

Understanding London Life

Report prepared for Capital Ambition

DECEMBER 2008





Contents

Introduction	5
Summary	7
Main findings	15
Satisfaction with local areas	17
The impact of Anti-Social Behaviour	37
Community cohesion	42
A role in place shaping	47
Corporate image	51
Getting the job done: more detailed aspects of corporate image	65
Strong relationships with communities	71
Building understanding of performance and place	79
Appendices	85

Introduction

Introduction

London presents one of the most challenging environments in which to govern and deliver services. Communities here are more varied than they have ever been and there are more of them. Each borough is distinctive from its neighbour in some way - from rural fringe, to suburb, to urban core. For some, daily migration patterns present significant issues; for others, it is the economic in-migration of communities which presents both opportunity and pressure. Amongst others things, absorbing population growth and dealing with ageing and diverse populations means that, more than ever, we need to give careful consideration to how the capital's public service infrastructure is treated as well as how councils are funded. The challenges facing public services in London are numerous.

It was against this background that Ipsos MORI was commissioned by Capital Ambition to carry out a comprehensive analysis of Best Value Performance Indicator (BVPI) data for London. The 2006/7 wave of General User Surveys provided us with a total of 42,277 responses from individual Londoners: at least 1,100 in each of the 33 London boroughs, and by far the largest body of data available on Londoners' views on community, quality of life and the service they receive from London authorities. By analysing opinion survey data alongside other key socio-economic variables such as deprivation and housing market structure¹, we hope to add to the broader debate on delivering better communities and high quality services.

Of course, we should not forget that we are still reporting public perceptions, and this may lead on occasion to situations which seem counter-intuitive to the reader. However, for the body of residents who took part in this exercise, their perceptions are their reality.

Other data used in this report

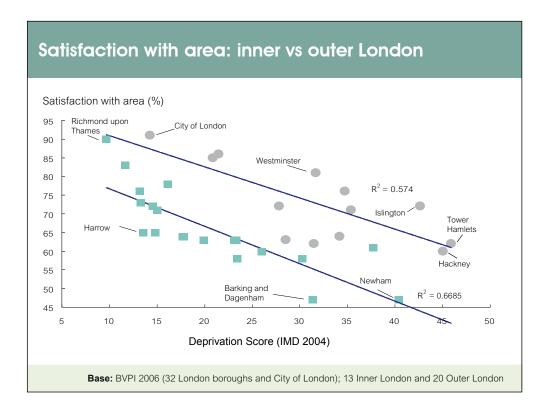
Throughout the course of the report we have, where appropriate, made reference to a number of other reports published by Ipsos MORI using data available from the 2006/7 wave of BVPI surveys. In particular, this includes Frontiers of Performance in Local Government IV: Place Shapers or Shaped by Place which looks at actual and predicted levels of satisfaction with councils. Reference is also made to our report Anti-Social Behaviour: People, Place & Perceptions which examines actual and predicted levels of anti-social behaviour perceptions.

Summary

Summary

Quality of life is highest in inner London - in outer London it is lower than in many other parts of Britain

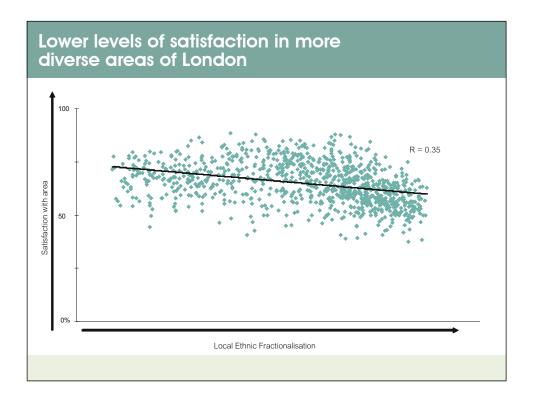
- This analysis shows that normal rules cannot always be applied in London. Elsewhere in Britain, suburban areas are more positive about quality of life than the urban core. Not so in London. On many quality of life factors, the opposite is true, with the urbanisation of the suburban making 'Metroland' ever further from reality. Ever accelerating densification and population churn has since then created a more complex situation and one which Boris Johnson successfully capitalised on in the Mayoral Election in 2008
- Inner London residents are more satisfied with their local area than those in outer London (71%) against 66%), and are much more likely to be "very" satisfied with where they live (17% v 11%).
- Younger, suburban residents are least satisfied with the area they live in, with young Asian residents living in outer London the most negative.
- · Money matters. Of all the factors we have examined in this report, the average income in each neighbourhood has the strongest relationship with how people feel about their area, and has an even stronger impact than overall levels of health, education, employment and crime as measured in the Index of Multiple of Deprivation. Nevertheless, while poorer, more deprived communities tend to be less positive about their local area, what is notable, as the chart shows, is that for any given level of deprivation, people in inner London are still more positive than those in outer London:



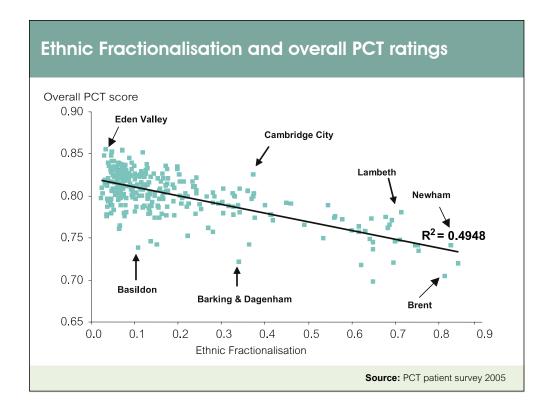
 Wealthier Londoners are more positive about their local area and satisfaction is higher in areas where there are bigger differences in income levels. This seems counter-intuitive as one might expect social comparison to make people more miserable. In fact, it seems to be a result of better public services and lower crime in more affluent areas – and anyone living in them will tend to be more positive, even those on low incomes.

The challenges of increasing diversity

• While Londoners enjoy the diversity of London, and over eight in ten say the mix of people in the city is one of the best things about it, they may not always enjoy living cheek by jowl with different people. When one looks at how those actually living in areas that contain the greatest mixture of people, ratings are lower in more ethnically diverse parts of London and to a lesser degree where communities are more ethnically polarised (the eastern fringe of London in particular). We have also seen that those parts of London experiencing the greatest rate of change are often more uncomfortable.

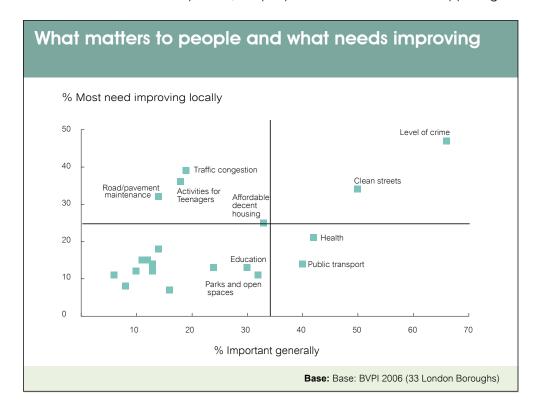


This pattern is also clear when we look at health services, where meeting diverse needs seems to
present particular challenges, and is part of the reason why ratings of NHS care in London are the
worst in Britain. Our analysis suggests that serving more mixed communities is more difficult
because of more varied needs and expectations, compared to more homogenous communities:

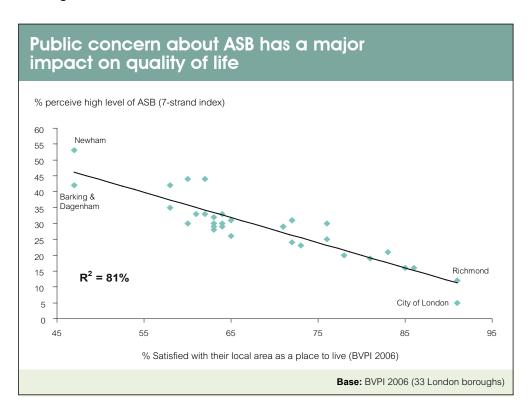


Crime is top priority

- · Reducing crime levels is the highest priority for Londoners to improve their quality of life. As elsewhere in Britain, Londoners actually report feeling safer in their own area over the last 6 years (contrary to the Home Secretary's own perception), but are very concerned by signal crimes like knife crime, which while directly affecting only a small minority have huge ripple effects, along with general levels of low level disorder and anti social behaviour.
- · In fact, concern about anti-social behaviour across the capital is lower than three years ago, a trend that fits the national pattern, but people want to know what is happening.



- The biggest specific concerns relate to parents not taking responsibility for children and teenagers hanging around the streets youth provision is a key issue.
- Young Londoners are more likely to express concern about a variety of anti-social behaviours than older people generally. The view of anti-social behaviour as a problem for the old created by the young is simply wrong young people themselves suffer most from ASB.
- In general, concern about anti-social behaviour has a strong impact on quality of life as it rises, ratings of local areas falls.

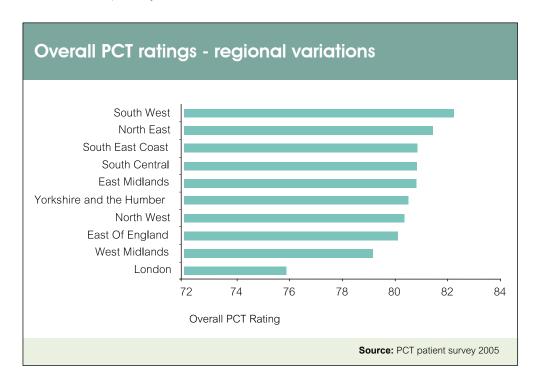


Views of London councils

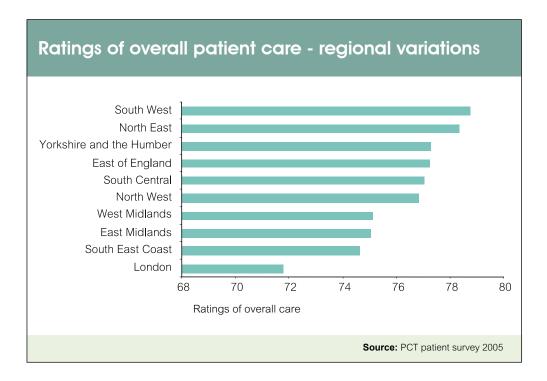
- Overall satisfaction with London's boroughs has risen over the last three years (from 52% in 2003 to 54% in 2006). Inner London boroughs show higher and rising levels of satisfaction in contrast to the lower and static levels across outer London. Whereas previously boroughs like Hackney and Lambeth were consistently the worst regarded local authorities in England, this is no longer the case, and in fact it is now some (but certainly not all) outer London boroughs that are bottom of the class.
- Inner London residents are more positive about their council in terms of offering value for money (49% against 38% for outer London boroughs), promoting the interests of local residents (59% against 52%) and treating all people fairly (73% against 69%).
- Perceptions that councils are improving are stronger among inner London residents with a third
 considering their council has got better over the last three years, compared to only a fifth of all
 outer London residents.
- Highly visible services (often used by residents to make overall judgements about authorities) like
 refuse collection and recycling services have seen the most marked improvements across inner
 London and they continue to out-perform outer London boroughs on street cleaning, parks and
 open spaces and museums and galleries.
- Outer London boroughs are, however, seen to provide better libraries, local tips, recycling facilities and sports facilities.

Views of health services

· London's health services stand out as particularly challenged, with the lowest satisfaction in the UK, both for primary care services...



And for acute services:



A similar pattern to local government also seems to hold true with central London hospitals generally performing better than those in outer London – trusts like North Middlesex, May Day and Ealing are among the worse rated in England, according to their patients. We examine the factors behind this in our companion report "Frontiers of Performance in the NHS", available from Ipsos MORI free of charge.

Conclusions and next steps

There are some clear conclusions to this analysis. London faces some very real challenges and, despite its affluence, its diversity is exciting and invigorating but harder to provide for than more homogenous areas.

- · London councils are improving, and in so doing, bucking the national trend, but there are serious differences between how residents view inner and outer London boroughs and other public services - from delivery of individual services to how they are working to improve quality of life in local areas. All have an impact on the quality of life, which is set to become increasingly important as we enter an economic downturn. London public services need to have a sound understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of their delivery as understood by residents.
- Better communications will help the wider data shows that treated in isolation, nothing has as strong an impact on patients' and residents' views as communications in terms of explaining how services work and how to access them.
- The Audit Commission's new CAA approach will ask for local public services to work in close partnership to tackle the challenges facing their communities, as well as providing opportunity in them. This report shows what some of these key challenges are in the capital. Despite the downward trend in concern about anti-social behaviour, concern about crime and activities for young people is too strong to ignore. The fact that it is young people themselves who are most concerned about ASB is no comfort either. We have seen how in some parts of the capital it is the young, and especially those from a BME background, who are least positive about life in their local area. Local public services need to consider ways of promoting life opportunity for the young, particularly on the outskirts, to avoid a flight of talent and erosion of community spirit.
- · Of course, all of the above needs to be achieved in the context of a tight financial settlement for local government and the demands placed on local authorities around efficiency savings.

Following on from this, the need to consider deprivation and diversity is an increasingly important issue for local public services in London. In the future, there may well be a need to consider other ways in which London boroughs can be classified. There would clearly be advantage in looking at how some of the more challenged boroughs can be grouped together, be they inner or outer London boroughs, to take account of deprivation and diversity, as well as daily economic migration patterns. We may also need to look at a capital-wide classification of smaller area units such as wards. This would allow better local area working and fund allocation by acknowledging that from one end of a London borough to another you can see large changes in wealth and ethnicity, as well as rurality in the outer London boroughs.

Ben Page Andrew Collinge Stephen Finlay Ipsos MORI Local Government Research Unit, January 2008

Main findings

Satisfaction with local areas

Satisfaction with local areas

A better understanding of satisfaction with area will put London boroughs in a stronger position to respond to CAA and really seek to change residents' quality of life. In this section we look in detail at patterns of satisfaction across London and factors, at a range of levels, which help to explain these variations.

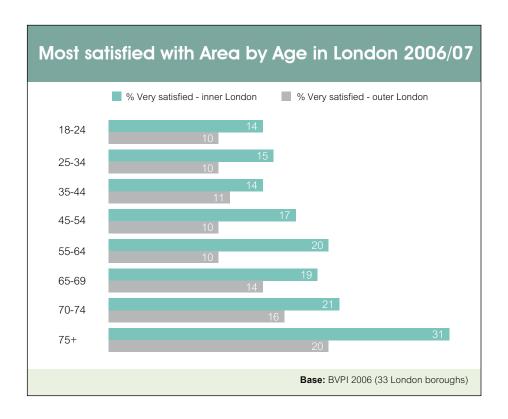
Satisfaction across London

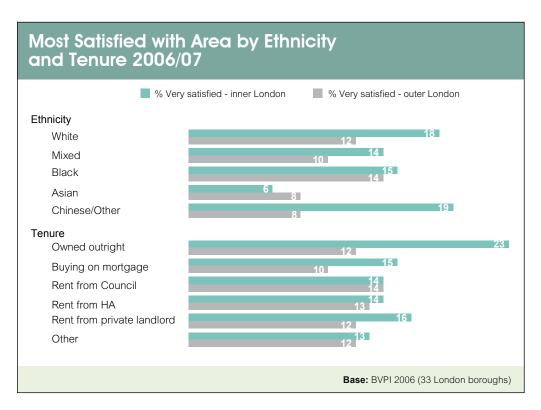
As with other satisfaction measures considered later in this report, inner London residents are more satisfied than outer London residents with the area they live in. Levels of satisfaction in inner London are five percentage points higher than outer London and levels of dissatisfaction two percentage points lower.



Older residents are most satisfied with their local area

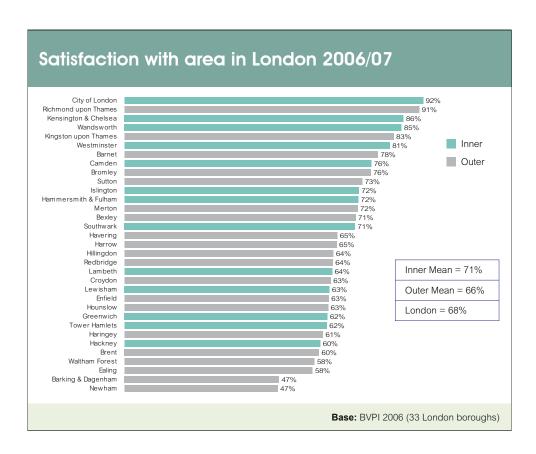
The proportion of residents who are very satisfied is 17% in inner London and 11% in outer London. Across London, older residents are most satisfied with their area. In inner London, white and Chinese residents are most likely to be very satisfied, as too are those who own outright and who rent from a private landlord. In outer London, it is black residents and those living in social rented accommodation (council or Housing Association rented) that are most likely to be very satisfied with their local area.





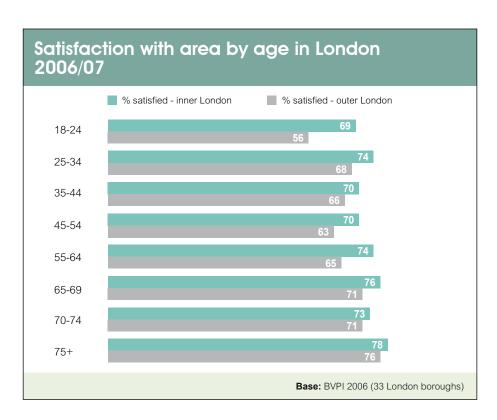
Satisfaction with area is higher in inner London

When we look at how satisfied Londoners are with the area in which they live, the inner and outer London divide is less clear than for other aspects considered later. Two of the five highest rated authorities on quality of life are outer London boroughs, as are all five of the lowest rated authorities. This suggests that the large difference in area satisfaction across London is not just due to differences between inner and outer London but is more complicated than this, with factors such as ethnic fractionalisation, wealth and deprivation playing important and intertwined roles.

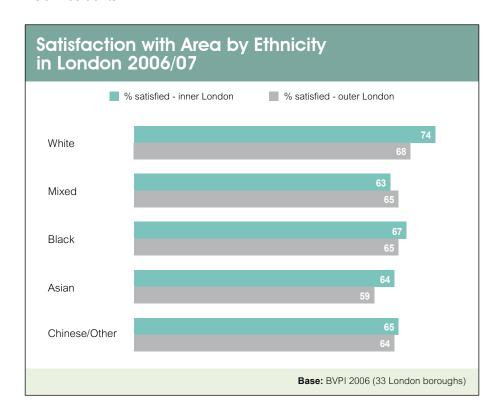


Satisfaction with area is higher for older and white residents

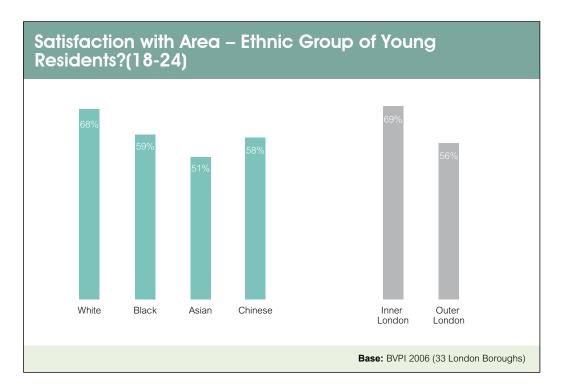
Satisfaction with area varies by age group, with older residents generally more positive than younger residents. Regardless of age, those living in inner London are more satisfied than those in outer London although generally the difference between the two falls as age increases. Interestingly, it is young outer Londoners who are least likely to be satisfied with their area - just 56% of 18-24s in outer London compared to 69% in inner London.



Further, when we consider ethnicity, white residents are more likely to be satisfied with their area than BME residents. This relationship is more significant in inner London, especially for mixed race and Asian residents.



Among younger residents (18-24), those from an Asian background are least likely to be satisfied with the area they live in. Asian residents in this age group show satisfaction levels some 15 percentage points lower than white residents.

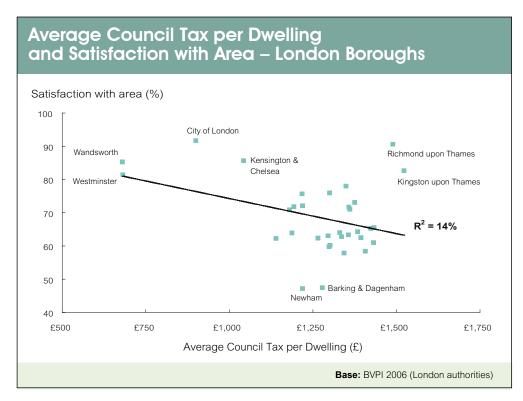


Factors affecting satisfaction with area

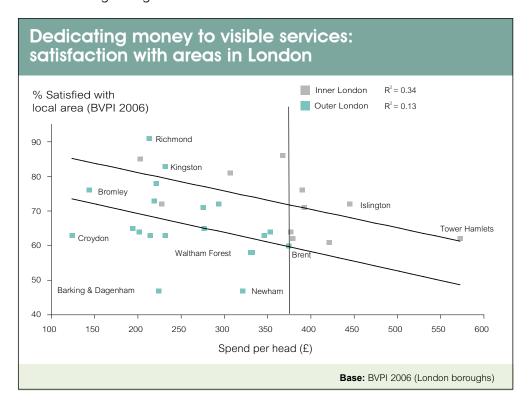
The analysis which features over the next few pages is the preliminary stages of our multi-level modelling analysis, the outputs of which feature in chapter 11.

Tax and spend are weak predictors of area satisfaction

Factors over which a council may exert some control, such as council tax, level of spend or even traffic levels have been considered in the modelling and show a weaker, negative relationship with area satisfaction across London. Certainly some well known examples of low council tax authorities achieve high levels of satisfaction with area, but equally, others with significantly higher levels of council tax achieve similar or better levels of area satisfaction.

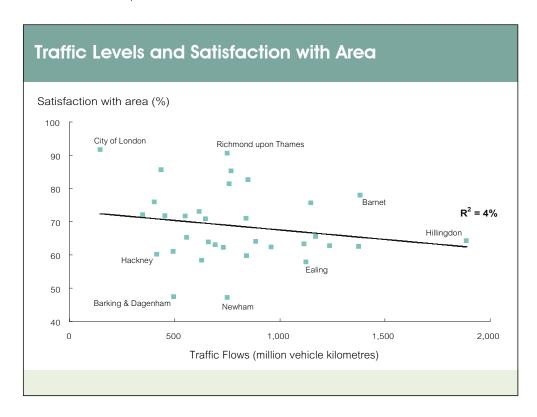


The relationship between the amount an authority spends per capita on visible council services and area satisfaction is also weak, reflecting, in particular, results across outer London. With similar per capita spend levels, Kingston upon Thames achieves an area satisfaction score of 83% compared to 47% in Barking & Dagenham.



Limited evidence of a relationship between area satisfaction and traffic levels

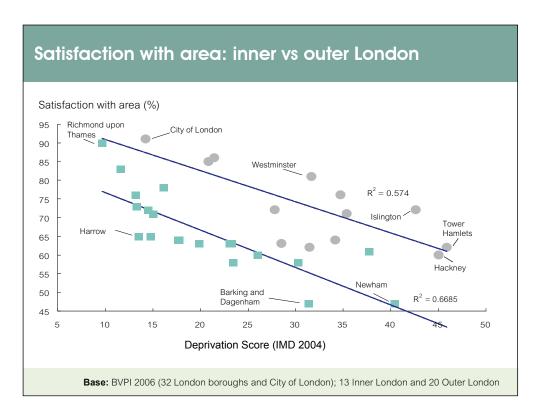
With the introduction of congestion charging it might be expected that those boroughs within the congestion zone and experiencing lower levels of traffic may yield higher levels of area satisfaction. A crude comparison of local authority aggregate traffic levels with area satisfaction suggests at best a weak relationship.



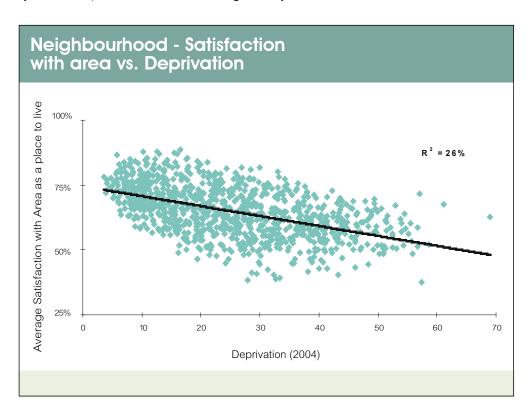
Deprivation is a strong predictor of area satisfaction

Deprivation (as measured by IMD) and ethnic fractionalisation - factors that a council can have relatively little influence over - have been shown in our previous work to play an important part in explaining satisfaction levels. This is also the case for satisfaction with area, where there is a strong negative relationship both at authority and, lower, neighbourhood levels - defined for the purpose of this analysis using Middle Layer Super Output Areas (MSOA).

As is indicated in the chart below, the relationship between deprivation and area satisfaction is consistent between inner and outer London boroughs with the highest satisfaction levels achieved in the least deprived boroughs. The relationship is weaker in inner London, where authorities such as Lewisham and Greenwich achieve lower area satisfaction scores than their deprivation level would suggest whereas Westminster and Islington achieve higher scores.



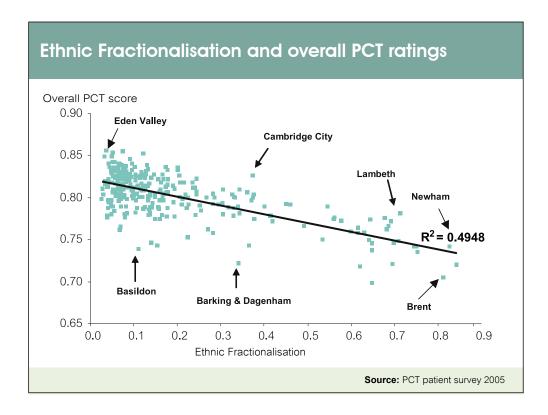
The same negative relationship also exists at neighbourhood level with lower levels of satisfaction arising in more deprived neighbourhood areas. The chart below shows the strength of this relationship for every MSOA in London and indicates that as levels of deprivation rise (as measured by IMD 2004), satisfaction with area generally declines.



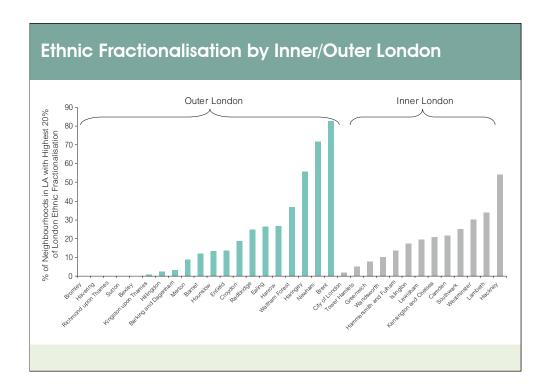
Ethnic fractionalisation and area satisfaction are also linked

Ethnic fractionalisation is a combined measure of the overall size of the BME population and the number of different communities within that. Previous analysis in other Ipsos MORI work has indicated a link between this and a range of satisfaction measures, particularly in London.

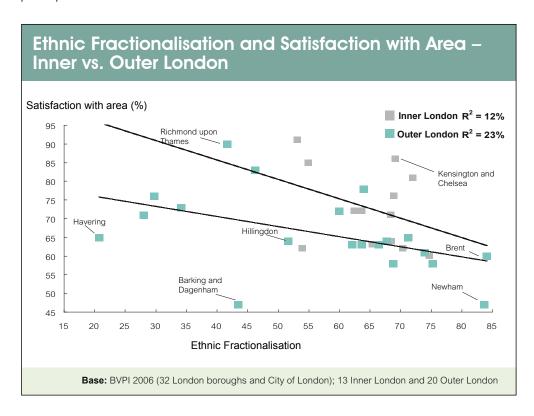
For example, in our recent work on Frontiers of Performance in the NHS II (2008) we see that health bodies serving patients from a relatively ethnically diverse population are somewhat less likely to attract higher ratings from patients. The chart shows that almost 50% of the variation in patient satisfaction can be explained by ethnic fractionalisation in isolation from all other factors².



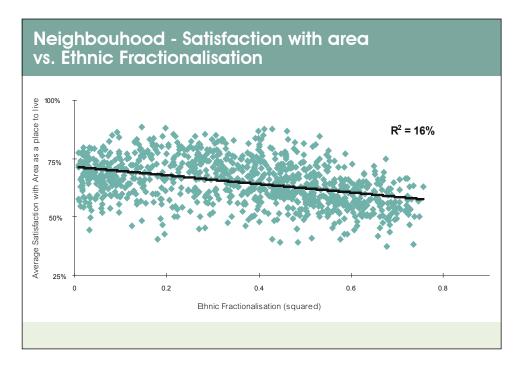
We know there is a tremendous variation in the levels of ethnic fractionalisation in London. Brent, Newham, Haringey and Waltham Forest for example are all outer London Boroughs with a high proportion of their neighbourhoods falling in the most (highest 20%) ethnically fractionalised in the capital - between 35% and 83% of their neighbourhoods fall within this group. Hackney, the most ethnically fractionalised inner London borough, by comparison, can include 54% of all its neighbourhoods with the most fractionalised populations.



Comparing ethnic fractionalisation at the authority level suggests a moderate, negative correlation, with generally lower levels of satisfaction in more ethnically fractionalised authorities. There are, however, some notable outliers with Richmond upon Thames and Barking & Dagenham providing the starkest difference in area satisfaction (43 percentage points) despite similar levels of ethnic fractionalisation. This suggests that ethnic diversity, although important, is not the only factor affecting perceptions of the area.



A similar relationship is evident at the lower, neighbourhood, level with satisfaction declining as the level of ethnic diversity increases. The chart below shows results for every MSOA in London.

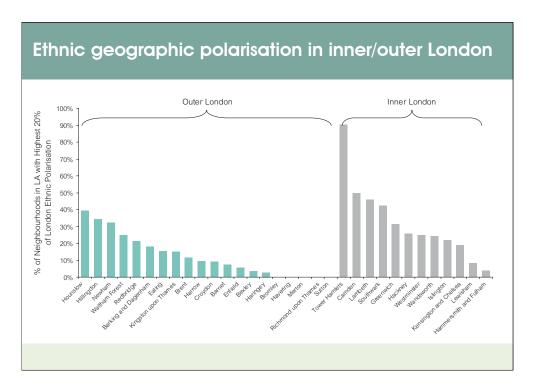


A weaker but significant relationship exists between ethnic polarisation and area satisfaction

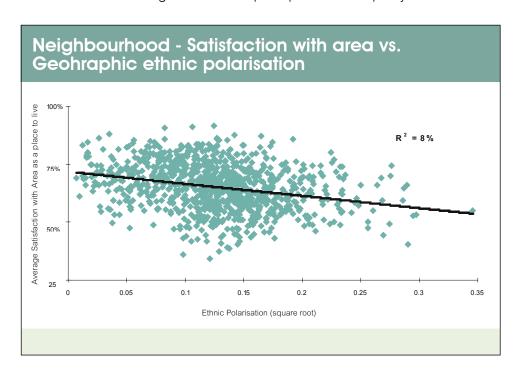
Although ethnic fractionalisation is a good measure of the degree of ethnic mix within an area, it does not necessarily indicate whether these groups are dispersed or concentrated within it.

As part of this analysis, Ipsos MORI has devised a polarity measure to consider the issue further. By comparing ethnic fractionalisation scores at the lowest output area level (containing around 125 households) with scores from a wider geographical area (MSOA level - with c.3,000 households) it is possible to estimate the degree of polarity. The higher the ethnic polarisation score of an area the more concentrated the ethnic communities are within it, the lower the score the more dispersed they are. Further details of the calculation of this measure can be found in the Appendices.

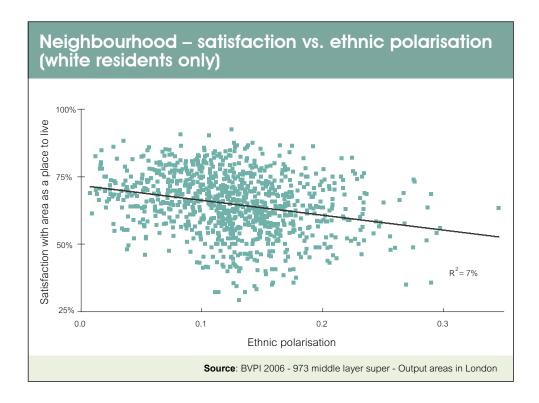
Levels of ethnic polarisation vary greatly across London. The most ethnically polarised boroughs (i.e. with higher geographical concentrations of ethnic groups) are largely found in inner London with Tower Hamlets, Camden, Lambeth and Southwark demonstrating particularly high levels of polarisation. Notable exceptions include Hammersmith & Fulham and Lewisham, both of which have levels of polarisation lower than many outer London boroughs - suggesting a higher level of dispersal within these boroughs. Levels of polarisation are lower in outer London, with the most polarised outer London borough (Hounslow) showing a polarisation score less than half that of the most polarised inner London Borough (Tower Hamlets) – 39% compared to 90%.



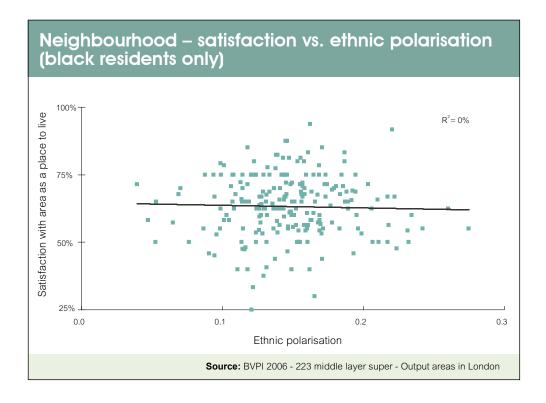
The chart below shows results for area satisfaction and ethnic polarisation at the MSOA level across London, and indicates a weak, but significant, negative relationship. Generally, levels of satisfaction decline as the level of polarisation increases, suggesting that areas containing concentrations of communities have a negative effect on perceptions of the quality of an area.

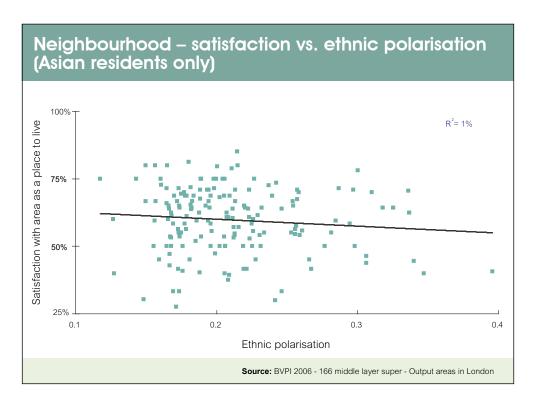


When looking at results for individual ethnic groups a similar strength, negative relationship is seen among white residents.



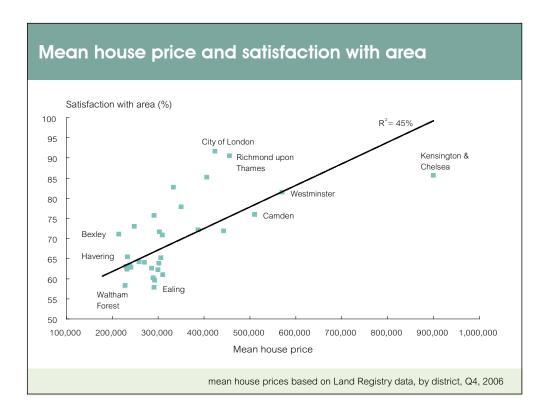
However, this relationship is not evident for black and Asian residents. The effect of having more concentrated or dispersed communities is not a factor influencing area satisfaction for black and Asian residents but is more so for white residents.





Wealth and area satisfaction are strongly associated too

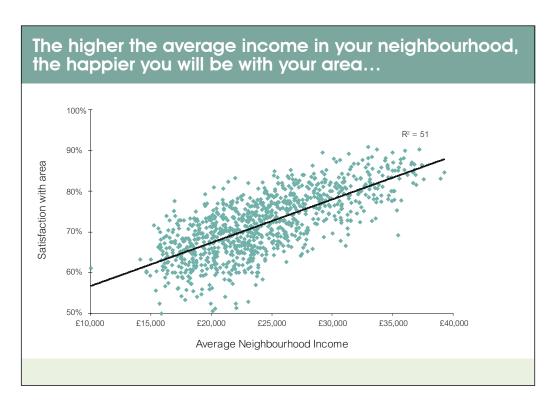
We might also expect wealth to be a significant factor in influencing levels of area satisfaction. One potential indicator of wealth is house prices which show a strong positive relationship at the local authority level. Generally the higher the average house price within a borough the higher the level of area satisfaction – but again there exist some significant outliers (Ealing and Bexley for example).



A more conventional measure of wealth is average income. Below we see that inner London boroughs generally have a higher proportion of income deprived neighbourhoods than outer London boroughs, although dramatic variations exist within both. Around one in twenty (6% of) neighbourhoods in Westminster fall within the 20% most income deprived compared to nearly half (46%) in Tower Hamlets. The variation is more dramatic in outer London with the proportion of most income deprived neighbourhoods in Barking & Dagenham more than twenty-five times greater than that in Richmond.

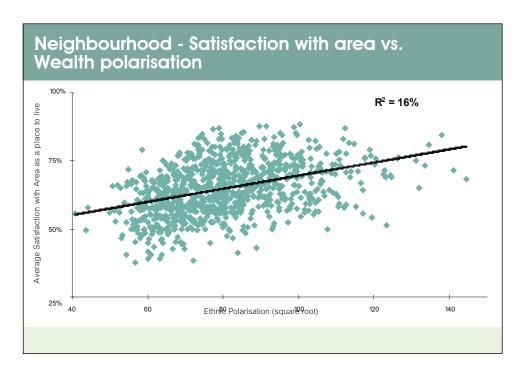


When looking at income and area satisfaction at the neighbourhood level a strong, positive, relationship exists. The chart below shows results for all MSOAs across London and indicates that, generally, the higher the average income in the neighbourhood, the more satisfied residents are with their area. Distinguishing between inner and outer London suggests that differences in the strength of the relationship are not significant at the neighbourhood level.



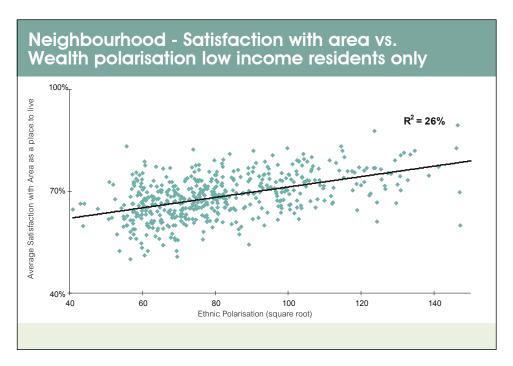
Area satisfaction is higher where income differences are bigger

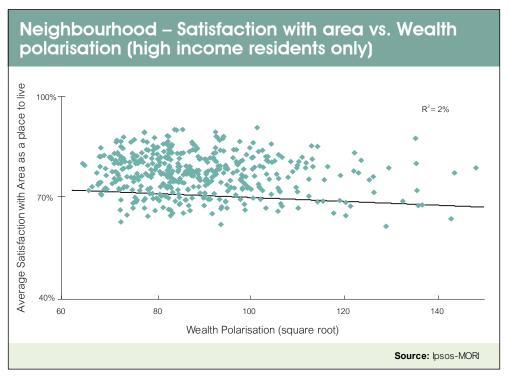
As with ethnic polarisation, we have also considered the impact of wealth polarisation on area satisfaction. Wealth polarisation measures the level of income disparity across an area defined around Output Areas (containing around 125 households). A low wealth polarisation score indicates little variation in income levels across the area (whether it be high or low), whereas a high wealth polarisation score indicates larger differences. Even when income and relative income are accounted for, wealth polarisation is a significant factor in variation in area satisfaction levels. As indicated below, levels of satisfaction with area generally increase the more polarised a neighbourhood is. Effectively those living in areas with bigger income variations are more satisfied with the area they live in.



People on lower incomes living with the wealthy are more satisfied than high income people living with the less well-off

When looking specifically at residents with the lowest incomes (defined here as those with the lowest 20% of London income), a stronger relationship is seen. Lower income residents living in more wealth polarised areas are more likely to be satisfied with their area than high income residents – where there is no discernable relationship at all.



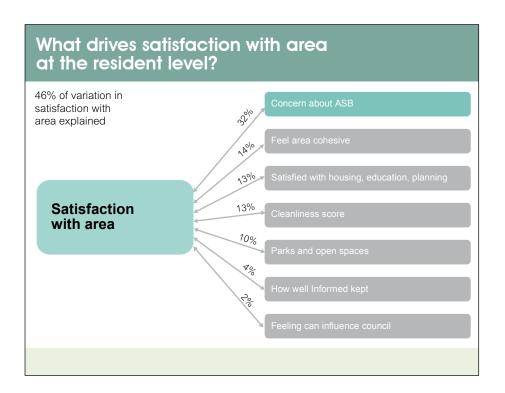


Anti-social behaviour is the strongest driver of area satisfaction

The analysis above has considered the association between area satisfaction and a range of factors at a number of different levels. We finish this section by looking at attitudinal factors at resident or individual respondent level and their influence on area satisfaction.

The key driver analysis below indicates some 46% of the variance in area satisfaction can be explained by the factors identified. By far the largest, and negative, influence over area satisfaction is concern about anti-social behaviour – a pattern consistent with similar analysis looking at council satisfaction presented later in this report. As concern about anti-social behaviour rises, satisfaction with area declines.

The largest positive influences are the feeling of living in a cohesive area, as well as satisfaction with a range of user-specific services and cleanliness. The relative strength of these positive influences is around half the strength of concern with anti-social behaviour. The importance of anti-social behaviour and area cohesiveness to area satisfaction is evident from this analysis and we go on to consider these aspects in further detail later in this report.



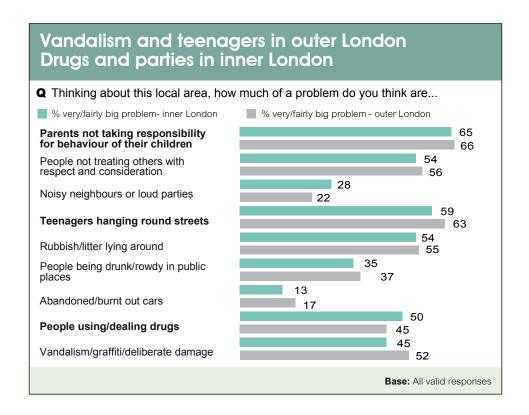
The impact of Anti-Social Behaviour

The impact of Anti-Social Behaviour

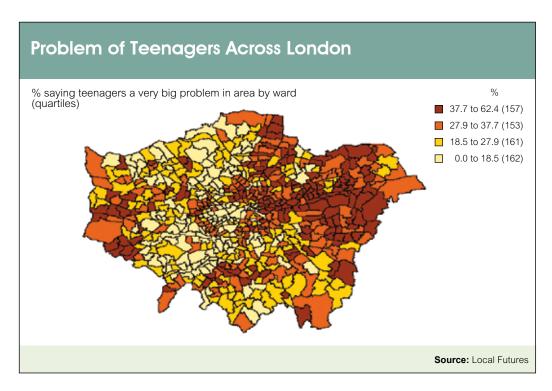
We have seen the importance of anti-social behaviour on area and council satisfaction at the resident level. In this section we consider trends in anti-social behaviour across London in greater detail.

Aspects of anti-social behaviour across London

Of the nine aspects of anti-social behaviour identified in the BVPI General User survey, there are some similarities in the patterns of response across London. Consistent across both inner and outer London, most residents are concerned about parents not taking responsibility for the behaviour of their children and concern is lowest for abandoned or burnt out cars. There are, however, some notable differences with inner London residents more likely to be concerned with noisy neighbours and drugs, whereas outer London residents are more likely to be concerned with vandalism/graffiti and teenagers hanging around the streets.

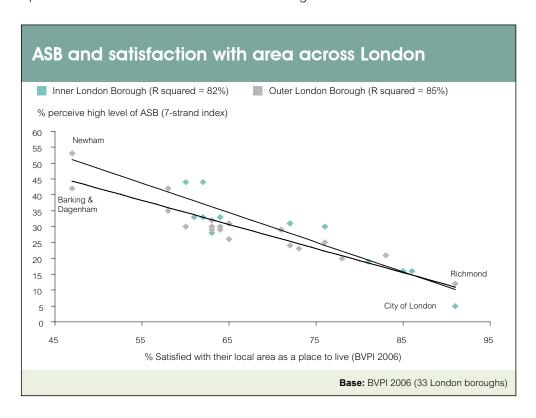


When looking at the pattern of response for this aspect by ward, the difference between inner and outer London is reinforced. The majority of wards where the problem of teenagers is seen to be worst are predominantly in outer London boroughs and particularly to the east, covering the boroughs of Barking & Dagenham, Redbridge and Havering.



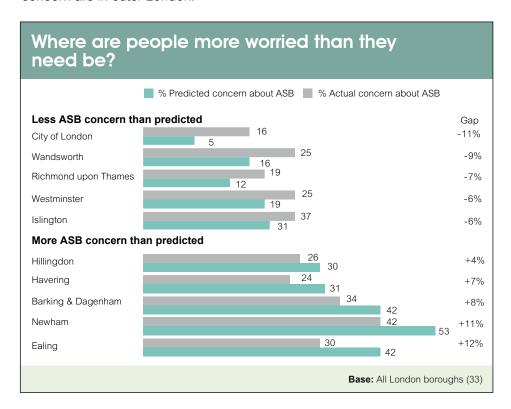
Area satisfaction is highest where perceptions of anti-social behaviour are lowest

As part of Ipsos MORI's Frontiers Analysis of Anti-Social Behaviour, 2006/7 BVPI General User Survey data is used to create the Home Offices seven-strand anti-social behaviour index which aggregates the extent to which residents classify different behaviours as being problematic in their local area. As is to be expected, the relationship between the perception of anti-social behaviour and area satisfaction is strong and negative. It is outer London boroughs that show the most extreme variation, with Newham experiencing the highest ASB perception score and lowest level of area satisfaction whereas Richmond upon Thames has the lowest ASB score and highest area satisfaction score.

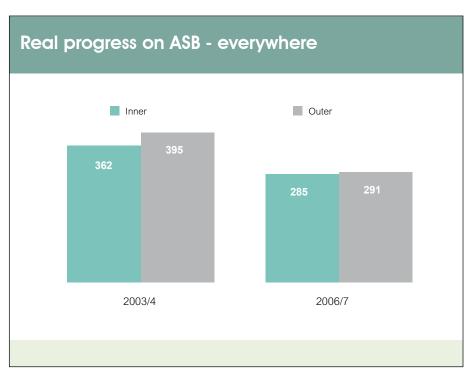


The Frontiers of Anti-Social Behaviour analysis uses regression-based analysis to identify a range of exogenous factors (like deprivation and population density) to identify the strength of relationship with residents' views. Taking these variables into account a predicted score for ASB is calculated for each council area and compared with its actual score. A positive result is where predicted concern exceeds actual concern, suggesting that residents perceive anti-social behaviour to be less of a problem than predicted.

Although previous analysis indicates a stronger relationship between ASB and area satisfaction across outer London, the analysis below suggests that residents in outer London boroughs are more worried than they need to be. All five of the boroughs where actual concern exceeds predicted concern are in outer London.



We have already seen that satisfaction with area is generally higher among inner London boroughs and the analysis below indicates that the wards with the highest proportion of residents who think the council are doing something about ASB are concentrated in inner London. Although the direction and strength of causality is unclear it is reasonable to hypothesise that tackling anti-social behaviour and perceptions of the local area are likely to be associated.



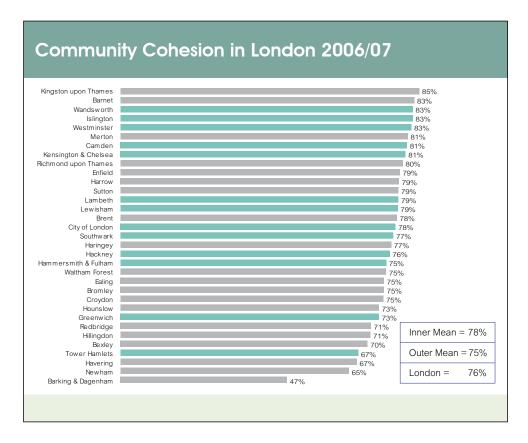
Community cohesion

Community cohesion

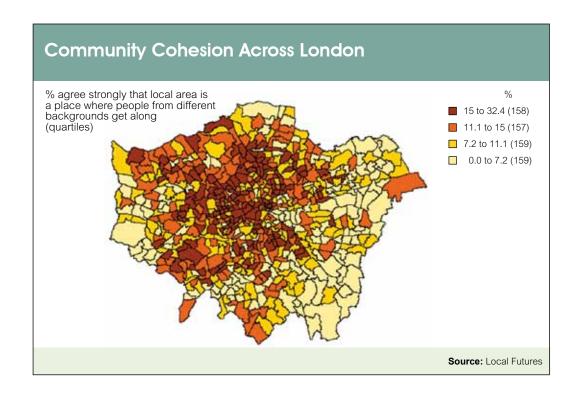
Key driver analysis presented in this report has indicated that community cohesion, the degree to which people from different backgrounds get along, are important resident-level influences on satisfaction with area and council. This section presents some further detail on community cohesion patterns across London.

Community cohesion across London

Again it is inner London residents that are more likely than outer London residents to agree that people from different backgrounds get on well together. At the borough level the pattern is quite mixed – three of the five boroughs with the highest perceived levels of cohesion are inner London boroughs, although the top two are outer London boroughs. Lowest levels of community cohesion are seen in the London Borough of Barking & Dagenham which is consistent with the recent, well documented, rise in support for fringe political parties and the subsequent strain on community relations this has resulted in.

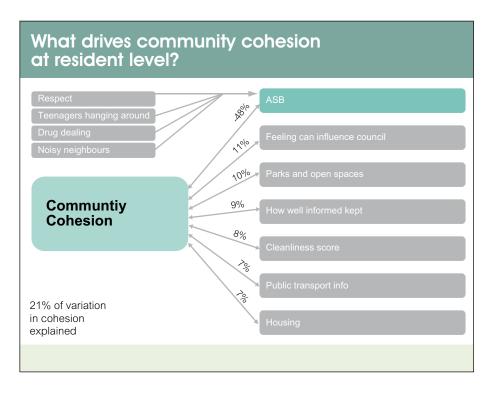


A clearer pattern emerges at the more detailed, ward, level. Wards showing the highest level of agreement on cohesion are concentrated in inner London and particularly towards the north and west.



Anti-social behaviour is the strongest negative driver of community cohesion

Key driver analysis on respondent-level data produces a relatively weak model in this instance. Many of the drivers correspond with those found for area satisfaction and noticeably it is anti-social behaviour that has the largest, negative, influence - some four times more influential than the highest positive driver (being able to influence council decisions). Satisfaction with parks and open spaces and residents feeling informed are other positive drivers identified.



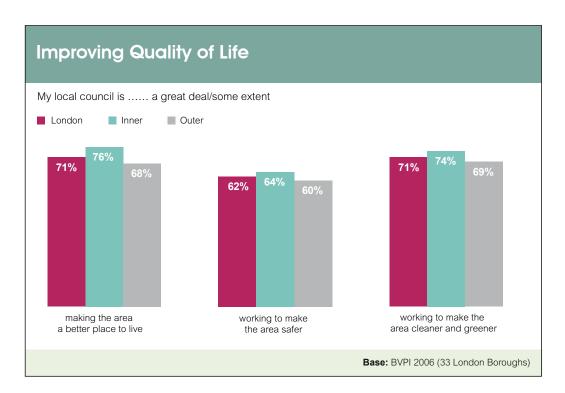
A role in place shaping

A role in place shaping

Residents' views on the impact a council is having on their local area are also collected from the BVPI General User Survey. The relationship between council and area satisfaction is strong and factors such as safety and making the area cleaner and greener are aspects the council can exert some control over to help improve the quality of life of residents, as well as overall satisfaction levels with the authority.

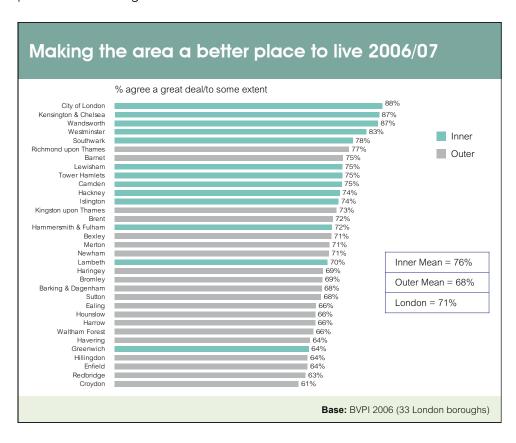
Inner London authorities are recognised for improving quality of life

As with satisfaction with overall service provided by the council, it is inner London authorities that are viewed more positively in terms of making the area a better place to live, safer, cleaner and greener. More than three-quarters of inner London residents agree the council is making the area a better place to live - some eight percentage points higher than those living in outer London boroughs. The gap between inner and outer London on matters of safety and cleanliness is lower but still significant.



Inner London authorities are recognised for making the area a better place to live

Again the strongest perception of improvement comes from residents in inner London Boroughs with 76% of residents saying that their authority is making their area a better place to live. The picture in outer London is far from bleak, but the proportion of residents who are positive about their authority still stands at just under seven in ten (68%), only slightly below London as a whole (71%). As we have seen previously, a number of authorities feature at the top of this list, as they have on other measures of perceived success. Others still have some work to do in order to improve perceptions of their performance among their residents.



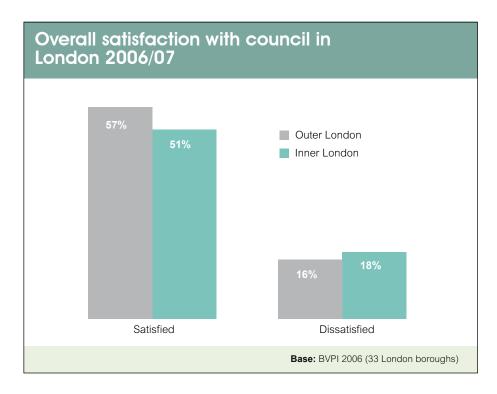
Corporate image

Corporate image

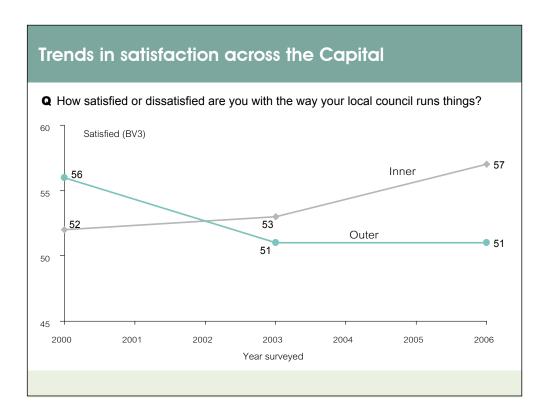
The main measure of council performance derived from the BVPI General User Survey is overall satisfaction with authority (or BV3). This section looks at broad trends in satisfaction across London and at individual borough level before considering some of the factors driving satisfaction across the capital.

Trends in council satisfaction across London

It is apparent that inner London boroughs are out-performing their outer London counterparts with mean satisfaction ratings of 57% and 51% respectively. The gap in levels of dissatisfaction is smaller, with nearly one in five (18%) outer London residents dissatisfied – just two percentage points higher than residents in inner London.



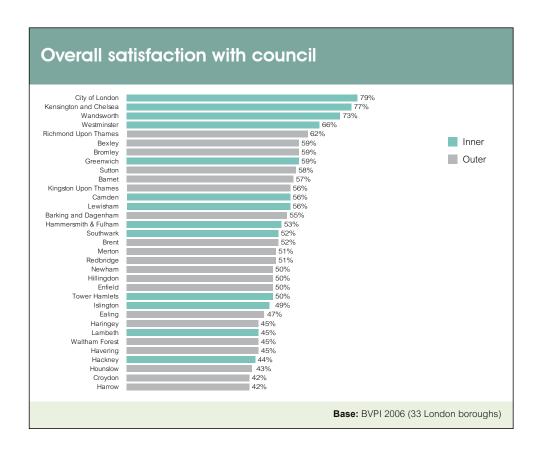
Trends in overall satisfaction are markedly different across London with satisfaction among inner London authorities rising by five percentage points since 2000, compared to a fall of five percentage points across outer London authorities. It is also noticeable that whereas satisfaction levels in outer London are unchanged since 2003, satisfaction across inner London Boroughs has risen by four percentage points over the same time period.



In a broader context overall satisfaction in London has recovered to a level seen nationally across all English authorities (overall satisfaction is down one percentage point from 55% to 54%) and is only marginally below the average for all district authorities (55%).

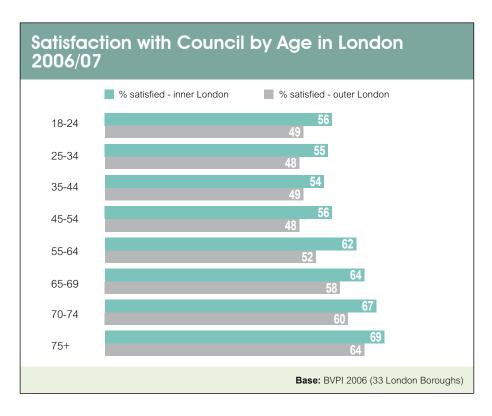
Council satisfaction is higher across inner London

The extent to which London residents are satisfied with how their local authority runs things varies widely across the various London boroughs. At the upper extremity, over seven in ten residents express satisfaction with how their authority runs things. In contrast, just over two in five residents say they are satisfied with their council in those (outer) London boroughs receiving the lowest scores.

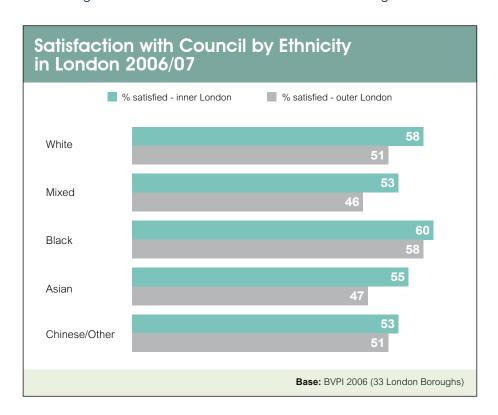


Council satisfaction is higher among older residents and black residents

Examination of respondent level characteristics gives us an insight into why satisfaction varies so dramatically across London. By age group, we see that for both inner and outer London boroughs, resident satisfaction remains broadly consistent for those aged between 18 and 44 but thereafter increases steadily as age increases. The highest satisfaction ratings are observed among those aged over 75.

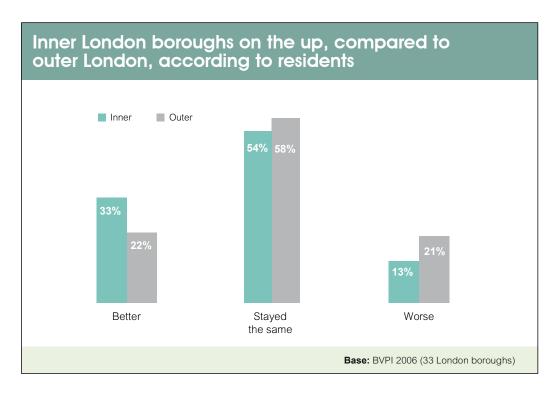


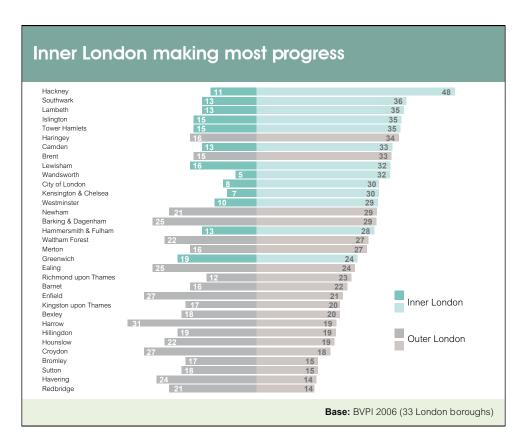
When comparing ethnicity we see that mixed race, Asian and Chinese residents are generally less likely to be satisfied with their local authority whereas black residents are more likely to be satisfied. This finding holds true in both inner and outer London boroughs.



Inner london boroughs have performed better over time

Differences in overall satisfaction in inner and outer London are matched by residents' perceptions of whether their council has got better, worse or stayed the same. A third of inner London residents consider their council has got better over the last three years compared to just over a fifth (22%) of outer London residents. A similar proportion of outer London residents consider their council has got worse, some eight percentage points higher than inner London residents.

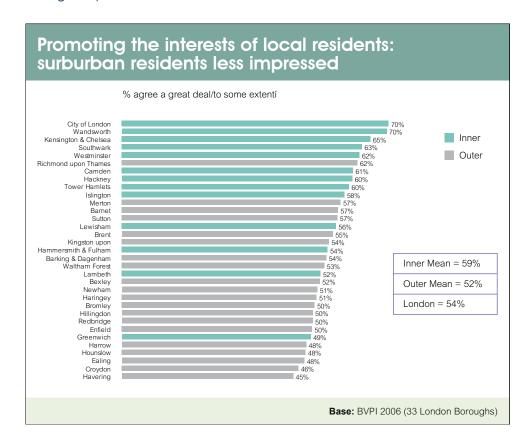




In the majority of London boroughs, more residents consider their authority has got better over the last three years than got worse. The inner London boroughs of Hackney, Southwark, Lambeth and Islington particularly stand out as having more positive residents in this regard. Outer London residents are generally more negative about their authorities' performance, with a couple of notable exceptions. However, it should also be noted that outer London boroughs are more likely to say the way the authority runs things has stayed the same over the last three years.

Understanding council satisfaction

If we look at the relationship between area and council satisfaction at local authority level we see a strong and positive correlation.



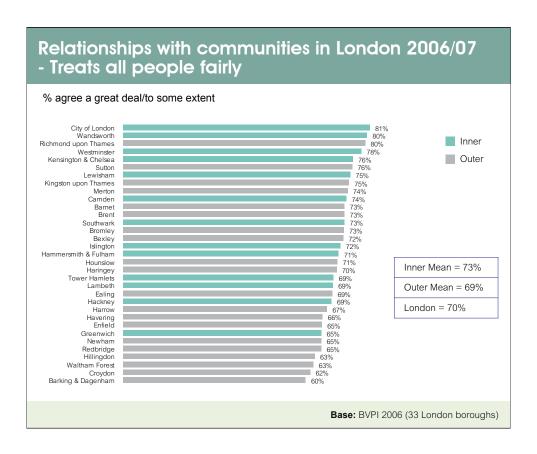
What is not clear from this analysis is the direction of causality, or indeed if there is any. Is it the case that a top performing authority contributes to a more satisfying place to live, or does a nice place to live manifest itself in higher council satisfaction ratings, or is neither of these true? Further, just as with area satisfaction, a wealth of other factors may contribute to such variations and understanding their influence is extremely difficult.

Deprivation and ethnic fractionalisation are important factors in understanding variations in council satisfaction

Ipsos MORI has undertaken a range of more detailed analyses to gain a better understanding of overall satisfaction at the local authority level. Using the most recent data from the 2006/7 round of BVPI Surveys this has culminated in our Frontiers of Performance analysis. This analysis uses other data on population structure and local socio-economic indicators at the local authority level to identify a range of aspects that have a strong relationship with overall satisfaction.

The first stage of the Frontiers analysis is to identify the factors which have the strongest relationship with satisfaction levels. This analysis confirms the significant impact of factors such as levels of deprivation nationally, for all authority types, as well as factors such as ethnic fractionalisation which apply specifically in London.

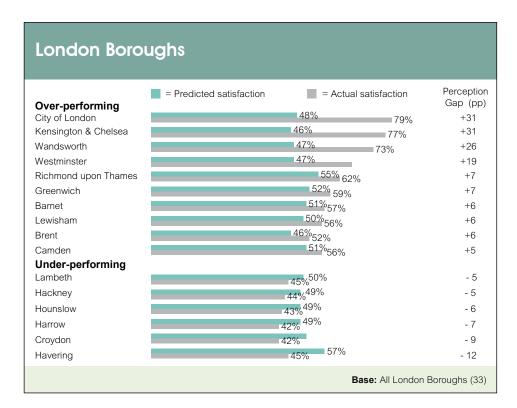
As the charts below indicate, for both factors there exists a negative relationship with overall satisfaction. As deprivation and the degree of ethnic fractionalisation increase, levels of satisfaction decrease. While the strength of relationship with deprivation seems to have weakened in recent years (a sign of patchy improvement?) we still expect that levels of satisfaction are lowest in the most deprived and ethnically fractionalised boroughs.



In addition to deprivation and ethnic fractionalisation, council tax levels and residents in routine occupations (NS-Sec 7) were found to explain the highest proportion of variation in satisfaction levels. Using these inputs a model was generated to calculate an expected proportion of satisfied residents. Knowing just the level of deprivation, council tax levels, ethnic diversity and the proportion in routine occupations in an area, the expected proportion of satisfied residents can be predicted to within relatively small ranges.

Top performers are predominantly in inner London

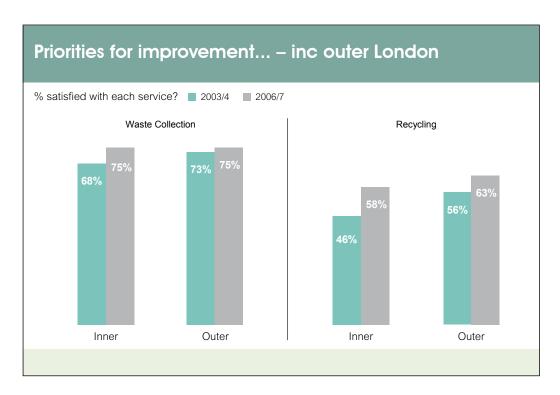
Comparing actual satisfaction levels with predicted satisfaction levels (which take account of the local socio-economic conditions in which local authorities operate) enables the identification of those authorities outperforming their predicted levels and those that are under-performing given the constraints they are working under. Overall, more London boroughs exceed their predicted satisfaction score than fall below it, but it is predominantly inner London boroughs representing the top over-performers and outer London Boroughs that make up the majority of under-performers.



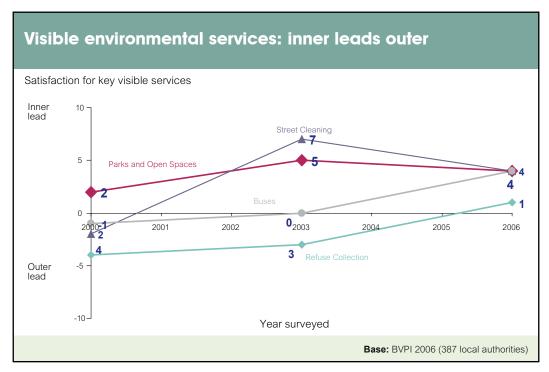
Service provision improvements are most marked in inner London

It may well be that the simple explanation of variation in overall satisfaction is that those achieving the highest ratings provide the best services. We know from our previous analysis that provision of services is an important influence on satisfaction ratings and our London data supports the view of a service perception gap between inner and outer London.

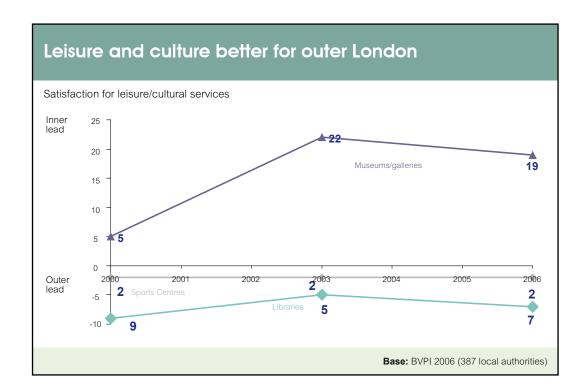
Whilst there has been significant improvement in basic services, such as waste and recycling, across London, we see that improvements have been most marked in inner London authorities. Satisfaction with waste collection has improved by seven percentage points in inner London, compared to an improvement of two percentage points in outer London. Improvements in recycling show a similar pattern of improvement.



This trend is repeated for other visible services with inner London showing a lead in satisfaction levels over outer London, for all four of the services identified.



In contrast outer London performs better for key leisure and cultural services such as sports centres and libraries, but perhaps unsurprisingly lags significantly behind inner London for satisfaction with museums and galleries.



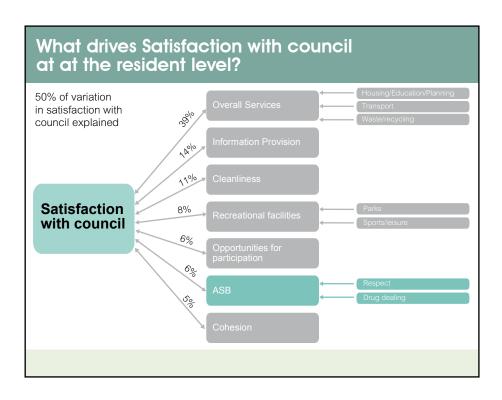
Service provision is the strongest driver of council satisfaction

We have used key driver analysis to get a better understanding of the factors influencing overall satisfaction at resident level using BVPI survey responses.

From the results below we can see that 50% of the variation in residents' level of satisfaction with the council can be explained by the factors identified. In statistical terms, this represents a fairly strong model. It is rare to be able to explain more than this from the responses to a questionnaire. The strongest drivers of resident satisfaction with the council relate to specific council services (such as housing, education, planning transport and waste collection). The more satisfied a resident is with these services the more likely they are to be satisfied with the council.

Information provision and cleanliness are the next strongest drivers, but are considerably less important in driving satisfaction than the council services mentioned above.

Opportunities for participation and anti-social behaviour have the same level of influence at the respondent level, although one has a positive effect and the other a negative. Of the different types of anti-social behaviour, respect and drug dealing are the aspects having the greatest influence on overall satisfaction. The importance of a council being seen to address anti-social behaviour and engendering a cohesive community are issues we return to later in this report.



Getting the job done: more detailed aspects of corporate image

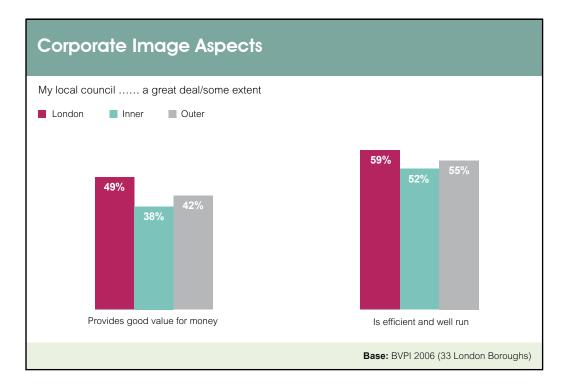
Getting the job done: more detailed aspects of corporate image

We have seen how satisfaction with local area and the council varies across London and considered some of the relationships with socio-demographic variables and attitudinal responses that help to better understand these variations. We also know from our previous research that perceptions of corporate image, like value for money and efficiency, are important contributing factors to how the public views local councils generally. Indeed further analysis of Frontiers of Performance data suggests that it is those authorities that make residents notice their contribution on these aspects that will be among the best performing authorities. Trends in these aspects of corporate image are examined further across London in this section.

Corporate image aspects across London

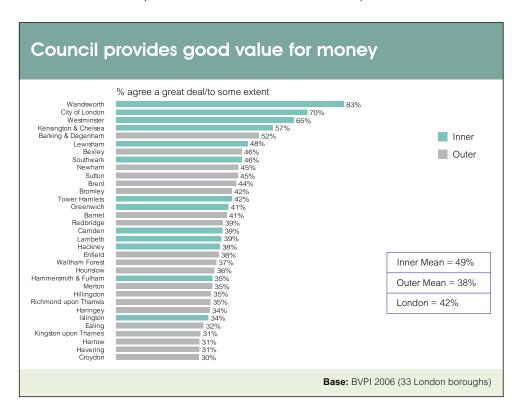
Just over two in five London residents say that their council provides value for money. In line with the better performance generally among inner London authorities we have seen thus far, almost half of residents agree that their council provides good value for money.

Outer London authorities fare less well on this measure with fewer than two in five agreeing that their local authority provides value for money. Residents across London are more likely to see their local authority as efficient and well run. Again, inner London residents are more positive on this aspect than outer London residents.

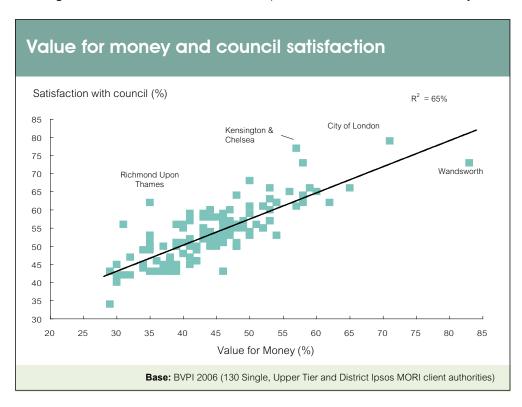


Value for money ratings are higher for inner London

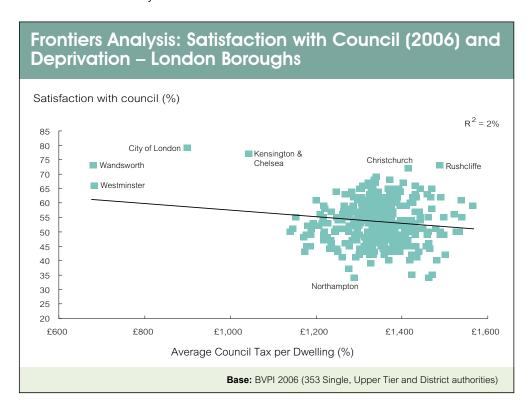
The perception that a council provides value for money is strongly correlated with general positive perceptions of council performance among London residents. As can be seen from the chart below, the top four councils in terms of value for money are the same top four that do best on a variety of measures of council performance we have seen in this report so far.



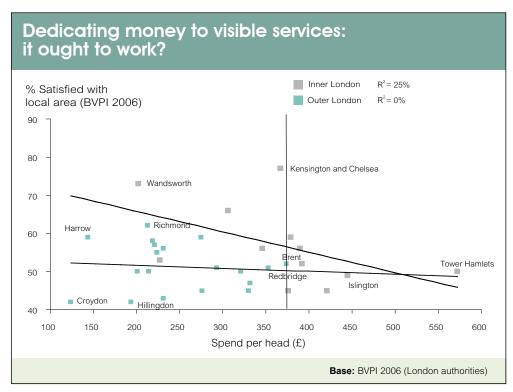
This strong and positive relationship is reinforced when value for money and council satisfaction are compared at local authority level. Although not showing the direction of causality, generally Boroughs with higher levels of satisfaction are those perceived to offer value for money.



It might be simple to conclude that value for money is most obviously driven by level of council tax and that higher levels of satisfaction would be associated with lower levels of council tax. However, with a couple of notable exceptions, the relationship between council tax and satisfaction with council is weak both nationally and across London.

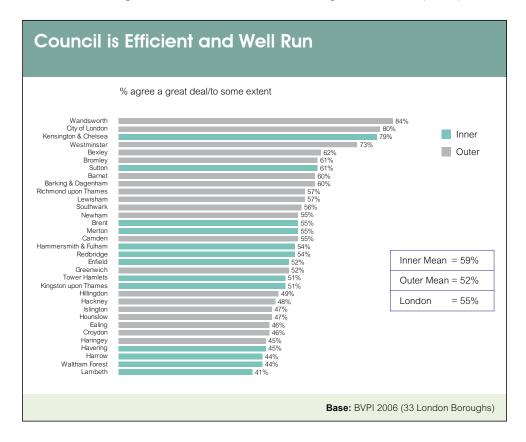


We might also consider the level of council spend per capita on visible services to show a strong relationship with overall satisfaction. The relationship is shown below and is stronger for inner London boroughs than outer London boroughs in which it is weak, or non-existent. The results suggest, therefore, that perceptions of value for money are driven by something more than just visible levels of council tax or actual spending on visible, cleaning and greening services.

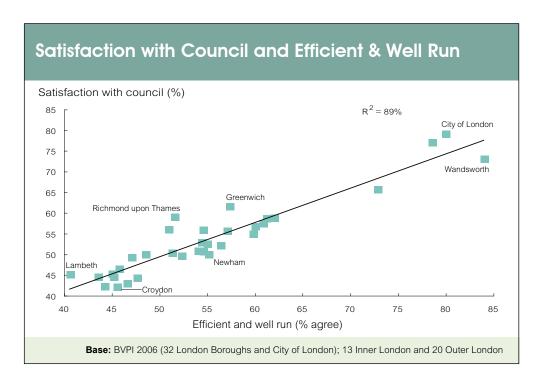


Perceptions of efficiency are stronger for inner London residents

Just over half of London residents feel their council is efficient and well-run and this proportion rises to six in ten among residents of inner London Boroughs, where this perception is strongest.



Again, perceptions of efficiency are strongly related to overall satisfaction at local authority level, with authorities rated as being efficient and well run likely to achieve a higher satisfaction score overall. The strength of this relationship is consistently strong for both inner and outer London authorities.

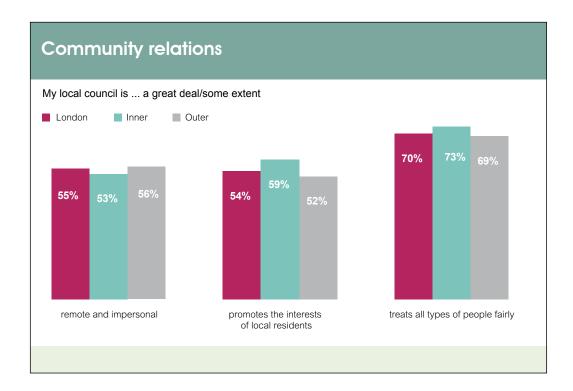


Strong relationships with communities

Strong relationships with communities

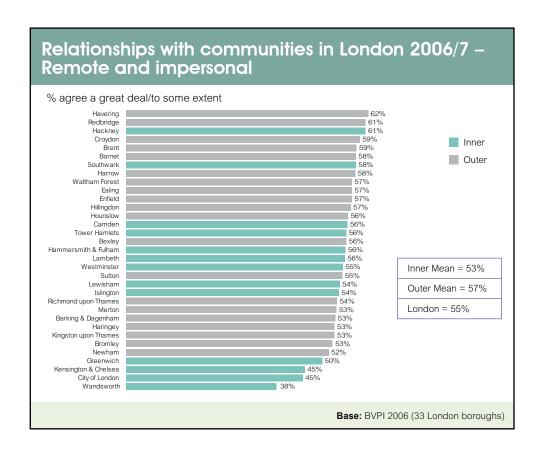
Community relations across London

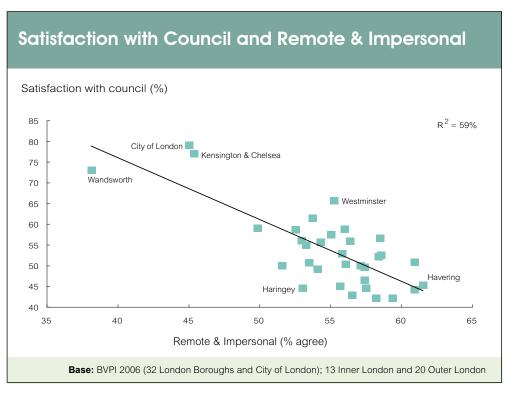
Inner London boroughs seem to be better at securing the advocacy of their residents. Residents in inner London are significantly less likely to say their local authority is remote and impersonal both compared to the overall London average and the average for outer London boroughs. Inner London residents are also more likely to say their council promotes the interests of local residents and treats all types of people fairly.



Council satisfaction is highest where perception of remoteness is lowest

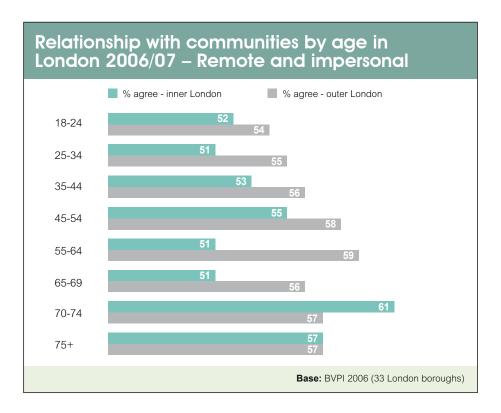
A good indication of the importance of communicating well with residents is the fact that the authorities that top the table of being remote and impersonal are the same authorities that are rated lowest in terms of how they are performing. This pattern is reiterated when comparing results with overall satisfaction at local authority level.



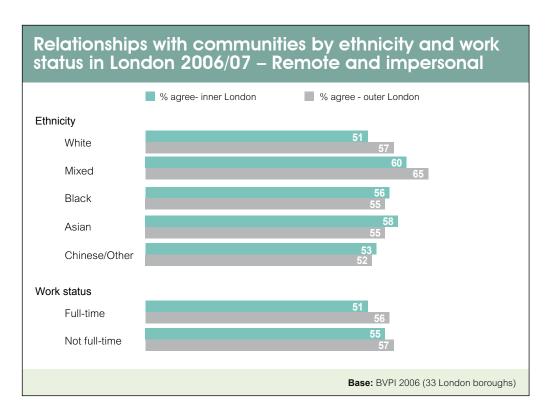


Perception of remoteness is strongest among older residents

Generally older residents are more likely than younger residents to agree that their council is 'remote and impersonal'. The proportion agreeing that their council is 'remote and impersonal' gradually increases from its lowest level among those aged 18-24. Those most likely to feel remote from their council are inner London residents aged 70 and over.

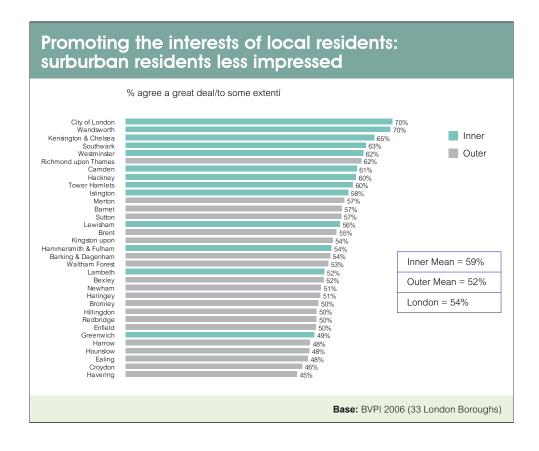


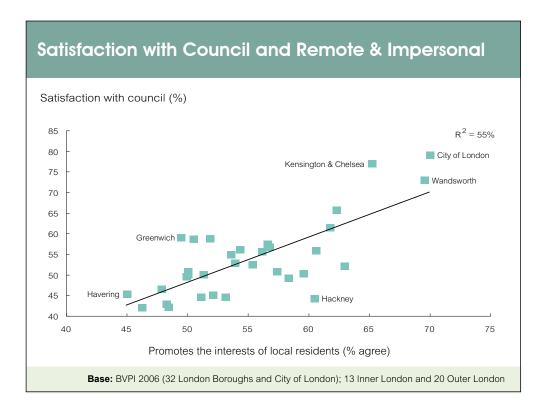
London councils are seen as remote and impersonal by Asian and black residents to a greater extent than they are by white residents. For white residents, inner London councils do better at engaging with them; however, for black and Asian residents the opposite is true, with those living in inner London more likely to say their council is remote and impersonal than those living in outer London.



Promoting the interests of local residents is positively associated with council satisfaction

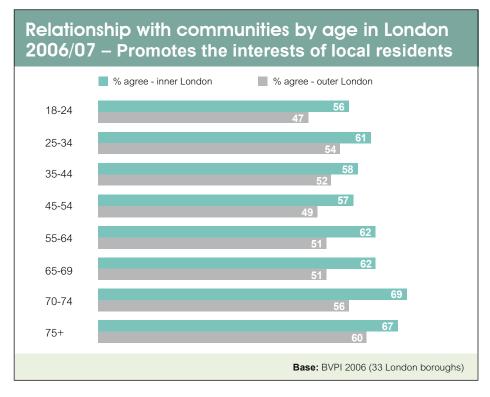
In terms of perceived readiness to promote the interests of local residents, inner London councils are again viewed in a more positive light than outer London councils. The same four high-performing authorities that we have seen previously are again ahead on this measure.



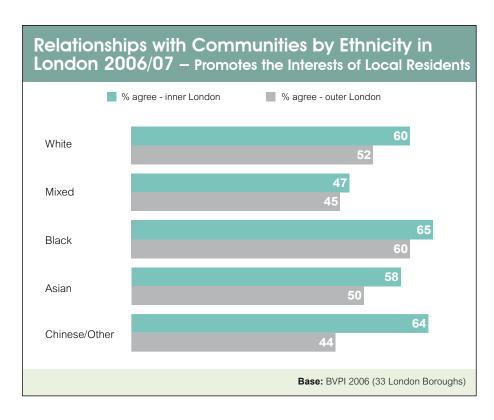


Advocacy is higher among older and black residents

London residents aged 55 and over are most likely to say that their council promotes their interests and this pattern holds true for both inner and outer London boroughs.

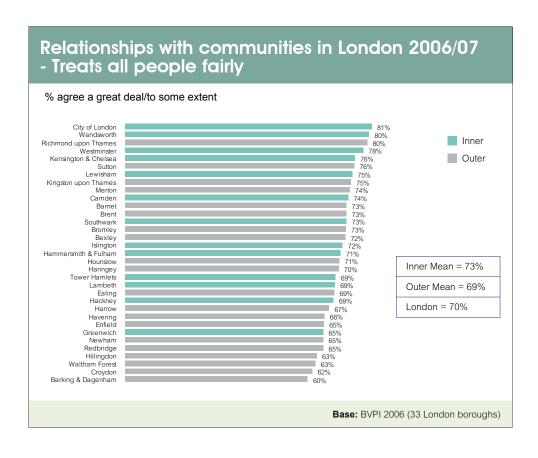


Across London black residents are the most positive about the extent to which their council promotes their interests (again this is true for residents living in both inner and outer London boroughs).



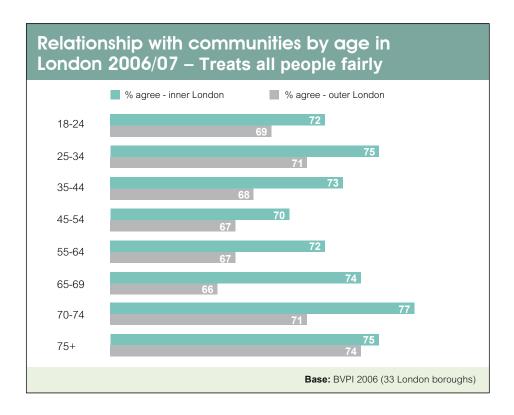
Perceptions that all people are treated fairly are higher across inner London boroughs

Overall, seven in ten Londoners feel that their council treats all people fairly. This proportion rises to 73% when we consider only residents of inner London boroughs, and decreases to 69% when only outer London residents are considered. Councils rated positively overall, and on other measures of how well they relate to their communities, are most likely to appear at the top of the ranking for treating people fairly.



Older residents are more likely to agree the council treats all people fairly

Among inner London residents, the view that the council treats all people fairly is relatively uniform across age groups. However, in outer London, it is apparent that older residents are less likely to agree that they are being treated fairly. This trend, as with perceptions of councils being remote and impersonal, is reversed among the oldest age groups (70 and above), suggesting that service provision for, and engagement with, this resident group is good.



In outer London boroughs, black residents are less likely than white and Asian residents to agree that their local authority treats all people fairly. There are no differences on this measure between ethnic groups living in inner London boroughs.

Building understanding of performance and place

Building understanding of performance and place

With the introduction of a new regulatory regime, and the move towards a new place-based survey to replace BVPIs, there will be increasing emphasis on councils to provide tangible outcomes for people and communities. In future years public service providers will not just be assessed on their ability to tackle problems but also on their success at delivering opportunities.

There are signs that whatever measures are used, increasing emphasis will be placed on having a more sensitive understanding of performance, as demonstrated by comments by the Audit Commission.

Councils and their partners are increasingly obtaining robust data about satisfaction levels and the views of customers and residents. However, there remains a reluctance to draw definite or scored conclusions about overall performance based upon performance information in isolation... There are major issues in relation to the impact on satisfaction levels of factors such as deprivation, geography and diversity which need careful consideration.

Assessment of local services beyond 2008³,

This is something Ipsos MORI has been advocating for some time in its Frontiers of Performance work - using regression modelling to derive predicted satisfaction scores based on a range of exogenous factors which have a strong impact. This work is based on data held at local authority level and enables comparisons of performance to be made on a like-for-like basis, full details of which can be found in our report Frontiers of Performance in Local Government IV: Place Shapers or Shaped by Place?

Within this context, local BVPI surveys have also provided a significant amount of data, at individual respondent level, which we have sought to use to gain a better understanding of satisfaction levels. This has involved the development and application of multi-level modelling techniques to consider in further detail influences on aspects such as satisfaction with area and council. The remainder of this chapter presents some of the emerging findings from this analysis.

The analysis

Analysis presented in earlier parts of this report is either based on resident-level data (such as the key drivers of area and council satisfaction), or in the case of the Frontiers work, local authority level data. Multi-level modelling is the most sophisticated of the statistical techniques used and combines data held at three geographical levels to identify the impact of a range of factors on levels of satisfaction. This is an appropriate technique to use here because the BVPI data can be considered as hierarchical in nature - residents are nested in 'neighbourhoods' and 'neighbourhoods' are nested in local authorities.

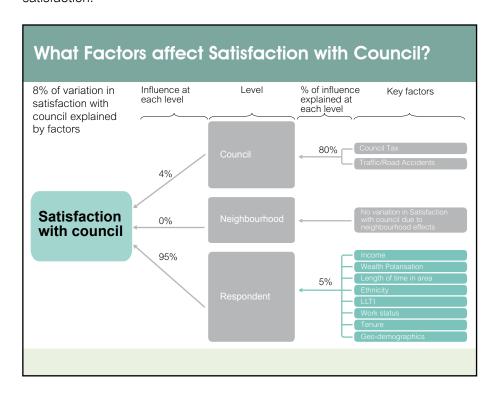
The variables identified and used at these three different levels are selected from preliminary analysis to determine those factors with the strongest associations with the target variables. It is important to stress here that the factors considered are limited to those that are available at each hierarchical level. The purpose of the modelling is to gain a better understanding of the degree to which council controllable factors, neighbourhood factors and resident factors impact on levels of satisfaction. A more detailed explanation of multi-level modelling is set out in the Appendices to this report.

Towards a Fuller Understanding of Satisfaction with Councils

Using the multi-level modelling technique with a range of different variables partitioned by resident, small area (neighbourhood) and local authority levels, we see that most of the variation is at the resident level. The 'neighbourhood' and LA variables can explain only a very small amount of the variation in satisfaction – just two factors at the local authority level can explain 80% of the variance but have only a relatively small influence (4%) in the combined model overall.

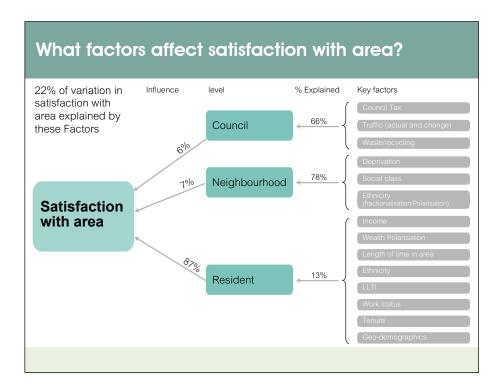
We also see that the general demographic profile of our residents (age, tenure, work status, approximate income etc.) can explain some of the variation in respondents' satisfaction levels but the majority is due to other factors. In total approximately 8% of the resident level variation in satisfaction with the council can be explained by their demographics, the neighbourhood they come from and the LA in which they reside.

It is clear from these results as well as the key driver analysis presented earlier (in Chapter 8), that in seeking to understand overall satisfaction with the Council it is important to consider the impact of other attitudinal responses on satisfaction at the resident level. From this key driver analysis we see that satisfaction with overall services, information provision, and cleanliness are the strongest driving factors of council satisfaction overall in a strong model explaining 50% of the variance in council satisfaction.



Relative influences on satisfaction with area

The same multi-level analysis has been undertaken for satisfaction with area with results summarised below.



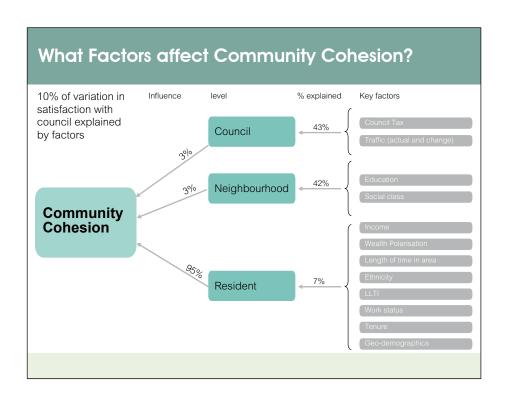
We see a stronger relative influence of local authority and neighbourhood level factors for satisfaction with area and overall a much stronger model – 22% of the variance in area satisfaction explained by the identified factors. As with satisfaction with the council overall, we see that a few local authorities and neighbourhood variables explain the majority of variance at these levels but, in the combined model overall, it is resident-level factors that have the strongest influence. Factors such as income, wealth, ethnicity and work status are all important here although, as 13% of the variance at this level is explained by these factors, it suggests other resident level attitudinal factors are also important in explaining area satisfaction variations.

The key driver analysis presented shows that concern with anti-social behaviour is the strongest driver from the attitudinal responses identified. Area cohesion and satisfaction with key council services (housing, education and planning), although relatively less influential are also significant factors.

Explaining variations in perceptions of community cohesion

We have also applied the multi-level modelling analysis to perceptions of community cohesion although, as with overall satisfaction with the council, the resultant model is relatively weak - just 10% of the variance is explained by the local authority, neighbourhood and resident-level factors identified.

A small number of council and neighbourhood factors help account for variations in community cohesion at council and neighbourhood level, with most of the variation accounted for by resident-level factors. Some 7% of resident-level variation is explained by factors such as income, wealth, ethnicity, tenure, length of time in area, work status and limiting long-term illness. Clearly it is more than just the socio-demographic make up of the respondent that influences perceptions of community cohesion with the key driver analysis (presented in Chapter 4) indicating that perceptions of anti-social behaviour are the strongest attitudinal driver.



Appendices

Data collection: BVPI methodology

The current round of BVPI data was collected using a self-completion, postal, methodology prescribed in guidance from Communities and Local Government (CLG) and the Audit Commission. A random sample of 6,000 addresses was drawn at random from the small user Postcode Address File (PAF) with each London Borough mailing out to an appropriate sub-sample of addresses (or in some cases the full 6,000) using a '1 in n' approach.

The Audit Commission and CLG prescribed that the General Survey questionnaire template be used in full to collect the data. The questions set in the questionnaire are those which the Government requires each authority to ask in order to measure performance indicators. Altering the wording of questions or omitting questions is prohibited since it reduces the ability to make comparisons with other authorities using the same questionnaire.

All reasonable steps were taken to maximise response rates (including two reminder questionnaires) and in some instances booster samples were used to achieve the minimum of 1,100 responses from each authority area. The data collected was submitted to the Audit Commission for weighting (handled by Cobalt Sky to a specification designed by the Office for National Statistics), with an appropriate weight calculated for each individual respondent.

A total of 42,277 responses are used for analysis of BVPI results across the London boroughs. Details of the number of respondents for each borough are set out below. In accordance with guidance, the base for questions is "valid responses" or all those providing an answer. Those stating don't know or who do not complete the question are excluded from the calculations. The base size will, therefore, vary from question to question, and from the total sample size, depending on the extent of non-response.

Data analysis

Multi-level modelling

There is a hierarchical structure to our BVPI data: residents live within neighbourhoods (super-output areas) and neighbourhoods are located within local authorities. The effect of living in the same neighbourhood and perhaps even the same local authority is expected to have an effect on the level of satisfaction with the area you live in. In other words we would expect a random sample of residents from the same neighbourhood to have more similar views than a random sample of residents from the local authority.

In light of the hierarchical nature of the data multi-level modelling is used to build explanatory models. Multi-level modelling is a form of hierarchical regression analysis developed since the 1980s, designed to handle hierarchical and clustered data.

Such data involve group effects on individuals which may be assessed invalidly by traditional statistical techniques.

Key Driver Analysis

Key Driver Analysis (or KDA) uses regression analysis to find the combination of answers to questions contained within a survey which can best explain a dependent or target variable (for example, satisfaction with local councils or local areas).

The analysis shows two things.

- Amount of variance around the target variable explained by the model. This is referred to as the
 percentage explained. On each key driver chart, a figure indicates the percentage of the
 dependent, or target, variable explained by the model. This is a measure of how well we can
 explain the variation in the dependent variable.
- Relative strength the influence the answers to questions make to the dependent variable. If one factor has a relative strength of 20% and another of 10%, the first makes twice as much difference as the second. These influencing factors can be both positive and negative.

The key driver charts presented do not necessarily include all of the factors which have an influence over a model. They include only the strongest influencing factors. We also cannot draw comparisons between the relative strength of factors across different models. This is because each model is influenced by a different number of factors.

Here it is more appropriate to draw comparisons between the relative strengths of the models (i.e. 50% of the dependent explained by a model is better than 21%).

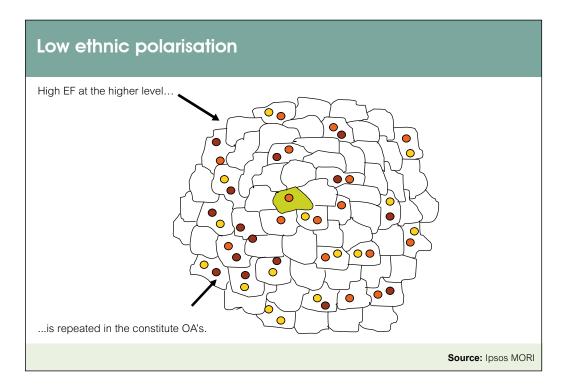
New measures used in the analysis

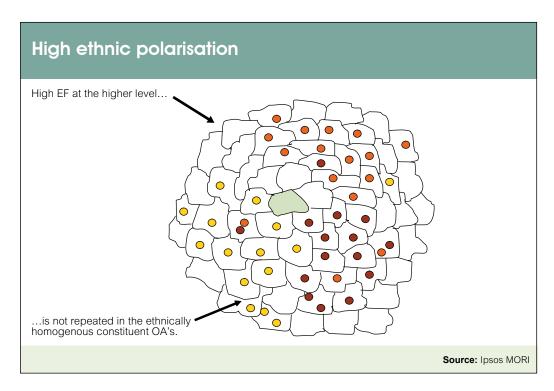
Ethnic polarisation

Ethnic fractionalisation is a measure of the degree of the ethnic heterogeneity within an area and indicates whether an area contains people from different backgrounds or not. It does not indicate, however, whether the area can be characterised by 'ghettoisation', or if, in ethnically diverse areas, there has been true integration.

In response we have developed a measure of ethnic polarisation (EP) for each Middle Layer Super Output Area (MSOA). The EF score for the MSOA as a whole is compared with the average EF score across the OAs that lie in that MSOA. The difference in these scores is our EP measure.

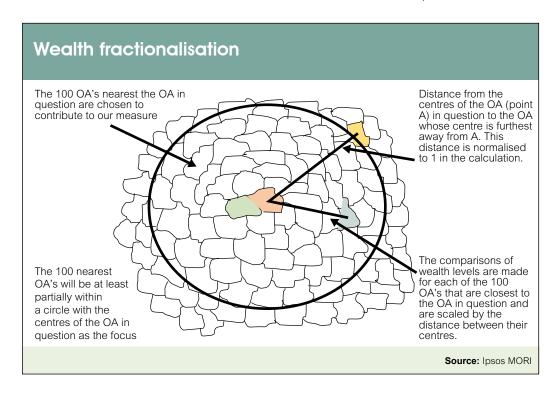
A large difference gives a large EP value and implies there is significant ethnic diversity at the larger area - that is a number of different ethnic communities are present within that MSOA, but the OAs are ethnically homogenous. In contrast a small difference in MSOA and OA EF values implies that whatever ethnic diversity can be seen at the large scale can also be seen at the OA level. This suggests that the ethnic groups that exist within an area are mixing, living side by side. The approach is summarised below.





Wealth fractionalisation

This is a measure that is unique to each output area (OA) and measures the degree of wealth disparity in the area around the OA in question. We define the area around the OA as the area within the 100 OAs whose centres are closest to the centres of the AO in question.



Wealth fractionalisation

$$WF_{T} = \sum_{i=1}^{100} |W_{i} - W_{T}| / dist(i,T)^{k}$$

- WF_T is the wealth fractionalisation measure for OA 'T'.
- W_i is the wealth measure for OA 'i' in the neighbourhood of OA 'T'.
- Dist(i,T) is the Euclidean distance from OA 'i' to OA 'T'.
- \boldsymbol{k} is the decay exponent. We use this to ascertain respondents' subjective relative measures of the importance of an area at a certain distance away from them.
- A high value of $\ensuremath{\mathbf{k}}$ implies a fast rate of decay areas further away are less important than if we had used a low value of ${\bf k}.$

BVPI resident level data returns

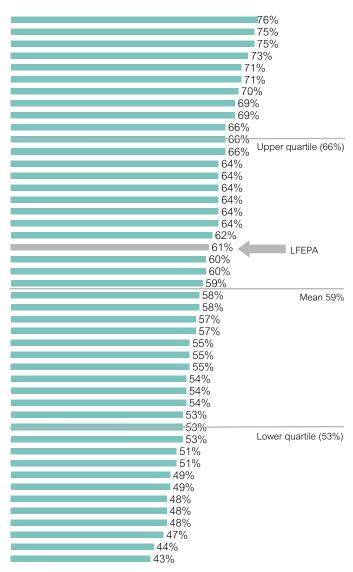
2006/7 BVPI General User Survey returns across London

London Borough	Number of returns
Barking & Dagenham	1,469
Barnet	1,303
Bexley	1,618
Brent	1,518
Bromley	1,230
Camden	1,212
City of London	1,346
Croydon	1,191
Ealing	1,228
Enfield	1,292
Greenwich	1,264
Hackney	1,363
Hammersmith & Fulham	1,208
Haringey	1,219
Harrow	1,370
Havering	1,389
Hillingdon	1,246
Hounslow	1,220
Islington	1,214
Kensington & Chelsea	1,289
Kingston upon Thames	1,318
Lambeth	1,374
Lewisham	1,154
Merton	1,199
Newham	1,233
Redbridge	1,102
Richmond upon Thames	1,247
Southwark	1,167
Sutton	1,261
Tower Hamlets	1,239
Waltham Forest	1,282
Wandsworth	1,411
Westminster	1,101
TOTAL	40.077

TOTAL 42,277

Source: Ipsos MORI

Overall satisfaction with fire and rescue services



Audit Commission 2006/07 User Survey best value data



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