

***Social Mixing or Mixophobia in Regenerating  
East London?***

***'Affordable Housing', Gentrification,  
Stigmatisation and the Post-Olympics  
East Village***

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**State of the Legacy**

**Interrogating a Decade of 'Olympic Regeneration' in East London**

**Table 1. Index of Multiple Deprivation, children in low-income families, and gentrification in six Olympics' Host Boroughs by rank in 33 London local authorities**

<b>Borough</b>	<b>Index of Multiple Deprivation 2015</b>	<b>Children living in relative low-income families 2017-18</b>	<b>Mean gentrification 2010-16</b>
<b>Barking &amp; Dagenham</b>	2	1=	27
<b>Hackney</b>	1	3=	4
<b>Greenwich</b>	13	4	11
<b>Newham</b>	4	2	3
<b>Tower Hamlets</b>	3	1=	1
<b>Waltham Forest</b>	6	3=	12

Sources: Corcillo and Watt (forthcoming) calculations based on MHCLG (2015); DWP (2020); Almeida (2021: 10)

# East Village – ex-Athletes Village



Paul Watt © 2015

- Will provide much-needed affordable homes for deprived East London communities.
- Will be a socially mixed development, with 50% affordable/social and 50% private housing

London Bidding Team  
(2004)

# The landlords



Paul Watt © 2013

- **QDD** (Qatari Royal family's sovereign fund Qatari Diar + British developer Delancey) owns 51% of flats available for private rent.
- **Triathlon Homes** (East Thames, Southern housing Group housing associations + developer First Base) owns affordable/social housing units - 49%.

# Literature

- Social mixing (Bridge et al., 2012; Colomb, 2011)
- Affordable housing (Bernstock, 2014; Preece et al., 2020; Watt, 2021)
- Class distinction (Bourdieu, 1984)
- Spatialisation of Bourdieu's concept of habitus and field theory (Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009)
- Mixophobia (Bauman, 2013)
- East Village (Cohen, 2017; Humphry, 2017; 2020)

# East Village housing configuration

Housing tenure	N	Triathlon Homes stock %	East Village stock %
<b>Triathlon Homes</b>			
Social rent	675	49	24
Intermediate rent	294	21	10
Shared ownership *	331	24	12
Shared equity	79	6	3
<b>Total Triathlon Homes</b>	<b>1,379</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Get Living London</b>			
Private Rent	1,439	-	51
<b>Total East Village</b>	<b>2,818</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>100</b>

Sources: GLL (2016); Triathlon Homes (2018)

# EV, Stratford and Newham residents NS-SEC

NS-SEC	East Village					Stratford & New Town	Newham
	Social rent	Intermediate rent	Shared ownership	Private Rent	Total		
<b>NS-SEC 1</b>	0	44	26	33	26	13	8
<b>NS-SEC 2</b>	33	39	50	49	44	24	17
<b>NS-SEC 3 - 4</b>	17	5	5	6	8	23	23
<b>NS-SEC 5 - 7</b>	30	5	17	8	14	29	34
<b>NS-SEC 8</b>	20	5	2	4	8	11	18
<b>Total N = 100%</b>	30	18	42	89	179	12,039	186,176

# EV, Stratford and Newham residents, ethnicity

Ethnic group	East Village					Stratford & New Town	Newham
	Social rent	Intermediate rent	Shared ownership	Private rent	Total		
White British	16	50	48	43	38	21	17
White Other	5	25	30	22	19	20	12
BAME	79	25	22	35	43	59	71
<b>Total</b> N=100 %	38	20	46	105	209	17,768	307,984



# An affluent bubble

“I think there is a real divide between what is now being built out of the East Village. It’s kind of like a bubble around everywhere else. Because I think there’s a lot of poverty that we don’t see until we leave this East Village bubble [...]. Here is where posh people live, if you want to put it that way, and then there is the rest of Stratford, that it’s old and it’s not very nice to live in. I think there is a very clear divide between this is the new and this is the old. This is where you know people with a bit more money can afford, and that is where people who don’t have that much money can go to live”.

Jade (28, female, white Canadian, school teacher, intermediate renter)

# A white bubble

**Stratford as a whole is like two worlds**, you've got this side and then you've got the other side and it's completely different. The population, **there's a lot of ethnic minorities and Eastern Europeans on the other side; and here's I think there's mainly white British young professionals**. I found maybe some immigrants but not as many as on the other side, so yeah it's completely different!"

Alexander (27, male, white British, legal expert, intermediate renter)

# Mixophobia

“The old Stratford Centre on the other side of Stratford it feels very East London. Maybe it’s because buildings are older, and if you walk through Stratford Centre at night, there’s a lot of people who are sleeping rough in there. And that makes me feel aware... Not in danger but that I have to be aware of my personal safety a bit more because there is a real risk that I might be robbed or something like that. You know the feeling when there is a lot of people who don’t have a lot around me... [...]. There’s a few people around that look a bit sketchy, some people obviously on drugs. So I try to be a bit more cautious”. Stephan (38, male, white Australian, research advisor, private renter)



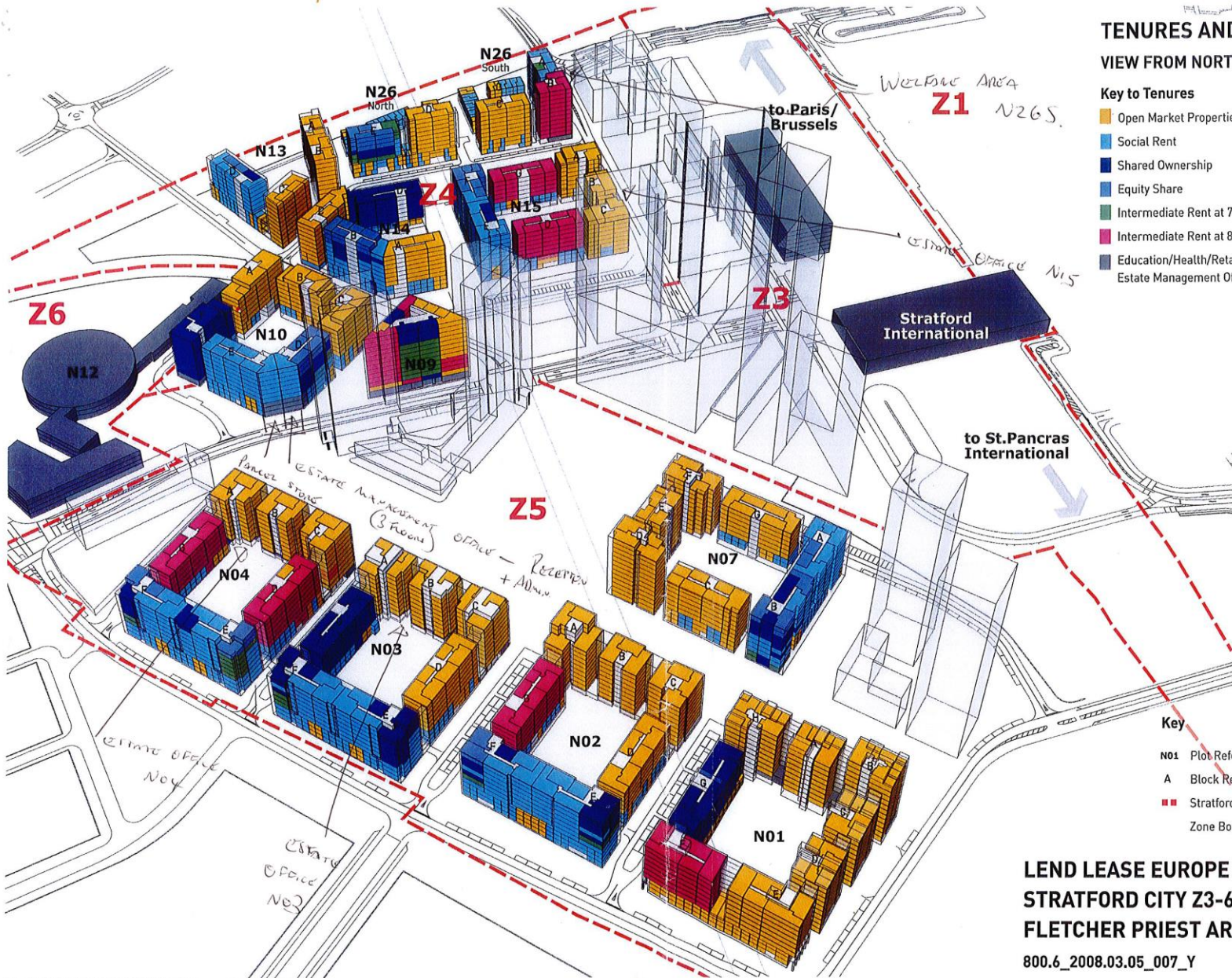


# TENURES AND MASSING

## VIEW FROM NORTH WEST

### Key to Tenures

- Open Market Properties
- Social Rent
- Shared Ownership
- Equity Share
- Intermediate Rent at 70%
- Intermediate Rent at 80%
- Education/Health/Retail/Leisure/  
Estate Management Offices



- Key**
- N01 Plot Reference
  - A Block Reference
  - Stratford City Development Zone Boundary

**LEND LEASE EUROPE LIMITED**  
**STRATFORD CITY Z3-6**  
**FLETCHER PRIEST ARCHITECTS**  
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# “Us” and “Them”

“We have the people downstairs who are living in the council places. Not so much now but at some points we had some disturbance at night, it’s just a problem which is down to socio-economic background. Some of them don’t really understand what area they are living in. Some of the things I’ve heard is some people from Eastern Europe for example who tend to have different sleeping habits, and that caused a problem. Some people who are living in council flats... I don’t have proof, but sometimes I was walking around the area and I was smelling weed”.

Marine (female, White European, school manager, shared owner)

# Misaligning from affordable housing

There was a group of people in my block who were that sort of behaviour. They didn't fit in. I think they got kicked out in the end. They were smoking inside and putting cigarettes out on the carpet and leaving drinks in the lift, and to a degree I saw drug dealers coming to the buildings. I don't really know what the make-up in my building is, but if you have got affordable or some other type of affordable rent, or people who don't care, that's what you're gonna get  
Thomas (36, male, white South-African, surveyor, shared owner).

# Conclusion

- PRS properties mostly occupied by young, white middle-class tenants.
- BUT so is the 'affordable' IMR and shared ownership/leasehold housing.
- Social renting is the clear outlier tenure within East Village.
- East Villagers make sense of their neighbourhood as a white and affluent 'bubble' surrounded by deprived and ethnically diverse areas.

# Conclusion

- Two classed and racialised othering processes:
  1. *External othering* – towards Stratford and its residents > Territorial stigmatisation (Horgah, 2020).
  2. *Interior othering* – social renters in East Village > Tenure stigmatisation (Maloutas and Botton, 2021).
- The intentions of social mixing are not realised in practice.
- Affordable housing and social mixing policies conceal a reality involving profound socio-spatial inequalities and segregation.