

**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
FACULTY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT
BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING**

RESEARCH TOPIC

Social inclusion and green justice in diverse communities in London : the case of Ocean Estate

Ocean Estate neighbourhood is used as a case study to examine which green strategy can achieve social inclusion in diverse communities in metropolitan cities around the world

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Social inequalities is a common phenomenon in metropolitan cities and London is not an exception. Although it is the Global Powerhouse (Mayor of London, 2016), the city faces the challenge of having in some geographical areas pockets of high inequalities caused by economic, social and cultural factors.

The physical environment is first on the list as the means to combat this phenomenon and green strategies have been continuously used as a tool in regeneration plans. In the past, when the green coverage was not enough, the all-inclusive green strategy was used in order to create parks with equal characteristics so that each one would welcome every user. Now, that the green coverage is deficit, the challenge has changed. The issue of proximity is solved, yet, inequalities exist. Closer attention is paid to each community and the aim is to bridge the gaps by analysing the demographic profile in each city part. Based on the new green strategy, termed as park-system, a variety of activities and uses is offered by designing parks with different characteristics; all assist in anticipating any possible social change in the city fabric.

The Ocean Estate neighbourhood, located in Tower Hamlets, is used as a single case study to examine which of these two green approaches can achieve efficiently social inclusion in diverse communities. At first, the theoretical background is set, studying the macro and micro relationships between nature and the city so as to form the notion of green justice. Then, the existing policies are analysed and an on-site research is conducted by using surveys along with interviews.

The results prove that the debate between these two green approaches exists and it leans more towards the one side; the findings will be presented and a discussion, about which of those two can meet the above challenges, will follow.



figure 01. Tower Hamlets borough. scale 1:36000

Social justice is a frequently discussed topic. The city system and any decision in city planning cannot be made separately from any consideration of the social ties (Harvey, 2008). Planners are striving to repair the social inequalities that thrive mostly in metropolitan cities and cause inevitable gaps in the communities. Among the planning strategies followed, there is an interest on the physical environment and the belief that by designing high quality green spaces, the quality of the place will be risen respectively eliminating those gaps (Harvey, 2008, 2009).

“London boasts an incredible array of green spaces that I want to protect. We can develop a green infrastructure to benefit all Londoners.” Sadiq Khan (Mayor of London, 2018)

London is on the spotlight of green strategies that are set to deliver the expected green coverage, but also to ensure that it will support the capital’s economic growth and contribute to the quality of life of all citizens (Mayor of London, 2018). For that reason, the current focus is on the small scale green spaces in each community and on using target groups to address everyone’s needs. Age, gender, religion, ethnicity, social-class are being considered. However, compared to the 19th century social-class is not frequently used as a study field:

“Comrades, is it because this land of ours is so poor that it cannot afford a decent life to those who dwell upon it?”

*No, comrades, a thousand times no!
The soil of England is fertile, its climate is good.*

[.....]

I do not know when that Rebellion will come, but sooner or later justice will be done.

[.....]

The pigs had succeeded in reducing the principles of Animalism to Seven Commandments:

1., 2., 3., 4., 5., 6., 7. ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL.

[.....]

She (Clover) tugged gently at his (Benjamin) mane and led him round to the end of the big barn, where the Seven Commandments were written. There was nothing there now except a single Commandment:

*ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL, BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS
(Orwell, 1945)*

George Orwell in his allegorical novella stresses the issue of class struggle that Karl Marx and Max Weber introduced. They both agreed on that the social-class is something too deeply rooted into society to eradicate. The ideal of a classless society is an illusion, no matter how initially positive it may seem (Marked by teachers, 2015; Orwell,1945). Since at least the early 20th century, the death for the British class system is being declared (Robson, 2016). Yet, the reality is that class distinctions do not die, but they merely have new ways of expressing themselves. This is a true now, as it was 25 years ago.

“Each decade we shiftily declare we have buried class; each decade the coffin stays empty.” (Hanley, 2014)

Indeed, those new expressions come to set a new definition of social-class, where social and cultural factors are added apart from the economic ones. Social-class cannot be defined only by income anymore. Thus, not only does it exist, but there has been a striking renewal in its structure driven by accumulating evidence of escalating social inequalities with respect to economic, social and cultural indicators (BBC, 2013; Hutton, 2010).

This dissertation is placed in the above context. The new definition creates the need for a new research on social interactions between city and nature. The green strategies used till now, should be evaluated and re-considered. The theoretical research will be structured moving from macro to micro relationships between city and nature, ending to a debate concerning the green approaches used to achieve social inclusion in diverse communities. From one hand, the all-inclusive approach supports that each park individually should address all people's needs, whereas from the other the park-system approach argues for a green network which addresses all people's needs.

The Ocean Estate, the selected case study in Tower Hamlets (see fig. 02, 03), is an example of a diverse community, well-known for its green initiatives. Therefore, a research will be conducted to answer the main research question:

Which green approach between the all-inclusive and the park-system can efficiently achieve social inclusion in diverse communities in cities around the world?

The main question will be answered through the sub-questions presented below:

What strategy and policy framework exist to respond to the vision of social inclusion in green spaces?

Do the uses offered in each park within the community affect social inclusion?

Does the park-goers' profile affect social inclusion in the parks within the community?

GENERAL HYPOTHESIS

Based on the literature review, this debate will clearly lean towards the park-system approach. In particular, it is supported that in diverse communities, the demographic profile of the residents has to be taken into account and that proximity is not a substantial issue if each park creates a strong motivation to its visitors. That is, the variety in park types and a connection between them will both be regarded as the solution to achieve social inclusion and enhance diversity in park-goers' background, whilst the all-inclusive approach is expected to be considered insufficient for responding and anticipating any social change within the community.



figure 02. Ocean Estate neighbourhood



figure 03. Tower Hamlets borough

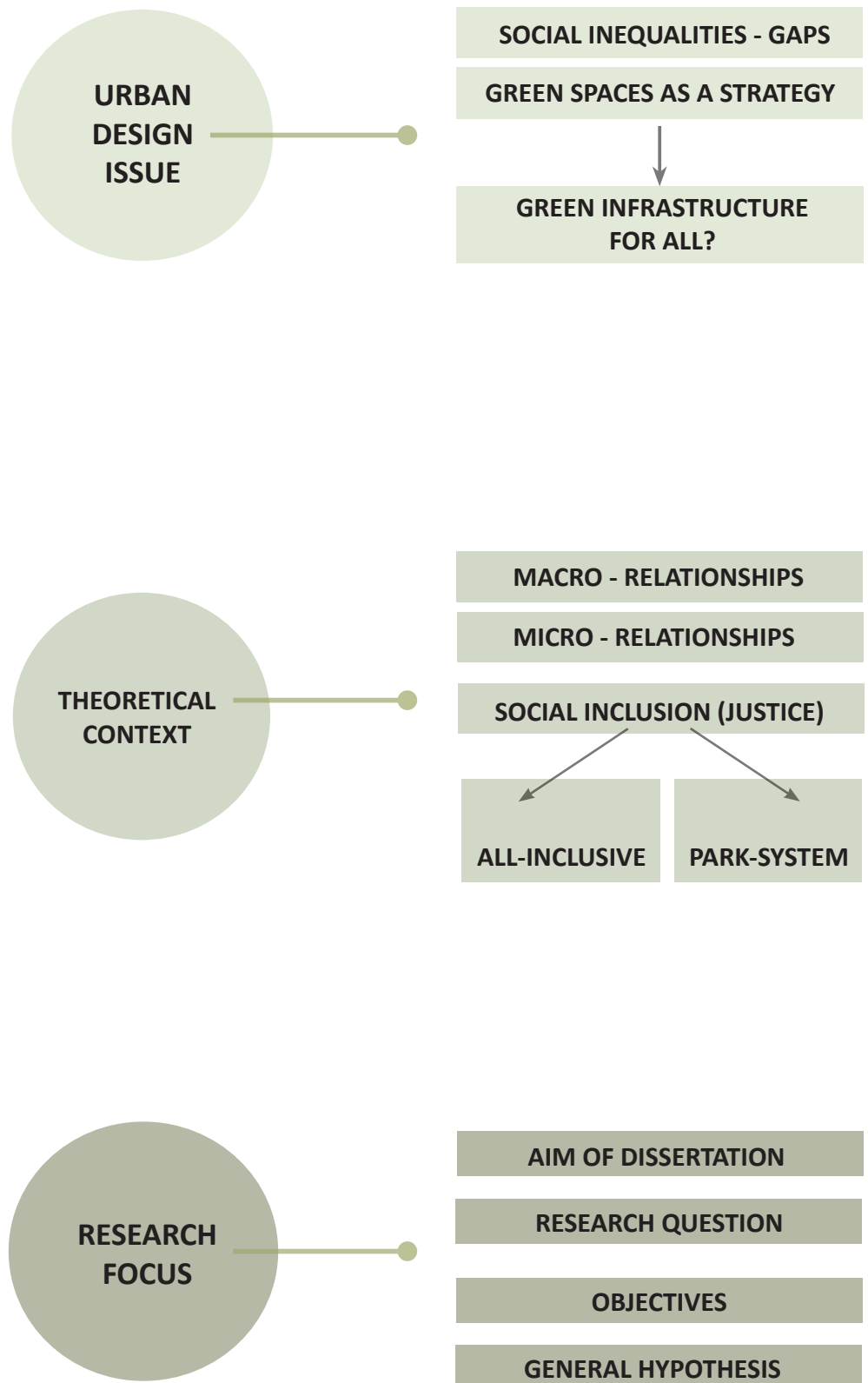


figure 04. structure of the introduction

To this point, the structure of the literature review will be explained (see fig. 05). At first, the macro-scale theoretical background will be presented; the focus will be on the relationship between city and nature and then, the notion of green justice in the city will be formed. Later, the micro-scale background will come to analyse the different approaches that are used towards green spaces, creating the debate that will lead to answer the main research question.

A reminder of the research topic:

Social inclusion and Green Justice in diverse communities in London: The case of Ocean Estate

MACRO-THINKING - GREEN JUSTICE IN THE CITY

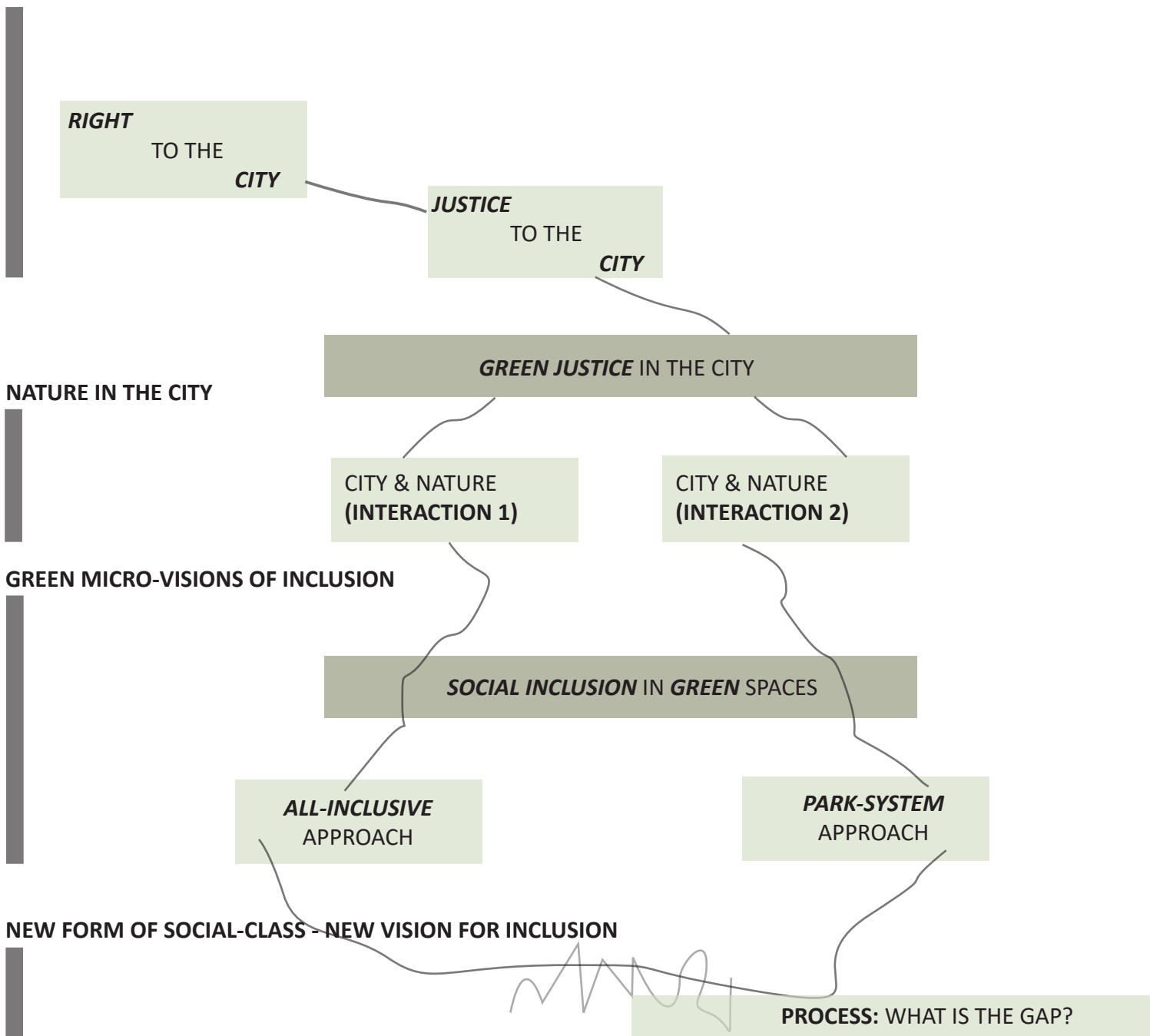


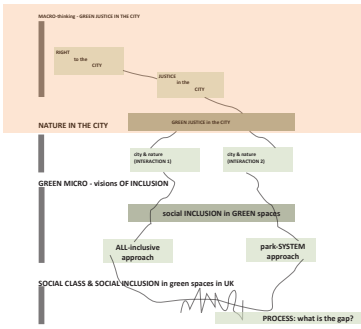
figure 05. structure of the literature review

2.1 MACRO-THINKING - GREEN JUSTICE IN THE CITY

Any discussion about green justice in the city derives from the deeply rooted theories about justice that several practitioners have already expressed in the 19th and 20th century. Two of the most important figures are David Harvey and Henry Lefebvre, responsible for widening considerably the scope of Karl Marx's theory of value (1932). In particular, the latter criticises the way that capitalist societies exploit all the commodities in the city system, especially those that have no-value in the monetary system, termed as raw materials. His aim is to demonstrate human alienation from nature and raise awareness for an ecological degradation. Nature is in danger of great exploitation and the need for having a political ecological agenda, so as to strengthen its importance in the society, is eminent (Huber, 2017).

David Harvey (1973, 2009) stresses that geography cannot remain objective in the face of urban inequality that city's complexity produces. He defines the just system as one where all its elements are equally distributed to reinforce the city's economy and prevent diseconomy. The aim is to optimise the market to achieve welfare of the population. However, the economic theory recognises that there are imperfections that lead to market failures. One of the reasons for these failures is the existence of externalities and public goods; those cannot be traded in markets, because they are non-excludable since people can access them without paying and non-rival, meaning that more than one person can enjoy them. Therefore, they can easily shift the balance in the just system and affect economy.

The green spaces in the city is a characteristic example of this theory. Nature, when enters the city, is modified and becomes a product. By being a product, it is also a means of production inevitably creating networks which are intertwined with the city fabric shifting the balance (Lefebvre 1974, 2003). Thus, it is evident that any reference made to the justice in the city it is also linked to nature and vice-versa. For that reason, the linkage between green justice and political ecology is tight and it should be studied from the scope of macro-relationships with nature, before moving to a smaller scale, so as to understand city's complexity (Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2006; Kaika, 2005). Planners should first seek to investigate the relationships created under the lens of macro-economy so as to "elevate space from mere undercurrents in policy to a major focus" (Harvey, 2009, p.1270). Green spaces do have a value and planning green infrastructure for all is about the "relationship between cities and the environment that the city sits within" (Harvey, 2008; Sinnett et al., 2015, p.69).



MACRO-THINKING - GREEN JUSTICE IN THE CITY



figure 06. structure of the sub-heading 2.1

After already analysing the macro-approach and the notion of green justice in the city and before analysing the micro-approach from which the research gap will be extracted, a subheading will intervene to introduce the two kinds of interaction between nature and the city. This will set the ground for the next subheading *GREEN MICRO-VISIONS OF INCLUSION*.

The first type of interaction is based on the notion that the city is a necessary evil, “a poison to which an antidote was necessary” (Cranz, 1989, p.232). Thus, nature in this case is treated as an antidote and its purpose is evident; to create a “town and countryside” fiction, an image that will serve to promote superficial comparisons and prevent the real negative ones (Williams, 1973, p.54). This superficiality is termed as “second nature” and it was first used by Walter Benjamin (1933) who noted that what nature and humans have in common is the ability to produce similarities as a way for them to assimilate with the environment. Later, Mathew Gandy (2002) used a similar term to describe the same phenomenon; he referred to it as “seeming nature” where its role is to take the form of “rus in urbe” every time the city needed it. This approach towards nature is regarded from the scope of romanticism derived from the Enlightenment era, where the dominated belief was that nature had the power to “restore human spirit” (Low, Taplin, and Scheld, 2005, p.20). It is considered as a sacred element and thus, its separation from the rest of the city is a conscious and deliberate action (Gandy, 2002).

The second type of interaction derives from Karl Marx’s theory and his supporters, influenced by the Malthusian era. Specifically, in this case the romantic view of nature is considered inadequate, because “it does not cohere with the city itself” (Cranz, 1989, p.144). Here, city’s complexity becomes the main debate and it is studied as a “throwntogether” ontology where nothing is experienced by itself, but always in a relationship to its surroundings (Amin, 2018, p.15). Therefore, nature as a commodity should be used wisely (Huber, 2017). This is the reason why the element of limit to the inconsiderable use of natural resources is added. Nature, here, is not perceived romantically as a raw material coming from the countryside; it is a product by the time it enters the city and it is “being furnished by man, by his industry to make it useful to him” (Marx, 1932, p.46). Therefore, the optimistic view of nature and the belief that human could have an unlimited access to it, are replaced by notions that raise awareness about the exploitation of natural resources and eco-scarcity (Marx, 1932; Cranz, 1989; Harvey, 1996; Gandy, 2002). This approach towards nature is regarded from a more realistic point of view, where any possible interaction is in the centre of political and ecological attention.

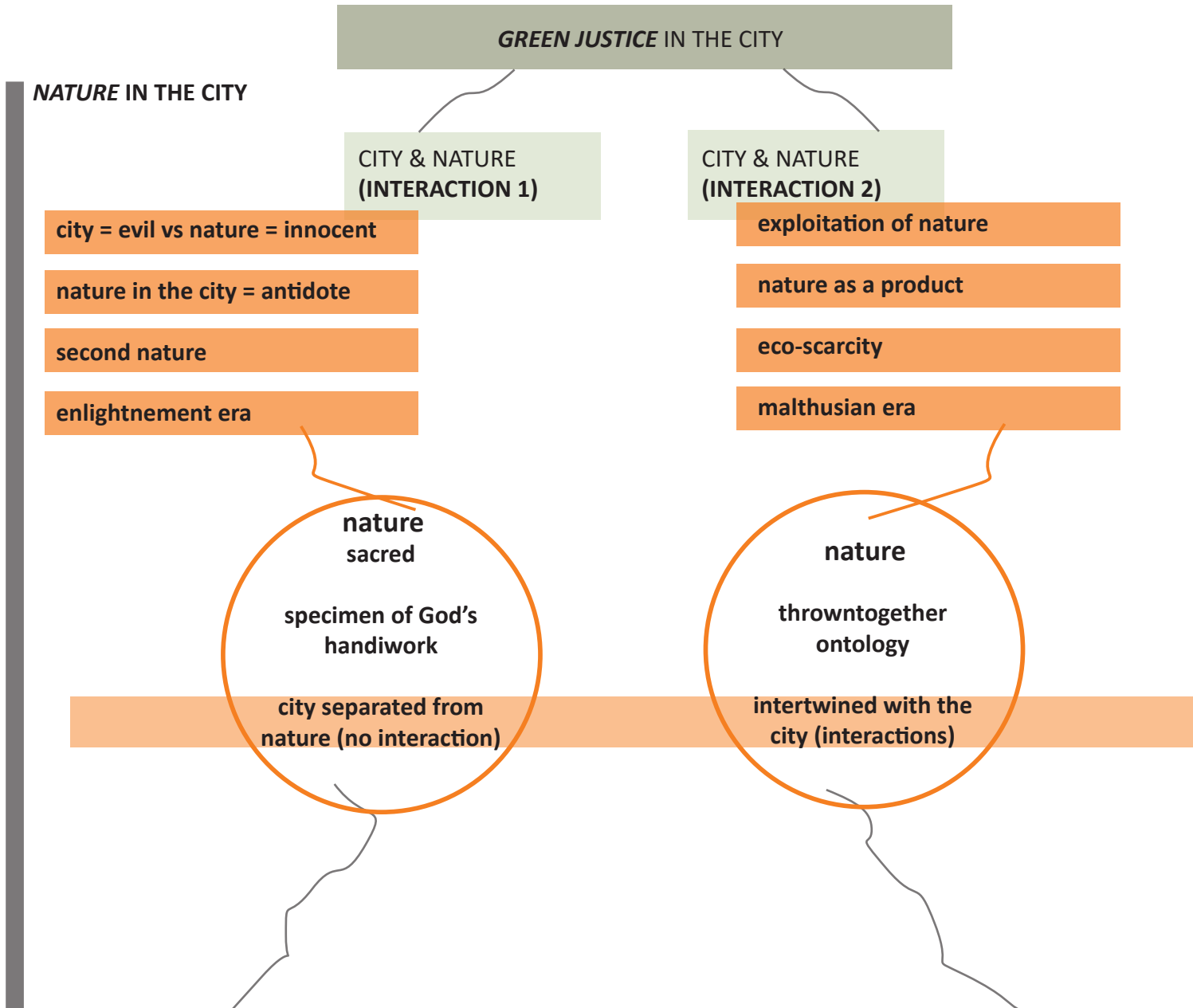
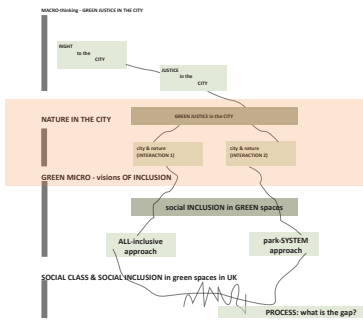


figure 07. structure of the sub-heading 2.2

As mentioned in the subheading 2.1, the idea of justice supports that goods should be equally distributed to maintain balance in the city system. That is, the factor of location, which is closely related to the distribution as a procedure, can affect the system and create inequalities (Harvey, 1973, 2009). For that reason, the interest has shifted to the small-scale where a closer attention can be paid to those inequalities. The new approach on green justice emphasises to the micro relationships claiming that each system within the city should be conceived as a micro space and studied separately. Each one is composed by groups of people that have different elasticities, values and habits. By using a fragmented community structure the voices of all the people will come into the surface (Harvey, 1973, 2009; Lefebvre, 1974, 2009; Lynch, 1960; Gandy, 2002, 2012; Sennett, 2006, 2018; Jorgensen and Keenan, 2012) and then, they will be all connected under the umbrella of the overall park-system which attains its existence by a “virtue of networks and pathways, by clusters of relationships” (Lefebvre, 1974, p.90, 2009).

William H. Whyte stated:

“The question is sometimes whether is better to have a Central Park or an equivalent amount of space on a large scale. The fact is, however, that for the foreseeable future the opportunities in the center city are going to be for small spaces” (Whyte, 1980, p.98).

This phrase finds its application into today’s world, although it belongs to the 20th century. There is so much pressure on land in cities like London, that the focus is on small green spaces that should justify their use of valuable land.

“The need is to make the most of the green spaces already exist. The emphasis should be on quality rather than quantity, conviviality rather than exclusiveness” (Cabe Space, 2005, p.11).

London is already a green city; green infrastructure in UK comprises a planned network of high-quality green spaces which provides environmental and ecological benefits, while also benefits local communities (Sinnott, Smith and Burgess, 2013). Thus, having that matter already solved, the highly debated issue of the 21st century is to ensure green infrastructure for all. Human rights and green justice should be examined in domestic policy-making as well, not only form part of the macro-sphere (Alvez and Timney, 2008). However, the efforts for creating an inclusive green space are being challenged by various factors including growing inequality, widening income disparity, jobless and population growth (Desa, 2009).

Under the umbrella of social inclusion, two approaches will be presented as the means to achieve it in green spaces. The first approach is the all-inclusive vision, clearly affected by the enlightenment era and romantic approach to nature. It started in the 19th century when the prevail notion was that “all the visitors of whatever social-class would enjoy together the same music, breathe the same atmosphere of art, enjoy the same scenery and beauty that surrounds them” (Tate, 2001, p.20; Low, Taplin and Scheld, 2005). Today this approach can be seen in cases where planners try to create places for all, where everything can happen. There is a tendency of over-determination of city’s visual forms and social functions as the way to a well-balanced and integrated system (Sennett, 2018). However, “expecting everyone to mix happily with shared public space because of an imagined sense of community is both naïve and insensitive” (Sinnott et al., 2015, p.205). Treating all green spaces in the same way and trying to achieve the same purpose leads to closed systems. The new era demands embracing the city and its complexity (Sennett, 2018). Well-balanced and integrated systems are seen as virtues in urban planning, but in reality they are attributes of the opposite. In particular, maintaining the balance is translated as designing for places where “a little bit of everything happens all at once, which is the recipe of low-quality”, while the idea of integration on the other hand “vomits out whatever does not fit”, diminishing the value of all the elements that are left out (Sennett, 2006, p.4). The all-inclusive approach praises the social mechanism but in reality, it diminishes its value creating closed systems that affect negatively social inclusion.

The later approach towards social inclusion supports the notion of anything, not everything, can happen. The answer is not to treat everyone the same “on the basis of some statistical average”, but to develop green policies and design principles that accommodate a wider range of people (Imrie and Hall, 2001, p.17). The planners should aim to meet the needs of the different groups in society. When designing an open space, it should be done at the most detailed small-scale residential area level, so that the needs of “those who are working from home, the elderly who want some space and those trying to get a baby off to sleep, are respected” (Sinnott et al., 2015, p. 205). There are too many contrasts and types, that “it is unclear how the conflicts that are produced can be accommodated only in a single design respond”. “An inclusive society should follow those five steps when designing green spaces” (Imrie and Hall, 2001, p.17):

1. **Visibility:** People need to be noticed, recognised and have their own voices. Each group should be represented in the processes.
2. **Consideration:** Concerns and needs of individuals are taken into account by policy-makers.
3. **Access to social interactions:** People must be able to engage in society’s activities and social networks in their daily life.
4. **Rights:** People must have rights to act and claim rights to be different, legal rights, rights to access social services.
5. **Resources to fully participate in society:** Even if people have right to access, they cannot participate fully without adequate resources. Resources are the ultimate step for successful social inclusion.

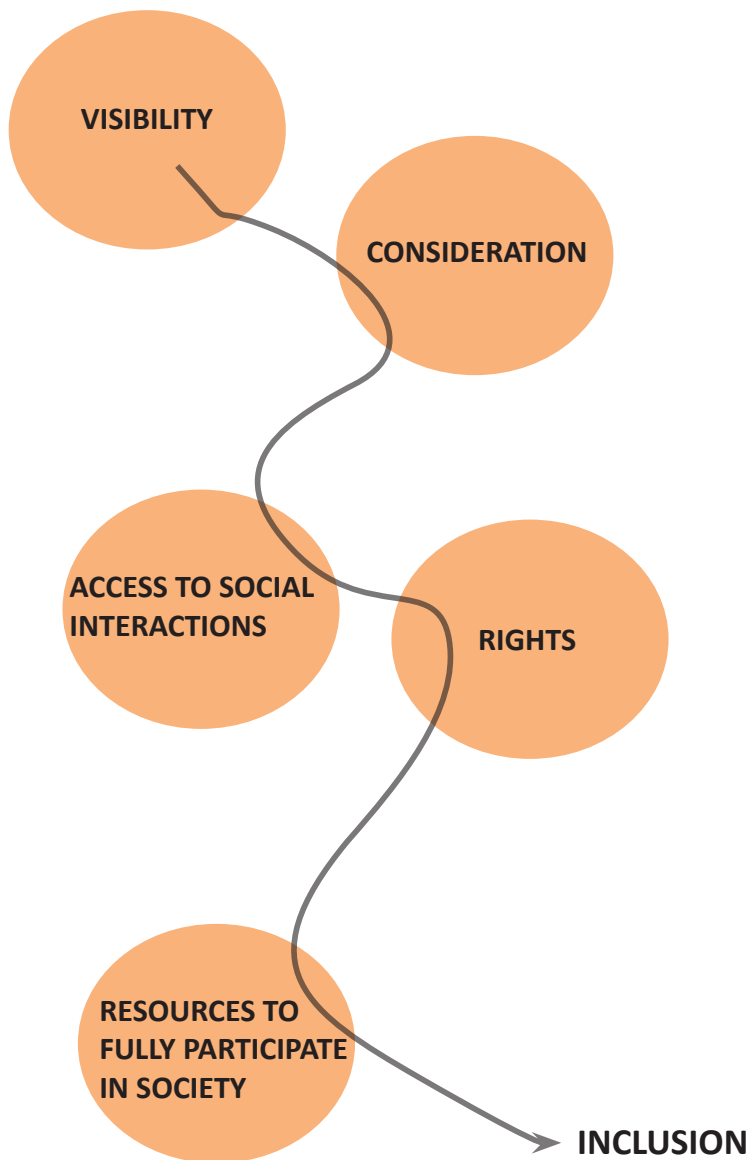
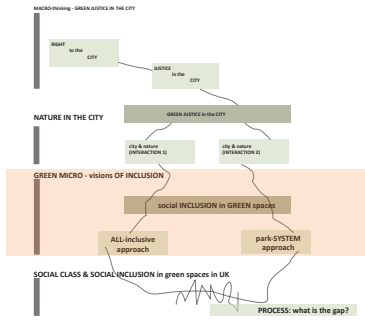


figure 08. five steps to an inclusive city



GREEN MICRO-VISIONS OF INCLUSION

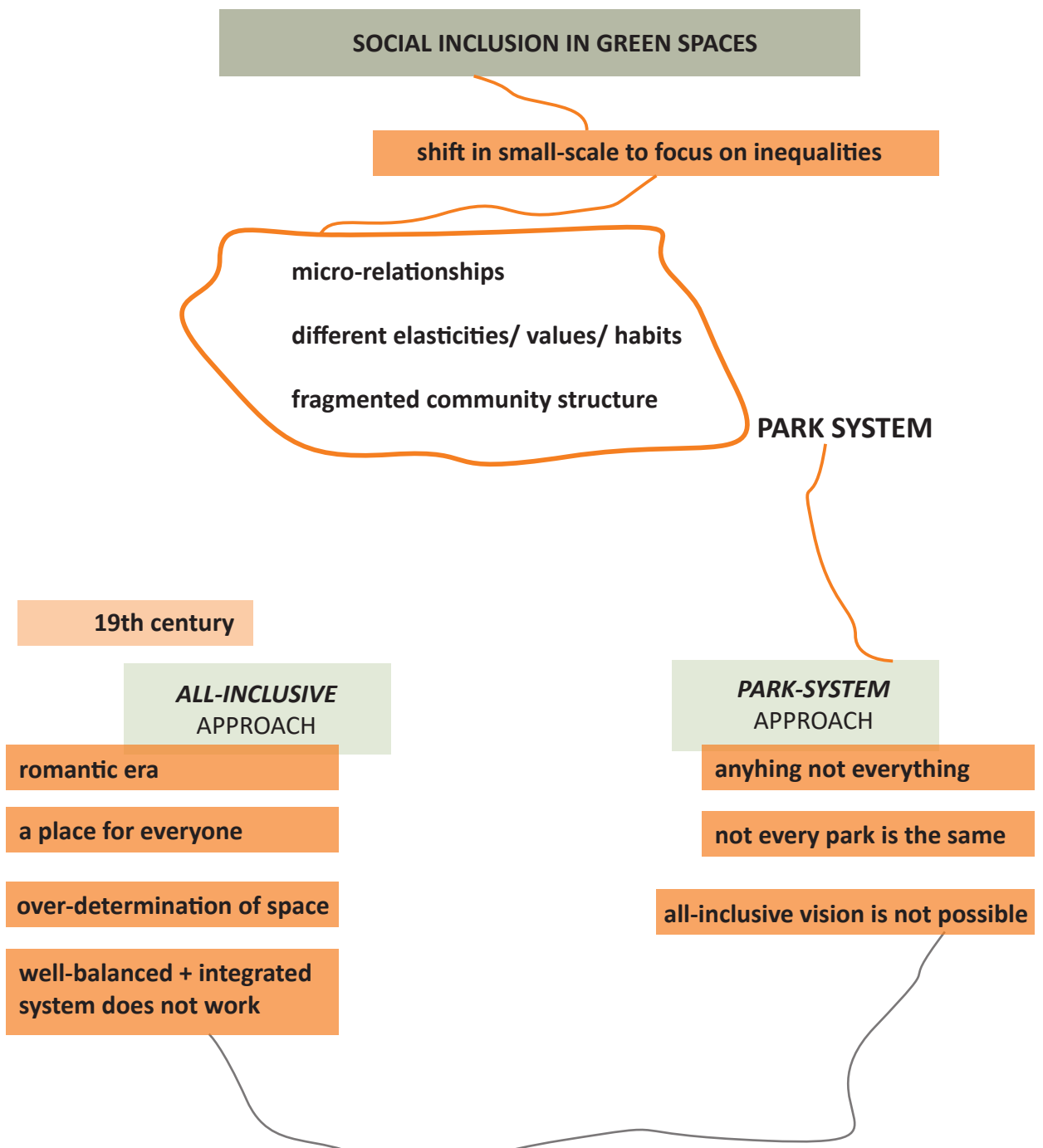


figure 09. structure of the sub-heading 2.3

Great steps have been made in trying to address people's needs. The focus on target groups is apparent in today's planning strategies. Age, gender, ethnicity, income, religion are on the spotlight of every scheme that plans for an "inclusive city" (Mayor of London, 2017).

"In terms of **gender** the Administration is almost exactly gender balanced" (House of Lords, 2017, p.19)

"Equality recognises that historically, certain groups of people with particular characteristics e.g. **race, disability, sex and sexuality**, have experienced discrimination" (UK Export Finance, 2016, p.3)

"Diversity: everyone is a unique person [...] A number of personal characteristics like **age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion and belief, sex and sexual orientation**" (UK Export Finance, 2016, p.4)

"Public sector duty regarding socio-economic inequalities. The protected characteristics:

- age
- disability
- gender reassignment
- marriage and civil partnership
- pregnancy and maternity
- race
- religion or belief
- sex
- sexual orientation"

(The national archives, 2010)

Therefore, when referring to social inclusion, those groups are the ones being considered in most of the cases. Social-class is left out of the process or it is only considered when the income is mentioned. It may belong to the macro-scale relationships that are developed in the city, but it affects its structure and any kind of micro relationship created as well. The difference from the past is that the form of social-class has changed since more parameters have been added. In particular, the UK class Survey (2013) supports that its new structure should reflect the social and cultural background of people apart from the economic. The Mayor of London introduces a terminology that is closer related to the already mentioned new structure, when he explains his vision for a diverse and inclusive city:

*"Effective planning, involving local people will create an inclusive city that is welcoming to all. It includes areas where people of different ages, ethnicities and **backgrounds** feel comfortable, safe and can interact meaningfully" (Mayor of London, 2017, p.15)*

Therefore, when studying the micro relationships developed in the city, the new structure of social-class should be considered. In this case, that the research is conducted on the green spaces, the vision for inclusion should be redefined and the green strategies should meet the new aim; all different economic, social, cultural backgrounds should feel welcome in green spaces, eliminating the gaps within diverse communities.

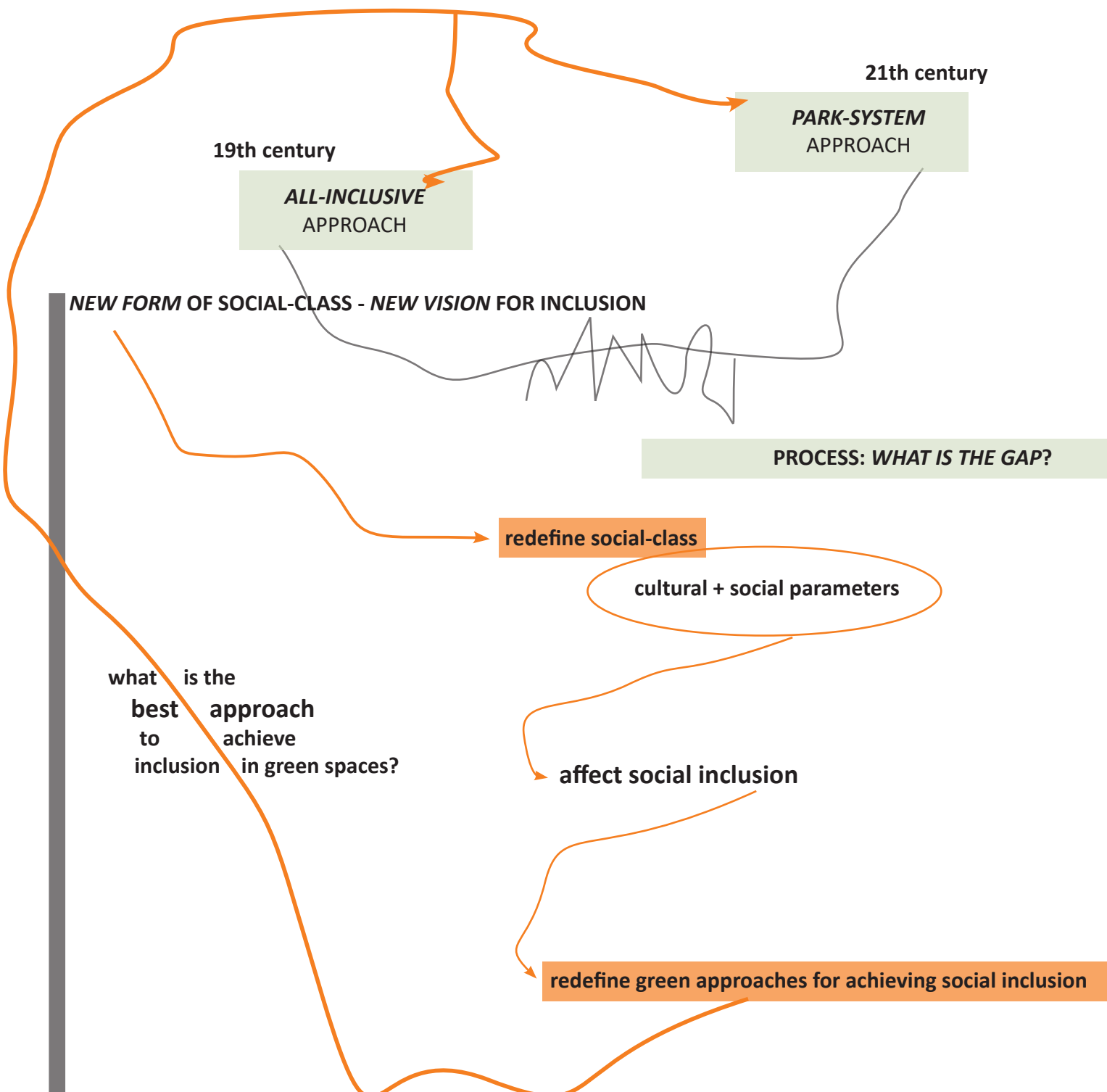
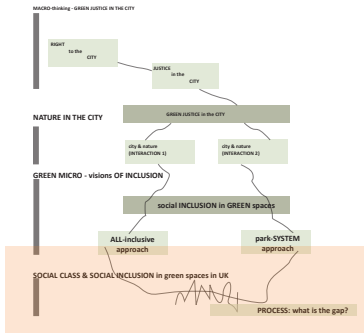


figure 10. structure of the sub-heading 2.4

Social-class does exist but its structure has changed. Therefore, this new structure should be taken into account in the methodology, since the aim is to examine which of the two green approaches can effectively anticipate people's needs in the green spaces to achieve social inclusion in diverse communities.

The Ocean Estate neighbourhood, in Tower Hamlets, is selected as a single case study to examine the above aim. The diagram below illustrates the thought process that was followed when selecting the case study:

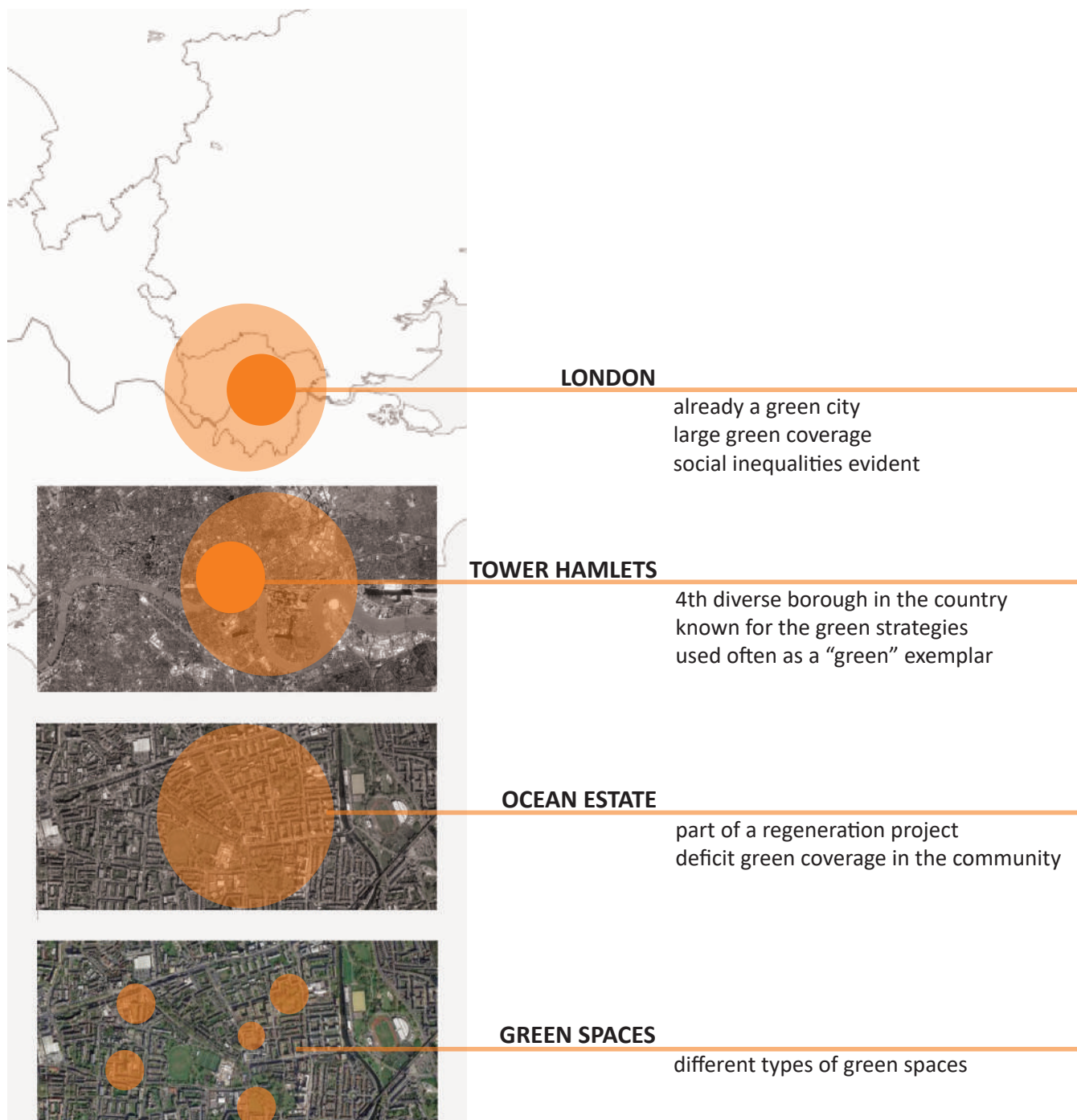


figure 11. concept of the selection of the case study

The three topics of the research, along with the research question and the sub-questions will be reminded here:

POLICY FRAMEWORK 


PARK USES 

USERS 

The main question is:

Which green approach between the all-inclusive and the park-system can efficiently achieve social inclusion in diverse communities in cities around the world?

It will be answered through the sub-questions presented below:

 **objective 1: What strategy and policy framework exist to respond to the vision of inclusion in green spaces?**

How is social inclusion defined by the already existing policies and what is the main green strategy followed in the process? Is there any correlation between the theory presented in the literature review and the planning practices?

 **objective 2: Do the uses offered in each park within the community affect social inclusion?**

What are people's preferences over parks? What motivates people's choices? Does a variety in uses affect diversity and therefore social inclusion?

 **objective 3: Does the park-goers' profile affect social inclusion in the parks within the community?**

Does the diversity in people's social and cultural background affect their preferences over parks? How do park-goers respond to diversity? Does it create inconvenience or enhance social inclusion?

1. POLICY FRAMEWORK



What strategy and policy framework exist to respond to the vision of inclusion in green spaces?

METHODS

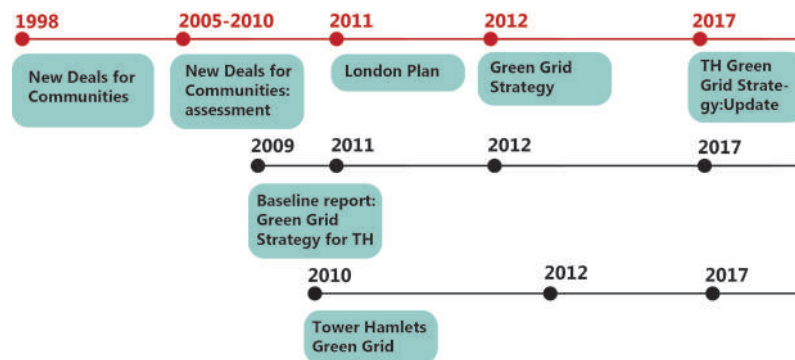


figure 12. chronological order of existing policies

A. DOCUMENTS

The documents that will be analysed are:

I. New deals for communities program (1998 - 2010)

List of sources:

- House of Commons, 2003-04. An early progress report on the New Deal for Communities programme, Committee of Public Accounts, Thirty-eighth Report
- Lawless Paul, 2007. The New Deal for Communities programme in England: is area based urban regeneration possible?, Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, Sheffield Hallam University
- Communities and Local Government, 2010. The New Deal for Communities Experience: A final assessment, The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Final Report-Volume 7

II. Green Grid strategy in Tower Hamlets 2009 – 2017

List of sources:

- Baseline report, Green Grid Strategy for Tower Hamlets, September 2009
- Tower Hamlets Green Grid strategy, April 2010
- Tower Hamlets Green Grid Strategy: Update 2017
- Tower Hamlets Strategic Plan 2016-2019

B. SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire will be used to examine whether people themselves are aware of any improvement in the quality of the green spaces over the passage of the years.

COMMENT

After analysing the documents, an insight will be given concerning the green strategy taken to achieve social inclusion in the area. Residents will be asked to evaluate the quality of green spaces in terms of design, facilities offered, proximity, security and inclusion. If their response confirms an improvement with the existing green strategy, then, the results will be further examined to answer the research question.

2. PARK USES



Do the uses offered in each park within the community affect social inclusion?

Based on the literature, one of the main differences between the two green approaches concerns the arguments about the uses that should be offered in the parks. The park-system approach supports a variety of park types that each one contributes in a different way to the system, catering for the needs of the community. On the other hand, the all-inclusive vision argues for an equal amount of activities offered in each park, so that everyone in the community can have access to same opportunities.

METHODS

A. SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire will be used to examine:

- what are people's preferences over parks?
- what activities are offered in each park?
- what is people's perception of a successful park?

B. INTERVIEWS

Interviews will be taken in order to discuss further the reasons for selecting each park and what is the main characteristic of those that motivates people's choices.

COMMENT

The two possible outcomes can either be:

- (1) each park has a specific characteristic which is the main reason that it attracts the majority of the visitors (park-system approach), or
- (2) each park has a variety of characteristics that triggers people to visit it without having one being the main (all-inclusive approach).

Whichever outcome will yield from the methods used, will be closely examined to observe the presence of social inclusion.

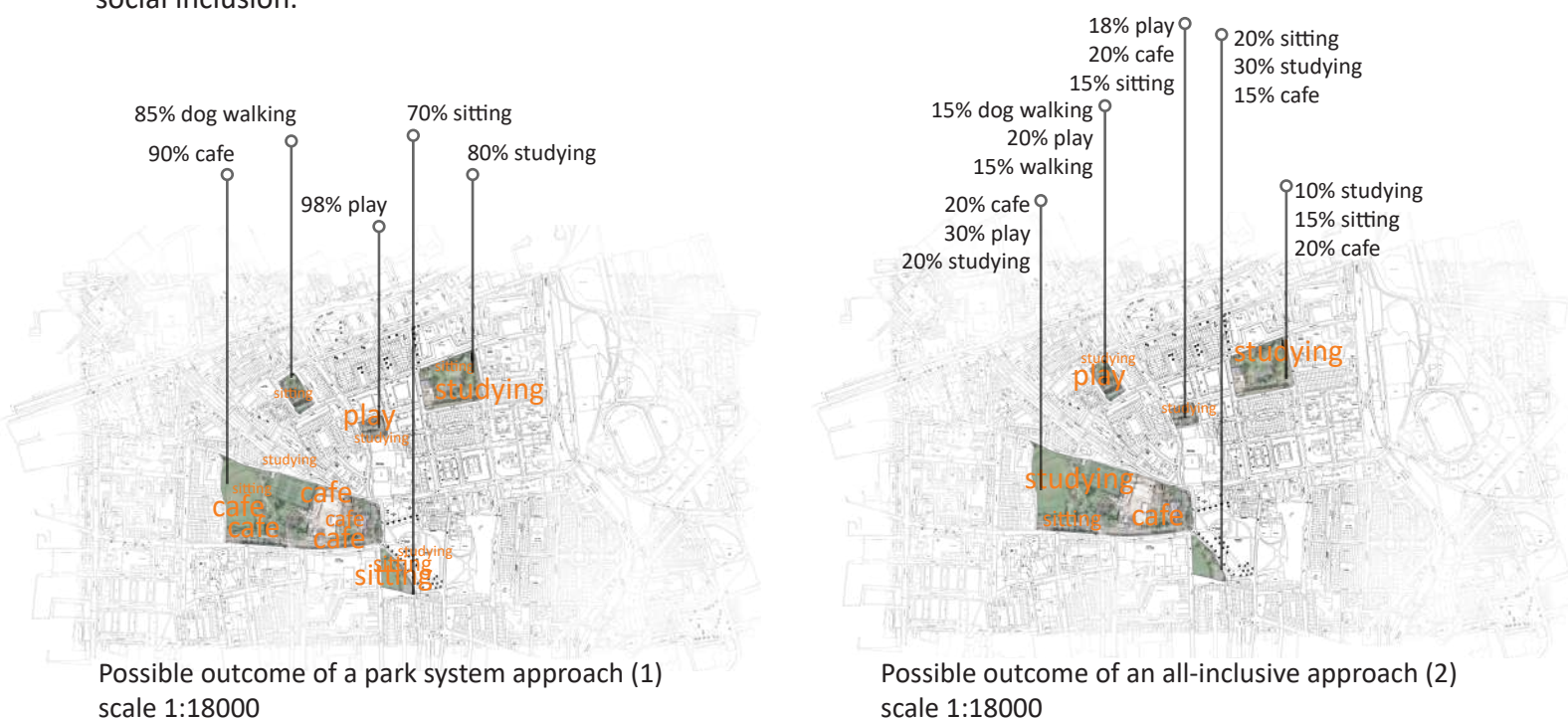


figure 13. hypothesis on obj.2

3. USERS



Does the park-goers' profile affect social inclusion in the parks within the community?

Based on the literature, the profile of the users is an important element supported by both green approaches, when designing for equality. The all-inclusive approach supports that diversity can be achieved by aiming for each park to cater for everyone's needs in the community. That is, proximity is important and an equal distribution of green spaces having the same characteristics should be the main purpose. On the other hand, in the park-system approach is argued that diversity can be achieved if there is strong motivation; here, a variety of different types of parks is expected to motivate people to visit parks around the community, not only the ones closer to their homes.

METHODS

A. INTERVIEWS

Interviews will be the main method used to answer this sub-question. Through the interviews the aim is to understand whether or not there is a mixture of users' background in the parks in the neighbourhood and how people respond to this.

B. SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire will be used to examine:

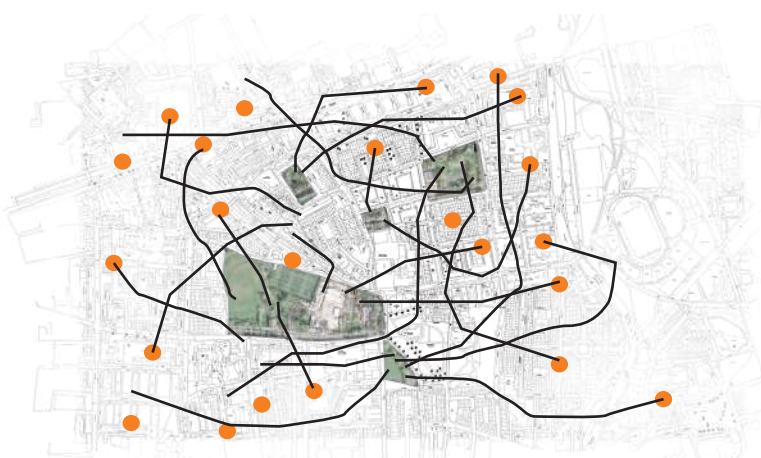
- whether or not people feel welcome in each park in the community?
- how important is proximity for park users?
- would they prefer a variety of park types in the community or parks with equal characteristics to feel more socially included?

COMMENT

The possible outcomes can either be:

- (1) people from all around the community, with different backgrounds, visit all the parks not only the ones that are closer to their homes (park-system approach).
- (2) people mostly choose to visit the parks closer to their homes and frequent with people that have the same social and cultural background, which means that they are not motivated enough to go further and visit other parks (all-inclusive approach).

Whichever outcome will yield from the methods used, will be closely examined to observe the presence of social inclusion.



Possible outcome of park-system approach (1)
scale 1:18000



Possible outcome of all-inclusive approach (2)
scale 1:18000

figure 14. hypothesis on obj.3

ETHICS

In order to analyse the objectives, it will be necessary to question and interview civilians. Topics of discussion will include their preferences with regards to parks, activities and other social matters. Given that some topics may be sensitive to participants, I will be taking the other considerations before and during the fieldwork. These includes:

- Before each survey and interview, I will inform participants about my identity. I will inform them that I am a postgraduate student, doing a dissertation which is part of an academic institution. If at any moment, a participant wishes to confirm if I am a UCL student, I will always be in possession of my student ID and a document.
- Before each survey and interview, I will inform participants that this is an academic research and that their privacy will be protected at all times. Therefore, any information they will be provided will only be used for the purpose of my dissertation and that they have the right not to answer to any questions they feel uncomfortable with.
- The objective behind the interviews is to be able to understand people's social and cultural background without creating any discomfort for the participants. As such, interviews will only be conducted with individuals I feel will be willing to talk about the issue of social inclusion in green spaces freely. I seek to ask general questions under the lens of a casual talk. These questions will be based on their daily life, whether or not they feel welcome to each park and what are the current issues in the green spaces in the neighborhood. It has to be pointed out that the aim is not to categorise people into social-classes, but to examine if there is diversity in park goer's background.

One crucial observation I have made during the interviews is that Tower Hamlets is indeed a quite diverse borough. This meant that I had to take different approaches taking into account their character, personality, ethnicity, age, sex etc. Additionally, another fascinating observation I made was that individuals were more willing to discuss the matter of social inclusion as it was related to green spaces only. It made them feel more open to express themselves and this benefitted the results of my dissertation.

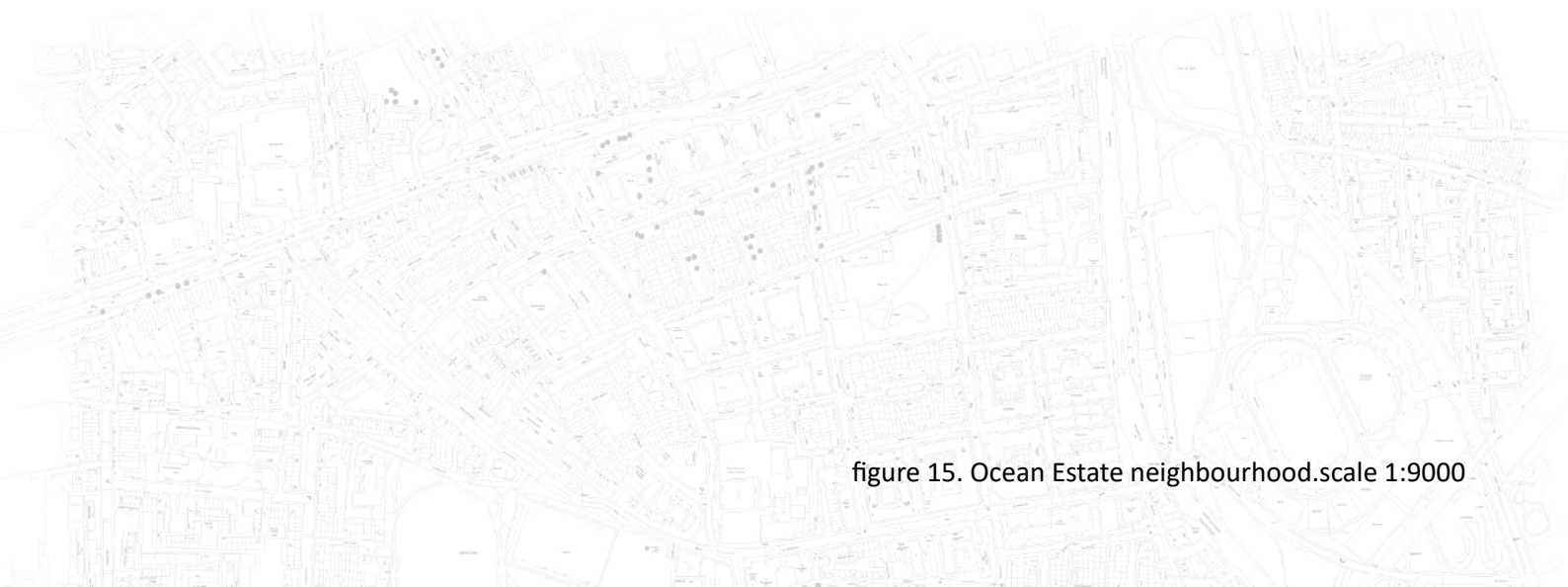


figure 15. Ocean Estate neighbourhood.scale 1:9000

LONDON

“If you were to look down at London from the stratosphere, you would be struck at how green the city is. What we do not do is to look at green spaces in a joined-up way, making sure that the contribution they make to the quality of life, to the environment and the economy are maximised” (Mayor of London, 2012, p.7). The green coverage in London is adequate which makes it the perfect case study to examine green strategies.

TOWER HAMLETS

One of the most urbanised parts of London is Tower Hamlets borough (Tower Hamlets Green Grid, 2010), yet, it is deficit in open green spaces and well-known for its green strategies. In addition, it continues to be a vibrant, diverse and multi-ethnic area where the population keeps rising. It is these aspects that challenges the existence of green spaces. It is for this reason why Tower Hamlets is a unique exemplar for the study of green strategies.

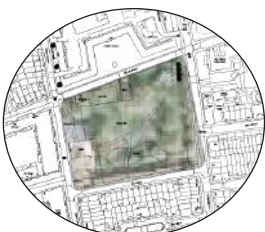
OCEAN ESTATE

The specific neighbourhood, selected for this dissertation, is part of a regeneration programme which took birth in 1998. Here, a research will be conducted under the umbrella of social inclusion upon the green spaces in the area.



figure 16. selected parks for the research. scale 1:9000

1. Shandy park



2. Beaumont square gardens



3. Trafalgar gardens court



4. Stepney green park (+farm)



5. JCP John Cass park



As a reminder, three topics will be examined:

**POLICY FRAMEWORK
PARK USES
USERS**

Each topic will be analysed separately using text, tables and diagrams.

In the final chapter, they will be all assessed, reaching an overall conclusion.

2. Beaumont square gardens



4. Stepney green park (+farm)



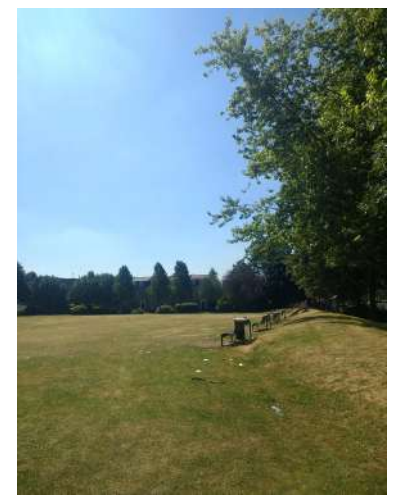
1. Shandy park



5. JCP John Cass park



3. Trafalgar gardens court





What strategy and policy framework exist to respond to the vision of inclusion in green spaces?

METHOD

A. DOCUMENTS. The list of the sources used for addressing this objective:

- **New deals for communities programme 1998 - 2010**

- o House of Commons, 2003-04. An early progress report on the New Deal for Communities programme, Committee of Public Accounts, Thirty-eighth Report
- o Lawless Paul, 2007. The New Deal for Communities programme in England: is area based urban regeneration possible?, Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, Sheffield Hallam University
- o Communities and Local Government, 2010. The New Deal for Communities Experience: A final assessment, The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Final Report-Volume 7

GENERAL CONTEXT - COMMUNITY LED INITIATIVE

The New Deals for Communities is a regeneration programme led by the government of the United Kingdom for some of the England's most deprived neighbourhoods. Tower Hamlets and more specifically Ocean Estate, was part of this programme that was launched in 1998. It was carried out between 2001-2010 and unlike other regeneration programmes, "the monies have been given directly to identified neighbourhoods for them to manage via their New Deal for Community Partnership Board made up of local representatives" (House of Commons, 2003-04, p.3).

SCALE OF INTEREST - ADDRESSING NEEDS

The Ocean Estate was an area-based initiative (ABI) identified as one of the most deprived areas in London (Lawless, 2007). The selection was based on the index of multiple deprivation, which is a longitudinal survey that tracks against the kind of indicators that are mentioned in the surveys of NDC neighbourhoods as well (House of Commons, 2003-04). Having as a focus specific areas, the aim was to address better the needs of the communities and reduce the gaps with the rest of the country.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT - TARGETING GREEN SPACES

The NDC neighbourhoods were expected to engage in partnership with existing service delivery agencies such as Local Authorities, Primary Care Trusts, Police Authorities and other partners to reduce the extent of crime, unemployment, poor health, low education performances and improve the physical environment (House of Commons, 2003-04). In particular, the physical environment accounted for the largest share of NDC funding, around 32%. The final report indicates that the years between 2002-2008 were characterised by an evident progress. To prove this argument 36 indicators were used, connected to place- and people-related outcomes. It was concluded that there was relatively greater positive change for place-, rather than people-, related outcomes (Communities and Local Government, 2010). This can be justified by the actual nature of the project itself. Specifically, it was a programme with short time horizons (Lawless, 2007) aiming for early wins, so that the residents would see some outcomes quickly (House of Commons, 2003-04).

DEFINING INCLUSION - PEOPLE

By achieving progress in place-related outcomes, the vision of inclusion would be also achieved. It was supported that people-related interventions will not impact on large number of people and therefore there is "no guarantee that participants of such projects will achieve a measurable outcome" (Communities and Local Government, 2010, p.27). On the other hand, the improvement of the environment would impact on the surrounding communities as well. The initial aim of the programme was to bridge the gap among the communities. Social cohesion was expected to be achieved by engaging the residents with the local authorities and by having a strategic coordination of the separate funding streams, so that it "would not cause any resentment in neighbouring communities or any suspension of targeted funding" (House of Common, 2003-04, p.4).

- **Green Grid strategy in Tower Hamlets 2009 – 2017**
 - o Baseline report, Green Grid Strategy for Tower Hamlets, September 2009
 - o Tower Hamlets Green Grid strategy, April 2010
 - o Tower Hamlets Green Grid Strategy: Update 2017
- **Tower Hamlets Strategic Plan 2016-2019**

GENERAL CONTEXT - PARK SYSTEM APPROACH

In total, the borough has over 120 parks and open spaces including farms, play areas, nature reserves, green corridors etc. The aim of the Green Grid Strategy is to create an “interlinked network of high-quality”, multi-functional accessible green open spaces, where people living and working there would be able to walk through green linkages and corridors (Tower Hamlets, 2009, p.7; LUC, 2017). Other Policies related to the park-system:

- CABE: Open Space Strategies:** recommends that all types of open spaces are considered (Cabe, 2009, p.24)
- Sub-regional Development Framework: East London:** identifies the network of parks, open spaces and wild-life sites, as one of the sub-region’s strengths (Mayor of London, 2006, p.72)
- East London Green Grid Framework:** aims to create a network of interlinked high quality open spaces (Mayor of London, 2008, p.11).

METHODS USED

The Green Grid has been prepared by using initial baseline data gathered across the borough which defined a network of routes connecting parks and other green spaces. From this network, four routes were selected by the council as the pilot ones to test the potential of the Green Grid and to form the basis of this strategy. The council commissioned LDA Design in association with the Transport Research Laboratory (TRL) to “understand in detail the scope and potential for action to shape the Green Grid” (Tower Hamlets, 2010, p.5).

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT - TARGETING GREEN SPACES - SCALE OF INTEREST

The interest was mostly focused on small-scale parks, where more obstacles of connection were identified between them. In particular, Tower Hamlets Open Strategy (2006) estimates that 26% of the borough is deficient in public open spaces. Only 43% of the borough though has access to local parks (Tower Hamlets, 2009, p.4). Therefore, the aim is that local parks will be within walking distance of every residence.

DEFINING INCLUSION - PEOPLE

Strategies have been designed so as to enable the people living there to have a personal opinion through the process. The aim is that through this successful connection, the differences within the borough will be reduced. The PPG17 in East London Green Grid Framework (ELGGF) SPG (2008) declares that quantitative standards will be used for measuring publicly accessible open spaces. However, those standards will not be set in terms of the quantity of open spaces required within the borough. Each one will set their own standards, depending on the demographic profile in the area. The overall aim is to create “ONE TOWER HAMLETS”; a borough of shared and equal opportunities for all residents (Tower Hamlets, 2010, p.4). These priorities have shaped the 2020 Community Plan (Tower Hamlets, 2010), which applies to both connect open spaces in a network and connect the different people that live in the area and engage them in visiting the parks.

Overall some of the Strategic Objectives in Tower Hamlets Green Grid, 2010 are:

- SO12:** to create high quality, well-connected and sustainable natural environment of green and blue spaces
- SO21:** to create streets, spaces and places that promote social interaction and inclusion where people value, enjoy and feel safe and comfortable
- SP01:** to promote good design
- SP04:** to deliver a network of open spaces by protecting, creating, enhancing and connecting (2010, p.17)

A diagram will be used to summarise the key points of each policy. Any comment on the policies focuses on specific thematic topics related to the dissertation topic: **social inequalities, inclusion, green spaces, people.**

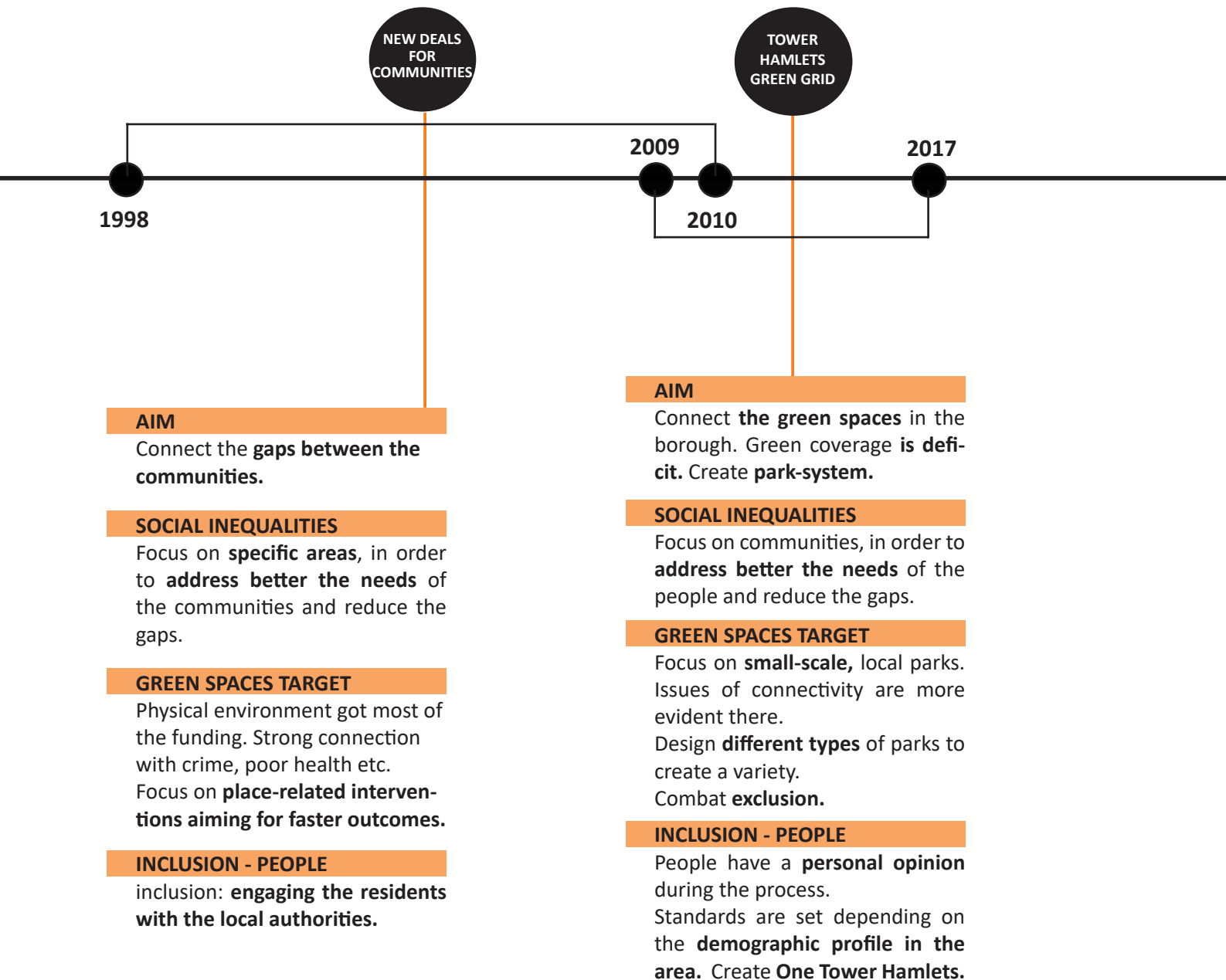


figure 17. summary of the existing policies

This table represents how the surveys and interviews were scheduled:

SELECTED DATES	HOURS	SURVEY (S)/ INTERVIEW (I) SAMPLE
21 JUL. (SATURDAY)	12.00 PM - 16.00 PM	7 PEOPLE (S) [4/7 (I)]
22 JUL. (SUNDAY)	11.30 AM - 15.00 PM	11 PEOPLE (S) [5/11 (I)]
27 JUL. (FRIDAY)	12.00 PM - 15.00 PM	10 PEOPLE (S) [3/10 (I)]
04 AUG. (SATURDAY)	10.30 AM - 15.30 PM	11 PEOPLE (S)

figure 18. table (dates of the surveys and interviews)

METHODS USED (see Appendix A,B)

A. SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE: relevant questions Q5, Q6

The highest percentage (57%) of people confirmed that there has not been any improvement concerning the quality of green spaces in the area, whereas a lower percentage (38%) supported the opposite. After further research, it was noticed that the years of residence played an important role to people's answers. Specifically, the people that have been living in the area for around 18 years presented positive feedback, whilst the people claiming the opposite have been living in the area for less than 4 years. Therefore, it can be concluded that the implemented green strategies have benefited the area, but they have only been noticed by those who have been living there for over 18 years.

In addition, concerning the aspects of the parks that have been improved (Q6), the majority of people selected the "design of the park" and the "issue of inclusion"; those two got the highest points (8) with people declaring that:

"You can find different kinds of people; they may seem local, but they are not; people are coming from all over the area" (comment by an interviewee) or

"Each park has an individual feeling; different energy" (comment by an interviewee).

Based on the results that were extracted from the objective 1, a correlation can be seen between the theoretical background given by the literature and the policies that have been implemented so far. Firstly, the NDC programme launched in 1998 can be related back to the romantic view in which nature is valued as a sacred element, one which is deliberately separated from the city fabric. In this programme, only place-related outcomes were taken into account in the planning strategies towards inclusion as those were considered adequate to eliminate social inequalities between people and bridge the gaps in the communities. However, in theory and in practice, this approach was found insufficient later and there was need for the focus to be changed; more attention needed to be paid on the residents, implementing their needs into the actual design rather than only allowing them to engage in the planning process along with local authorities. This is when Green Grid strategy was welcomed, introducing a new way of approaching green spaces and achieving inclusion in the communities. This strategy can be related back to literature concerning the second type of interaction between city and nature, where they are considered to be interconnected. Here, both the place and people-related outcomes are important and before any strategy is implemented, it is tailored to the demographic profile of the particular area. There is great emphasis on small scale as this is the most efficient way to address the needs of people belonging to different backgrounds.

As such, it appears that the theoretical background about the green debate reflects the planning practices. There is no doubt that the different kinds of interaction towards nature throughout the years have had an impact on the strategies used for each period. It started as an all-inclusive vision, seeing nature as a solution to city's complexity and when it came to light that the city's complexity interferes with nature and the interactions created have to be also taken into account, a new vision was needed. This new vision was a park-system, where all the parks in the community have to be connected and supplement each other in order to embrace the changes in the city fabric. In the Ocean Estate neighbourhood both approaches can be seen, as mentioned before, through the strategies that were followed over the years. There, the residents themselves confirm what it is supported by the literature. They claimed an improvement in the quality of the green spaces during the period when the Green Grid strategy was implemented. This is why the park-system approach was implemented to thrive for more improvements.



Does the use of each park within the community affect social inclusion?

METHODS USED (see Appendix A, B & C)

A. SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE: relevant questions: Q7, Q8, Q9, Q10, Q11

B. INTERVIEWS: set of questions B & C



figure 19. results of obj.2. scale 1: 5000

The target is to analyse what activities are offered in each park and the primary reason that park-goers use them. It seems that some visit the parks for many reasons, while others use them for a specific purpose. For example, Trafalgar gardens court (no.3), Stepney park (no.4) and JCL John Cass park (no.5) offer some uses that are preferred by the majority of the users; football – café, farm – activities related to college, respectively (fig. 19).

It is noticed that most of the positive comments are focused on parks where there is a variety of activities taking place, apart from the prevalent one that is the main characteristic of the park. In particular, 69% of the people claimed that Stepney park (no.4) is their favorite park in the community mentioning a variety of reasons; the farm (60%) and the café (20%) were the main ones.

“You have to be able to relax – In Stepney park I can do that because of the farm; I also go to the park to have a snooze and then I always feel better” (comment by an interviewee)

“I just want to go somewhere and relax; to any green space; in Stepney park I can relax in the farm” (comment by the interviewee)

On the other hand, in Trafalgar gardens (no.3) and JCP park (no.5), only 5% of the people agreed that they are successful. The difference of those parks in comparison to Stepney park is that the former have one use (100% football - 100% activities related to college, see fig.19) only with no other activities to offer, resulting in attracting only people that are interested in the specific use (see Appendix B). Therefore, only those people, footballers and students, did support the success of those parks. The rest, when asked, they could not make any positive comment, since they opt not to visit them.

“I am not that interested on visiting that park” (Trafalgar gardens) (comment by an interviewee)

“It is not interesting enough” (JCP park) (comment by an interviewee)

Lastly, a sense of neutrality was observed in parks like Shandy park (no.1) that encouraged equal number of activities without giving one more significance than the other.

“I was not aware of its existence” (Shandy park) (comment by an interviewee)

One other observation is related to the uses offered in each park and the extent to which they promote diversity among users belonging to different backgrounds. The park-system approach is visible in literature, based on the notion that parks must be capable of addressing needs of individuals. This is why the objective is to design different types of parks to ensure fairness in the system. Although equal distribution is the main argument supported by the all-inclusive approach, it is no longer an issue since the green coverage is deficit and therefore, the issue of proximity is solved.

Indeed, the selected parks in the Ocean Estate neighbourhood have different characteristics (see fig.19), supporting the park-system approach, as it has been already proved in the objective 1. This is why any feedback on social inclusion is expected to be positive for all the parks. Yet, based on the results extracted from the interviews and surveys, not all the parks shared positive comments. Excellent examples supporting this argument are Stepney park (no.4) and Trafalgar square gardens (no.3), both of which have prevalent characteristics, the farm and sports activities respectively. However, Stepney Park received a more positive response compared to Trafalgar Square Gardens. The difference between them is that Stepney park may be known mostly because of the farm, but there are other activities taking place as well. Therefore, the farm may attract most of the people, but in general what is interesting about that park is the variety of other events offered. On the other hand, Trafalgar gardens court is limited to a specific group of people and for a specific reason. As a result, the park tends to be indifferent for everyone in the community, but the people living around. Lastly, there are other examples of parks that are different to these two parks mentioned, such as parks offering numerous variety of activities and uses without having a prevalent one. One example is Shandy park (no.1), where people felt that there was nothing interesting which would convince them to visit it.

It seems that the uses offered in the parks can affect social inclusion in the community. Designing parks that have a prevalent characteristic is important in order to motivate people belonging to the community to visit them. On the other hand, offering other activities can allow the system to remain open and flexible to any possible user. Literature supports that by designing a space for everyone it results in creating an inflexible system that vomits out whatever does not belong. The same applies in the case where only one use is offered in a park. Then, again, a closed system is created, attracting specific groups of individuals, leading to exclusion. Therefore, it can be said that the park-system approach can support inclusion but under conditions; each park should offer various activities apart from the main one. By doing so, the parks will offer something different to the rest of the system, motivating targeted individuals as well as attracting other possible users to try other available activities. To ensure that individuals do feel included, different activities have to be offered to welcome those from diverse backgrounds.



Does the park-goers' profile affect social inclusion in the parks within the community?

METHODS USED (see Appendix A, B & C)

A. INTERVIEWS: set of questions A & B & C

B. SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE: relevant questions: Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, Q12, Q13, Q14, Q15, Q16

The aim of this objective is to examine whether people feel welcome to all the parks in the community and what drives their choices. In this case, both interview and survey methods were used, each one giving an important input in the research.

Concerning the surveys, a considerably high percentage (92%) of the people stated that they feel welcome to all the parks in the community, whilst only the 8% feels the opposite. Interestingly, some felt that inclusion does not depend on the specific park that they visit. In particular, when they asked if they visit all the parks in the community, they replied:

"No, but it is not because I don't feel welcome there, but because I choose not to go" (comment by an interviewee)

"I am not aware of all the parks in this community, but I feel welcome to all" (comment by an interviewee)

The above comments concern the parks that maintain a prevalent characteristic while offering other uses. For that reason, people feel that they can exercise their choice depending on their everyday needs. Therefore, when they do not choose a park, they feel that it is clearly their choice. On the other hand, the 8% of people that argued that they do not feel welcome, they only referred to Beaumont square gardens (no.2) and Trafalgar gardens court (no.3). In particular, the reasons that they mentioned were related to issues of safety and discrimination.

"There are lots of illegal activities taking place in those two parks" (comment by an interviewee)

"I feel the discrimination in Trafalgar gardens" (comment by an interviewee)

It seems that the parks that were characterised successful only by the 5% of the people in the objective 2, are the same ones that here, present issues of discrimination and safety. Thus, it can be concluded that only specific groups of people use those parks, creating issues of exclusion to the rest of the community.

The interviews assisted in giving an insight to this aspect. More specifically, it became clear that in Shandy park (no.1) and Stepney green park (no.4), there is a diversity of people coming from different social, cultural, economic backgrounds. Indeed, the profiles of the users that were noticed in those two parks were diverse (sample based on the interviews is given in fig. 20). However, in the case of Trafalgar square gardens (no.3) and JCP John Cass park (no.5), the profile of the users is similar. In particular, in those parks, the users were mostly around 20 years old, students, same ethnicity, having chosen those parks to play football (no.3) or participate in activities organized by the college (no.5). Thus, it seems that in the cases where the background of the people is mixed, the feeling of inclusion is more apparent, whereas in the cases where park-users have the same background, the feeling of discrimination and lack of safety is evident by the other users.



figure 20. based on interviews, diversity in background. scale 1: 5000

In the second part of the objective 3, the aim is to examine whether or not proximity is an issue and what does inclusion mean to the residents. For that reason, two options were given to them to select (see Appendix A, Q16). The difference in the results was substantial with 93% of the people supporting that inclusion can only be achieved if there is a variety of park types, whilst only 7% claimed that is fairer to have parks with the same characteristics, spread all over the community, so that the residents would be given access to equal possibilities. From the interviews it was established that people were advocating for a system of parks where each park would have different characteristics, even if that means that they would have to travel some meters more to reach the one that they prefer depending on their everyday needs. In particular, based on the interviews conducted, they supported:

“Diversity is nice in parks; especially in London. Then you can pick and choose” (comment by an interviewee)

“Different types of parks to cater for different tasks; I don’t mind traveling if there is something interesting to do there” (comment by an interviewee)

“Distance doesn’t matter; equality is not having parks with same characteristics but giving people the freedom to choose” (comment by an interviewee)

“People are lazy; you have to give them a motivation” (comment by an interviewee)

“Unexpected areas into the park make me happy” (comment by an interviewee)

“I would only visit the park close to my house if all the parks were the same” (comment by an interviewee)

On the other hand, the people (7%) that argued that parks should have same characteristics to support equality, were mostly the ones supporting that distance is an issue,

“Distance matters for me; you cannot deny that proximity is not an issue” (comment by an interviewee)

“I only visit the parks that are close to my house” (comment by an interviewee)

or, people that are not interested in visiting green spaces at all.

“I don’t really like green spaces, so for me it would not make any difference” (comment by an interviewee)

In both these cases, proximity matters for different reasons.

It emerges from the survey that people support the park-system approach and that the factor of proximity is not an issue. In the diagram below, it can be seen that majority of the people not only visit parks close to their homes (orange bullets), but also others in the community. However, among these people, a closer look at their choice geographically, showed that in fact some did choose parks closer to them. As such, those answers were not ignored in the analysis.



figure 21.results of obj.3 (preferences on parks). scale 1: 5000

From the survey it was found that 92% of the people argue that they feel welcome in all the parks in the community, even if they are not aware of all of them; most of them did not know where Trafalgar square court (no.3) or Beaumont square gardens (no.2) were located.

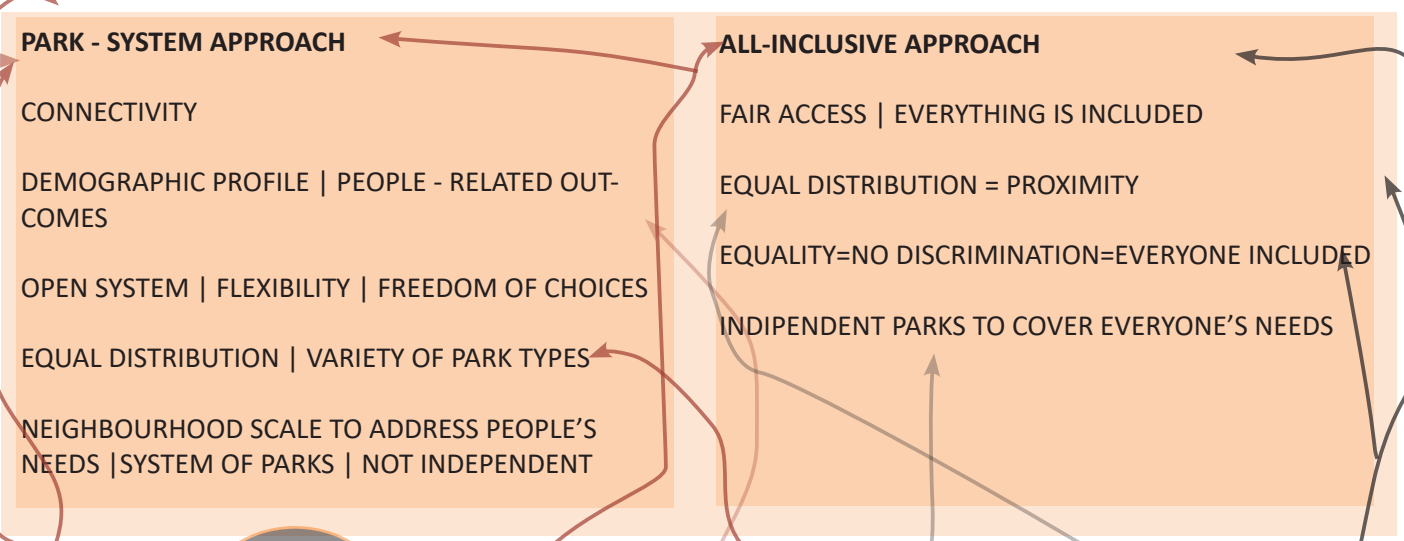
Based on the literature, the park-system approach stresses for a connection among the parks, so as to create a system that can anticipate any social change in the community. The demographic profile is considered, since each city part is consisted by people with different elasticities, habits. What Harvey named as fragmented community structure, find its application to this approach. Diversity is enhanced in this way and it can take any possible form within the system. It gives to the people a variety of options and therefore, the freedom to select any type of park. On the other hand, the all-inclusive approach creates the feeling of a compulsory co-existence; each park has equal characteristics and therefore it attracts mostly the people living around. Thus, a continuous monitor is needed in the second case, since each park should meet the needs of those people. If a park does not work effectively then, it can create issues of inequality. Mainly an unequal distribution will be observed since all the parks have the same characteristics so as to provide fair access to all the people; if one does not work, it is more likely that people would feel that there is an unequal distribution. This can be seen in the case of Trafalgar square court, where mostly people living around complained about feeling excluded from it, whereas the majority of people did not really bother visiting this park, since they have other options to choose from. On the other hand, based on the first approach, the system is claimed to be able to anticipate any change in the balance, since each park supplements each other as part of the system. In that case, the rest of the parks in Ocean Estate neighbourhood are included, where people support that they feel welcome to all, even if they do not visit all of them, since it is their choice not to.

A mutual comment on the objectives 2 and 3 needs to be made as well, since the connection between them is strong. In particular, it is seen that the parks that got more positive feedback by the users in terms of inclusion (objective 2) are the ones that attract a diversity of backgrounds (objective 3). In the parks where there was only one use offered or multiple uses with no prevalent characteristic, the negative comments (objective 2) were mainly connected to issues of discrimination created by the fact that most of the users frequented in those parks in the form of groups with same characteristics and interests (objective 3, see fig. 20)

Furthermore, based on the location theory that Harvey introduces, the equal distribution is important to restore social inequalities. Therefore, the element of location is argued to be a substantial factor and the main reason for designing all-inclusive spaces where everything is welcomed. However, based on the results from the survey and the interviews, it appears that people do not believe that distance is an issue. Indeed, after mapping the location of their homes and the parks that they visit, it is proved that proximity is not an important factor if the park is worth visiting. Thus, the park-system approach is argued to be fairer in the sense of giving to the people the possibility of a variety of options, instead of a variety of parks that all have the same characteristics, as the all-inclusive vision supports.

SUPPORTED BY THE LITERATURE REVIEW

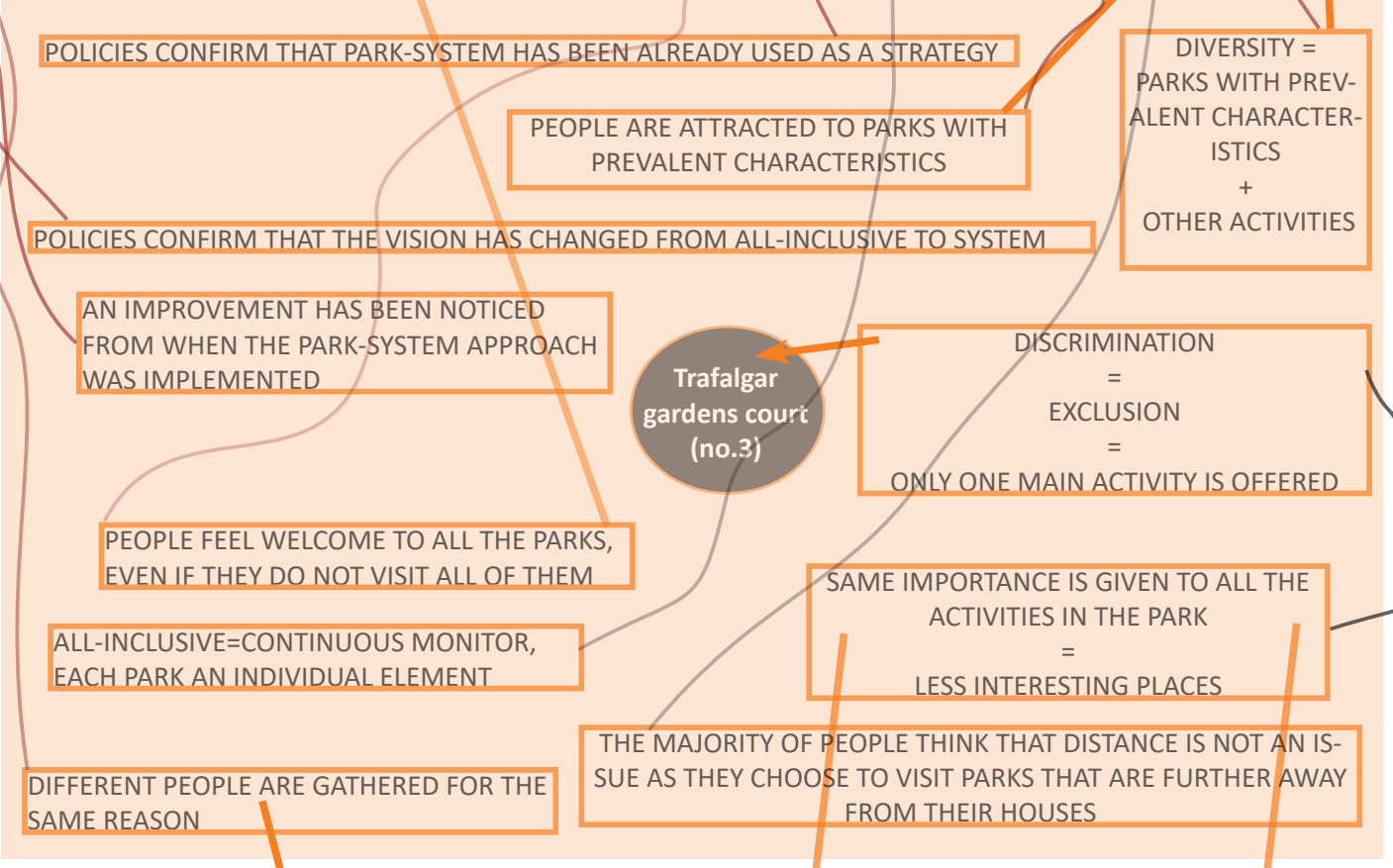
inclusion=succeeded ■



JCP Cass Park (no.3)

Stepney park (no.4)

FINDINDS FROM THE SURVEYS AND INTERVIEWS



Trafalgar gardens court (no.3)

Stepney park (no.4)

Shandy park (no.1)

Beaumont square gardens (no.3)

diagram 22. conclusion

CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the analysis in the previous chapter, an overall assessment will be given to answer the main research question: *Which approach between the all-inclusive and the park-system can efficiently achieve social inclusion in diverse communities in cities around the world?*

Overall, it can be agreed that diverse communities face a greater challenge in achieving social inclusion. The social discrepancies that exist can easily shift the balance and create inequalities in the city system. In this dissertation, those inequalities are explored by choosing social-class as a selected focus group. It is worth noting that the aim was not to categorise people into social-classes through the interviews, but instead to prove that diversity in one's economic, social and cultural background exists and it has a considerable impact on social inclusion in the community parks. For this reason, it is clarified in the final sub-heading in the literature that the social-class exists, but it has a new form and definition based on which the surveys and interviews will be conducted.

Green spaces have always been a highly debated topic when arguing about social equality. In the past, it was privately used only by the privileged, slowly becoming open to the public. Today, nature is seen as the key to rise the quality in the city and its benefits are cherished to the fullest. The green coverage is deficit leading to the assumption that everyone has a fair access to it. Yet, inequalities exist and affect people's preferences on parks and therefore, social inclusion. The focus now is on the communities, where the needs of the people can be analysed and addressed in more detailed. Taking into account the new definition of social-class, green approaches towards those spaces have to be updated to successfully achieve inclusion. The diversity in people's social and cultural background inevitably affects the interaction with the green spaces.

In the literature the debate between the two approaches clearly leans towards the park-system as a more efficient approach to meet people's continuously changing needs in a community. The hypothesis presented in the introduction agrees with the literature and thus, should be revised based on the findings from the surveys and interviews. In summary it was found that:

[DIVERSITY] in people's backgrounds exists. There are cultural and social factors that affect people's preferences on parks. That is, green spaces should be flexible, not over-determined, aiming to accommodate any possible use avoiding attracting specific groups of people that lead to exclusion.

[DIVERSITY] in users' background affect positively people's feelings of inclusion in the green spaces.

[PARK USES] can affect diversity and social inclusion. A variety of types of parks can be positive so as to create motivation to the park-users, but other activities-uses should be also offered in a park. Having only one use offered may create issues of exclusion and discrimination.

[CONNECTIVITY] between parks helps anticipating any social change or even failure of some parks.

[PROXIMITY] is not a substantial issue that should affect any decision on green approaches, but it can be, if there is not a strong motivation given by the parks.

[UNEXPECTED FACTOR] should be also taken into account; this relates mostly to the park-users and the unpredictability that exists in their choices.

To conclude, it can be agreed that the new approach towards green spaces, supported by theory and practice, is closely related to the park-system. The vision is to create a linkage of small scale parks that are tailored based on the demographic profile of the particular borough. Taking all the above arguments and findings into consideration, I conclude that the answer cannot be one-sided. Social inclusion can be achieved more efficiently if both green strategies are combined. Surely, the results lean more towards the park-system approach, where the aspects of connectivity, variety of types, diversity in users' background are supported. However, the element of proximity and the characteristic of including a variety of activities in the parks, are values that the all-inclusive vision stresses. As such, it could be useful to implement the latter in the park-system approach, as the results in the analysis proved the same. Green spaces as any other public good can easily shift the balance and cause failures in the economies of cities, due to their nature. For that reason, a thorough research should be made upon them and their surroundings, since the interactions between them are unquestionable.

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APPENDIX A [SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE]

University College of London Bartlett school of Planning
 Msc in Urban Design and City Planning
 Name of the student: Styliani Kalomoira Kontogianni

Research topic: Social inclusion and green justice in diverse communities in London: The case of Ocean Estate

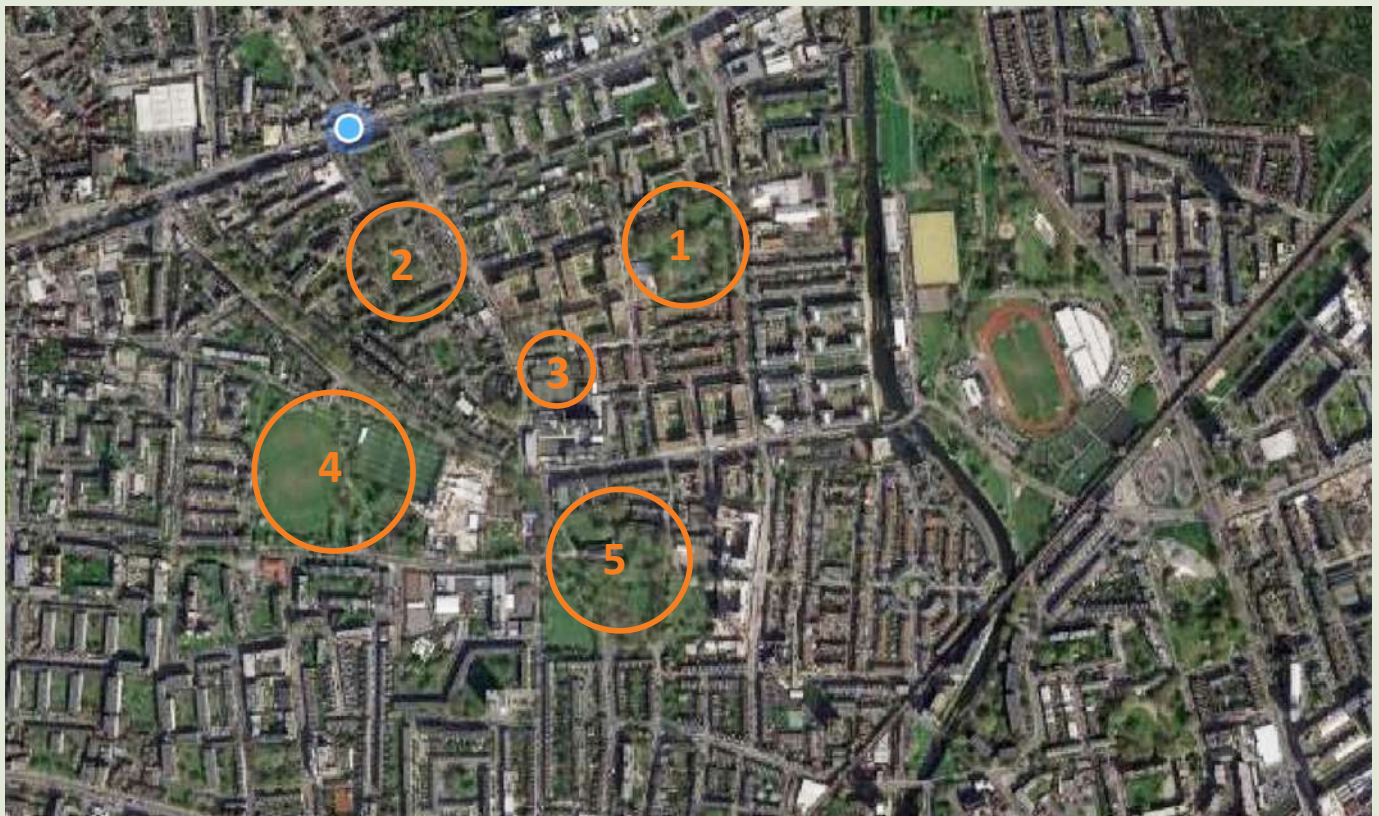
Research question: Which green approach between the all-inclusive and the park-system can efficiently achieve social inclusion in diverse communities in cities around the world?

Date:

Time:

Years of living in the area:

Sample number:



1= Shandy Park 2= Beaumont Square Gardens 3= Trafalgar Gardens Court 4= Stepney Green Park
 5= JCP John Cass Park

Q1. Please specify your current location (mark A) on the map and your home location approximately (mark B).

Q2. What is your age group?

Under 20 y / 20-30 y / 30-40 y / 40-50 y / 50-60 y / over 60

Q3. Do you identify as:

Male / female / other (specify)

Q4. What is your profession?

Q5. Have you noticed any change in the quality of the green spaces in comparison to the past?

nothing has changed from when I remember(N)/there has been an improvement(I)/there has been a decline(D)

Q6. In a scale 1-10 what is the improvement of the aspects below?Please answer, only if you selected (I) in the Q5.

	IMPROVEMENT(SCALE 1-10, 1=WORSE, 10=BEST)									
PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE PARK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
FACILITIES PROVIDED	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
SOCIAL INCLUSION	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ACCESSIBILITY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PROXIMITY TO HOME	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Q7. From the above selected parks please indicate to the table below the ones you visit.

PARK NUMBER	ONCE A WEEK	1-3 TIMES PER WEEK	4-6 TIMES PER WEEK	ONLY WEEKENDS

Q8. Please indicate the reasons why you choose to visit each park?

PARK NUMBER	REASONS FOR VISITING

Q9. Please indicate below the number of the parks that you have never visited. Justify your answers.

PARK NUMBER	REASONS FOR NOT VISITING

Q10. Please indicate below the number of the parks that you used to visit but no longer do. Justify your answers.

PARK NUMBER	REASONS FOR NO LONGER VISITING

Q11. To your opinion, what is the most successful park in the neighbourhood? Why? Please indicate the number of the park.

MOST SUCCESSFUL – WHY?

Q12. Do you feel welcome in all the green spaces indicated on the map?

Yes / no

Q13. If you chose “no”, select from the reasons below why you feel you are not welcome and indicate on the map (in the first page) in which of the selected green spaces this happens.

- LACK OF FACILITIES
- SAFETY
- DISCRIMINATION
- LACK OF FREE SPACE TO DO ANY ACTIVITY
- ISSUES OF PROXIMITY TO HOME
- OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

Q14. If you chose “no”, does it bother you?

Yes, because I would like to feel comfortable visiting all the green spaces in my area / Not really, because I already have enough options of parks to visit

Q15. Indicate anything that you think is missing from the parks.

PARK NUMBER	WHAT IS MISSING?
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

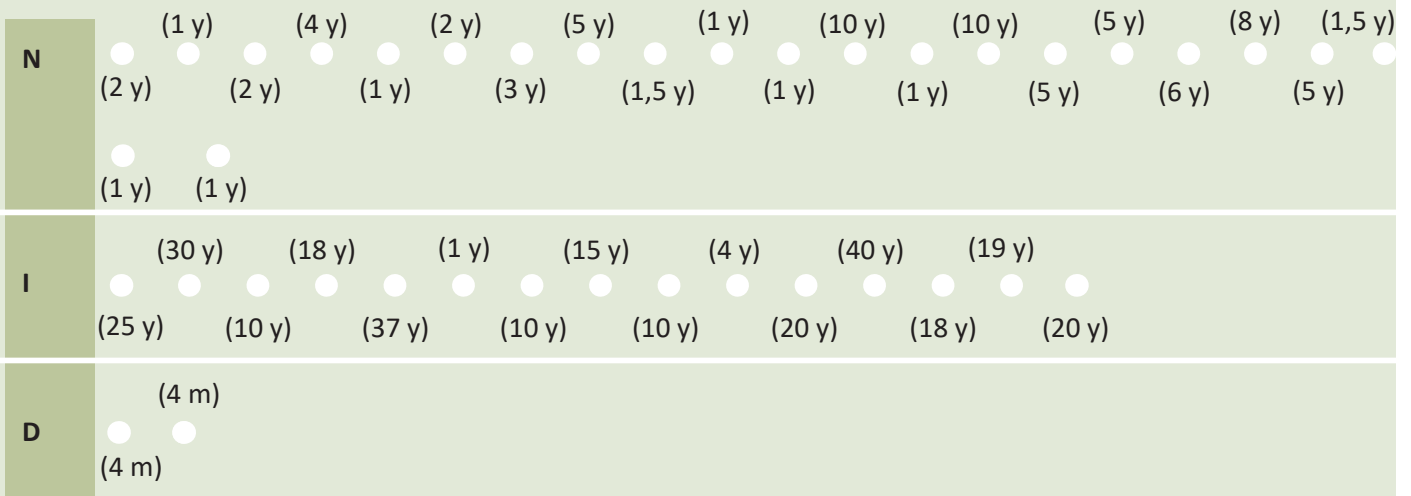
Q16. Which option between the ones presented below do you believe it could achieve social inclusion and make people feel more welcome in the parks in the neighbourhood?

- A. Each community being equipped by a variety of park types with different characteristics, or
- B. Each park having the same characteristics, so everyone in the community would have an equal access to the parks.

OPTION A / OPTION B

OBJECTIVE 1 | METHOD B. Q5, Q6

Q5. Have you noticed any change in the quality of the green spaces in comparison to the past? (y=years of residence)
 nothing has changed from when I remember(N) / there has been an improvement(I) / there has been a decline(D)



IN TOTAL
 N: 22 answers (57%) I: 15 answers (38%) D: 2 answers (5%)

Q6. In a scale 1-10 what is the improvement of the aspects below? Please answer, only if you selected (I) in the Q5.

	IMPROVEMENT(SCALE 1-10, 1=WORSE, 10=BEST)									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE PARK (park design)								8		
FACILITIES PROVIDED							7	8		
SOCIAL INCLUSION							7	8		
ACCESSIBILITY							7	8		
PROXIMITY TO HOME							7	8		
	AVERAGE (of the 15 positive answers)									

APPENDIX B [RESULTS FROM THE SURVEY]

OBJECTIVE 2 | METHOD A. Q7, Q8, Q9, Q10, Q11

PARKS		REASONS FOR VISITING		
1. Shandy park		relax (4) [45%], kids (3) [35%], walking the dog (1) [10%], pass by (1) [10%]		
2. Beaumont Square gardens		play areas for the kids (6) [70%], green spaces (2) [20%], relax (1) [10%]		
3. Trafalgar gardens court		football (4) [100%]		
4. Stepney green park		farm (19) [60%], cafe (6) [19%], events (4) [7%], exercise (2) [7%], picnic (2) [7%], gym classes (2) [7%]		
5. JCP John cass park		activities related to college (5) [100%]		
PARKS		REASONS FOR NOT/ NO LONGER VISITING		
1. Shandy park		"not many things to do" (2), i was not aware of its existence" (4)		
2. Beaumont Square gardens		"i was not aware of its existence" (3)		
3. Trafalgar gardens court		"not interested; there are lots of activities but not for me" (3), "too small" (2), "not enough green spaces" (2)		
4. Stepney green park		"no picnic benches" (2)		
5. JCP John cass park		"no play areas" (3), "not interesting enough" (2)		
MOST SUCCESSFUL				
1. Shandy park	2. Beaumont Square gardens	3. Trafalgar gardens court	4. Stepney green park	5. JCP John cass park
17%	4%	5%	69%	5%
-variety of activities - sports - close to the canal -clean -lots of families -beautiful	-green spaces	-play activities	-open space, play area, farm -better for walking -lots of events -picnic areas -good sporting -sociable areas -central location -more well known in the community -it is big	-close to the college

OBJECTIVE 3 | METHOD B. Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, Q12, Q13, Q14, Q15, Q16

Q12. Do you feel welcome in all the green spaces indicated on the map? + Q13, Q14, Q15

YES 92%

NO 8%

Q16. Which option between the ones presented below do you believe it could achieve social inclusion and make people feel more welcome in the parks in the neighbourhood?

A. Each community being equipped by a variety of park types with different characteristics, or

B. Each park having the same characteristics, so everyone in the community would have an equal access to the parks.

OPTION A 93%

OPTION B 7%

The list of the questions presented below is indicative of the ones asked during the interviews:

RELATED TO Q4, Q5, Q6

SET OF QUESTIONS A

How long have you been living here?

(in case it is more than 20 years): Were you born here? Do you live here with your family? Why did you decide to stay in the same place and not move somewhere else?

(in case it is less than 10 years): Where did you live before? Why did you decide to move here? Was it closer to your work or university?

Do you study? What do you study?

In general, do you have time to visit parks? What kind of responsibilities do you have that prevent you from having some free time in the park? (studies, work, second job etc.)

RELATED TO Q8, Q9, Q10

SET OF QUESTIONS B

As I see from your answers, there are some parks that you visit more than others. Is it because they are situated closer to your home? Or do you select them because most of your friends maybe visit the same park?

Do you often choose a park because a friend of yours may go there or to your opinion the issue of proximity is more important? Do you prefer going to the parks closer to your home?

Do you mostly visit parks alone or with friends?

Is it easy to combine your time schedule and your friends' and find time to go together to the park?

(in case they visit parks mostly with their colleagues): is it easier in this way to combine your time schedules and do things together?

Apart from the park what other interests do you have? Where do you usually go out when you have free time?

How important is it to have close to you parks that welcome you? Would you mind walking more to reach a park that interests you or would you only choose to visit the one that is closer to you?

RELATED TO Q11, Q12, Q13, Q14

SET OF QUESTIONS C

What matters to you the most in order to feel welcome to a park?

In case that you don't feel welcome in some parks, does this bothers you? Or it does not affect you negatively because you have other choices of parks?

Do you think it would be fair that you feel welcome to any park even if you do not have the intention to visit all of them?

What do you think it is fairer? To design parks that all have the same characteristics (option b) so that everyone can have equal access to same possibilities or to design parks that each has different characteristics (option a)? In which case do you think that social inclusion is achieved more efficiently?

option a: it has to be clarified that in this case people may visit a different park everyday depending on their everyday needs and mood. Therefore, the proximity from home may vary each time; would that be an issue?

option b: it has to be clarified that in this case people may mostly visit the parks closer to their home; since they all have the same characteristics, there is not enough motivation for them to visit the other parks. What do you think would be the risk in that case? Even this seems to be a fairer system, do you think that it can achieve inclusion?

What fair - equality means to you?