

Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey Research

Oldham and Rochdale: race, housing and community cohesion

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The report investigates the extent to which housing markets in Oldham and Rochdale are racially segregated, the processes which may lead to residential segregation and the attitudes and behaviour which may affect those processes, focusing in particular on communities of Asian heritage. The report, based on focus groups with White and Asian young adults mostly aged 18-30 and interviews with key stake-holders, develops the understanding gained from previous in-depth analysis of past censuses.

The report finds that the aspirations and expectations of young White and Asian residents are remarkably similar, prioritising safe neighbourhoods with a good environment, close to other family members and friends. Anti-social behaviour is singled out consistently as the main deterrent for all residents considering where to make their next move. Neighbourhoods are often labelled in racial terms by respondents and mixed communities are favoured, particularly by Asian young adults.

Preface

This report was commissioned by the Oldham and Rochdale Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder programme. It was delivered in February 2007 and is reproduced here without alteration.

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Summary and conclusions

This report responds to a brief to investigate:

- The extent to which housing markets in Oldham and Rochdale are racially segregated, and the demographic, social and economic processes which are leading to residential segregation
- The extent to which these processes are likely to change in the future, taking account of issues such as inter-generational changes in attitudes and behaviour focusing in particular on communities of Asian heritage.

The main methodology for this report has been a series of focus groups and interviews with young adults (mostly 18-30 years old) of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and White ethnic origins, supplemented by interviews with key stakeholders. This qualitative research develops the understanding of population and housing change gained from in-depth analysis of past censuses.

Most of the young people were aware of racial divisions in housing, and are able to name what they perceive as Asian¹ areas, white areas and mixed areas. Awareness of these divisions sometimes influenced their housing and neighbourhood decisions. Some Asian and White young people preferred to live in areas where their own ethnic group was in the majority, some (mainly Asian people) said they would look for housing in areas where at least some of their own ethnic group are living, and some Asian people expressed a strong preference for living in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.

The development of distinct Asian and White areas has its roots in historical immigration to central parts of each Borough and has been sustained by demographic growth and positive reinforcement for the clustering of Asian and White people (including family networks, community support structures, and a sense of attachment and belonging to a neighbourhood). Clustering has also been reinforced by negative factors including the disadvantage experienced by minority ethnic groups in the labour market (increasing their poverty), racist attitudes and stereotypes (rooted in national political and media discourses as well as local events) and a dysfunctional local housing market, which reinforces racial segmentation through barriers to housing choice and mobility. It is these negative and dysfunctional factors which must be addressed by the Housing Market Renewal programme together with other agencies.

The key barriers that are slowing ethnic integration in the local housing markets may be identified as:

- Lack of affordable family housing in desirable and safe locations. Many young Asian people expressed a willingness to consider moving beyond the traditional settlement neighbourhoods, but also stressed the importance of safety and good access to the established community areas when choosing their home;

¹ 'Asian' is used in the report to refer to residents in the two Boroughs with heritage from the Indian subcontinent, who mainly have family origins in what is now Pakistan or Bangladesh.

- Racialised views of the housing market, which restrict some people's housing decisions;
- Worries about (and the experience of) racism and racist harassment, particularly in some social housing areas;
- Poor housing and environmental conditions in the predominantly Asian inner areas, which make them physically unappealing to White young people with no prior connections to these neighbourhoods;
- The instability of ethnically mixed neighbourhoods, especially localities of rapidly growing Asian housing demand. There is a perception amongst Asian and White people that many White households feel unsettled by a change in the ethnic make-up of their area and that some will leave as a result. The statistical evidence suggests that there has been a relatively large turnover of White residents in mixed areas with both in- and out-migration, again suggesting instability.

Although there are barriers to ethnic mobility and integration in the housing markets of Oldham and Rochdale, there are also a number of positive signs that housing choices could be widened and that greater ethnic mixing could be achieved. Notably,

- Many young Asian people expressed a desire to live in more ethnically mixed neighbourhoods, and the confidence to do so. This runs counter to the national discourse on ethnic segregation, which has emphasized the 'self-segregation' of Asian people living in northern cities. This finding points to the potential for building stable mixed communities.
- The housing aspirations and expectations of White and Asian young people are remarkably similar. High priority is placed on safe neighbourhoods with a good environment, an absence of anti-social behaviour and proximity to other family members and friends. General concerns about anti-social behaviour and the desire for neighbourly communities were not expressed in racial terms
- The community induction project in Rochdale was widely cited as an example of good housing practice by both Asian and White people. These sorts of initiatives have the potential to open up Asians' housing options within social housing. This sector is likely to experience a growing demand from young Asian people given the lack of affordable home-owning options.

These positive findings provide a platform for policy initiatives designed to meet the housing needs of local people and to enable and, importantly, to sustain more ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. The findings highlight the importance of maintaining and extending initiatives which:

- support housing strategies with community cohesion initiatives;
- include community support mechanisms that
 - address the anxieties of Asian people coming to a new area,
 - address the anxieties of White residents who feel unsettled by neighbourhood change, and
 - are sustained in the medium term to support community development.
- address racist harassment and other forms of anti-social behaviour;
- consider housing needs in the context of desirable neighbourhoods identified by young people as

- improved physical environment,
 - good schools,
 - accessible through transport links,
 - reduced problems of drugs, crime and anti-social behaviour.
- recognise the value and continuing importance of the established ethnic community areas for both older people, who do not necessarily wish to move from there, and for younger people, who expect to maintain connections with the community base when moving outwards. Physical, environmental and social regeneration can:
 - alleviate the disadvantage associated with living in these older neighbourhoods,
 - attract new residents (including white families) and
 - retain more affluent households in these inner areas.
- provide affordable housing through schemes such as shared ownership and social renting in areas of home ownership, which may be seen as steppingstones to the full home ownership which is generally seen as the ideal. In this context new-build must be of sufficient quality to be attractive to young people with an eye on stable home ownership. Housing would also become affordable if incomes were to increase in deprived areas.
- provide a mix of family housing of varied size. Quantitative evidence showed a reduction in the number of children in Asian families, but no reduction in the relatively high proportion of multi-adult households. While stakeholders felt there was housing demand from single Asian men, the young Asians we interviewed did not confirm this. They expected to move from their parental home when they were ready to start a family of their own, suggesting that most Asian households would continue to contain either two or more adults.

Section 1. Residential clustering: benign and dysfunctional processes

This section reviews the evidence of residential ethnic clustering in Oldham and Rochdale. Dysfunctional processes which prevent integration and ethnically mixed areas are distinguished from benign processes which will continue to produce areas of different ethnic composition. For that reason the term ‘segregation’ is not used, because it has acquired a universally negative connotation. It is argued below that clusters of different ethnic composition are not in themselves negative outcomes. The focus should rather be on the dysfunctional processes that pose barriers in the housing market and prevent integration. Relevant statistical tables for this section are provided in the appendix.

The level of residential clustering and its reduction over time

Residential clustering exists in both Boroughs, to a slightly greater degree in Oldham than in Rochdale. The standard measure of clustering is the Index of Dissimilarity, which shows the extent to which each group is spread across the Borough in a different way from the rest of the population. It is defined in the appendix and takes values between 0 for no clustering and 100 when each group lives in entirely distinct areas.

The degree of residential clustering was very noticeable for 2001, with values of 63 in Oldham and 58 in Rochdale when comparing the White population with the rest of the population. Although no more recent population data are available, one can be sure that residential clustering is still evident in 2007. Although clearly clustered, these values are similar to the level of clustering in England and Wales as a whole which took the value of 59 in 2001.

These values of clustering are for the electoral wards of each Borough as published in the census. When smaller areas are examined, it is natural that more clustering is observed. In 2001 the values for census Output Areas are 71 for Oldham and 65 for Rochdale. Census Output Areas each comprise a few streets with 200-800 people in them. To put a flavour of the reality which indices of clustering summarise, among the 1,383 Census Output Areas of Oldham and Rochdale, none had fewer than 20 White residents at the time of the last census. Only twelve had fewer than 10% White residents (10 in Oldham and 2 in Rochdale), while the great majority had more than 90% White residents, and 167 had fewer than 4 non-White residents.

Importantly for this report, residential clustering has decreased in both Boroughs as it has in England and Wales. It was *lower* in 2001 than ten years before in 1991. The Index of Dissimilarity for electoral wards decreased from 65 to 63 between 1991 and 2001 in Oldham, and from 60 to 58 in Rochdale.

Clustering and population change

Analyses of population trends reported already² show that residential clustering of Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage populations has its roots in historical immigration to poorer housing in central parts of Oldham and Rochdale Boroughs. The decrease in clustering is a result of migration out from these central 'settlement areas' to other areas, further from the town centres. Both White and Asian heritage populations have moved from the centres. At the same time, the Asian populations in those central areas have grown because there are few deaths in populations that still have relatively young age structures.

Since this young age structure will continue for some decades yet, until the immigrants of the 1970s themselves are very elderly, one should expect, purely from demographic analysis:

- continuing growth of the Asian populations,
- growth in their residential clusters in the centre of each Borough, and
- continuing dispersal to other areas.

Movement of the White population

In previous reports it was clear that the White movement away from 'Asian areas' was consistent with movement away from urban areas common throughout Britain. But it was not clear whether this movement was primarily due to greater out-migration from Asian areas or from a lack of in-migration, which might be better labelled as avoidance rather than flight.

For this report, further analysis of migration data for the one year 2000-2001 (presented in the appendix) has shown that the White population has a higher rate of *in*-migration to areas of greatest Asian population compared to other areas, though similar in absolute numbers. There is also a higher rate of out-migration. Therefore there is not avoidance of Asian areas but a relatively high degree of population *turnover* for the White population in Asian areas. This is probably related to the relative cheapness of housing, suited to temporary residence. The rate of out-migration is sufficiently high to create the net effect of a substantial reduction of the White population from those areas.

There was a net reduction of 2.1% in the White population through migration to other parts of the UK away from the nine wards with the highest proportion of Asian residents. This is more than the reduction in other central areas of Oldham and Rochdale (0.4%). The excess of 1.7% out-migration might be thought of as excess migration of White people from the most Asian wards. It is less than one fifth of the total out-migration of 10.7% from these nine wards. This helps to put the notion of 'White flight' into numerical context, as it can be at most a small part of the total moves made by White people to and from Asian areas.

² Population dynamics within Rochdale and Oldham, Population, household and social change, Ludi Simpson and Vasilis Gavalas, Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey Research (CCSR), University of Manchester, May 2005.

Nonetheless, the qualitative research shows clearly that many White and Asian young adults identify and favour areas partly in terms of factors which they associate with racial composition, in ways that might maintain clustering. Since demographic processes will maintain residential clustering, it is not the residential clustering itself that should be of concern to housing and community cohesion policies, but distortions of the housing market when residents are not able to choose where to live on an equal basis, and provision of appropriate quality services to all neighbourhoods irrespective of ethnic composition.

Benign and dysfunctional processes that produce clustering

It is worth distinguishing on the one hand those largely historical, cultural and demographic pressures that have led to, and which continue to create, clustering of particular populations of one ethnic origin or another, and on the other hand the lack of suitable housing, discriminatory practises, and perceptions of areas that prevent safe mixed communities. One author has used the terms ‘good segregation’ and ‘bad segregation’³. Here we refer to ‘benign’ and ‘dysfunctional’ processes that produce clustering.

- ‘Benign’ processes that cause clustering include new generations’ preference to stay close to their parental home and close to social and cultural networks. The loyalty of young adults of all backgrounds to their locality is clear from the qualitative evidence. These are benign demographic and social reasons for continued clustering.
- ‘Dysfunctional’ processes that cause clustering keep groups of different heritage apart due to inequality in the housing market or due to perceived and real racial territories that influence people’s understanding of desirable places to live. Inequality in the housing market may result from different aspirations or from unequal access to finance or from discrimination. The perceptions of undesirable areas seem to be particularly acute when anti-social behaviour and economic poverty combine to make areas appear to be unavailable or unsuitable as destinations for other households.

Clustering itself need not be considered a negative phenomenon. Loyalty to family and locality are positive aspects to a thriving neighbourhood, which sustain cultural development, maintain facilities including shops and religious facilities, and provide support from one generation to the next. Racial clustering of this nature is no more worrying than clustering that separates social classes and tenure types into observable residential clusters. In fact, social clustering according to employment status is increasing in Britain while ethnic group clustering is decreasing⁴.

Cultural and family clustering is also positively helpful to the integration of new immigrants and their families, who develop social networks whose sympathy and experience support them in the search for work and housing. The benign and often positive aspects of residential clustering have not been given sufficient recognition in reports on social cohesion for the government in this decade.

³ Ceri Peach (1996) Good segregation, bad segregation, *Planning perspectives*, **11**(4): 379-398.

⁴ Danny Dorling and Phil Rees. (2003). A nation still dividing: the British census and social polarisation 1971 - 2001. *Environment and Planning A*, 35(7), 1287 - 1313.

For these reasons the success of integration cannot be measured by the absence of residential clustering. Residential clustering will continue due to benign processes irrespective of the success in reducing dysfunctional processes. More direct responses to those dysfunctional processes are required and discussed in this report. Before turning to the evidence from interviews with young people in Oldham and Rochdale, mention should be made of the national context of negative stereotyping of racial differences in which the young people's ideas and experiences are moulded and which local initiatives also have to cope with.

The impact of national discourses of racial difference

The perception of racial difference as important to choice of residence is affected by an ideological battle played out not only locally but in national discourses on immigration and the integration of populations with different cultural heritage. Xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants and towards Black and Asian people have a long history in Britain and led to anti-discrimination legislation since the 1970s. In this century global conflicts have added Islamophobia to the armoury of xenophobic and racist ideology, which is often paraded in popular national newspapers and reflected in small but significant electoral successes of far right political parties.

Mainstream political ideas are not immune from these ideologies that emphasise racial difference as negative. In the national discourse on integration for example, the integration of Jewish communities and older Polish communities in Britain is not questioned, although the census shows that Jewish population is more residentially clustered than the Muslim population in Britain⁵. This example confirms that residential clustering of a religious or ethnic group is not of itself a matter of concern to social policy.

Thus the perceptions of young adults in Oldham and Rochdale are offered within a context where it is common to consider racial distinctions in the description of areas and of the reasons for life choices. While the attitudes expressed in focus groups were almost invariably positive and accepting of common human values among those of different cultural backgrounds, the participants also expected that choices of residence would be made partly on racial lines, if not by themselves then by others.

The importance to local policies of this wider-ranging ideological battle is exemplified by the focus of racist political organisations on areas outside but close to areas of current Asian settlement. The qualitative evidence later in this report shows that many young Asian adults also aspire to live in areas close to current Asian settlement areas – “near but not in” their parents' neighbourhoods. Thus the national discourses on racial and religious differences and their political expressions may contribute a very real contradiction between desired housing moves and safe suitable housing destinations, which local policies can expect to confront. The community induction schemes, which help new residents of Asian heritage (and others) establish homes in previously White areas, must find ways of addressing sympathetically and firmly the concerns of existing residents and bringing old and new residents together in order to avoid tensions borne of mistrust.

⁵ Danny Dorling and Bethan Thomas (2004). *People and Places: A 2001 Census Atlas of the UK* Bristol: The Policy Press

The positive potential for building communities

The qualitative work reported here confirms that the aspirations and expectations of young White and Asian residents are remarkably similar. The same high priority is put on safe neighbourhoods with a good environment, close to other family members and friends. Anti-social behaviour is singled out consistently as the main deterrent for all residents considering where to make their next move. This understanding provides the positive potential for community cohesion policies. An important message for housing strategy is expressed by one interviewee who said that “it is about building communities as much as building houses”.

Section 2. Racial Divisions in the Housing Market

Recognised ethnic patterns in Oldham and Rochdale housing markets

Both young White and Asian people acknowledged that there were clear patterns of settlement along ethnic lines in Oldham and Rochdale. Most considered these to be a result of historical settlement processes whereby migrant communities initially occupied inner areas of largely terraced housing for mainly economic and partly social reasons. These historical trends were also recognised by stakeholders, who commented that areas such as Wardleworth in Rochdale, for example, have traditionally been areas in which new migrant communities have established themselves. Prior to the Asian community the Polish community had lived there and as the Bangladeshi community is 'newer' than the Pakistani community, it continues to see this as an accessible area in which to find housing.

In Rochdale the areas that were considered as 'Asian' areas, by both Asian and White people, were mainly Wardleworth, Hamer and Deeplish, whilst in Oldham they were Glodwick, Westwood, Werneth and Coppice. Those areas seen as 'White areas' often included local authority housing estates such as Kirkholt and Langley in Rochdale as well as other areas including Milnrow, Heywood, Middleton and Littleborough. In the case of Oldham Limeside, Fitton Hill and Derker were seen as 'White' estates whilst generally Shaw, Royton, the wider Derker neighbourhood and the outskirts of Oldham including Saddleworth, were considered to have a predominantly White population.

During the discussions it also became apparent that some of these areas were considered to be 'no-go' areas for people of certain ethnic groups. A young participant from a White focus group said they wouldn't consider walking through Glodwick alone and that they often felt intimidated in areas where Asian youths were 'hanging around'. Similarly, several people in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups mentioned that they wouldn't feel comfortable in areas such as Kirkholt or Derker. These ideas seemed to reflect both simply being present or walking through the areas as well as actually living there. However, what is important to note is that in all focus groups people talked about feeling 'safe' regardless of the ethnic composition of the area so that even young White respondents said they would not feel safe walking through some of the large 'White' estates that they saw as threatening. The reputation that certain areas had and the fear of anti-social behaviour was of equal concern to participants in both Oldham and Rochdale and within all age groups and ethnicities. There was not any clear distinction between older respondents and younger ones about anti-social behaviour as they all tended to see it as a negative factor present in particular areas.

Whilst these sentiments tended to be limited to particular areas, overall there appeared to be a growing confidence amongst young Asians that they could venture into areas which were previously seen as 'White' areas. This was especially the case when it was apparent that other families had settled there successfully without having suffered racist harassment. The movement out of core traditional areas into relatively close peripheral areas was a natural and organic process, no doubt stimulated by the growing demand for better and newer housing which was not being met within the older areas. In addition to this there was movement into social rented housing where tenancy support was being offered by registered social landlords (RSLs, generally housing associations). The most obvious example of this was the Bells Hill area in

Rochdale, though Newbold (Rochdale) had also had some success in attracting and retaining Black and minority ethnic tenants, and we were told that First Choice Homes Oldham provide a tenancy support service which won a national award in 2005 for similar work. Another positive trend appeared to be that Asian families were buying properties in these areas (through the right-to-acquire and right-to-buy as well as private sales) so that there was a mixed tenure settlement of social rented tenants as well as owner occupiers. This was noticed both by people in the group discussions and was something many stakeholders were keen to emphasise.

There were mixed responses as to whether people saw these patterns changing over time and this appeared to depend on a number of factors. The first was that there are differences between the first generation of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants and their children and grandchildren. It was clearly recognised that proximity to work, availability of affordable housing, family/community, facilities and a sense of security were the reasons behind people's decisions to settle in the 'traditional' Asian areas. However, as these factors are becoming less and less binding, and there are increasing pressures from within these areas to relocate, younger Asian families are frequently contemplating moving out of areas in which their parents live. Confidence, fluency in English, greater 'cultural capital' and the willingness to deal with racism, economic prosperity, greater mobility (car ownership), changing job prospects, different expectations and aspirations and a greater desire to integrate with other ethnic groups were all factors which were influencing the housing decisions being taken by younger Pakistani and Bangladeshi families. In addition 'push' factors such as rising crime rates, drug abuse, an increasingly poor physical environment and congestion were also factors. Importantly, actual lack of appropriate housing in these traditional areas was a big reason that people were looking elsewhere, though they may have fully appreciated the positive aspects of living in the traditional community areas.

Asians are not afraid to move into an all white area; as long as they get the right house they will move... We don't have a problem moving into a White area, we can speak the language (Pakistani men, living in own home, Oldham).

A lot of people are now making a go of it, people moving into Belfield Road area, and maybe Newbold area, where they can get into town easily. They're not going that far, I don't think anyone's going that far. Some people, people with the cars and big families, they're the ones moving further and further away to Bamford and things like that (Bangladeshi woman, Rochdale)

Characteristics of desirable areas

It was important to understand whether people who continued to live in traditional Asian settlement areas were doing so out of choice or precisely because they had no choice. The overwhelming reasons offered when people preferred to stay in areas with large Asian communities were the actual ethnic make-up of the area and the associated facilities that were provided in these areas. Whilst there was often a distinction between first generation migrants and subsequent generations of Pakistani and Bangladeshi people, a number of issues were shared between them all. The presence of mosques, community centres and ethnic retail provision was cited as being important to everyone. The issue of language, cultural identifiers and 'safety in numbers' was more of a concern to elders, though younger people understood the

need for their parents to have that security and remain within their traditional 'comfort zone'. One Pakistani woman's views on why her parents chose to remain in inner Rochdale were shared by many other respondents in the group discussions:

It is just that they are like settled, everything is close by, and my parents can't drive, so everything's nearby. The mosque is nearby, the school is nearby, town is nearby, and all the shops are nearby. They don't want to rely on anyone else; they want to be self-sufficient.... They've got a network of people they've known all their lives. They want to just pop in and see them. (Pakistani woman, living in own home, Rochdale)

Another woman continued that if they were to be 'just picked up and put somewhere else' they would not be able to maintain contact with friends and losing contact with people would make them very isolated and perhaps even depressed. How family units were working around this desire for the younger cohort to move to another area whilst older cohorts expressed a desire to remain in the area was illustrated by participants in more than one focus group. Though a family had intended to move as a whole, mainly wanting to locate in the more up-market areas where houses were still large enough to house multiple family units, this had not been feasible for both financial and practical reasons (such as transport links for older people who could not drive). As well as this, the younger members of the family had realised that uprooting their parents from their current home would cause many problems and so they had moved out into a different house and their parents continued to live in their original home. The influence of family, community and cultural links is further discussed below.

The 'new' areas in which Asian families had begun to settle reflected their desire to find better quality housing in less run-down areas that offered better prospects in terms of schools, environment, infrastructure and residential mix and that did not have the negative factors such as drugs and crime that were associated with traditional inner areas. In Oldham, the Coppice area was very popular with Asian families who wanted to remain relatively close to the facilities in Asian areas, as well as family, but needed bigger and better houses. The conversation with an Oldham based estate agent confirmed the view that Coppice was hugely popular with Asian families, though he commented that estate agents were normally bypassed in any sales transactions. When asked why Coppice was popular, respondents in one group said the following:

Decent houses, big houses, decent area, good community, local shops, mosque and that kind of stuff on your doorstep. It is safe as well. (Pakistani man, Oldham)

Whilst it is difficult to say with accuracy the exact reasons for certain areas, for example, Derker in Oldham, as having remained predominantly White, there appeared to be a combination of factors affecting people's desires as well as choices about wanting to move to these areas. In the case of Derker, as was the case with several of the other 'White council estates', the fear of racist harassment played a vital part in dissuading people from moving here. Actual experiences of some families who had suffered from racial abuse and discrimination were cited as being the primary concern of Asian respondents, preventing them moving to these areas. Those without direct experience of harassment nonetheless feared that the same would happen to them. In addition to this, some of the estates were seen as being geographically 'remote' from the inner areas and this presented a barrier to easy access. Derker, for example, was seen as being 'too far away' and across the physical divide of a road.

There are not many Asians in Derker... it's a White area so obviously you're not going to have the shops and facilities that we are used to. When Asians moved to Oldham it was Glodwick, Werneth and Coppice, it's grown from there and Derker doesn't touch Glodwick.... But its spreading out now, give it another 10 years and you'll have families there. (Pakistani man, living in own home, Oldham)

Kirkholt (Rochdale) was also some distance from the traditional areas in which Asian families had first settled. This notion of geographical proximity is confirmed to some extent by the actual movement of Pakistani and Bangladeshi families into certain previously 'White' areas such as Belfield and Newbold which both had social rented (mainly local authority) houses but were close to large Asian populations and which saw a natural progression of Asian families into the area. In the case of Belfield new families were offered intensive support through the Community Induction Programme (CIP).

They [Asian families] are spreading out because there aren't any homes, families are growing but they want to stay close to the centre and close to their own communities. In effect they are making their own communities bigger. (Pakistani woman, living in own home, Rochdale)

In Rochdale there were a number of areas to which Pakistani and Bangladeshi people had started to move and which they saw as being reasonably popular. Bamford and Norden were mentioned on numerous occasions and they were recognised as being in the higher price bracket for houses but were nevertheless attracting several Asian families, mainly seen as being professionals and those with greater economic prosperity. Shawclough was also said to be a desirable area because of good schools. As well as these more affluent areas, Belfield and Newbold were considered areas to which Asian families had successfully moved. The areas immediately adjacent to traditional settlement areas were experiencing the gradual movement of Asian households who were combining the proximity of family, community and facilities in older areas with the positive aspects of newer housing and a more modern environment.

One of the Rochdale stakeholders reinforced the idea that Asian families were moving out of the core areas to nearby peripheries in 'concentric circles' rather than always making huge leaps to areas far away, certainly because of housing pressures within these areas, but also because of income; professionalism; mobility and transport links, and; changing cultural ties. *'My own personal view is that once people's economic status grows, then the choice grows'*.

Unsurprisingly, the factors which attracted people to an area were the same for both White and Asian respondents. Security, safety, low crime rates, good community and neighbours and a pleasing environment were all stated as being important when looking for an ideal location. For those with children having good local schools and open spaces for children to play in were also essential considerations. Accessibility, roads and quite importantly – parking – were also factors which affected a person's choice in looking for a house. In some ways it seemed that the actual house was less important to people as long as the surroundings and overall locality was satisfactory.

People of all ethnicities felt that having ‘problem’ families or people with anti-social tendencies would spoil an area, regardless of which ethnic group they were from.

‘Well, drug dealers – would you like to move next door to a drug dealer, whether he is English or Asian? You wouldn’t, nobody would’. (Bangladeshi man, Rochdale).

Somewhere where you think you’d be safe as well... Being able to walk around at night. Say if you work late, you want to be able to walk home. What makes you feel unsafe walking round at night? Youths.... I’d want a place where I can feel comfortable and I can park my car without it getting vandalised or anything like that... As long as your car’s safe, as long as you’re comfortable in your place, and you’re safe. (White respondents, living with parents, Rochdale)

Interestingly, mainly the Asian respondents felt that having an ‘ethnic mix’ in an area was important whilst participants in the White groups did not mention this explicitly.

Given the choice and knowing what I know now I would definitely go into an area where there is a mix, a healthy mix, I wouldn’t say totally Asian area but I would say like 50/50 and I would probably feel more secure in that situation than I am now... I mean my eldest, he’s 15 now, and he says mum, if we were in a Coppice area, I wouldn’t feel threatened at all, because I’d have a mixture of friends and we’d all be together, and I wouldn’t have to run in or run out, and even as I get older now, I still feel threatened because I’m the only one who’s venturing out of the house, whereas if I was in a mixed area... (Indian woman, living in own home, in a predominantly White area of Chadderton, Oldham).

Though this quote reflects a particular experience, other women in the same group (with the exception of one) identified an ethnically mixed area as being a priority when they were looking for a new house. Second and third generation families with young children were concerned to live in an ethnically mixed area so that their children benefited from the positive social impact of knowing different cultures and ethnic groups. This is further discussed below in the section on ethnically mixed areas and ‘social integration’.

Family, community and culture

Family and community were paramount in the current patterns of housing and seemed set to continue as primary factors influencing the housing choices of future generations of young Asian people. Though many respondents understood that social and cultural expectations were changing from generation to generation, they nevertheless emphasised the importance of maintaining family ties and links with the wider community, albeit in ways different from their parents.

The importance of community facilities, in particular the mosque, was mentioned on several occasions within different Pakistani and Bangladeshi focus groups. For the first generation there was a need for the mosque to be within walking distance but as families spread outside the traditional areas, the necessity of being within a reasonably accessible distance was still important. Respondents acknowledged that they couldn’t expect a mosque to be built in every area that the Asian community settled in, but that they themselves had to ensure they could access such facilities and provisions. These facilities and the community network were the primary reason that young people said

that older Asian people did not want to move out of traditional settlement areas. For their part the children did not think it proper or fair to ask them to make the move. How close to family would you like to be? *Next door! [Laughs] If I had a choice I wouldn't move out of my parent's house, but obviously because of the room I may have to move, but I would stay as close as possible... Same with me, really close, within easy reach.* (Pakistani men, own home, Oldham)

Many of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi focus group respondents were pragmatic about maintaining family ties and combining this with finding a house of their own choice. Several mentioned that whilst they felt a responsibility towards their family, parents in particular, they also recognised that times were changing and that they themselves and especially their children would appreciate their 'own space'. This was also a practical issue if the accommodation in their parent's house could not meet the needs of a growing family or multiple family units. Where family units had decided to move out they frequently expressed a desire to be at an 'accessible' distance from the parental home. Conversely some respondents mentioned that there was pressure from family to stay close or even within the area when they had decided to move out. Several stakeholders also discussed the fact that family dynamics amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi people were changing from one generation to the next but that family ties still appeared to play a role in decisions made about housing.

Transport was also identified as an important issue, especially if people were to move into new areas but still be able to maintain links and accessibility to other parts of the town, including the town centre and inner areas in which their family and community were as well as other facilities. Whilst mobility was often associated with having access to a private car, people also placed considerable value on public transport and identified it as an essential aspect of the infrastructure required if they were to relocate to another area. Public transport was an important factor for people in both White and Asian focus groups, for work as well as leisure reasons. Women in one group suggested that before building new housing developments, transport links should be in place so that people would not have to contend with transport issues.

Transport wise, I think there should be better public transport all round. It doesn't matter whether everyone's got a car, because to manage a car is expensive. If I could do without a car, if I had good public transport, I'd use it. I think it's an issue for the whole borough; they need good public transport everywhere. (Pakistani woman, own home, Rochdale)

Section 3. Aspirations, future trends and solutions

What are the ingredients of the future and what solutions may be available to the HMR and other agencies to encourage mixed communities? Themes that emerged and are discussed in this section are:

- the nature of an attractive community and the key role of anti-social behaviour in making a community unattractive (building communities as well as houses)
- attitudes to new build and to apartments
- tenure and mixed tenure areas
- economic choice (affordability)
- the barriers to mixed communities and how they may best be enabled

Community

The concept of ‘community’ was equally important for people of all ethnic backgrounds, though what this actually meant in practical terms was not always identified. When asked to think about what makes a good area, respondents almost always mentioned a good community and good community relations. They felt that whilst having a decent house was of great value, it was also essential that that house was located in an area in which there was mutual respect and tolerance from those in the immediate community. The ethnic composition of an area was often closely related to concept of community and Asian respondents felt that for their parents, ‘community’ inevitably meant people from the same ethnic background. They themselves however thought that community was a broader concept and ‘good’ people from any ethnic background were the key to making successful community relations. This was illustrated by the fact that one Pakistani man said that Glodwick was only seen as a ‘bad’ area because of a minority criminal element which gave the whole area a bad name. Similarly in a focus group with White residents, some participants felt that tenure and the ethnic background of neighbours was not as important as having ‘nice’ neighbours.

Whilst the ‘community’ consisted primarily of the people within an area, the physical environment was also seen as being important to people’s views about their area. There was particular concern in inner areas where the lack of greenery and open spaces made it difficult for younger residents to partake in leisure activities, principally areas for playing football and parks for young children, but there was also a desire to see trees and similar pleasant features in the vicinity. This was especially significant where realistically the other aspects of the area would be hard to change (actual housing stock, street layout etc). Lighting, reduction of litter and a general improvement in the appearance of the streets and houses was suggested as being a factor which would keep people attracted to inner areas or help those that were not able to move out. For example, the young Bangladeshi men in one of the Rochdale focus groups discussed how they would just like to have clean streets, free of litter, crime and drugs, well light areas, safe roads and a place for young people to play.

Men in Oldham reflected the concerns of these younger respondents about drugs. They felt that if HMR wanted to keep people or attract people into the inner areas they needed to tackle the problem of drugs in particular.

New build homes

The general view tended to be that new build developments, though they looked attractive and improved the overall appearance of an area, were actually of quite poor quality and the accommodation they had to offer was limited. People in one of the White focus groups commented that the prices were still out of range for first time buyers so the presence of new builds did not necessarily help those who were looking to enter the housing market. For most respondents in the Asian groups, although the price itself was not mentioned, there was agreement that the building materials were often poor quality, walls were thin, the rooms were too small and the general standard of home did not match that of those built in the last century, including terraced houses. There was an appreciation that in some of the areas in which redevelopment had taken place, for example, in Wardleworth in Rochdale, the overall appearance and the aesthetic appeal of the streets had improved but that ultimately the houses were not sturdy, were a lot smaller, were not designed to optimise the space – both inside and out – and really only tackled part of the broader housing need in the area. It was also suggested that cost-cutting was one of the reasons that the style and quality of new houses was unsatisfactory.

New builds are boxes! There is not enough space, you can get one TV and one sofa in there, and we like big rooms. And the structure – you can hear next door the walls are so thin. Old homes were more spacious. You can have family and friends over because you need privacy. (Pakistani man, Oldham)

I mean like houses now, they're too small. They need to have bigger houses. Older houses are quite spacious but when we went to a newer house, looked at it, plaster wall, plaster wall, plaster wall..... It's all show, I think a lot of people pay for brick walls rather than nice handles. Would you pay £100,000 for a plaster wall house, or for a brick house knowing that this one is more secure? I think that the houses that they're making now are unacceptable. (Pakistani man, living with parents, Oldham)

People's comments were based on their impressions of specific new build houses (either their own or those of family/friends) but there was a tendency to see *all* new builds as having these negative characteristics. Areas and developments such as Cotton Fields (Oldham) and some housing developments in Wardleworth (Rochdale) were named by some group participants but others spoke generally about what they perceived as being the problems and inappropriate design of new housing. The popularity of the design of terraced housing was also mentioned by one of the stakeholders (Rochdale Housing Initiative).

What's the most important thing in your view? I think its more rooms, you know like the more traditional terraced housing type. Nowadays they're like smaller rooms. So they need to make them in the old style? Yeah, the old style stuff, bigger. I mean not the high ceilings and that because it takes ages to heat up, but the style. Nowadays, you really don't need to have bigger rooms upstairs, but downstairs should be really spacious. We've got families coming, downstairs needs to be spacious. (Bangladeshi woman, Rochdale)

The demand for relatively large family accommodation was also something that confirmed the view that newer housing was too small, not necessarily in terms of bedrooms but definitely regarding the downstairs accommodation, whereby it was seen as essential to have two separate living rooms for family functions and gender privacy. The house size and design of older properties were desirable though that was not always the case with their location and surroundings. The following discussion amongst Pakistani women in Rochdale summarises the views held by several group participants about new build houses compared to older properties.

They're toy houses! They're making doll houses nowadays! You need solid houses like they used to in the olden days with cement and stuff... The terraced are a lot better... And then going back to the apartment idea – can you imagine how bad the apartment idea would be for an Asian family?!... Again, it doesn't suit our lifestyles. They need to be bigger and they need to have decent storage size and storage facilities, definitely... With the old terraced houses, you had the cellar and the attic... Yeah, you had the cellar, your basement downstairs and attic storage but nowadays, the houses that have been built; they're not suitable, just because they've not got enough space. (Pakistani women, living with parents, Rochdale)

Flats and apartments

Amongst the Pakistani and Bangladeshi focus groups there was agreement that flats or apartments did not offer an attractive housing option. People within the White groups commented that even flats were too expensive for first time buyers and they did really only offer suitable accommodation for single people or young couples rather than provide appropriate living space for families. In addition to this the prices of some of the new developments were said to be more expensive than some of the houses in the towns. Pakistani women in one focus group did not see the use of buying a flat when it was almost certain that at some point a person would get married and have a family, therefore making the flat redundant. Again the prices meant that it was not even a 'stepping-stone' option but simply made sense to invest in a house straight away bearing in mind the long term needs of the family and probable patterns of family and household formation.

We don't like flats. No. We can't live in a flat. How much room will a flat give you? We will live together (Bangladeshi man, Rochdale).

I wouldn't live in an apartment. Even if it was just you and your wife? If it's just me and my wife, that's different, but if I've got kids, an apartment's too small I think. But if it was just me and my wife, I would consider it. But it depends on the situation doesn't it? If a single bloke is moving out, an apartment is fine for him, if a couple is moving out, an apartment is just about right. If a couple's got a kid, or a couple of kids, then an apartment is out of the question. (Pakistani man, Oldham)

This seemed to conflict with what some of the stakeholders were saying about the demand for apartments amongst young, single Asian men, though they could not provide any substantive figures for this. They also seemed to suggest that with the desire of younger people, especially newly married couples, to have their own privacy and accommodation, there was a potential market for flats in both towns. However, the general feeling from the focus groups was that flat/apartment living was not a

viable option. The only instance in which it may have been considered was for investment purposes rather than a first time buyer's home.

Tenure

The majority of people taking part in the interviews expressed a preference to own their own home. This reflects the findings of several earlier studies showing that Asian residents in particular have an overwhelming desire to own their own house, even though it may be in a relatively poor area and in a poorer physical condition⁶ However, this ideal was balanced with a realistic approach to the current housing market and renting was an option that would be considered by many of the young people interviewed. Renting was an obvious 'stepping-stone' or temporary measure whilst considering longer term plans. Having said this, and whilst the principle of renting was not dismissed by several participants in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, there was not much direct experience of people having rented.

Yeah I'd prefer to own the house. If you're working it's worse anyway because you have to pay full rent [referring to social renting], so you might as well own your own. Do you think Asian people are more open to renting from council and housing associations? Yeah, they are now. Before they weren't, but now there are. But I think a lot of people would prefer to own their own house. (Pakistani woman, own home, Rochdale)

Most Asian people want to own their own home. Primrose Bank [a Council development] was rented but now the majority own them, the majority of Asians would like to own. (Pakistani man, living in own home, Oldham)

The desire to own a home was also clear amongst the White respondents, though again they approached the situation in a pragmatic and realistic way, acknowledging that economic factors did not always lend themselves to owner occupation, especially for those attempting to actually get onto the housing ladder.

Would you all want to own your own houses, or would you prefer to rent? I'd like to own... To be honest, I have to rent... I'd like to own my own house, but I can't, they won't give me a mortgage for what I want a mortgage for. I went for a house – thirty-five thousand. That's all they'd give me a mortgage for. What can you buy for 35 thousand? Probably a tent! So your plan would be to rent? I think rent is just a waste of money. Paying all this money and it's nothing. It's nothing that's yours at the end of it; it's just money going nowhere. So do you see it as a short term solution then, renting? It depends on the financial situation, doesn't it? Whether you can afford to move later on... You've gotta start somewhere. I think it's important to own your house. (White men and women, Rochdale)

Economics and finances – affordability

These views about tenure reflect the broader concerns about appropriate, *affordable* housing and show that people understand they will have to make compromises in relation to their housing decisions. Economic factors had a huge impact on people's

⁶ See for example, Karn, V, Mian, S T, Brown, M and Dale, A. 1999. *Tradition, Change and Diversity: Understanding the Housing Needs of Minority Ethnic Groups in Manchester*. The Housing Corporation, Research 37.

housing choices and decisions and this was the case across all ethnic groups. There was a consensus that the current housing market meant prices were becoming increasingly difficult to afford for both first time buyers and those looking to improve their housing situation. Coupled with the lack of appropriate housing stock, meaning affordable houses that offered ample accommodation and were located in the right areas, choice was restricted to those who were financially able to secure a house sale. Even the prospect of getting a mortgage that enabled people to buy 'average' accommodation was an issue.

There was recognition amongst both Asian and White people that house prices had risen sharply over the past few years but incomes did not reflect this and in addition mortgages were not offered at the appropriate rate to be able to afford even a reasonable house. The issue of affordability is strongly linked with tenure choices, as is demonstrated even in the understanding of the youngest interview participants:

Do you think that the houses are there for you in the future or do you think you'll have problems finding...? *There'll be problems. There will be big problems, because houses are really expensive... Houses are really expensive nowadays and the prices are going up... A good 10 years ago or about 4/5 years ago, the houses were half the price of the houses they're selling now.*

Do you think you'd ever consider renting from the Council or from any housing association? *I wouldn't want to do that but then again... You would do it if you needed to... I wouldn't want to do that sort of thing but then there's a point where you've got no choice, you're in a position where you either have it or you don't have it. But your ideal would be to buy your own house? Buy, yeah.* (Female college students, Rochdale)

Ironically, whilst the emphasis has been on trying to attract and keep people in some of the inner areas, certain areas within inner Oldham and inner Rochdale are in high demand and thus have higher than average house prices and have a limited number of properties coming onto the market. In Oldham for example, the Coppice area in particular was mentioned as being in high demand whilst in Rochdale people perceived that Wardleworth and Deeplish were popular areas amongst the Asian population. One woman in Rochdale noticed that people had to move *out* of Wardleworth because houses only came up for sale infrequently and when they did there was a great demand for them even though they were quite expensive.

Do a lot of houses come up for sale in the area? *Not around here at all, and if they do there's about 200 people after it! I know people that didn't want to move out of the area but because there's no room in the house, they've had to move away to wherever the cheapest houses are. It's not their choice, but because it's the cheapest, they've had to move there.* (Bangladeshi woman, Rochdale)

Even though they are run down areas, I think it's just in the last 3 years people have just gone mad thinking that they need a house, but they just can't find houses, even in Glodwick and Westwood you will find difficulty buying houses. (Pakistani woman, own home, Oldham)

The presence of an informal housing market perhaps exacerbated the problem of a small number of houses actually coming onto the market as they were sold within the community, often to family, relatives or neighbours. Evidence for this was cited directly by a number of people as well as others commenting that they knew this type of 'transaction' did take place (also confirmed by the estate agent's experiences). This would indicate that whilst inner areas, traditionally associated with the settlement of Pakistani and Bangladeshi families, had an increasingly poor physical environment and were suffering from problems of crime and drugs, their wider 'community' facilities were still very much in demand. Even some of the young Bangladeshi men in Wardleworth (Rochdale), having listed the various negative aspects of the area, wanted to stay within the area.

Moving towards ethnically mixed areas

The young people in our focus groups were asked whether they felt that the housing and area choices made by Asian and white people in Oldham and Rochdale were changing, whether this would lead to more ethnic mixing and what, if anything, the council or other housing organisations might do to encourage mixing at the neighbourhood level. Stakeholders were also asked to comment on trends towards ethnic mixing.

The general message was encouraging: most Asian and white focus group participants thought neighbourhoods would gradually become more ethnically mixed and they welcomed this trend. Stakeholders also observed changes in the ethnic composition of traditionally white areas. Those in Rochdale made particular reference to the community induction project and its impact on Belfield.

The key drivers for change were thought to be (1) changing housing needs, in terms of tenure, type and affordability, and (2) a desire for greater social integration. The general view to emerge from both the focus groups and the stakeholders is that there is potential for further change, particularly through widening housing choices for young people. A number of barriers to greater ethnic mixing were nevertheless identified, most notably in relation to safety, fear of racist harassment and affordability.

A more detailed discussion of these points follows.

Ethnically mixed areas: a positive development

Young Asian people generally saw the trend towards greater ethnic mixing as a positive development for them and their families. The main reasons given were:

(i) access to better housing and neighbourhoods:

It was recognised that movement into different, traditionally white areas beyond the inner-city could provide access to better housing, more spacious neighbourhoods and better schools. Some also expressed the view that they would like to escape Asian areas, which they regarded as rundown with growing social problems, such as drugs and crime. Several focus groups discussed the differences in the types of areas considered by the older and younger generations in the following terms:

...I would look for different things than my mum and dad would look for. Most of us can drive and we don't mind going an extra half an hour, you know like my mum and dad they want everything to be walking distance but we could have a five or 10 minute drive from us. We want a nice area. My mum and dad they want an Asian community. I would want nice scenery, you know what I mean? Like a nice spacious garden or something like that. (Pakistani woman, Oldham)

Most Asian young people talked about this trend in terms of short distance moves to the edge of the established ethnic clusters (e.g. to Shawclough or Belfield in Rochdale, and to Shaw and Chadderton in Oldham). This allows those moving to stay within their 'comfort zone' and maintain close contact with family and community. They did not necessarily expect their parents or older community members to uproot and move. Bangladeshi men living with their parents in Rochdale expressed a common sentiment when they said that, if they moved out, they would remain "close by – that's the thing, you won't be at distance". Good public transport links to the established community areas were seen as important.

Both the young Asian men and women thought that moving outwards to new areas would bring some changes in family living, in terms of giving youngsters more space and independence, but that some things would stay the same. The continuing importance of the family and communal living was emphasised:

...you've got your main house, and you've got your daughters and your sons, and they'll go home at night, but during the day they'll be there. The kids will be there, the grandparents will still look after the kids, and the children will go out to work. Like I always go home first, I go to my mother's house first, and then I go home afterwards. So it's just like you go to the main house and then you go to your own house. (Pakistani woman, Rochdale)

You won't be a far distance – everyone will still eat in the same house, that sort of thing, but they stay and sleep in the other house. (Bangladeshi man, Rochdale)

These trends suggest that while there will be a continuing demand for large housing for extended Asian families, there will also be a growing demand for smaller family units more in line with the general population.

A few young Asians had aspirations to move to more rural localities, such as Bamford, Norden and Saddleworth, although it was recognised that this type of move was likely to be made by professional people. Both Asian and white focus group participants recognised the importance of growing income and class differences within the Asian population and its likely impact on wider housing choices and outwards movement. Some felt that ethnic mixing would be easier in middle class neighbourhoods than on working class, social housing estates.

(ii) social integration:

Some Asian young people thought that moving into a more ethnically mixed area would bring benefits in terms of social integration, both for them and their children. One Bangladeshi young man in Rochdale linked integration to social advancement, advocating that Asians should "... integrate, because there doesn't seem to be integration so you need to get out ... I think Ramsay Street is almost like a ghetto so

you do need to get out of that". Such views were not universally held by all group members, but there was a feeling amongst both men and women that ethnic mixing at the neighbourhood level could help ethnic groups to learn more about each other. One Pakistani woman in Rochdale summed up her feelings on ethnic mixing by saying:

" your life's a lot more richer because you obviously learn things that you just wouldn't in predominantly Asian areas."

Another in Oldham expressed remarkably similar sentiments when she asked:

Why can't we have a mixed balance of Asians and whites and appreciate each others' cultures? You know you learn from each other and it can only make us richer.

Young Asian people's views were divided on whether they would move to an 'all white area'. Most said that they would prefer to see some other Asians living in a neighbourhood before deciding to move there; perhaps as few as 3 or 4 families. This is consistent with the councils' and Ashiana's strategy of providing supported tenancies to those who want to move into new areas of social rented housing. Referring to Belfield in Rochdale, one Pakistani woman described the area as having *"a fair mix – you haven't got too much of one [group] or too much of the other"*. She went on to argue that this was good for integration and that *"It's good for the kids as well to mingle"*. Another woman agreed:

I think it's really important, especially being Pakistani and actually living in England, living in a society where you've got a mixture of people....I think it's more important for children at an early age to mix with the children of different faiths...

One group voiced the opinion that areas of new build provide the opportunity for promoting ethnic integration because *"nobody's asking 'what kind of area is it? who lives there?', because nobody lives there. It is [a] completely new area"*. Referring to Cotton Fields in Oldham, she observed:

... we have got a mix of Pakistanis, white, Bangladeshi, Indians, Chinese, black people all speaking when you walk around. It's a good mix.

The process of mixing

The potential for greater ethnic mixing was generally discussed, in both Asian and white focus groups, in terms of **Asian people moving outwards** from their traditional areas of settlement rather than white people moving into areas perceived to be 'Asian'.

Amongst Asians, this is consistent with the need to look further afield for housing because of a growing population and the desire for better housing outside the traditional areas. They were sceptical about the likelihood of whites moving into 'their areas', now or in the future. As one Pakistani women living in Rochdale said:

We live on Oswald Street and there's hardly no white people there. I can't see any white people moving in on to Oswald Street.

A Bangladeshi woman in Wardleworth said she couldn't envisage white people moving into her area, saying:

I don't think that would be their choice, no, no way.

White youngsters generally confirmed this view and expressed a reticence towards moving into what they perceived to be an 'Asian area'. As one focus group participant in Rochdale said:

I think white people would not move to what they perceive as being an Asian area.....and I think that will continue.

A young man in another focus group made a similar comment on Wardleworth (Rochdale), observing:

... that's an Asian area.... From a white person's point of view, you wouldn't want to live there.

This reticence partly reflects the view that these inner city areas are physically unappealing, with social and environmental problems such as crime, litter and drugs. However, some white young people also thought that whites would feel unwelcome in such areas. Some remarked that even though some of the new housing being built in inner Rochdale was appealing, they would not consider it, remarking:

I'd like to move into something like what they're building' cause they're really nice, [but] from a community point of view I wouldn't like to.

Barriers to achieving ethnic mixing

Both Asian and white young people identified a number of barriers which could slow down the trend towards greater ethnic mixing in Oldham and Rochdale. These were identified as:

(i) Housing affordability and choice

A recurrent theme amongst both Asian and white groups was the difficulty of finding affordable housing, either as a first step on the homeownership ladder or in moving up the housing ladder from the relatively cheap inner-city terraces to a better property. Both young people and stakeholders referred to the lack of 'stepping stones' in the homeownership market, which could bridge the gap between the inner-city and more expensive areas like Bamford. Whilst ownership was the preferred housing option for many of the Asian young people in the focus groups, there was an acceptance of the need to consider social housing. This underlines the importance of opening up opportunities in traditionally white parts of this sector and supporting tenancies here in order to sustain ethnic mixing. It is evident that housing affordability is hampering some outward movement from Asian areas. The comment made by one Bangladeshi man living in inner Rochdale is indicative of the sense of being trapped that is experienced by some:

We're only living here because there's nothing better that we can afford.

(ii) Familiarity and security in the inner areas

Older Asians often feel secure in the familiar areas associated with their ethnic group and have less incentive than younger people to move into new, more ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, familiarity and the sense of security associated with this is also an issue for younger people, both Asian and white. Some Asians expressed stronger concerns about moving into new neighbourhoods, as was conveyed by the comments of one Pakistani woman in Rochdale who said “*We were scared to move anywhere else where we didn’t know what it was like* This feeling is closely linked to worries about a sense of isolation (especially for women) and fear of racist harassment.

(iii) Fear of racism and racist harassment

Anxieties about racism and racist harassment present a real barrier to achieving and sustaining ethnic mixing. Young Bangladeshi men in Rochdale described how they felt that their housing options were constrained by the risk of harassment, as they want “*cheap house prices, but if it means that you have to compromise on getting abused and having all these problems we won’t touch that*”. A Pakistani woman in Rochdale also commented:

I think, being Asian, we’ve always got the fear that if we move into a white area where there are no Asians, we are going to get racially harassed

Some areas are perceived to be out of bounds because of worries about racist harassment:

You get to Albert Royds Street, you’re pushing it basically and Kingsway, Queensway, you don’t see that many [Asian] people there. There’s people who work in Morrison’s, they come quickly home if they go down that road but they don’t, they go the other way round, just to avoid passing the white people or something, fearing that. (Bangladeshi man, Rochdale)

Pakistani women in Rochdale listed a series of areas where they would not want to move (Great Howarth, Heywood, and Middleton including the Hollin and Langley estates). Women in Oldham also discussed their experiences of racist harassment when living in social housing in Westwood (St. Mary’s), and one had moved out as a result of this. One woman summed up the way perceptions of areas get passed through the generations:

... I think traditionally our parents were afraid of council estates, so that’s made us afraid of council estates. (Pakistani woman, Rochdale)

She nevertheless also recognised that patterns were changing, although “*ideally nobody wants to move there*”.

Racialised tensions exist in both communities, presenting barriers to mixing. Some white people also spoke of feeling ‘*intimidated*’ by groups of Asian youths in particular.

(iv) White flight

There is a perception amongst both Asians and whites that white families will move out from areas as Asians move in, with the result that the neighbourhood becomes predominantly Asian rather than ethnically mixed. Bangladeshi men in Rochdale felt that this was happening in Belfield and Wardleworth:

...as Asians are moving into Belfield, the white people are moving out and that's what happened in Wardleworth and when you start seeing Asian families, you want to go. So I think that's going to be the trend. Whether we'd want that or not...

Both Asian and white groups in Oldham thought that this type of movement was also evident in Chadderton and Clarksfield. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women commented that:

As soon as the Asians start moving in, the white people move out...

... in Chadderton - all the Asians have been buying the houses there, and you see 'for sale' signs everywhere because all the white people have been moving out.

Whilst the younger white people in the focus groups suggested that the changing ethnic mix of an area might not worry them, they referred to the negative reactions of older generations:

My grandparents have said that [white people are moving out]. They have their perceptions about Asians.... My Aunt said it three years ago. They said if anyone moves up here with a black face, we're off, and I used to say 'are you serious'? (White man, Oldham)

The view that property values might also be affected by the changing composition of a neighbourhood was also expressed in one group, suggesting that this might be a reason for whites leaving an area:

If you're in a white area that's progressively moving towards Asian, then you've got every chance that your property may be devalued. (White man, Oldham)

But you often find that the reason people think it's gonna decline in value is because white people don't want to live in an Asian community. Not because the properties devalue. Because there are areas in Oldham where it's an Asian community, and the properties are sky rocketing' (White male, living in own home, Oldham)

Whilst the movement of white families out of areas that were becoming progressively more ethnically mixed was seen as a more subtle and gradual process than in previous decades, almost all respondents in the Asian focus groups acknowledged that it was still taking place.

Do you think that if there's an area in which there are white people and Asians start moving in... *They'll feel invaded. That's in Bamford... Yeah, it's in Bamford, they start moving out... Slowly, slowly – all the white people move out, you see Asians coming in... Yeah, it's kind of happened around Deelish and Wardleworth – like 20 or 30 years ago, it used to be like full whites and then it's like one Asian family moves in and then bit by bit, it's like the white people start moving out and then that's it, it's like a little ghetto's been formed. (Female college students, living at home, Rochdale)*

The young women in this group felt that if this process was to continue to take place, it would actually be very difficult to create and sustain ethnically mixed areas. They did however make a distinction between what first generations of migrants (namely their parents) and what they themselves would consider important about an area's ethnic mix. They commented that their parents did have certain expectations that an area should have numerous local facilities – Asian 'stuff' – like food and clothes shops, whereas they would be willing to travel to access these facilities.

It's because we've been brought up here and we've been to school with mixed races and we find it easier to adapt to other people... But I think now, our generation—we're like spreading out. I would to some extent look at who else lives in that area and then I would basically live there if it's got a low crime status, then I would actually move in. I mean, I wouldn't personally have a big issue like; "Yeah, I've got white people or another type of race living there. (Female college student, Rochdale)

They reflected what was said in several other groups about Asian and White people actually looking for similar things when it came to looking for a new house.

Well when we first came to this area there were many English but now they have all gone... We can tolerate them but they can't tolerate us! [Laughs] (Elderly Bangladeshi man, Rochdale)

White flight may not be a major force in the changing composition of an area; it may simply be that fewer white families are moving in. Nevertheless, the perception that white flight is occurring might well affect people's decisions (Asian and white) on whether to move to a particular neighbourhood.

(v) Myths about ethnic mixing

Myths about one ethnic group not wanting to mix with another surfaced in both Asian and white focus groups. Some Asians suggested that ethnic mixing in Oldham and Rochdale was inhibited by whites not wanting to interact with them, and vice versa. Nevertheless, people often qualified their statements with examples of friendships/neighbourliness across the ethnic groups, suggesting that they saw potential for greater social interaction.

Both whites and Asians also said they might feel out of place in the areas traditionally associated with other ethnic groups. This is illustrated by the comments of a Pakistani woman who had considered moving to Littleborough:

I think there's places, even in Rochdale, like Littleborough... and you go there, and people just look at you funny.... At one stage, when we were looking for a house, we were actually looking in Littleborough, because Littleborough is really picturesque, it's got scenery, it's got the hills and everything, but just the thought of moving there, and people staring at you and everything, it was just like we're not gonna go there. They look at you like you're an alien or something.

White people in Oldham made similar comments about Asians in the Langthorn Road area:

...they just wanted to be in their own little community, and I felt like they didn't want to speak to me, and I didn't like that.

However, another white focus group participant recognized that it is a two way process:

There's just a small area in Shaw where there are ethnic minorities, and they don't really speak to the English people. But I suppose the British residents, or white residents, in Shaw sort of keep themselves to themselves.

(vi) Attachments to particular localities in Oldham and Rochdale

Both focus group participants and stakeholders talked about the attachment that some people of Oldham and Rochdale have to particular parts of the boroughs/townships. It may therefore be unrealistic to expect either Asian or white people to move a long way from their 'communities of attachment' but to focus on widening housing and area choices in order to create the potential for mixing within localities.

Enabling ethnic mixing

There was a strong feeling by both Asians and whites that ethnic mixing could not be socially engineered. Typical comments included "*you can't force community cohesion...*" and that "*... community cohesion is for the community and not for politicians*". One white young man attempted to paint the bigger picture when he stated:

...you can't force people to mix, unless those communities do want to mix, you know. And I think that's the first issue that needs to be addressed. Not just banging up new houses, it's addressing the core issues, why certain communities don't want to interact.

As explored at the beginning of this section, there was wide agreement on what is necessary for building a successful community, suggesting there is common ground on which to promote ethnic mixing. Both whites and Asians talked about wanting ties and connections to other people and to their neighbourhood, good neighbours and a focus for the community (e.g. in terms of local amenities). White people recognised the closeness of Asian families in Oldham and Rochdale and the strength of their '*tightly knit*' communities, and they expressed regret about the loss of community spirit in many white communities.

It may be unrealistic to expect inner areas that are strongly associated in people's minds with the Asian community to attract many more white households than they do already. However, the demand for affordable housing, such as might be found in some of the inner areas of Oldham and Rochdale, cuts across white and Asian groups. Providing a safe and good physical environment would make these areas more attractive to everyone and would facilitate ethnic mixing. As this report has documented, there was widespread condemnation of the problems associated with anti-social behaviour, drugs, litter, noise and lack of 'respect', suggesting that most people, whatever their ethnic background, are looking for the same thing in a neighbourhood. As one stakeholder in Rochdale observed "*once people think an area*

is OK, then the barriers seem to disappear". Another stakeholder in Oldham summed it up in the following terms:

I believe that the most important factors in trying to sort out this relate to environment. What we've got to have are safe streets, tidy streets, decent facilities particularly with regard to education, and that educational facilities have got to meet the demands of everyone. I think it's the infrastructure that sits around the new houses that are being built which is the most important factor and is the key to whether a lot of what's being done will ultimately be successful in the long term or not. It certainly isn't just about building decent houses.

Some young people volunteered the view that it was not only important to get the housing right, but also the schooling. One white woman in Oldham thought that mixed schooling was the key to integration as "*people learn not to be afraid of each other*". An Asian woman in another Oldham focus group endorsed this view, saying that good education in a mixed setting helps to "*make this society that they live in a better place*".

Appendix 1. Focus group and interview organisation

A total of one hundred people were interviewed in Rochdale and Oldham. Details of their gender, ethnicity and location are given in the table below.

	Oldham			Rochdale			Total
	P	B	W	P	B	W	
Men	7	-	8	-	18	5	38
Women	3	11	9	21	2*	15	61
Total	10	11	17	21	20	20	99**

P – Pakistani, B – Bangladeshi, W – White.

*Includes the one individual interview with a Bangladeshi woman in Rochdale.

** In addition, 1 Indian woman was also interviewed in Oldham.

The following two tables show the focus groups that were planned, the sub-groups they were divided into and how many people participated in each. Those shown in italics were not conducted because of the problems faced in recruiting participants.

Oldham

Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Focus group 3
Pakistani men, living with parents 1 (conducted as interview)	Bangladeshi women, living with parents 11	White men and women living with parents 1 (conducted as interview)
Focus group 4	Focus group 5	Focus group 6
Pakistani men, own house 6	Bangladeshi women, own home 4 (<i>includes one Indian woman</i>)	White men and women, own home 8
Focus group 7	Focus group 8	Focus group 9
<i>College Students</i>	<i>Social rented tenants</i>	White, older group, secondary movers 8

Rochdale

Focus group 10	Focus group 11	Focus group 12
Pakistani women, with parents 9	Bangladeshi men, with parents 7	White men and women, with parents 6
Focus group 13	Focus group 14	Focus group 15
Bangladeshi men, own home 11	Pakistani women, own home 8	White men and women, own home 8
Focus group 16	Focus group 17	Focus group 18
College students 5	<i>Social rented</i>	White, older, secondary movers 6

The participants were recruited through the following means: Rochdale and Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council's intranet and website; HMR and MBC staff; gatekeepers at community and voluntary organisations (including the Bangladeshi Association and Community Project (BACP) and Kashmir Youth Project (KYP), in

Rochdale and the Westwood and Coldhurst Women's Association WCWA in Oldham; notice-boards at registered social landlord offices (housing associations); local colleges, and; contacts developed through previous research examining employment experiences. The intranet responses from Council staff meant that people may have had a greater than average knowledge of Local Authority policies and agendas in relation to housing, though their responses in interviews were predominantly about personal experiences and views. Use of the staff intranet meant that those members of staff that did not have access to it were excluded from that part of the recruitment process, namely non-desk based staff such as catering and cleaning staff. About 45 of the 100 interviewees were Council staff.

Identifying and recruiting participants for the group interviews was difficult. Recruiting social rented tenants in particular proved very difficult and whilst a specific focus group was allotted to social rented tenants in both towns, due to difficulty of recruitment, these were not carried out. Even access to registered social landlord lists did not prove effective in recruiting enough people to conduct a group interview. Therefore any specific views or experiences for this group have not been recorded directly in the interviews, though social renting was discussed by other participants.

Whilst White group interviews were mixed, interviews with Bangladeshi and Pakistani participants were conducted with men and women only. The gender and ethnicity of the interviewer was matched to the group participants to allow a more relaxed and open discussion. Due to limitations of time, the ethnicity and gender of Asian participants was swapped in both of the towns such that generally Pakistani men and Bangladeshi women were interviewed in Oldham, whilst Pakistani women and Bangladeshi men were interviewed in Rochdale.

A number of individual interviews were planned. It was felt that information from these interviews would supplement or allow further details to be obtained about issues being discussed in the group discussions. However, only three individual interviews were conducted. This was due both to the fact that the team focused on recruiting for group interviews as well as the practical difficulties faced in identifying appropriate individuals for these interviews and making arrangements for them to be carried out.

The purpose of this qualitative research was not to obtain a representative sample or representative views amongst different ethnic groups in the two towns, but to identify the range of issues and expectations that would inform future housing needs and related policies. In using quotes directly from the group discussions, the issues that were of greatest concern to the respondents have been represented in this report.

Stakeholder Interviews

Interviews with 'stakeholders' – mainly those people involved in the planning and delivery of housing strategies in both towns – were also conducted (see chart below for a list of organisations as which interviews were conducted). It was intended that these discussions would give the researchers an understanding of the context for the residents' comments as well as enable a comparison between the policy and practice or actual experience of people regarding their housing situation.

Organisation/Agency
Rochdale Federation for Tenants and Residents Associations (RoFTRA)
Rochdale Housing Initiative (RHI)
Ashiana (BME RSL)
Rochdale Boroughwide Housing (RBH)
Oldham Housing Investment Partnership (OHIP)
RMBC Housing Strategy
First Choice Homes Oldham (FCHO)
Northern Counties Housing Association
Ryder-Dutton estate agency, Oldham

Appendix 2. Statistical tables

The tables here supplement those in ‘Population dynamics within Rochdale and Oldham: Population, household and social change’ May 2005.

They provide indices of clustering and the gross migration flows in and out of each electoral ward in the year before the 2001 census. The latter are only available for the two categories of ethnic group – White and Not White – and for the electoral wards as defined at the time of the census rather than as revised in 2004.

% White in Borough

	Oldham	Rochdale
1991	91	92
2001	86	89

Degree of residential clustering, census wards*

	Oldham	Rochdale	England and Wales
1991	65	60	61
2001	63	58	59

Degree of residential clustering, census Output Areas*

	Oldham	Rochdale	England and Wales
2001	71	65	62

*The Index of Dissimilarity, which can take values between 0 (the same distribution of White and Not White residents across areas) to 100 (total separation of White and Not White residents in different areas).

The index is calculated as
$$ID = 0.5 \sum_{\text{areas}} |P_{\text{White}} - P_{\text{NotWhite}}|$$
 where P_{White} is the proportion of the Borough’s White population found in an area, and P_{NotWhite} the proportion of the Borough’s other population (all groups other than White) in an area. The summation is of the absolute difference between P_{White} and P_{NotWhite} , over all areas in the Borough (or England and Wales for the final column of the tables).

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Census ward composition in 1991 and 2001

	wardname	1991				2001			
		Total	White	Not White	% White	Total	White	Not White	% White
Oldham	Alexandra	11345	8992	2353	79%	11159	7819	3340	70%
	Chadderton Central	11286	11028	258	98%	10784	10409	375	97%
	Chadderton North	10214	9986	228	98%	10269	9741	528	95%
	Chadderton South	10568	10380	188	98%	10061	9673	388	96%
	Coldhurst	11685	7393	4292	63%	11935	5143	6792	43%
	Crompton	10780	10694	86	99%	11066	10860	206	98%
	Failsworth East	10584	10489	95	99%	10727	10384	343	97%
	Failsworth West	10406	10261	145	99%	9827	9497	330	97%
	Hollinwood	10065	9872	193	98%	9910	9253	657	93%
	Lees	10015	9830	185	98%	10132	9619	513	95%
	Royton North	11098	10986	112	99%	10588	10376	212	98%
	Royton South	9751	9544	207	98%	10373	10057	316	97%
	Saddleworth East	12479	12381	98	99%	13044	12834	210	98%
	Saddleworth West	10796	10701	95	99%	11309	11118	191	98%
	St. James	8583	8404	179	98%	9684	9207	477	95%
	St. Marys	12324	8477	3847	69%	10785	6353	4432	59%
	St. Pauls	10378	9031	1347	87%	10496	7658	2838	73%
	Shaw	10304	10037	267	97%	10655	10175	480	95%
	Waterhead	12384	12099	285	98%	12876	12170	706	95%
	Werneth	11474	7114	4360	62%	11594	4816	6778	42%
Rochdale	Balderstone	9682	9465	217	98%	9699	9381	318	97%
	Brimrod and Deeplish	8732	6690	2042	77%	8556	5233	3323	61%
	Castleton	9716	9404	312	97%	9716	9051	665	93%
	Central and Falinge	10792	7346	3446	68%	9469	5285	4184	56%
	Healey	11769	11299	470	96%	13458	12586	872	94%
	Heywood North	9506	9374	132	99%	9512	9235	277	97%
	Heywood South	11090	10941	149	99%	11128	10842	286	97%
	Heywood West	9689	9569	120	99%	8600	8411	189	98%
	Littleborough	11696	11576	120	99%	12275	12096	179	99%
	Middleton Central	8693	8597	96	99%	9080	8822	258	97%
	Middleton East	8463	8369	94	99%	8663	8486	177	98%
	Middleton North	11723	11556	167	99%	11512	11235	277	98%
	Middleton South	10045	9884	161	98%	9950	9653	297	97%
	Middleton West	6835	6728	107	98%	6489	6202	287	96%
	Milnrow	11311	11155	156	99%	11563	11327	236	98%
	Newbold	10489	8544	1945	81%	11166	8206	2960	73%
	Norden and Bamford	12121	11551	570	95%	12412	11476	936	92%
Smallbridge and Wardleworth	13205	8440	4765	64%	13982	7518	6464	54%	
Spotland	7919	7296	623	92%	8973	7993	980	89%	
Wardle	8714	8533	181	98%	9161	8853	308	97%	

In and out migration in the year 2000-2001. Wards ordered by increasing percentage White residents in 2001

Borough	Ward	% White 2001	Migration of residents between the ward and other parts of the UK						Percentages of the group's ward population					
			White			Not White			White			Not White		
			In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
Oldham	Werneth	41%	457	627	-170	310	360	-50	9.5%	13.0%	-3.5%	4.6%	5.3%	-0.7%
Oldham	Coldhurst	43%	422	601	-179	162	328	-166	8.2%	11.7%	-3.5%	2.4%	4.8%	-2.4%
Rochdale	Smallbridge and Wardleworth	54%	670	761	-91	131	279	-148	8.9%	10.1%	-1.2%	2.0%	4.3%	-2.3%
Rochdale	Central and Falinge	56%	560	707	-147	255	286	-31	10.6%	13.4%	-2.8%	6.1%	6.9%	-0.7%
Oldham	St. Marys	59%	531	744	-213	182	248	-66	8.4%	11.7%	-3.4%	4.1%	5.6%	-1.5%
Rochdale	Brimrod and Deeplish	61%	429	509	-80	153	172	-19	8.2%	9.7%	-1.5%	4.6%	5.2%	-0.6%
Oldham	Alexandra	70%	611	762	-151	210	185	25	7.8%	9.7%	-1.9%	6.3%	5.5%	0.7%
Oldham	St. Pauls	73%	514	736	-222	186	164	22	6.7%	9.6%	-2.9%	6.5%	5.8%	0.8%
Rochdale	Newbold	73%	788	743	45	263	148	115	9.6%	9.1%	0.5%	8.8%	5.0%	3.9%
Rochdale	Spotland	89%	585	541	44	62	66	-4	7.3%	6.8%	0.6%	6.3%	6.7%	-0.4%
Rochdale	Norden and Bamford	92%	662	721	-59	90	35	55	5.8%	6.3%	-0.5%	9.4%	3.7%	5.7%
Rochdale	Castleton	93%	567	603	-36	50	40	10	6.3%	6.7%	-0.4%	7.2%	5.8%	1.4%
Rochdale	Healey	93%	1062	879	183	87	34	53	8.4%	7.0%	1.5%	9.5%	3.7%	5.8%
Oldham	Hollinwood	93%	628	714	-86	94	36	58	6.8%	7.7%	-0.9%	14.0%	5.3%	8.6%
Oldham	Waterhead	95%	867	825	42	94	44	50	7.1%	6.8%	0.3%	13.5%	6.3%	7.2%
Oldham	St. James	95%	843	753	90	76	43	33	9.1%	8.2%	1.0%	15.9%	9.0%	6.9%
Oldham	Chadderton North	95%	560	614	-54	71	62	9	5.7%	6.3%	-0.6%	14.2%	12.4%	1.8%
Oldham	Lees	95%	812	714	98	47	37	10	8.4%	7.4%	1.0%	9.6%	7.6%	2.0%
Oldham	Shaw	95%	667	741	-74	31	25	6	6.6%	7.3%	-0.7%	6.4%	5.1%	1.2%
Rochdale	Middleton West	95%	416	479	-63	33	27	6	6.7%	7.7%	-1.0%	11.2%	9.2%	2.0%
Oldham	Chadderton South	96%	643	650	-7	66	56	10	6.6%	6.7%	-0.1%	15.5%	13.1%	2.3%
Oldham	Failsworth West	97%	504	485	19	13	30	-17	5.3%	5.1%	0.2%	3.8%	8.7%	-4.9%
Oldham	Chadderton Central	97%	631	685	-54	33	55	-22	6.1%	6.6%	-0.5%	8.8%	14.6%	-5.9%
Rochdale	Balderstone	97%	689	769	-80	25	31	-6	7.3%	8.2%	-0.9%	7.4%	9.1%	-1.8%
Oldham	Failsworth East	97%	473	539	-66	31	17	14	4.6%	5.2%	-0.6%	9.1%	5.0%	4.1%
Rochdale	Wardle	97%	722	641	81	52	70	-18	8.1%	7.2%	0.9%	18.1%	24.4%	-6.3%
Rochdale	Middleton Central	97%	492	550	-58	17	29	-12	5.6%	6.2%	-0.7%	6.1%	10.5%	-4.3%
Rochdale	Heywood North	97%	625	653	-28	20	12	8	6.8%	7.1%	-0.3%	7.2%	4.3%	2.9%
Oldham	Royton South	97%	702	660	42	31	25	6	7.0%	6.6%	0.4%	10.5%	8.5%	2.0%
Rochdale	Middleton South	97%	514	501	13	13	26	-13	5.3%	5.2%	0.1%	4.8%	9.5%	-4.8%
Rochdale	Heywood South	97%	596	745	-149	20	18	2	5.5%	6.9%	-1.4%	7.0%	6.3%	0.7%
Rochdale	Heywood West	97%	587	580	7	14	13	1	7.0%	6.9%	0.1%	6.4%	5.9%	0.5%
Rochdale	Middleton North	98%	608	763	-155	29	16	13	5.4%	6.8%	-1.4%	10.7%	5.9%	4.8%
Oldham	Crompton	98%	575	616	-41	22	6	16	5.3%	5.7%	-0.4%	9.0%	2.4%	6.5%
Oldham	Royton North	98%	579	641	-62	26	27	-1	5.6%	6.2%	-0.6%	11.2%	11.6%	-0.4%
Rochdale	Milnrow	98%	707	644	63	15	22	-7	6.2%	5.7%	0.6%	6.3%	9.2%	-2.9%
Rochdale	Middleton East	98%	441	521	-80	6	43	-37	5.2%	6.1%	-0.9%	3.7%	26.2%	-22.6%
Oldham	Saddleworth East	98%	635	735	-100	22	9	13	4.9%	5.7%	-0.8%	9.9%	4.0%	5.8%
Oldham	Saddleworth West	99%	684	670	14	13	6	7	6.1%	6.0%	0.1%	7.8%	3.6%	4.2%
Rochdale	Littleborough	99%	776	671	105	30	8	22	6.4%	5.5%	0.9%	19.7%	5.3%	14.5%