GO TO Q47

Q45 If 'no', please select one answer in the following categories that best describes your current situation.

- Retired from paid work (1)
- Looking after the family/home (2)
- In an apprenticeship or training (3)
- Unemployed or currently looking for work (4)
- Long-term sick or disabled (5)
- Student in full-time education (6)
- Undertaking voluntary work (7)
- In receipt of Personal Independence Payment (8)
- Other (please specify) (9) _____

Q47 Thank you for participating. If you would like to receive a £5 gift voucher to thank you for your time, please fill out the following information so we can get your voucher to you.

Q48 What is your name **(we will not use this information for any other purposes)**

_____

Q49 What is your full address, including door number? **(we will use this to send you your voucher and to make sure we don't send you a follow up survey link)**

_____

Q50 What is your email address? **(we will use this to send you your voucher, to make sure we don't send you a follow up survey link and to contact you in the future if you would like us to)**

_____

Q51 Would you like to be kept up-to-date about the project? **(If yes, we will use the email address you have provided to send occasional updates)**

- Yes (1)
- No (2) ***Please GO TO Q54***

Q52 **Would you like to get involved in the next stages of the project?**

This could involve:

- Interviews in which we will ask you what it's like to live on Hilgrove, how you feel about the local area and what the good and bad things about your estate, your borough and your city are.
- Asking you to show us around your local area and where you like to spend your time.

- Asking you to draw some of the relationships you have in your local area and make some maps of your local area. This will involve making maps that show what is important to you.

- Yes (4)
- No (5) ***Please GO TO Q54***

Q53 If yes, what is the best way for us to contact you about future research?

- Email (2)
- SMS (text message), please provide your phone number_____

Q54 Do you have any feedback on this survey? **Please use the text box below to share your thoughts. You can skip this question if you prefer not to answer**

Thank you for completing this survey!

We appreciate you taking the time to answer our questions. We would like to encourage as many residents as possible on the Hilgrove estate who are over 18 to complete this survey. If you know of others who might like to participate, here is a link to share with others: https://bit.ly/3xcRl0S

If you have any questions, please get in touch by emailing: opencity@warwick.ac.uk

Please follow us on twitter: @OpenCityWarwick, or Instagram @opencitywarwick