



Concordia Discors.

Understanding Conflict and Integration Outcomes of Inter-group Relations and Integration Policies in Selected Neighbourhoods of Five European Cities

London Background Report

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Preface

The expression “Concordia Discors” comes from one of Latin poet Horace’s epistles and has become paradigmatic of a dynamic state of “discordant harmony”. A fundamental assumption of this project is that integration is a dynamic achievement and it is not a rigid state nor the conceptual opposite of conflict. It is thus necessary to face, thematize and analyze the inter-group tensions inevitably associated with integration processes, as a precondition to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively.

Another assumption inspires this project: for all the differences in the ways in which integration issues emerge and are framed around the EU, an undisputable common feature is the decisive importance of cities, both in symbolical and in practical terms, as concrete contexts where integration “succeeds” or “fails”. This decisive role is generally not played by cities as indistinct wholes, but rather by specific neighbourhoods within each city which constitute high-visibility testing grounds for integration.

Given these two assumptions, Concordia Discors intends to investigate intergroup relations at neighbourhood level, with the aim of producing a deep, strongly empirically-based and directly policy relevant understanding of integration and conflict processes in European cities’ neighbourhoods.

Intergroup relations are viewed as the complex result of the interaction of three fundamental levels:

- Urban and social context and everyday experience of diversity in the neighbourhood.
- Public policies displaying their effects at neighbourhood level, including political and electoral communication strategies.
- Media information and representation flows concerning the neighbourhood level.

The abovementioned dynamics are investigated through two levels of comparison: i) between different neighbourhoods within the same city; ii) between neighbourhoods located in different cities and countries. We define neighbourhood as any small residential district irrespective of the degree of social integration (Dictionary of Human Geography 2000), whose identity is recognisable by city residents, whereas having an autonomous administrative relevance as such would not be an essential requisite. Within each city the two target quarters must both have a relevant percentage of foreign residents, but should be distinguished by different intergroup relations, i.e. one quarter characterised by a high level of tensions and the other by a lack or non explicit conflict. In this ways, we aim at investigating different modes of intergroup relations that go from conflict to cooperation including intermediate patterns of interactions, seen as developmental dynamics of integration processes.

The project involves five European cities, each of which is investigated by a research partner: Torino by FIERI, Nuremberg by efms of the University of Bamberg, Barcelona by the Migration Research Group of Autonomous University of Barcelona, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford and Budapest by TARKI. A sixth partner, EPC, is in charge to support the dissemination and favour the networking with decision-makers and civil society organizations at EU level.

This first city report is aimed at reconstructing the urban and social context of target quarters and beginning to provide some general elements concerning the conflicting and cooperative dynamics developed in each area. These aspects will be deepened through the ethnographic fieldwork and illustrated in the final city report.

1. Contextualising the context: London and Southwark

Among the cities in this project, London is unique in many ways, its present day situation shaped by the transition from imperial capital to global city (Sassen, 2005; Eade, 2000). Its key characteristic is its enormous, fluid, and inter-connected diversity – by economic sector, by the socio-economic, ethnic and religious make up of its population, and by area. Administratively, London as a region within England, is made up of 32 local authorities, called ‘boroughs’, loosely fitting into the categories of either ‘inner’ or ‘outer’ London; 12 of the boroughs, plus the City of London, are in Inner London, the remainder in Outer London (see Figure 1.1). In 2009-2010, the population of London was estimated to be 7,747,446, with 3,085,396 in Inner London and 4,662,050 in Outer London.¹

Fig. 1.1 Boroughs in London



Source: <http://www.londononline.co.uk/boroughs/>

¹ Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010. Hereafter all references to the APS are to original analyses from dataset SN 6657, obtained by special licence from the UK Data Archive.

Southwark is an inner London borough (see highlighted in Figure 1.1), with a population estimated to be 286,802 in 2009-2010.² It lies across the river Thames from the City of London (which is the capital's ancient heart and now financial centre). Historically, Southwark was a different city from London until the massive expansion of the capital in the nineteenth century fully absorbed it.

Southwark is divided into eight 'community council areas' with populations of around 30-40,000 (see Figure 1.2). Community Councils are part of Southwark Borough Council's decision making process and are a forum for consultation with local people and discussion on local matters. Each community council area is made up of two or three electoral wards (making up 21 wards in total in Southwark); each ward has three elected Councillors who represent the local population and are responsible for agreeing Southwark Council's policies, service levels and how the council's money is spent. The Councillors sit on the community councils and some decisions are taken at this level, including traffic management, community safety, planning applications, environmental improvements, and appointment of primary school governors.³

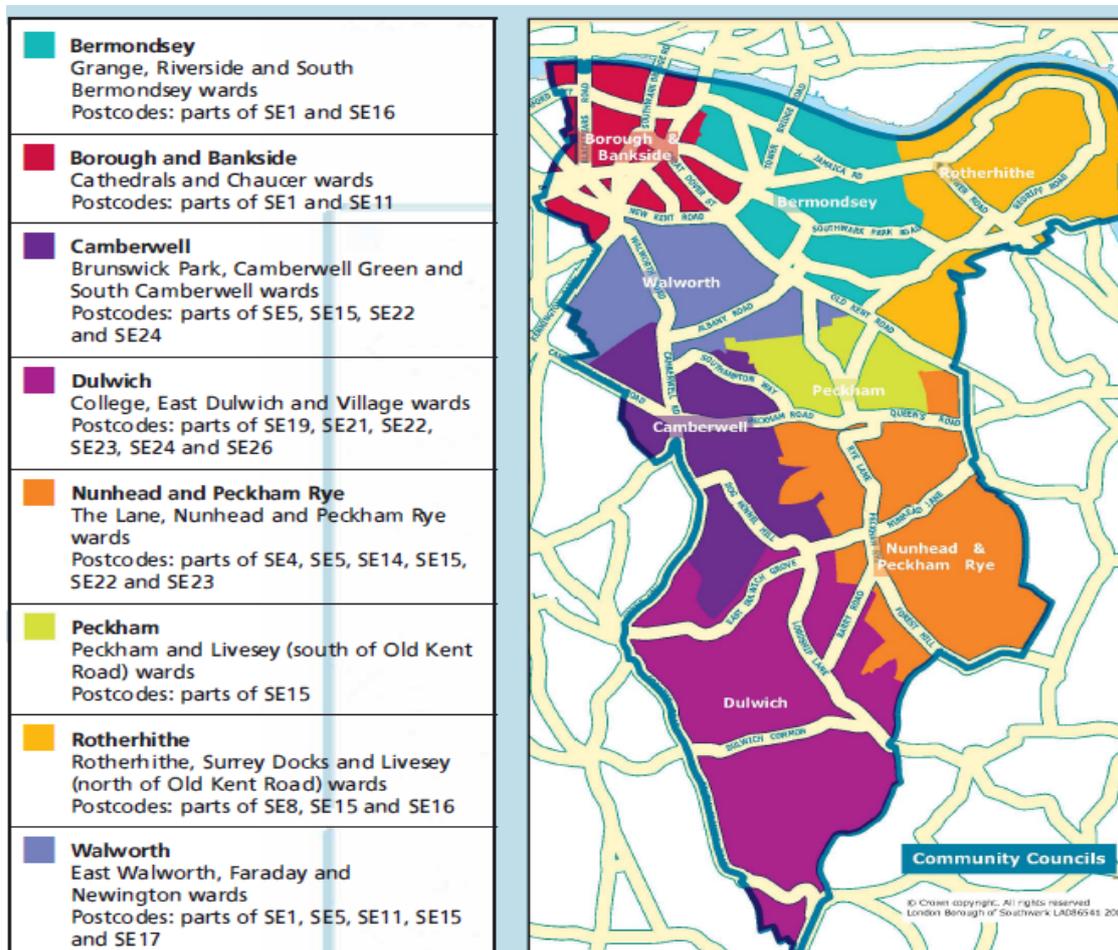
Given the several different layers of area that apply to our case study – i.e. London Southwark Bermondsey/Camberwell community council areas (see below) - this first section will present some basic demographic, socio-economic and immigration patterns pertaining to both the city (London) and the borough of interest (Southwark). This information can then be used as a reference point for data on Bermondsey and Camberwell, as well as more detailed and specific data on Southwark, in Sections 2 and 3 of the report. It is important to stress that wards are among the most robust geographic unit for local demographic data. Within wards, limited statistics are available for smaller geographical units: super output areas (SOAs). There are middle and lower layer SOAs with average populations of 7,200 and 1,500 residents respectively.⁴

² Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

³ http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200137/community_councils

⁴ http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/Info.do?page=aboutneighbourhood/geography/superoutput_areas/soa-intro.htm

Fig. 1.2 Community council areas in Southwark



Source: Southwark borough council

http://www.southwark.gov.uk/downloads/download/2362/community_councils_map

1.1 Demographic, industrial and socio-economic patterns

Table 1.1 shows that half the population in London, and slightly less in Southwark, is female, and that the largest proportion – over a third – is in the 25-44 age group. Southwark has an overall younger population compared to the whole of London. In terms of ethnic group composition, Table 1.1 shows that around half of London’s population, and a little over half of Southwark’s population is from minority ethnic groups. The main way in which the ethnic group composition in Southwark differs from that in London as a whole is in the fact that the percentage of Black Africans in Southwark is over double that in the whole of London. There are also a slightly higher proportion of Black Caribbeans in Southwark, and lower proportions of people of South Asian ethnicities (particularly Indian) than in London.

Tab. 1.1 Selected demographic characteristics of the population in London and in Southwark, 2009-2010

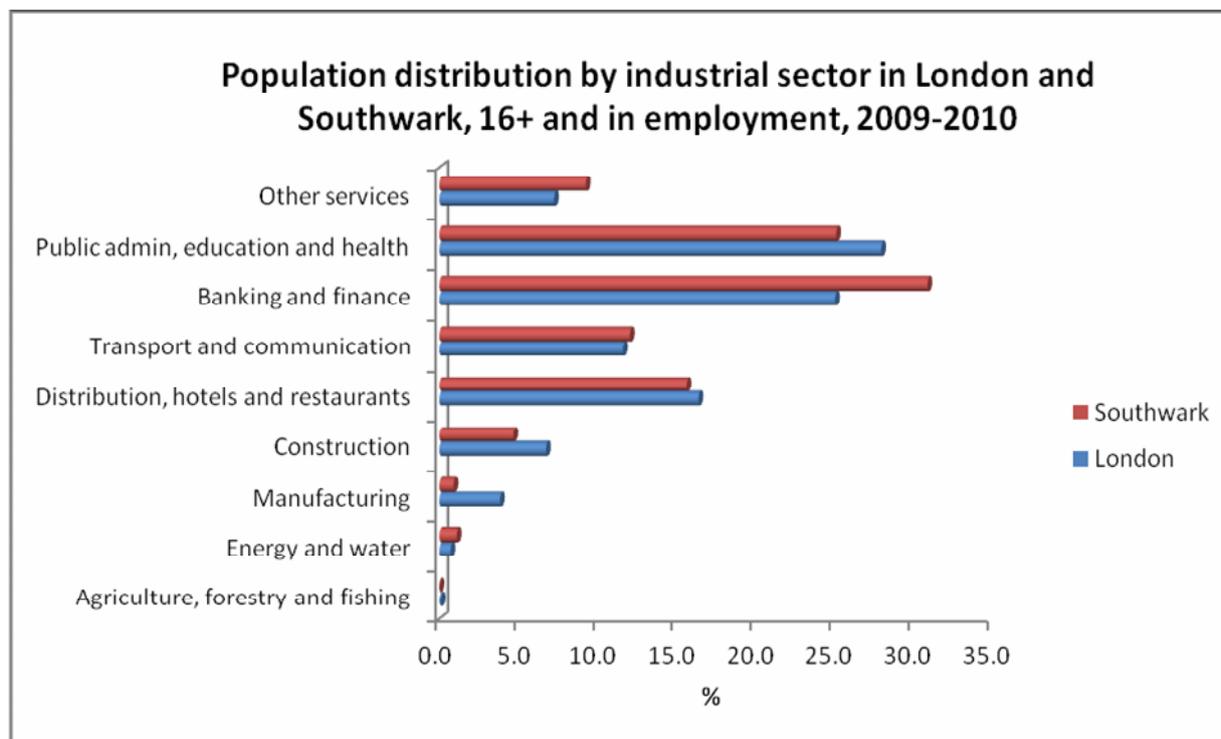
Indicator	London (n=7,747,446)	Southwark (n=286,802)
% female	50.4	48.7
Age group		
%0-15	19.5	18.3
%16-24	11.6	14.7
%25-44	36.1	38.7
%45-64	21.4	19.3
%65+	11.4	9.0
Ethnic group		
%British	50.7	48.4
%Other White	13.0	13.4
%Mixed ¹	3.0	3.6
%Indian	6.6	2.9
%Pakistani	2.2	0.6
%Bangladeshi	2.7	1.3
%Other Asian	3.2	2.1
%Black Caribbean	4.5	6.5
%Black African	6.8	15.5
%Other Black	0.6	0.7
%Chinese	1.1	1.3
%Other	5.7	3.7

¹ Mixed ethnic group includes White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, and Other Mixed.

Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

Southwark's industrial base is dominated by three main sectors, which mirror the top three industrial sectors in London as a whole. These are: Real estate, renting and business activities (around 40% of total business base in Southwark in 2005); Wholesale and retail trade (around 15%); and Other community, social and personal service activities (around 12%). The main growth areas in businesses in Southwark have been in the Health and social work, Education and Real estate sectors (EDAW, 2007).

Fig.1.3



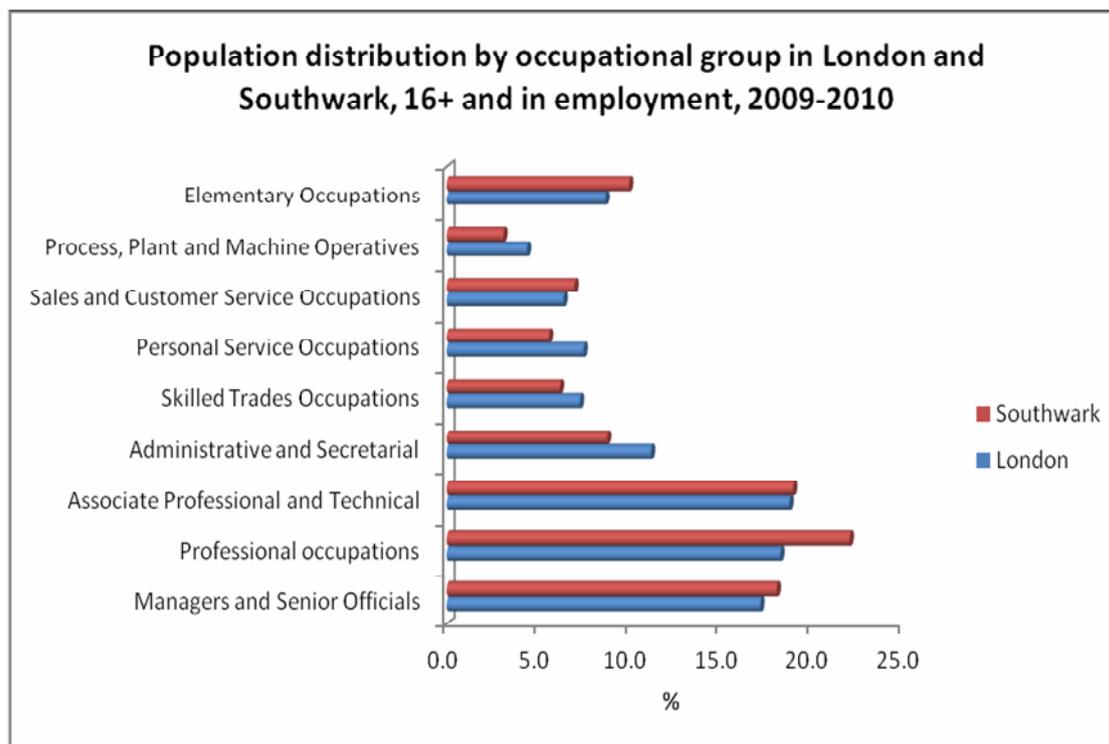
Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

Figure 1.3 shows the industrial distribution of the working population in London and in Southwark. It can be seen that the largest proportions of people living in Southwark, and in London as a whole, are employed in public and private sector service industries, with an emphasis on education, health, finance, tourism and transport. But smaller proportions living in Southwark compared to London as a whole work in manufacturing and in construction.

In Figure 1.4 it can be seen that there is wide variation in occupational levels of the working population distributed across these sectors, in London as a whole and in Southwark. In the city, and in the borough, the working population is to be found at both the highest and the lowest skill levels. Although occupational distribution is skewed towards the upper end, more so among residents in Southwark, than in London as a whole, there is a higher percentage of those in elementary, low skilled jobs in Southwark than in London overall. However, a look at the way the working population is distributed in elementary occupations⁵ across separate London boroughs reveals that there is a smaller percentage living in Southwark (10%) compared to boroughs such as Newham (23.1%) and Barking and Dagenham (15.2%).

⁵ In the standard occupational classification, elementary occupations include jobs requiring low skill levels in all industrial sectors: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_labour/Vol5.pdf

Figure 1.4



Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

Table 1.2 sets out a few other key socio-economic indicators for the population in Southwark in comparison with all London. Unemployment levels are higher for Southwark but the percentage with no qualifications is lower, than in London as a whole. A detailed analysis of educational qualifications also reveals that a higher percentage of those in Southwark (42%) than in all London (34%) had a degree or equivalent qualification. However, a far larger percentage of people in Southwark - just over half of those in the rented housing sector - live in local authority or equivalent public housing than in London as a whole. Only about a quarter of the population in Southwark are home owners in some way, compared with around half of the population in London.

**Tab.1.2 Selected socio-economic indicators among population
in London and in Southwark, 2009-2010**

Indicator	London	Southwark
% Unemployed ¹	4.7	6.3
% with no qualifications	11.7	10.0
% In local authority or equivalent housing, among all in rented accommodation	33.1	51.1
% home owners ²	51.9	25.1

¹ ILO definition of unemployment.

² Owned outright or with loan or mortgage

Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

1.2 Migration patterns in London and Southwark

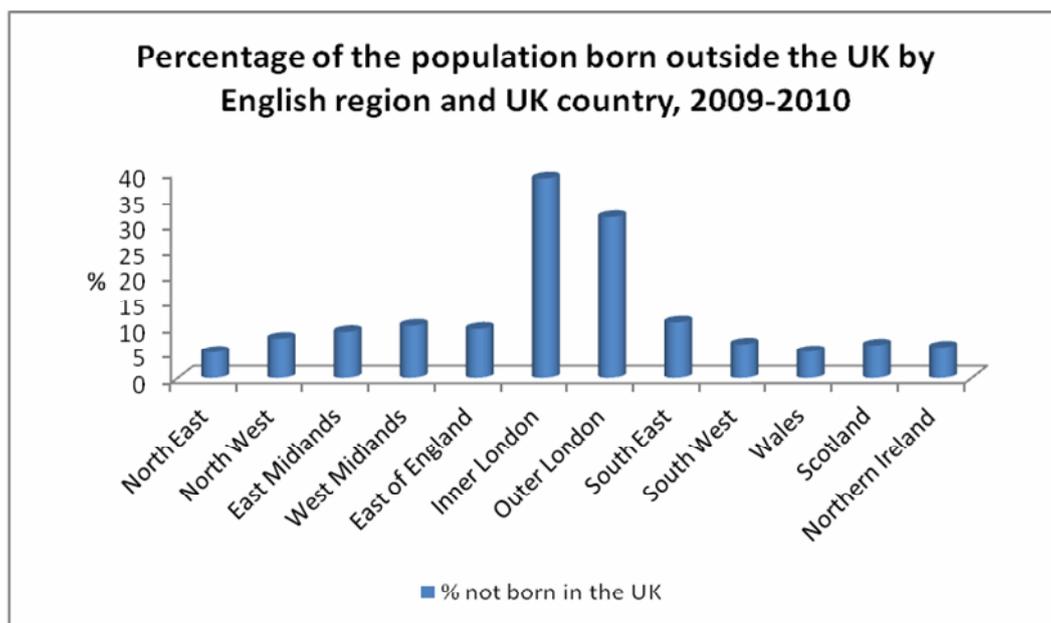
London has always been a city of migrants and a point of arrival to diverse people following the flows of trade and routes of empire that converged on the metropolis. In early modern times, Spanish and Portuguese Jews arriving via the Low Countries, French Huguenot refugees, Irish labour migrants and then Eastern European Jews fleeing persecution all re-shaped the city. They were often threaded into London's division of labour in the small-scale, casualised and often seasonal industries that dominated London's economy, such as the garment trade in the case of the Jews and the riverside industries in the case of the Irish. After World War II, in the period often named for the Empire Windrush ship which brought the first major shipload of citizen-migrants from the West Indies, migration to London was dominated by colonial and postcolonial workers from the Caribbean and South Asia, often working in big public enterprises like London Transport and the National Health Service. From the late 1960s, new migrants were often associated with refugee flows, initially with a connection through the imperial past – East African Asians mainly settling in West London, Bangladeshis in East London, Cypriots in Northeast London – and later increasingly diverse – Vietnamese boat people, Somalis, Francophone Africans. Many of these most visible groups of migrants are concentrated in the most deprived parts of London. But London's migrant division of labour is highly polarised, and there are also highly skilled, wealthy, cosmopolitan migrants in London, especially in the wealthier boroughs in the western half of inner London, but also on the fringes of the financial district including in riverside apartment buildings on both sides of the Thames.

Areas of migrant settlement in the capital have often been structured by the housing market, with earlier labour migrants and later refugees accessing social housing unevenly depending on different municipal policies, and later labour migrants accessing private rented housing in the inner city. The city has seen the successive rise and fall of anti-immigrant violence and xenophobic activism: Jews were the target of violent "anti-alien" and then fascist movements in the 1900s, 1930s and immediately after World War II, especially in East London; there were "race riots" directed against Caribbean migrants in West London in the 1950s; organised fascism and disorganised "Paki-bashing"

was directed at South Asians in the 1970s and 1980s. Far right activism in the 1980s and 1990s was associated with the post-industrial inner city, including Southwark, but in the current century has mainly manifested in the outer city, especially in previously all-white areas seeing small amounts of new migration.

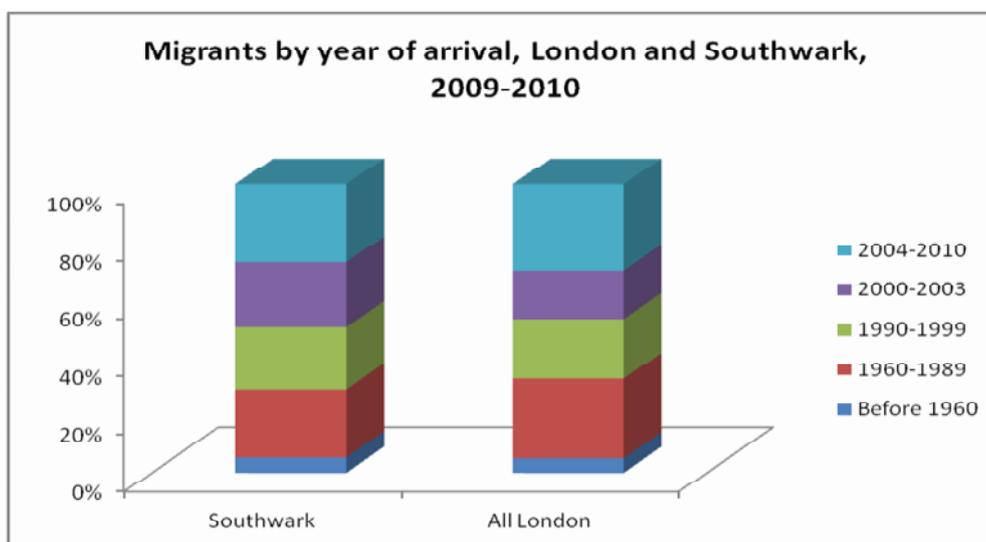
Figure 1.5 shows that among regions in present-day England - and compared also to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland - London, and especially inner London, has the largest proportion of the UK population born overseas – that is, the stock of migrants.

Fig 1.5



Source: Annual Population Survey, July 2009-June 2010

Fig. 1.6



Source: Annual Population Survey, July 2009-June 2010

According to Figure 1.6, a little under half of all migrants in London – this applies to both Inner and Outer London - arrived in the UK between 2000 and 2010, although the largest proportion – around 30% - came from 2004 onwards, reflecting at least in part, the relatively large scale migration of people from EU Accession countries after EU enlargement in May 2004. The temporal pattern of migration in Southwark is broadly in line with the pattern for London as a whole, with nearly 50% of migrants arriving in the last decade, the majority since 2004. However, there is a slight difference in the balance of migration in Southwark compared to London as a whole in that between a fifth and a quarter of migrants in Southwark arrived in the first half of the decade – that is, before accession – compared to less than a fifth in all of London.

Tab. 1.3 Top five countries of birth of selected ethnic groups and all ethnic groups in Southwark, 2009-2010

Black Africans		Black Caribbeans		Other White		All ethnic groups	
UK	45.4%	UK	71.0%	UK	19.5%	UK	68.0%
Nigeria	22.2%	Jamaica	11.8%	Ireland	11.3%	Nigeria	3.6%
Somalia	9.6%	St Lucia	5.2%	Italy	7.2%	Ireland	1.9%
Ghana	8.6%	St Vincent & the Grenadines	3.7%	Germany	5.5%	Somalia	1.9%
Sierra Leone	4.2%	Montserrat	3.0%	Ecuador	5.2%	India	1.5%

Source: Annual Population Survey, July 2009-June 2010

Table 1.3 shows the most common countries of birth of people within the largest ethnic minority groups in Southwark – Black African, Black Caribbean, Other White (see Table 1.1 above) – alongside countries of birth of all people in Southwark. The vast majority of Black Caribbeans are UK born, reflecting the long time period since the beginning of their large scale migration to the UK as a category. Although the large scale migration of Black Africans is more recent, the birthplace of nearly half the population is the UK. A diversity of African countries is also represented, although the largest proportion – just over a fifth of Black Africans in the borough – have arrived from Nigeria. This is congruent with Nigeria being the most common country of birth in all of Southwark after the UK. Country of birth diversity is even greater among the ‘Other White’ category, given also that only around a fifth was born in the UK. The significant presence of people of Irish origin in Southwark, going back several generations, is evident in the continuation of their migration to the borough. The Irish together with people from other Western European countries dominate the stock of non-British White migrants in Southwark. In London as a whole, a similar proportion of the total population as in Southwark (66%) is born in the UK, although India and Poland, followed by Ireland, are the most popular countries of birth after that.⁶

Tab. 1.4 Top five countries of birth of recent migrants* in selected ethnic groups and all ethnic groups in Southwark, 2009-2010

Black Africans		Black Caribbeans		Other White		All ethnic groups	
Somalia	35.6%	Trinidad & Tobago	100%	Denmark	10.4%	Somalia	10.1%
Nigeria	17.4%	-	-	Bulgaria	10.2%	India	7.5%
Zimbabwe	13.4%	-	-	Ireland	8.6%	China	6.2%
Ethiopia	7.5%	-	-	Poland	8.6%	Italy	5.6%
Ghana	7.4%	-	-	Italy	8.0%	Denmark	4.0%

*Arrived in the UK from 2000 onwards.

Source: Annual Population Survey, July 2009-June 2010

Among recent migrants (Table 1.4) the most common countries of birth in the Other White category include the Accession countries, but the more traditional European sending countries still have a significant presence among Other Whites, as well as in the borough overall (i.e. Italy, Denmark). Table 1.4 also shows the importance of refugee sending countries, especially in Africa – Somalia, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe – in making up the recent migrant population in Southwark, although it is important not to under-estimate the importance also of migrants from the former British colonies, Nigeria and Ghana, who possibly migrated for work, family or educational reasons. Finally, it can be seen from Table 1.4 that migration to Southwark from the Caribbean has all but ended; and that India and China are among the most important sending countries currently.

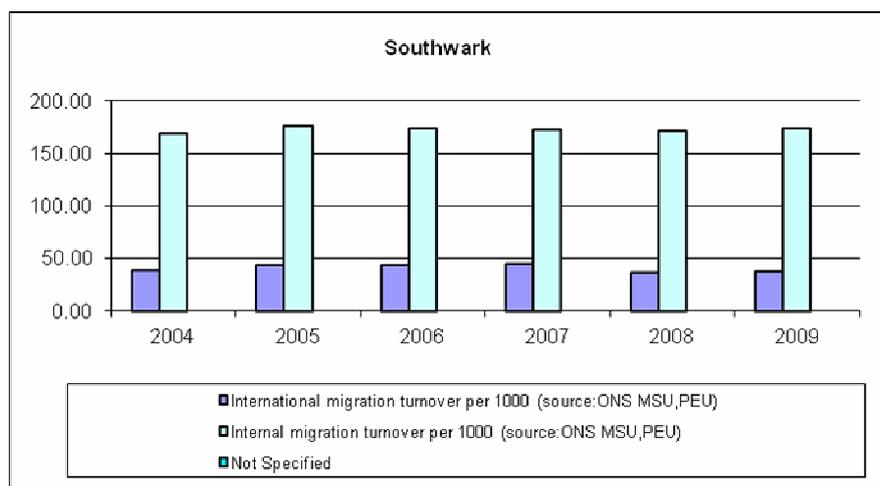
⁶ Annual Population Survey, July 2009-June 2010

If nationalities rather than countries of birth are considered, over three quarters of the population in Southwark (77.3%) has British nationality, almost as much as in London as a whole (78.6%). This shows that a significant proportion of people born outside the UK are in fact British citizens. The top nationalities after that largely mirror the top countries of birth, in Southwark (Nigerian and Irish) as in London (Polish and Indian). Among recent migrants in Southwark, only 14% are British citizens, similar to the proportion in London as a whole (13.5%).⁷

In Southwark, 63.8% of the population state their religion as Christian. This is a higher proportion than in London as a whole (58.2%), and likely to be linked with the relatively large Black African population (see Table 1.1) and the presence of African churches (see below, on Camberwell). The proportion of those of Muslim faith is lower in Southwark (8.7%) than in London (12.2%).⁸

Figure 1.7 shows the internal and international population turnover (churn)⁹ in Southwark over the period 2004 -2009. It can be seen that internal population churn at borough level (including both migrants and people born in the UK) is high, relative to international population churn (that is, those coming in from abroad, and leaving the UK, for at least 12 months), even during this time period of large international migration in-flows (see above).

Fig. 1.7 Internal and international population turnover, Southwark, 2004-2009



Source: ONS local area migration indicators <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/product.asp?vlnk=15239>

⁷ Annual Population Survey, July 2009-June 2010

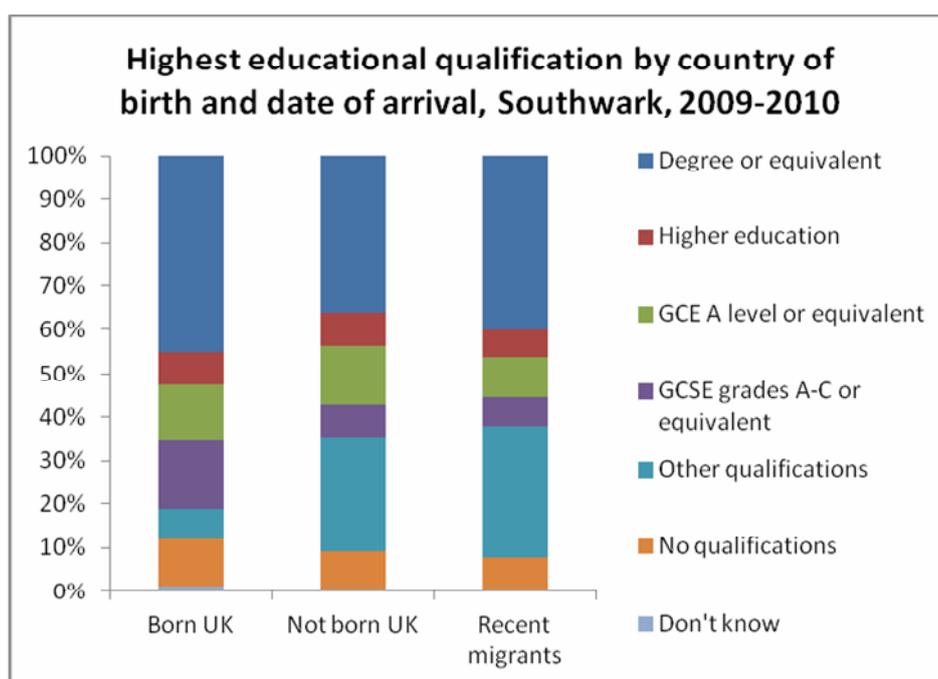
⁸ Annual Population Survey, July 2009-June 2010

⁹ The turnover rate is calculated by ONS as the sum of in and out migration per one thousand resident population in the time period covered.

1.3 Socio-economic indicators for migrants in Southwark

It was reported earlier that more people in Southwark in general have higher qualifications compared to all of London's population. Figure 1.8 shows that migrants, and particularly recent migrants, fare well relative to the UK born population in Southwark, with over two fifths in both categories having higher educational qualifications. They also compare well with the migrant populations in London as a whole: a little over a third of non-UK born people in general, and recent migrants in particular, in London have higher educational qualifications.¹⁰ The relatively large proportions in Southwark (as in London overall) of both non-UK born people and recent migrants with 'other' qualifications suggest that proportions of migrants with high qualification levels might even be greater.

Fig. 1.8



Recent migrants defined as those arriving from 2000 onwards.

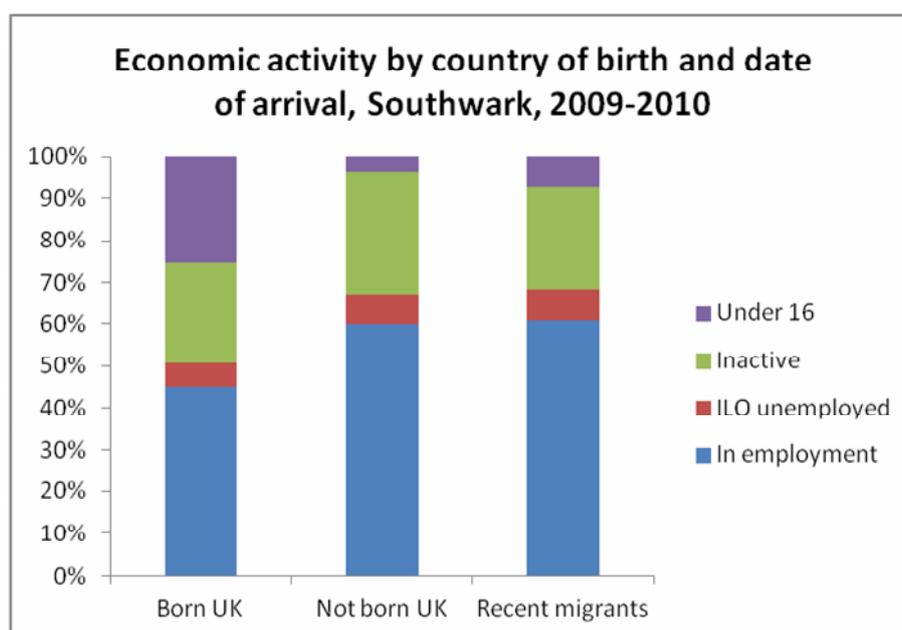
Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

Table 1.2 above showed that unemployment levels were higher among the population in Southwark compared to London as a whole. Figure 1.9 shows that within Southwark, unemployment levels are higher for migrants, particularly recent migrants. At the same time, Figure 1.9 shows that *employment* levels are also higher for migrants, again particularly for recent migrants. This is most probably explained by the fact that many migrants living in Southwark, and especially more recent arrivals, are economic migrants, who have come to the UK to work. A similar pattern for employment and unemployment according to country of birth and period of arrival in the UK is apparent in London as a

¹⁰ Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

whole.¹¹ Figure 1.9 also shows that economic inactivity is greater among the entire non-UK born population in Southwark than either among those born in the UK or recent migrants. This could be because the more recent migrant waves, particularly those from EU Accession countries, involved more labour migrants, whereas there were more family migrants, including women with young children, in earlier waves making up a substantial part of the non-UK born population.

Fig. 1.9



Recent migrants defined as those arriving from 2000 onwards.

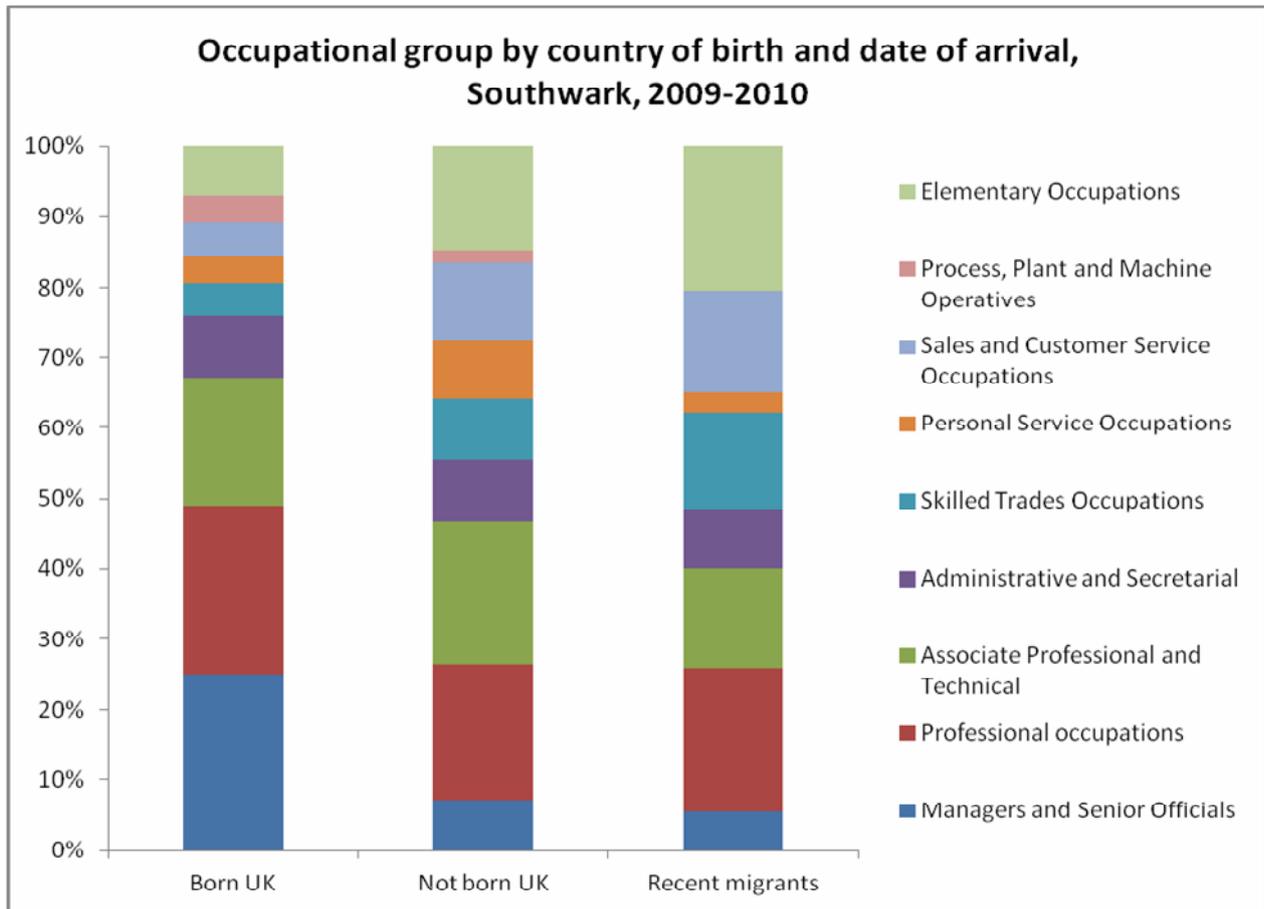
Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

Figure 1.10 shows that the distribution across occupational levels in Southwark for non-UK born people in general and for recent migrants in particular is more polarised at the higher and lower skill levels than for the UK born population. Nearly half of UK born people are in managerial and professional occupations compared to a quarter of recent migrants and just over a quarter of non-UK born people in general. Most of the difference between migrants and UK born people in the higher level occupations is accounted for by very small proportions of managers and senior officials among the former. Migrants are also as twice as likely, and recent migrants are nearly three times as likely, as UK born people in Southwark, to be in elementary occupations. In London overall, migrants are between twice and three times likely, and recent migrants between three times and four times as likely, as UK born workers to be in elementary occupations. However, in London, the gap between

¹¹ Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

percentages of migrants and UK born workers in managerial and professional occupations, is less than in Southwark.¹²

Fig. 1.10

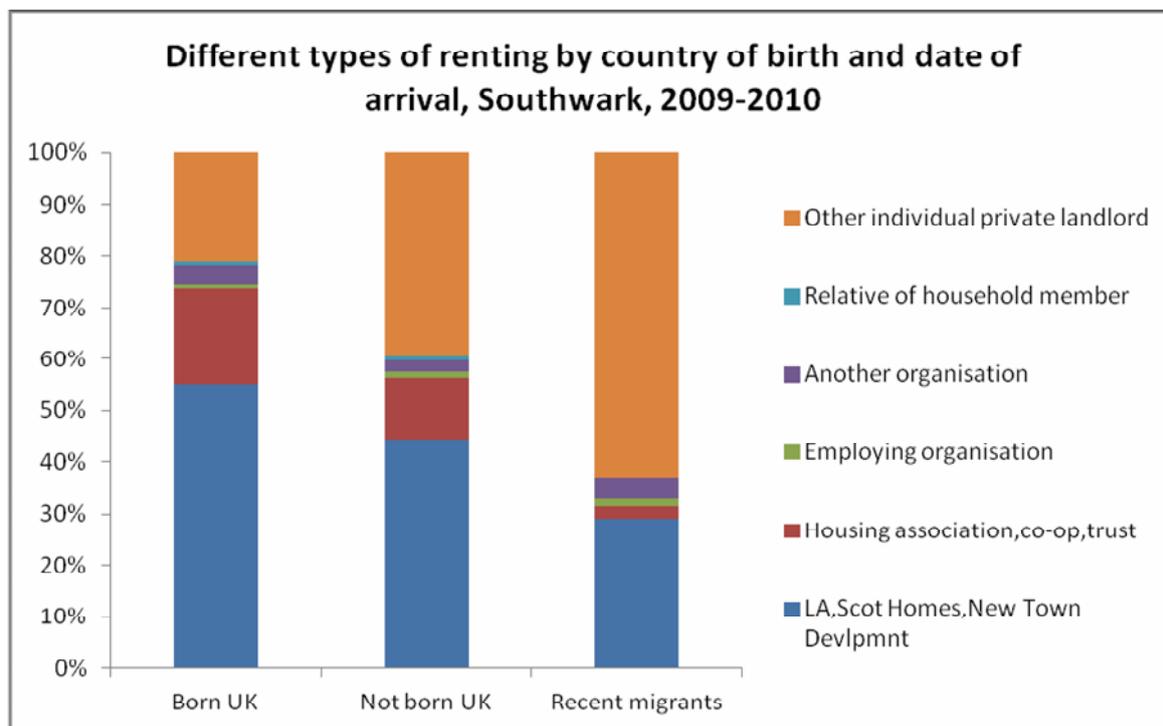


Recent migrants defined as those arriving from 2000 onwards.

Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

¹² Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

Fig. 1.11



Recent migrants defined as those arriving from 2000 onwards.

Source: Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

Figure 1.11 looks at different ways in which housing is rented among the population in Southwark. It was shown in Table 1.2 earlier that overall more people in Southwark are in local authority (social) housing compared to all London. It appears from Figure 1.11 that it is among people born in the UK that social housing is predominant. Perhaps predictably, recent migrants are the least likely to be in social housing but are far more likely than either migrants in general or people born in the UK to be in privately rented housing. It is also interesting that among recent migrants surveyed none are living with relatives. In London as a whole recent migrants are even less likely than those in Southwark to live in local authority housing – 15% compared to 29% among recent migrants in all rented housing – although as stated above, renting social housing is at a lower level in London generally, including among UK born people. Also, private renting is at a higher level among migrants, and particularly recent migrants, in London overall compared to Southwark.¹³

¹³ Annual Population Survey July 2009-June 2010

2 Quarter 1: Bermondsey

2.1 Quarter as urban context

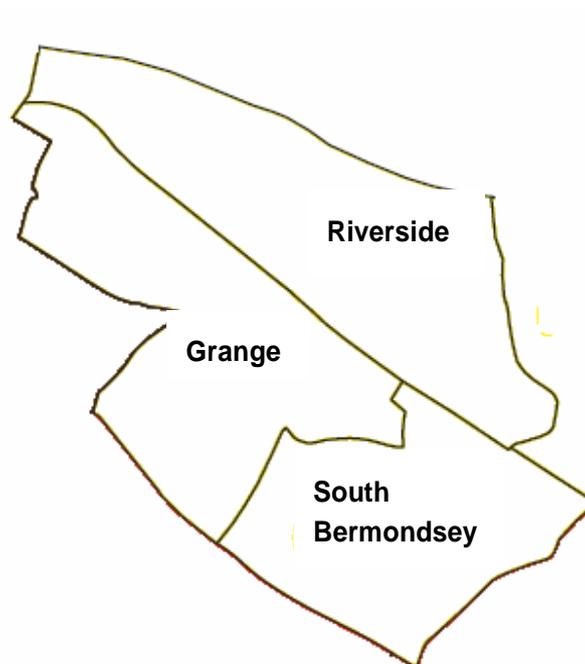
2.1.1 Impact of history and present day institutional landscape

Bermondsey is located in the central part of the northern end of Southwark borough, with the river Thames as its northern border, and extending eastwards towards Rotherhithe with which its industrial history is closely linked (see Figure 1.2 in Section 1). Previously known as the 'larder of London', Bermondsey's present day socio-economic landscape has its basis in the 19th and early 20th century development of the riverside docks, and industries associated with it such as food processing – e.g. biscuits, jams, confectionary – in which many Bermondsey women worked, while many men were employed as casual labourers on the dockside (Evans, 2007). Despite thriving industries in the area, the working and living conditions of most people were extremely poor, so much so that Bermondsey was known as 'the black patch of London'¹⁴ in the early 20th century (de la Mare, 2008). As a result the area attracted considerable philanthropic social action that led to innovative schemes in housing, education and health.

In the inter-war period and after the second world war, the worst of the privately rented housing immediately south of the river was demolished to make way for several local government-funded blocks of flats making up social housing estates. In spite of all this however, and associated with the post-second world war closure of the docks, parts of present day Bermondsey remain some of the most socio-economically deprived areas of London, juxtaposed with and in contrast to other parts of Bermondsey along the river that have seen up-market housing and commercial development. In the 2007 Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), the three wards making up Bermondsey – South Bermondsey, Grange and Riverside (see Figure 2.1) – were respectively ranked as the 8th, 12th, and 17th most deprived ward within Southwark, demonstrating significant differences in socio-economic context even between the three adjacent areas (Southwark Analytical Hub, 2008).

Due to Bermondsey's proximity to central London and to the London Bridge Railway Station, a number of major transport routes, both rail and road, cut through the area, linking central London to outer London and the counties of Kent and Surrey. These railways and roads slice up Bermondsey, making short journeys between housing estates or to nearby commercial hubs difficult.

¹⁴ The phrase is attributed to Mary Macarthur, organiser of the National Federation of Women Workers (de la Mare, 2008)

Fig.2.1 Location of wards in Bermondsey

Source: http://www.southwark.gov.uk/downloads/download/2184/councillor_poster

In line with the distinction between closed and open urban systems, as conceptualised by Sandra Wallman, Bermondsey can be categorised as closed, with a very strong distinction between insiders and outsiders¹⁵. Bermondsey has historically been characterised by close-knit social networks among - predominantly White, working class - people that impacted on access to employment and housing. In her ethnographical research in present-day Bermondsey, Gillian Evans describes the way belonging and identity as ‘a Bermondsey person’ are clearly defined by geographical territorial boundaries (for instance, distinguished from people in other Southwark Community Council areas such as Peckham to the south and Walworth to the west). But due to changing housing policies in the 1980s, with council housing allocated on the basis of need rather than belonging, local people started moving away from the area¹⁶, and residents from other parts of the borough – including ethnic minorities and immigrants – started moving into the area.

The self-understanding of Bermondsey as a (White working-class) place apart, was challenged even further due to the extension of the Jubilee underground line at the turn of this century. As a result of the dramatically improved links to central London, parts of Bermondsey became an attractive residential area, with relatively affluent middle-class residents moving into the re-developed dockland areas.

¹⁵ Wallman, S. “[Cultural dialogue through \(im\)possible spaces: diversity in the social arena](#)”

¹⁶ Evans 2007, key informant interview #10.

Present day Bermondsey is characterised by historical and artistic landmarks, such as the church of St Mary Magdalen, founded in the 13th century and the oldest building in Bermondsey; the Fashion and Textile Museum created by the designer Zandra Rhodes; and the Design Museum on Butler's Wharf which incorporates industrial design, fashion, graphics and architecture. The Blue market is at the heart of Bermondsey, and is the main shopping street in the South Bermondsey area. As stated earlier housing in the area is dominated by Council – owned or former Council-owned properties much of which are organised as housing estates such as the Dickens estate and the Silwood estate bordering on Rotherhithe. The Southwark Council is undertaking regeneration of the Bermondsey Spa area, which involves demolition of some 1950s housing estates, and the creation of affordable housing, NHS health care facilities, green play areas, and shops, as well as local employment opportunities particularly in construction.¹⁷

In recognition of the need for regeneration in South Bermondsey, the most deprived part of the community council area, the South Bermondsey Partnership was initiated in 2004, with the aim of engaging local residents, service-providers and councillors in the design and development of community projects. These included for example a youth project implemented in cooperation with Millwall Football Club and the renovation of The Blue, the old Bermondsey market.¹⁸

NHS health care provision in the Bermondsey area is organised around Southwark Primary Care Trust (PCT) which is responsible for all primary and community care services and for commissioning hospital services. It works in partnership with Southwark Council in providing social care for the local community. Both primary and secondary schools in the community council areas and wards in Southwark are administered by the Southwark Local Authority, apart from the state funded but independently run Academies (see below) and privately funded Independent schools.

2.1.2 Economic structure

Parts of Bermondsey (particularly Grange and Riverside wards – see Figure 2.1) are among areas within Southwark that have the largest number of businesses: around a tenth (10.6% in 2005) of Southwark's businesses are located in Riverside, a little under a tenth (9.6%) in Grange. In contrast, South Bermondsey has only around 2% of the businesses in the borough. Riverside also has the *largest* businesses (measured by the number of employees) among wards in Southwark: around 34% of businesses employ between 2000 and 5000 people, compared with 12% in Southwark as a whole, and 7% in London. Grange ward is also among wards with the largest businesses in Southwark, with around 17% employing 2000-5000 people (EDAW, 2007).

Table 2.1 shows that Southwark, and within Bermondsey, the wards Grange and Riverside have a greater percentage of technology and knowledge based industries and creative and cultural industries, than in London as a whole.

¹⁷ http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200180/bermondsey_spa/1144/bermondsey_spa_masterplan/1

¹⁸ <http://www.southbermondseypartnership.org.uk/>

Tab. 2.1 Share of selected industry groups in Bermondsey, 2005

Area	Technology and knowledge intensive industries ¹ as % of total businesses	Creative and cultural industries as % of total businesses ²	Tourism industries as % of total businesses ³	Recycling industries as % of total businesses ⁴
Grange	44.58	6.29	7.52	0.00
Riverside	54.85	5.44	7.41	0.24
South Bermondsey	35.38	4.23	8.08	0.00
Southwark	44.89	5.94	7.43	0.04
London	41.51	5.07	7.23	0.04

¹ Includes a variety of manufacturing, computer and related activities, financial intermediation, insurance and pension funding, research and development, education, human health activities.

² Includes advertising, artistic and literary creation and interpretation, entertainment, museum and news agency activities, preservation of historical sites.

³ Includes hotels, restaurants, bars, activities relating to parks, gardens, sports, operation of arts facilities.

⁴ Recycling used as a proxy for green industries.

Source: collated from *Annual Business Inquiry, 2005, reported in EDAW, 2007.*

If distribution of employees within these industries is considered (not in table), within Southwark, the ward Riverside has the highest percentage of employees in technology and knowledge based industries – 68% in 2005 – exceeding the percentages of such employees in both the borough and in London. However, percentages of employees in Bermondsey in the other main sectors (except for recycling in Riverside) are lower than in Southwark and in London. Overall, businesses in Riverside (14.6%) and Grange (9.6%) contain a greater proportion of employees in Southwark than do businesses in South Bermondsey (1.7%). Bermondsey has a similar pattern to most of Southwark in having a little over half of businesses owned by someone of White British ethnicity. Data on self-employment as an indication of entrepreneurial activity shows that highest levels occur in the South of the borough, but within Bermondsey, South Bermondsey has the lowest levels of self-employment (EDAW, 2007). Finally, the employment, and education and skills domains of the IMD shows that parts of Bermondsey, particularly in the South, fall within the more deprived areas in the country.¹⁹

From these patterns it is clear that economic diversity characterises Bermondsey, with greater economic development in the North than in the South. Reports on the Southwark economy point to

¹⁹ The range in the 2010 IMD employment domain ranks for Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in South Bermondsey is 4875 – 22910, compared to 6976 – 17952 in Grange, and 6585 – 32458 in Riverside (where 1 is most deprived), showing that levels of employment deprivation are highest in South Bermondsey. <http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/corporate/statistics/indices2010>

the more dynamic businesses in the North of the borough (including in the northern part of Bermondsey) with stronger links to national and global economies. Further, the higher-skilled employment and entrepreneurial opportunities offered by growth sectors are largely taken up by in-commuters from other parts of London than by people living in the borough. The decline of traditional dockland employment has left an under-utilised local labour force with insufficient skills, that has led to high levels of unemployment in areas such as Bermondsey (see patterns of economic activity in Southwark, above). Thus, the transfer of wealth from economic development to local areas is very limited (EDAW, 2007). Only two thirds of businesses in Southwark were VAT registered in 2005, suggesting that there is a substantial informal economy in the borough, which is associated with deprived local areas such as in Bermondsey. This may include informal paid work such as cleaning and care work, especially by women.

2.2 Quarter as social unit

Tab. 2.2 Selected demographic and socio-economic profiles of wards in Bermondsey, with London as a comparator

Indicators	Grange	Riverside	South Bermondsey	London*
Population (persons, 2009)	14,855	13,548	12,906	7,753,107
% female	47.8	50.0	52.5	51.2
% under age 15	15.1	14.8	20.2	18.8
% age 75+	4.5	3.8	4.4	5.4
Population density (persons per km ²)	12,225	13,032	13,256	4,927
Rate of DWP ¹ working age benefit claimants (01/11/2009)	17	14	21	15.4
Rate of DWP ¹ benefit claimants under 25 (01/11/2009)	15	15	23	14
% dwellings in Council tax bands A or B (2008) ²	46	35	43	17
Female life expectancy (2003-2007)	80	81	80	81.7
Male life expectancy (2003-2007)	77	78	77	77.1

* London data may not be the same as Annual Population Survey data given in Section 1 because of different sources and dates

¹ Department of Work and Pensions

² Dwellings up to the value of £52,000 in England (http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/HomeAndCommunity/YourlocalcouncilandCouncilTax/CouncilTax/DG_10037383).

Source: GLA ward profiles <http://data.london.gov.uk/visualisations/atlas/ward-profiles-2010/atlas.html?indicator=i8&date=2009>. [1] population data from the 2008 based Greater London Authority (GLA) population projections, released in March 2009. <http://data.london.gov.uk/datastore/package/gla-ward-population-projections-2008-round-high>; 2) the benefit rates are calculated using resident working-age population mid-year estimates (from NOMIS) <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk>; 3) Council tax data from Department for Communities and Local Government (CLG). <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/datasetList>. 4) life expectancy data from the London Health Observatory (LHO) ward level dataset <http://www.lho.org.uk/>

Table 2.2 shows some demographic and socio-economic indicators of the populations in each of the three wards that make up Bermondsey. The population patterns depicted here are congruent with the area level patterns described earlier, in that it shows South Bermondsey as being different from the other two wards to an extent, with a larger proportion of children, and women, and a population that is more concentrated and deprived. Table 2.2 also shows how Bermondsey, and South Bermondsey in

particular, is demographically and socio-economically different to an extent from London as a whole, with an overall younger population and a higher percentage of cheaper housing, although life expectancy rates are similar.

2.3 Quarter as migrants' destination

Bermondsey is characterised by ethnic diversity as a result of migration, which has undergone some modification and expansion over the past decade (see Table 2.3 and Figure 2.2 below). We saw that migrants from several African countries, and their UK born children, constitute the largest 'ethnic' group in the official classification in Southwark as a whole at present (see Section 1, Tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 above), followed by the 'Other White' and 'Black Caribbean' categories. It was also shown in Section 1 that the most common countries of birth after UK for the stock of migrants in Southwark including Nigeria, Jamaica, Ireland, have expanded somewhat more recently to include EU Accession countries such as Bulgaria, and also India and China, but continue to reflect the importance of sending countries such as Somalia, and Western European countries such as Italy and Denmark. Table 2.3 shows the distribution of the population within the most relevant ethnic groups for Southwark, in the three wards making up Bermondsey, in the 2001 census. This is the most recent data available for ethnicity at a small area level in the UK. While it is not possible to reliably track recent migration patterns in the different wards, Table 2.3 brings out some of the population differences, suggesting for instance that while the minority ethnic population in all three wards is dominated by the Black African and Other White ethnic categories, there is greater ethnic diversity in South Bermondsey and Grange than in Riverside. Table 2.3 also brings out some of the differences between Bermondsey wards, and Southwark and London as a whole. For instance, Riverside ward has a larger White British population than is found in Southwark or London in total, and overall Bermondsey is not the most significant area of settlement for Black Caribbeans in Southwark, whereas the percentage of Black Africans in Grange ward is similar to that in the entire borough.

Table 2.3 Ethnic group distribution of the population in Bermondsey wards (selected categories), with Southwark and London as comparators, 2001

	Grange	Riverside	South Bermondsey	Southwark ¹	London ¹
White British	56.1%	63.3%	61.2%	52.2%	59.8%
White Irish	4.0%	3.5%	2.7%	3.1%	3.1%
Other White	8.4%	11.4%	6.9%	7.7%	8.3%
Mixed White and Black Caribbean	1.3%	0.8%	1.1%	1.4%	1.0%
Mixed White and Black African	0.8%	0.6%	0.6%	0.8%	0.5%
South Asian ²	3.4%	2.2%	1.8%	3.4%	10.2%
Black Caribbean	3.9%	2.2%	4.5%	8.0%	4.8%
Black African	16.1%	10.6%	14.65%	16.1%	5.3%
Other Black	1.1%	0.8%	1.1%	1.8%	0.8%

¹ Southwark and London data are not the same as Annual Population Survey data given in Section 1 because of different dates and sources.

² The category South Asian combines Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups.

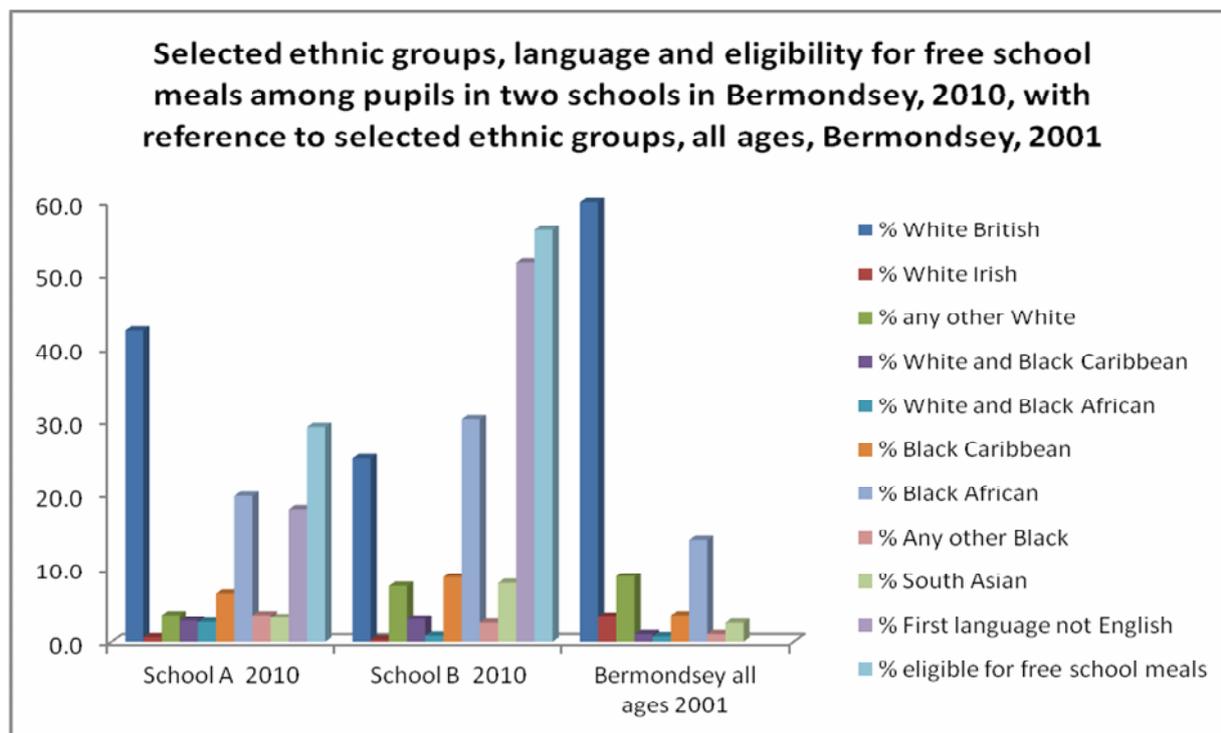
Source: 2001 Census, key statistics. <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/>

Schools in Bermondsey reflect the present day socio-economic and ethnic diversity in the area. Figure 2.2 shows percentages of pupils in different ethnic groups, those whose first language is not English, and those eligible for free school meals²⁰, in two large state funded academies.²¹ It can be seen that the two schools represent different local demographics in their intake, with School B representing far larger proportions of the main ethnic minority group in the area – Black Africans – as well as the dominance of languages other than English, and socio-economic deprivation, than School A. Figure 2.2 also gives some idea of the change in the ethnic group composition of Bermondsey over the past ten years. The area has seen a reduction in White British and White Irish residents, while there has been an increase in proportions in most ethnic minority groups, including Black Africans, and among the population of ‘Mixed’ Black and White ethnicity, especially those of school age.

²⁰ This is a commonly used measure of socio-economic disadvantage.

²¹ Academies are publicly funded independent schools, free from local authority and national government control. The two academies in the Bermondsey area depicted here have an in-take of pupils between ages 11 and 18, therefore providing secondary schooling.

Fig. 2.2



Source: Compiled from 2010 School Census, Department of Education

(http://www.education.gov.uk/inyourarea/results/lea_210_wards_1.shtml) and Southwark Analytical Hub (2008)

A snapshot of detailed ethnicities and first language of children aged 4 – 5 attending school in Southwark in 2009-2010 gives further valuable insight into population characteristics in the local areas within Southwark. In Southwark as a whole the largest proportion of children of this age group are White British (21%), followed by Nigerian (11.3%) and Black Caribbean (8.3%). The most common language after English spoken by this cohort of children is Yoruba (spoken in Nigeria, Benin and Togo), followed by Spanish and Bengali. Overall, over 120 languages are spoken by children in primary school reception classes in Southwark in 2010, attesting to the enormous population diversity in the borough. Two children's centres included in this dataset have an intake of children living in the South Bermondsey and Grange wards. Among the children living in each ward, more than 70% are of an ethnicity other than White British, the largest proportion of which are Black or Black British, particularly Nigerian. The most common language after English spoken by the children is Yoruba in South Bermondsey and Igbo, another Nigerian language, in Grange. However, even at this local level, the data brings out the variety of ethnicities that are prevalent, including 'Mixed' ethnic groups, and languages spoken such as Spanish, Russian, Polish, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese.²²

A comparison with ethnic backgrounds of all primary school children in Southwark five years before this (2005), confirms evidence given earlier that the main ethnic groups have not changed over time but that proportions of White British, Black Africans and Black Caribbeans have reduced slightly while

²² Data from the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) for Southwark Children's Centres, 2010, personal communication.

proportions in other ethnic groups – for instance, Other White, Chinese – have increased because of changing migration patterns (Southwark Analytical Hub, 2006).

2.4 Quarter as an arena of inter-group relations

Quantitative evidence on ‘conflict and co-operation’, particularly with a ‘race’ or immigration dimension, and especially at the broad quarter (community council) level is very limited. Therefore, this section pieces together information on some general indicators that may provide an idea of the levels of harmony and disharmony within the local areas studied.

Table 2.4 provides a count of all weapon injuries identified by the London Ambulance Service in the Bermondsey wards over a rolling two year period. The largest number of injuries occurred in South Bermondsey, but as can be seen by the average count across all wards in Southwark, Bermondsey does not represent an area of relatively high levels of recorded weapon injuries. The highest number of such injuries in Southwark occurred in The Lane ward (56) followed by Peckham (54). Both these wards are located in the central part of the borough.

Tab. 2.4 All weapon injuries¹ recorded by the London Ambulance Service by ward, Bermondsey, November 2008-October 2010

Ward in Bermondsey	Number of weapon injuries
Grange	13
Riverside	20
South Bermondsey	27
Southwark average	26

¹ All weapon injuries' include those identified as either knife, gun or 'other' weapon injury.

Source: London Ambulance Service, London Analyst Support Site (LASS), Intelligence Unit, Greater London Authority <http://data.london.gov.uk/datastore/package/ambulance-call-outs-assaults-weapon-injuries>

As brought out in the historical evidence on Bermondsey earlier in this section, and as anecdotal evidence suggests, Bermondsey is known as an area traditionally less hospitable to migrants. According to a recent report, nearly 30% of the minority ethnic population in South Bermondsey see racial harassment as a serious problem (CLG, 2008). Some areas were until recently considered “no go areas” for black people, and in the early part of the decade incidents of racial harassment were reported that led to a number of Somali families having to move away from the area²³. In addition Millwall FC, the local football club, has a reputation for a notoriously racist core of supporters (though ironically, Millwall's player of the year 2011, as chosen by the supporters, is of Malawi origin!).

²³ Key informant interview #18.

Bermondsey has also been used as a venue for right wing, racist and ultra-nationalist manifestations. While the British Fascist Party would march in the area in the 1930s, the British National Party (BNP) staged marches in South Bermondsey in the 1990s and early 2000s, typically on St George's Day, 23rd April. They would often be met by anti-fascist demonstrations (and a handful of local residents singing carols). In the 2002 local election, the National Front (a right wing, White only party) took 3.4% share of the vote in South Bermondsey, but no councillors were elected.²⁴ Although more recently the share of the vote gained by right wing, racist parties has diminished, the BNP certainly has followers in Bermondsey, as evidenced in the 2010 local elections where the BNP share of the vote was around 3.7%, as well as in the 2010 General Election where the BNP held 3.1% of the vote in the Bermondsey and Old Southwark parliamentary constituency.²⁵ In the earlier part of the decade, in the then North Southwark and Bermondsey constituency, the National Front won 1.7% of the vote in 2001, and 1.9% of the vote in 2005.²⁶ But as opposed to other parts of London, where the BNP has experienced successes at local elections over the last five years, no BNP councillor has ever been elected at the local elections in Bermondsey. In the 2008 London Mayoral election, the BNP London Mayoral candidate in Lambeth and Southwark won 1.49% of first preference votes.²⁷

Overall, key informants in Bermondsey broadly agree that inter-group relations had improved over the past decade. This may in part be due to a targeted investment of public funds at quarter level, in particular in South Bermondsey. It was in recognition of these efforts that Southwark borough was awarded beacon status for community cohesion work in 2010²⁸, including a year-long effort to 're-claim' St George's Day and turn the event into a celebration of an inclusive, national identity. But residents and other stakeholders also suggested that relations generally had improved over the past years. This quote from a community worker in South Bermondsey would seem to sum up both the recent history of inter-group relations and the continued challenges:

When I started here [13 years ago], there was a huge amount of racial tension. Then BNP used to march, it was very racist, we had a race-hate-crime project, at Bede [community centre], and there was damage of a racial nature to the centre, you know, swastikas and you know, 'blacks go home'. It used to rise and fall, but at one stage, you know, Monday morning's job was to, you know, wipe the wall again. But now, I think there still is racism, you still come across people with racist attitudes, but it is not as overt. I think on the whole people get on with each other.....Sometimes the attitudes of black British second or third generation towards incoming populations can be quite difficult..... Some of the more able young Black guys that use our service still see themselves as being victims of racism on a regular basis.²⁹

²⁴ <http://moderngov.southwarksites.com/mgElectionAreaResults.aspx?ID=60&RPID=25818>

²⁵ Southwark borough Council [add link]

http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/1000/election_results/1617/general_election_2010

²⁶

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Southwark_and_Bermondsey_\(UK_Parliament_constituency\)#Elections_in_the_2000s](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Southwark_and_Bermondsey_(UK_Parliament_constituency)#Elections_in_the_2000s)

²⁷ http://www.londonelects.org.uk/results/mayoral_lambeth_southwark.html

²⁸ http://casouthwark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/009_Cascade-April-May-LowRes.pdf

²⁹ Key informant interview #3.

3 Quarter 2: Camberwell

3.1 Quarter as urban context

3.1.1 Impact of history and present day institutional landscape

Until the 18th century Camberwell was a village with the parish church of St. Giles as its focal point, and with some houses mainly clustered around Camberwell Green. Camberwell was also renowned for its 'healing well' and spa, which attracted middle class families who built large houses along Denmark Hill in the 19th century. During the 19th century, however, the village became a suburb: 'From a straggling suburban parish of about 4,000 inhabitants, Camberwell has become a congeries of streets, part of the great metropolis itself. Bricks and mortar, and universal stucco, have invaded the place'.³⁰ Perhaps most indicative of the rapid development was the 30-fold population increase in the period 1801-1901 in Camberwell parish (Camberwell, Peckham and Dulwich), due to both the growth of the city of London and the development of public transport, enabling people to work in central London and live at some distance from the centre of the city.

In the present day, Camberwell's landscape is dominated by the intersection of two major urban roads, one running north-south (the A215), the other east-west (A202). These are slow-moving, heavily congested roads which are also the routes of several buses. This means that Camberwell is well-connected, but that the streetscape is less hospitable to pedestrians.

While the southern-most part of Camberwell is dominated by high quality housing, the northern part of Camberwell shares many characteristics with Bermondsey, both in terms of its industrial history and the low standards of local housing. Though located at some distance from the Thames, the construction of the Grand Surrey Canal (1801-1811) served to nourish local industries on the river banks – as well as severe overcrowding, resulting in '...one of the vilest slums in the whole of London'³¹. The housing problems were dealt with from the 1930s onwards, and the closure of the canal in 1960 led to the gradual closure of many local industries and a gradual redevelopment of the area.

Whereas the northern parts of Camberwell thus share certain characteristics with Bermondsey, the quarter as such hold the characteristics of a much more open system, the very fabric of which can be attributed to inflows from different parts of the world. African-Caribbean migrants settled in the northern, poorer parts of Camberwell in the early 1950s since their large scale arrival in Britain. The black community was less concentrated and more scattered than in Brixton, which may have led to the lesser racial tension in the area. More recently, migration has expanded and become more diverse in Camberwell, as in Southwark as a whole, with people arriving from French-speaking African countries, Ghana, Nigeria, Latin American countries, Turkey, Greece, Italy and Poland.

Art and artistic creativity plays a large role in Camberwell historically and in the present. One account says: 'Camberwell is of course awash with artists, you can't chuck a paintbrush without hitting one'.³²

³⁰ Blanch 1875, in Boast (2000), p33.

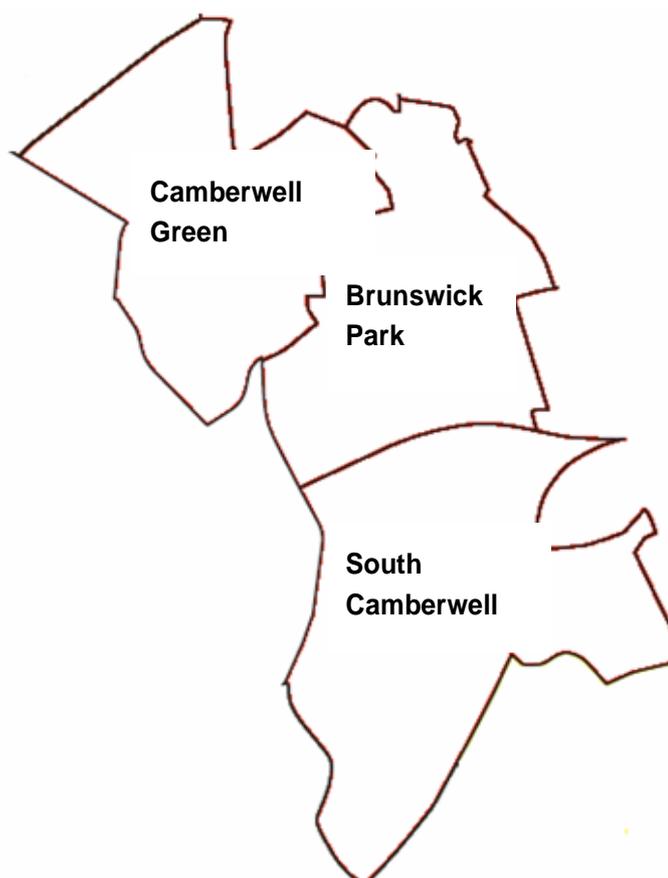
³¹ Booth, in Boast (2000), p38.

³² <http://www.alphabethreat.co.uk/pasttense/camberwell.html>

This is partly accounted for by the existence of the internally renowned Camberwell College of Arts, first opened in the late 19th century, but is also associated with opportunities for organisations, workshops and programmes in the creative arts more broadly in the area.

Altogether, the socio-economic diversity with Camberwell is also reflected in the deprivation figures. Camberwell was in 2007 ranked as the 4th most deprived community council area in Southwark (out of a total 8), with Camberwell Green ranked as the 3rd most deprived ward, Brunswick Park as the 10th and Camberwell South as the 16th (out of a total 21 wards in the borough) – see Figure 3.1. Similar to Bermondsey, there is thus a significant span within the area, though the difference between the most and least deprived ward is higher than in Bermondsey. In addition, the three most severely deprived super output areas in Camberwell – among the 10% most deprived areas in England – are all located in Camberwell Green (Southwark Analytical Hub, 2008). This picture is supported by data from the 2010 IMD employment domain which show that within Camberwell, there is more employment deprivation in Camberwell Green and Brunswick Park areas than in South Camberwell.³³

³³ The range in the employment domain ranks (where 1 is most deprived) for LSOAs in Camberwell Green is 4876–13167 and in Brunswick Park it is 6107–16076, compared to 10279–30943 in South Camberwell. <http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/corporate/statistics/indices2010>

Fig. 3.1 Location of wards in Camberwell

Source: http://www.southwark.gov.uk/downloads/download/2184/councillor_poster

3.1.2 Economic structure

Compared to the northern parts of Bermondsey where around 10% of Southwark's businesses are found (see Section 2.1.2). Camberwell does not have an extensive business base within Southwark. Around 4% of Southwark's businesses is located in Camberwell Green, less (3.2%) in Brunswick Park, and relatively very little (around 2%) in South Camberwell. Camberwell also has relatively small businesses compared to parts of Bermondsey as measured by the number of employees: while the largest proportion of businesses (24%) in Brunswick Park ward employ between 750 and 1000 employees, numbers are less in Camberwell Green and South Camberwell (EDAW, 2007).

Table 3.1 shows that within Camberwell, South Camberwell ward has a proportion of technology and knowledge based industries that is significantly higher than the two other wards. This can be attributed to the location of the King's College and the Maudsley hospitals at the edge of South Camberwell. Overall creative and cultural industries have a larger presence in Camberwell than in Bermondsey (see Section 2, Table 2.1). These patterns are congruent with the institutional landscape of present day Camberwell as described above.

Tab. 3.1 Share of selected industry groups in Camberwell, 2005

Area	Technology and knowledge intensive industries¹ as % of total businesses	Creative and cultural industries as % of total businesses²	Tourism industries as % of total businesses³	Recycling industries as % of total businesses⁴
Brunswick Park	41.88	9.69	9.16	0.00
Camberwell Green	32.54	5.60	7.54	0.22
South Camberwell	50.58	9.73	5.45	0.00
Southwark	44.89	5.94	7.43	0.04
London	41.51	5.07	7.23	0.04

¹ Includes a variety of manufacturing, computer and related activities, financial intermediation, insurance and pension funding, research and development, education, human health activities.

² Includes advertising, artistic and literary creation and interpretation, entertainment, museum and news agency activities, preservation of historical sites.

³ Includes hotels, restaurants, bars, activities relating to parks, gardens, sports, operation of arts facilities.

⁴ Recycling used as a proxy for green industries.

Source: collated from Annual Business Inquiry, 2005, reported in EDAW, 2007.

A look at the distribution of employees in these sectors (not in table) shows that in Brunswick Park, as in Riverside in Bermondsey, over 60% of employees in all businesses are employed in the technology and knowledge intensive industries. South Camberwell's businesses have a higher percentage of employees in tourism industries (just under a tenth) than in the other two wards or in Southwark or London. In all three wards smaller percentages of employees in businesses are to be found in creative and cultural industries than in Southwark or London as a whole, suggesting that these industries are smaller employers in Camberwell than in the borough as a whole or in London (EDAW, 2007). Overall, businesses in Camberwell contain a smaller proportion of employees within all businesses in Southwark, compared to businesses in the northern part of Bermondsey. These patterns are congruent with the evidence of a thriving industrial base in the northern part of Southwark borough bordering the City of London, and with the existence of smaller industries in the middle and West of the borough, where Camberwell is located.

In addition, in particular Camberwell Green is characterised by a plethora of small, ethnically very diverse, usually family-run businesses, in particular within catering, sale of food produce (in particular from West Africa) and manicure (nails).

3.2 Quarter as social unit

Table 3.2 gives some demographic and socio-economic indicators of people living in each of Camberwell's wards compared with London as a whole. Demographically Brunswick Park and Camberwell Green have higher proportions of the population at both ends of the age structure than does South Camberwell, and also have a younger population relative to London as a whole. In Camberwell, as in London, there are more female than male residents. South Camberwell is characterised by less population density than the other two wards, and this pattern sits alongside less deprivation compared to the other wards as well, for instance as seen in proportionally fewer benefit claimants in total and among young people. South Camberwell also has a smaller percentage of housing at the lower end of the housing market especially compared with Camberwell Green. While life expectancy for women is higher in Camberwell than in London as a whole, Table 3.2 shows that overall the population in Camberwell, and particularly in the northern part, has more characteristics of deprivation compared to London. Compared to wards in Bermondsey for which similar data is presented (see Table 2.2 in Section 2.2) there appears to be a similar pattern of socio-economic diversity within Camberwell, in this case between a less deprived South as it extends towards the more affluent southern end of Southwark borough, and a more deprived North.

Tab. 3.2 Selected demographic and socio-economic profiles of wards in Camberwell, with London as a comparator

Indicators	Brunswick Park	Camberwell Green	South Camberwell	London*
Population (persons, 2009)	12,363	13,978	12,337	7,753,107
% female	51.4	51.9	53.1	51.2
% under age 15	23.1	19.9	18.4	18.8
% age 75+	5.0	6.3	3.5	5.4
Population density (persons per km ²)	13,231	14,342	9,266	4,927
Rate of DWP ¹ working age benefit claimants (01/11/2009)	19	21	13	15.4
Rate of DWP ¹ benefit claimants under 25 (01/11/2009)	26	22	12	14
% dwellings in Council tax bands A or B (2008) ²	42	58	41	17
Female life expectancy (2003-2007)	85	82	83	81.7
Male life expectancy (2003-2007)	78	74	77	77.1

* London data may not be the same as APS data given in Section 1 because of different sources and dates.

¹ Department of Work and Pensions

² Dwellings up to the value of £52,000 in England (http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/HomeAndCommunity/YourlocalcouncilandCouncilTax/CouncilTax/DG_10037383).

Source: GLA ward profiles <http://data.london.gov.uk/visualisations/atlas/ward-profiles-2010/atlas.html?indicator=i8&date=2009>. [1] population data from the 2008 based Greater London Authority (GLA) population projections, released in March 2009. <http://data.london.gov.uk/datastore/package/gla-ward-population-projections-2008-round-high>; 2) the benefit rates are calculated using resident working-age population mid-year estimates (from NOMIS) <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk>; 3) Council tax data from Department for Communities and Local Government (CLG). <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/datasetList>. 4) life expectancy data from the London Health Observatory (LHO) ward level dataset <http://www.lho.org.uk/>

3.3 Quarter as migrants' destination

Immigration patterns over the first decades after the second world war, were dominated by settlers from the former Commonwealth countries, in particular Black Caribbeans, though there is also a sizeable, well-established Cypriot population in Camberwell. Over the past decades, the two dominant ethnic minority groups emerging in Camberwell have been Black Africans and Black Caribbeans. This should be seen in relation to the geographical situation of Camberwell between Brixton to the west, with Black Caribbeans as the dominant minority according to the 2001 census,

and to the east Peckham, popularly known as London's West African capital³⁴, dominated by Black Africans. Whereas numbers of Black Africans and Black Caribbeans in Camberwell were evenly balanced in 1991, the Black African increase since then has been much more rapid, as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 brings out ethnic group differences between the three wards making up Camberwell, and the extent to which the ethnic distribution in Camberwell differs from that in London as a whole. As in Bermondsey, the most recent data at this small area level is now ten years old, but viewed in juxtaposition with more recent data from the school census (see below) broad patterns are still valid. In 2001 South Camberwell had a higher percentage of the White British population and a lower percentage of the main ethnic minority category in Southwark, Black Africans, than in the other two wards. Camberwell overall had a slightly lower percentage of both White Irish and Other Whites than in Southwark or London in total. Compared with Bermondsey (see Table 2.3 in Section 2.3), Camberwell had a larger proportion of Black Caribbean population, which is also large relative to Southwark and to London as a whole. Despite ward level differences Camberwell had a larger percentage of ethnic minorities overall than Bermondsey, and this difference between the two quarters may have significance for patterns of inter-group relations at a smaller area level.

Tab. 3.3 Ethnic group distribution of the population in Camberwell wards (selected categories), with Southwark and London as comparators, 2001

	Brunswick Park	Camberwell Green	South Camberwell	Southwark¹	London¹
White British	43.9%	40.4%	51.3%	52.2%	59.8%
White Irish	2.7%	2.9%	2.8%	3.1%	3.1%
Other White	7.2%	6.8%	7.3%	7.7%	8.3%
Mixed White and Black Caribbean	1.6%	1.9%	1.4%	1.4%	1.0%
Mixed White and Black African	1.0%	0.9%	0.9%	0.8%	0.5%
South Asian ²	3.0%	2.9%	3.5%	3.4%	10.2%
Black Caribbean	12.0%	11.6%	11.1%	8.0%	4.8%
Black African	20.2%	24.6%	14.5%	16.1%	5.3%
Other Black	2.9%	2.6%	1.6%	1.8%	0.8%

¹ Southwark and London data are not the same as Annual Population Survey data given in Section 1 because of different dates and sources.

² The category South Asian combines Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups.

Source: 2001 Census, key statistics. <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/>

³⁴ The Guardian, 21st January 2005 (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2005/jan/21/britishidentity4/print>)

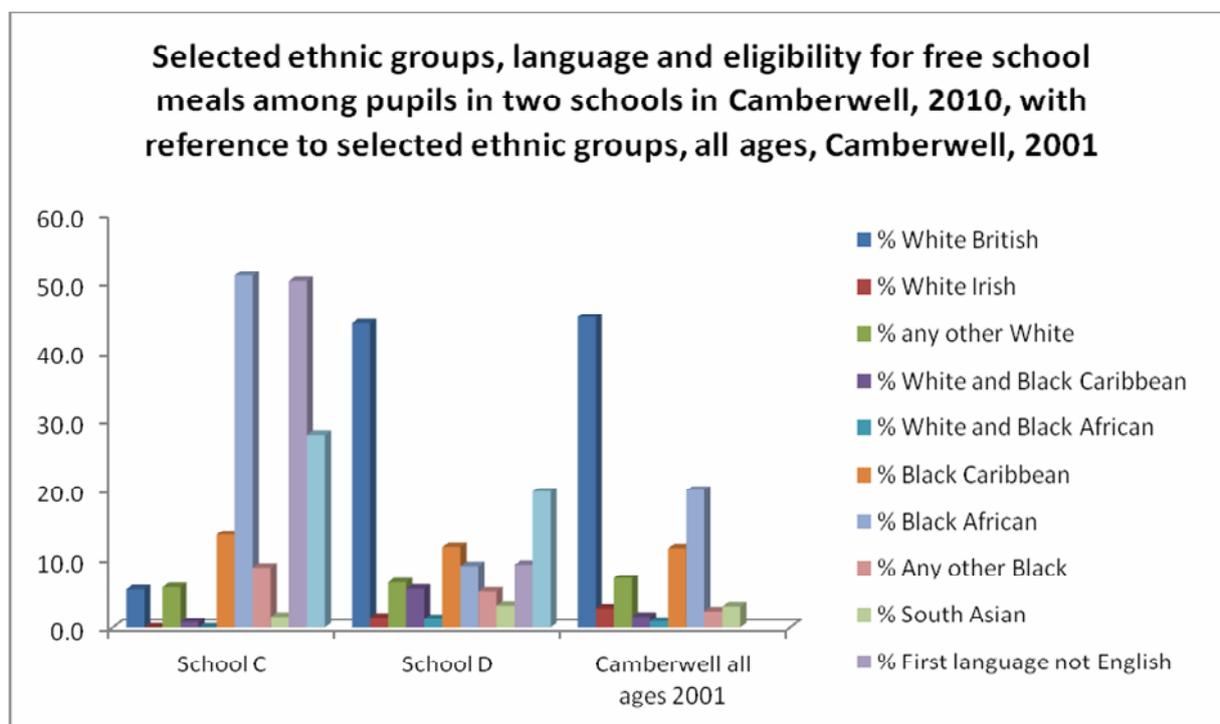
Over the past 10 years, the fastest growing immigrant group, in Camberwell as well as in Southwark in general, has been the Somalis. Numbers remain uncertain, with estimates of the borough-wide Somali population fluctuating between 5000 and 10,000³⁵, but the Camberwell area is the part of the borough that has seen the highest concentration of Somali immigrants, in part because this is where Southwark Borough has been able to provide temporary accommodation³⁶.

As in Bermondsey (see Figure 2.2 in Section 2.2) schools in Camberwell reflect the present day socio-economic and ethnic diversity in the local area. Figure 3.2 shows the composition of the main ethnic groups, percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals (as a socio-economic indicator) and percentage with a language other than English as a first language, in two state funded secondary schools in Camberwell. School C is located in Camberwell Green ward, School D in South Camberwell. The two schools largely mirror ethnic and socio-economic differences between the wards. It can be seen that the dominant ethnic group (just over half the pupil population) in School C is Black African, whereas there is only a minority of Black Africans (and Black Caribbeans) in School D, while over two fifths of pupils are of White British ethnicity. Clearly as a result, proportionately fewer pupils have a first language other than English in School D than in School C. The school population in School D also demonstrate lower levels of deprivation: less than one fifth of its pupils are eligible for free school meals compared to a little under 30% in School C. Figure 3.2 also shows to some extent the way the ethnic group composition of Camberwell has changed in the last ten years, bearing in mind that different schools have different ethnic and social class compositions that may not necessarily reflect broader area patterns. While clearly the White British population still dominate, particularly in the southern part of Camberwell, there is more ethnic diversity overall, and the proportion of some ethnic groups in the area, particularly Black African, has grown.

³⁵ The Annual Population Survey population estimate in 2009-2010 for people living in Southwark with Somalia as country of birth is 5,332.

³⁶ Key informant interview #18.

Fig. 3.2



School C is an Academy, School D a Foundation School, both mixed sex, secondary (age 11-18). Academies are publicly funded independent schools, free from local authority and national government control. Foundation schools are publicly funded schools in which the governing body has greater freedom in the running of the school than in community schools.

Source: Compiled from 2010 School Census, Department of Education (http://www.education.gov.uk/inyourarea/results/lea_210_wards_1.shtml) and Southwark Analytical Hub (2008)

As in Bermondsey (Section 2.3) a snapshot of primary reception year children (aged 4-5) living in Camberwell wards in 2009-2010 provide a fascinating insight into present day ethnic and language diversities at a small area level in Southwark. Four children's centres in the dataset include children living in wards within Camberwell. While 21% of children in this cohort in Southwark as a whole are of White British ethnicity, there is considerably more diversity – than even seen in Bermondsey (see Section 2.3) - in the four cohorts located in Camberwell, with a range of 94% of an ethnicity other than White British in a children's centre in Camberwell Green to 54% in one that is in South Camberwell. However, as in Bermondsey, the largest ethnic minority category represented is Black or Black or Black British, and again especially Nigerian - but also Black Caribbean in South Camberwell. There is also a mix of the most common languages spoken after English in Camberwell including Yoruba as in Bermondsey, but also Arabic and Chattisgarhi/Khatahi (Indian languages).³⁷

³⁷ Data from the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) for Southwark Children's Centres, 2010, personal communication.

3.4 Quarter as an arena of inter-group relations

As in Bermondsey there is very limited quantitative information for Camberwell regarding inter-group relations and levels of harmony/disharmony in the area. Data similar to Bermondsey on injuries caused by weapons identified by the London Ambulance Service set out in Table 3.4 shows that Camberwell too is not an area of relatively high levels of recorded weapon injuries, although as in the case of other evidence for Camberwell there appears to be a north-south divide according to this indicator as well.

Tab. 3.4 All weapon injuries¹ recorded by the London Ambulance Service by ward, Camberwell, November 2008-October 2010

Ward in Camberwell	Number of weapon injuries
Brunswick Park	18
Camberwell Green	39
South Camberwell	10
Southwark average	26

¹ All weapon injuries' include those identified as knife, gun or 'other' weapon injury.

Source: London Ambulance Service, London Analyst Support Site (LASS), Intelligence Unit, Greater London Authority <http://data.london.gov.uk/datastore/package/ambulance-call-outs-assaults-weapon-injuries>

The IMD crime domain includes indicators such as burglary, theft, criminal damage and violence at the small area (LSOA) level. Over a third of the LSOAs (containing between 1,000 and 3,000 people with an average population of 1,500 people) in Southwark fell within the 10% most deprived in terms of crime with over half of Southwark in the 20% most deprived in England in the 2007 IMD. While generally there is no straightforward relationship between income deprivation and crime deprivation, some areas in the middle part of the borough, including parts of Brunswick Park, Camberwell Green, and South Bermondsey, had both high rates of income deprivation and crime deprivation (Southwark Analytical Hub, 2008).

In terms of local politics, the BNP presence in Bermondsey would seem mocked by the fact that Sam King, the first black mayor in Southwark, was elected in Camberwell in 1983 – at that time the only black mayor in Britain.

The most well-known incidents of inter-group tensions in Camberwell revolve around gang-related activities. While most of the bigger gangs are based in adjacent Brixton and Peckham, many gang members reside in Camberwell, and the Camberwell area thus becomes part of a 'turf war' fought over issues related to honour and respect, territory and drugs trade.

Gang membership is by and large defined according to racial and ethnic markers, and there is some evidence that Black Africans and Black Caribbeans organise into different gangs. According to estimates by the safer neighbourhood team (the local police unit) in one of the Camberwell wards, 99% of gang members in the Camberwell area are black, and it was altogether perceived as being very difficult to be a black youth in parts of Camberwell and not be member of a gang/group. Declining to become a member of a gang is problematic, and it means that the individual is not under protection, either from that gang or from other gangs³⁸.

Another relevant, but much less violent and confrontational aspect of inter-group relations in Camberwell revolves around the use and control over semi-public places. Over the past years local venues traditionally used by white working class residents have closed down. At the same time the number of African churches has increased significantly, in particular in Camberwell. A case in question concerns the proposed take-over in 2009 of a bingo-hall, formerly a cinema, by a West-African church in 2009. This triggered a local campaign that opposed the take-over and favoured the conversion of the bingo-hall, well situated near Camberwell Green, into a community centre³⁹. The issue related to the ownership over and use of the building remains unresolved.

The bingo-hall would, typically, constitute a micro-public used by a white working class population, mostly residing in the immediate quarter, but altogether a segment of the population that is ageing and in decline. The church, one of many West-African churches in Camberwell, would serve a largely Black African congregation from a much wider catchment area. But while the church has less of a stake in the immediate quarter, it also represents a population in rapid growth.

Perhaps overly simplified, the changing use of the building also signifies a shift from one exclusive (White working class) group to another exclusive (Black African) group. Some local key informants pointed to how different ethnic groupings in Camberwell lived together, but never actually interacted. As put by a White middle-class community activist, on the basis of 16 years in Camberwell:

In some ways we live in parallel neighbourhoods, we live parallel lives in our communities, and we don't cross over. We are right in the middle of a very mixed area, but in practice, either we do something which excludes people, or they select automatically.⁴⁰

In conclusion, Camberwell can be described as an area with a well-established multicultural profile, and there are – apart from gang-related violence – no major 'flash-points' from a law-and-order perspective. But Camberwell also remains an area characterised by divisions according to class, ethnicity and race.

4 Conclusions

This report has attempted to present an account of demographic, socio-economic and migration patterns relating to the borough of Southwark in London, and two quarters within it. As a result of its

³⁸ Key informant interview #13.

³⁹ South London Press, 11th March 2010

⁴⁰ Key informant interview #15.

geographical location along the river Thames, the ups and downs of its industrial history within London, and its position as a major settlement area for migrants from the middle of the 20th century onwards, Southwark provides an interesting case study of co-operation and conflict characterising inter-group relations in an urban area. It was shown that a major characteristic of the geographical area, economic structure and population in Southwark is socio-economic polarity, manifested in commercial and residential development in parts of the North, and the South of the borough, sandwiching a middle section characterised by high ethnic diversity, greater deprivation and associated levels of inter-group tension and conflict around territory and housing. Ethnic groups other than White British form nearly half of Southwark's population, rising to over 70% of young children in some areas. The main minority ethnic category in Southwark is the census category 'Black African', mainly made up of migrants coming to work, join families or seek asylum, from countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Ghana, Zimbabwe, and their British born children. But the category 'Other White' incorporating Southwark's traditional migrants, the Irish, as well as people originating from both Western and Eastern European countries, also make up a significant proportion of the minority ethnic population.

Whereas the characteristics of the two specific quarters studied mirror many borough level patterns, it is also important to emphasize the differences between Bermondsey as a historically *closed* system and Camberwell as much more *open*, historically and in the present a destination for outsiders. It was shown that Bermondsey, located towards the north of the borough and extending downwards to the middle, has areas of high deprivation particularly in South Bermondsey ward, in contrast with areas of residential affluence and economic development along the river. The historical reputation of Bermondsey as predominantly a White working class area traditionally less hospitable to migrants has gradually changed over time to some extent because of shifts in local housing policies, regeneration and better links with other parts of London, that brought in new populations to the area. However, extremist nationalism and racism has a foothold in Bermondsey, demonstrated by the fact that it is the only area in Southwark that has even a minor BNP presence and support.

The second quarter, Camberwell, located towards the mid-west of the borough is to some extent like Bermondsey, but perhaps even more so, characterised by socio-economic and ethnic diversity. Differentiation here is between a poorer north (particularly Camberwell Green) and a more affluent south (South Camberwell) bordering on the socio-economically advantaged southern part of Southwark borough overall. There is less large-scale commercial development in present-day Camberwell compared to Bermondsey. An area of greater Black Caribbean migrant settlement in the early years of Caribbean migration to London than was Bermondsey, there has more recently been considerable expansion of migration into Camberwell from all parts of the world, including Africa, Asia South America and Europe. The overall larger minority ethnic population and greater ethnic diversity in Camberwell than in Bermondsey may have significant implications for differences in inter-group relations in the two areas. The most commonly known indications of inter-group tensions in Camberwell appear to relate to gang-based activities and violence around territoriality, which do have a 'race' and ethnic basis. However these tensions are less likely than in Bermondsey, to be manifested through extreme right wing, nationalist and racist politics.

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Annex 1: Bermondsey photos



Traditional, 19th century pub, St James Road



Jacob's Island, former docklands along the River Thames, re-



The Blue, market square and community hub in southern Bermondsey. Refurbished 2009-2010.



Dickens Estate, located in northern Bermondsey, immediately south of Jacob's Island. Built 1920s to 1950s.



Four Squares, housing estate in eastern Bermondsey. Built in 1960s.

Annex 2: Camberwell photos



Camberwell street scene – beauty parlour and Georgian housing (early 19th century)



Camberwell Grove, conservation area in central Camberwell.



Lettsom Estate, 1960s housing estate located adjacent to



D'Eynsford Estate, 1960s housing estate located north of the Lettsom Estate



Camberwell Church Street, looking towards Camberwell Baths, with D'Eynsford Estate immediately to the right of the baths.

Annex 3: Synoptic tables

QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Values</i>					
Sectors, types, distribution of local businesses run by nationals and foreigners	% of industries in each sector in wards, borough, city	<u>Technology & Knowledge Intensive:</u> Grange 45%, Riverside 55%, South Bermondsey 35%. <u>Creative & Cultural:</u> Grange 6%, Riverside 5%, South Bermondsey 35%. <u>Tourism:</u> Grange 8%, Riverside 7%, South Bermondsey 8%	<u>Technology & Knowledge Intensive:</u> Brunswick Park 42%, Camberwell Green 33%, South Camberwell 51%. <u>Creative & Cultural:</u> Brunswick Park 10%, Camberwell Green 6%, South Camberwell 10% <u>Tourism:</u> Brunswick Park 9%, Camberwell Green 8%, South Camberwell 6%	<u>Technology & Knowledge Intensive:</u> 45% <u>Creative & Cultural:</u> 6% <u>Tourism:</u> 7%	<u>Technology & Knowledge Intensive:</u> 42% <u>Creative & Cultural:</u> 5% <u>Tourism:</u> 7%	Ward, Borough, City
Local businesses run by nationals and foreigners/Km2 and annual variation		not available (n/a)	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Real estate prices (FIERI proposal)	Median house price (2010)	n/a	n/a	£315,000	£288,000	Borough, City

QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT			
Qualitative items		Bermondsey	Camberwell
Location of the quartier in the city (central, peripheral, etc.)		Bermondsey is located in the northern part of Southwark, close to the Thames, and in relative proximity to central London.	Camberwell is situated at the eastern edge of Southwark, bordering the neighbouring borough of Lambeth. Despite being further away from central London, Camberwell has historically been a destination for Londoners, for leisure and recreative purposes.
Prevailing urban and economic functions of the quartier (touristic area, industrial declining areas, "dormitory" quartier, leisure area, etc.)		Bermondsey's present day socio-economic landscape has its basis in the 19 th and early 20 th century development of the riverside docks, and industries associated with it such as food processing. Associated with the post-second world war closure of the docks, parts of present day Bermondsey remain some of the most socio-economically deprived areas of London, juxtaposed with and in contrast to other parts of Bermondsey along the river that have seen up-market housing and commercial development.	While the northern part of the quartier has shared an industrial past with Bermondsey, Camberwell is today dominated by two big hospitals as well as smaller enterprises. Compared to surrounding quarters, there are fewer high street shops in Camberwell, but there is an important 'night economy', ie restaurants and clubs.
Texture of urban fabric, road and transport connections with the outside		There are major transport routes, both rail and road, through the area, mainly radiating out of central London into outer London and the counties of Kent and Surrey. The building of the Jubilee underground line, opened in 1999, constituted a dramatic improvement of links to central London.	Camberwell's landscape is dominated by the intersection of two major urban roads, one running north-south (the A215), the other east-west (A202). These are slow-moving, heavily congested roads which are also the routes of several buses. A local railway station, situated centrally in Camberwell, links the area to two of the main London railway stations

QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT			
Qualitative items		Bermondsey	Camberwell
Quality of housing stock, housing regimes, extension of urban blight and requalification processes		Bermondsey is dominated by social housing of a variety of styles. Nearer the riverside, much of it is low-rise red brick housing built by the London County Council (LCC) in the wake of slum clearances between the wars. Along the riverside, a lot of social housing and industrial land has been converted into high price residential accommodation, mainly luxury apartments. Riverside accommodation tends to have better pedestrian links along well developed riverside paths to transport hubs and across the river into central London.	Housing in Camberwell is extremely diverse. It includes large Georgian townhouses, many formerly squatted or in multi-occupancy but brought back to owner-occupation in the housing boom that began in the late 1990s. There are also several smaller social housing estates, with a wide variety of styles including both interwar red brick LCC housing and concrete post-war high-rise and low-rise, and nineteenth century terraced street housing that remains un-gentrified.
Availability of meeting spaces including entertainment places (cinemas/theatres, libraries, etc.)		There are a number of parks in different parts of Bermondsey, first and foremost Southwark Park on the border of Bermondsey and Rotherhithe. The Blue is the traditional hub of southern Bermondsey, providing both a meeting place and shopping opportunities. There is also a library on The Blue. There are also a couple of recently refurbished youth centres, and many housing estates have their own tenants and residents halls. There are no cinemas in Bermondsey.	There are a couple of parks on the edges of Camberwell, and there is a small, centrally located library, but no cinema, and the local bingo hall closed two years ago. The number of churches, many West African, has increased, and the Camberwell Baths reopened in 2011. Many housing estates have their own tenants and residents hall.
Availability of welfare services (education, social action, security)		There are local primary and secondary schools (up to 16 years). There are GP services all over the ward, as well as a Citizen's Advice Bureau. The local police station is located on the boundary between Bermondsey and Rotherhithe.	There are local primary and secondary schools (up to 16 years). There are GP services all over the ward, as well as a Citizen's Advice Bureau. The Camberwell police station is located centrally, near Camberwell Green.

QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT			
<i>Qualitative items</i>		Bermondsey	Camberwell
Trade (shops, malls, open markets, etc.)		Most local shops are relatively small, and suffering under the competition from superstores situated immediately outside the quarter. The Blue used to hold a big, open market, but there are only a few stalls left today.	Local shops are generally small and, compared to surrounding quarters, less dominated by high street chains. In particular Camberwell Green is characterised by a plethora of small, ethnically very diverse, usually family-run businesses, in particular within catering, sale of food produce (in particular from West Africa), hairdressers and beauty parlours. The nearest open market is the East Street market, located to the north of the quarter.

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Values</i>					
Total population	ONS estimates, June 2010	42,841	41,124	287,000	7,825,200	Ward, Community Council, Borough, City
Population composition by age	0-15 Males 65 years old or over & females 60 or over (ONS estimates, June 2010)	15.0% 9.2%	18.8% 9.6%	17.6% 10.4%	19.6% 13.8%	Ward, Community Council, Borough, City
Population composition by sex	% female, all ages (ONS estimates, June 2010)	47.5%	49.1%	48.7%	50.2%	Ward, Community Council, Borough, City
Population composition by year of arrival in the city and in the neighbourhood	0-5 years; 6-10 years; 11 years and over	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Values</i>					
Annual variation of the population	Internal and international population turnover per 1,000 (ONS, 2009)	n/a	n/a	173.7 (internal) 37.5 (international)	57.1 (internal) 35.2 (international)	Borough, City
Population/km2	2009 (data for borough from 2011)	Grange 12,225 Riverside 13,032 South Bermondsey 13,256	Brunswick Park 13,231 Camberwell Green 14,342 South Camberwell 9,266	10,000 (approx.)	4,927	Ward, Borough, City
Natural balance rate	(Births - Deaths)/total population*1000. Births & deaths annual mid-year estimate, 2008 - 2009. Total population, mid-2009.	n/a	n/a	12.3	10.1	Borough, City
Immigration rate		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Demographic balance rate		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
Quantitative items	Values					
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by income	Gross annual pay, total population, 2010	n/a	n/a	£33,000	£32,000	Borough, City
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by employment rate (% employed in each population category)	Annual Population Survey (APS), 2009-2010	n/a	n/a	UK born 44.9% Not UK born 59.8% Recent migrants 60.8%	UK born 45.3% Not UK born 53.6% Recent migrants 55.9%	Borough, City
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by unemployment rate (% unemployed in each population category)	Unemployed, ILO definition, APS, 2009-2010	n/a	n/a	UK born 5.7% Not UK born 7.5% Recent migrants 7.7%	UK born 4.0% Not UK born 6.1% Recent migrants 6.9%	Borough, City
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by economic sector		n/a	n/a	table 2.2	table 2.1	Borough, City

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Values</i>					
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by occupational level (% in elementary occupations)	APS, 2009-2010	n/a	n/a	UK born 7.0% Not UK born 14.7% Recent migrants 20.5%	UK born 5.3% Not UK born 14.1% Recent migrants 18.2%	Borough, City
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by occupational level (% in managerial or professional occupations)	APS, 2009-2010	n/a	n/a	UK born 48.9% Not UK born 26.4% Recent migrants 25.9%	UK born 38.2% Not UK born 31.4% Recent migrants 30.1%	Borough, City
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by health condition	Life expectancy, total population, males and females. Ward level data 2003-2007; borough and city level data 2007-2009	<u>Male</u> Grange 77 Riverside 78 South Bermondsey 77 <u>Female</u> Grange 80 Riverside 81 South Bermondsey 77	<u>Male</u> Brunswick Park 78 Camberwell Green 74 South Camberwell 77 <u>Female</u> Brunswick Park 85 Camberwell Green 82 South Camberwell 83	Male 77.8 Female 82.1	Male 78.6 Female 83.1	Ward, Borough, City (<i>but note differences in dates</i>)

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Values</i>					
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by educational qualification	Percentages in: Higher education (A levels and tertiary) GCSE & equivalent (end of compulsory education) Other qualifications (e.g. Overseas) No qualifications	n/a	n/a	<u>Higher</u> UK born 65.3% Not UK born 57.3% Recent migrants 55.5% <u>Compulsory</u> UK born 15.8% Not UK born 7.5% Recent migrants 6.6% <u>Other</u> <u>quals</u> UK born 6.9% Not UK born 25.8% Recent migrants 30.0% <u>No quals</u> UK born 10.8% Not UK born 8.8% Recent migrants 7.9%	<u>Higher</u> UK born 61.8% Not UK born 46.6% Recent migrants 43.4% <u>Compulsory</u> UK born 20.0% Not UK born 7.8% Recent migrants 5.3% <u>Other</u> <u>quals</u> UK born 6.8% Not UK born 31.1% Recent migrants 40.2% <u>No</u> <u>quals</u> UK born 10.5% Not UK born 13.3% Recent migrants 10.2%	Borough, City

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Values</i>					
Average value and/or composition of nationals and foreigners by housing regime	% home owners (owned outright or with mortgage) % in local authority or equivalent housing among all in rented accommodation % in private rented housing	n/a	n/a	Home owners UK born 40.7% Not UK born 20.3% Recent migrants 12.5% <u>Social Housing among all rented housing</u> UK born 55.2% Not UK born 44.5% Recent migrants 29.0% <u>Private renting among all rented housing</u> UK born 20.9% Not UK born 39.6% Recent migrants 63.1%	Home owners UK born 59.6% Not UK born 36.8% Recent migrants 18.5% <u>Social Housing among all rented housing</u> UK born 38.5% Not UK born 26.3% Recent migrants 14.7% <u>Private renting among all rented housing</u> UK born 33.8% Not UK born 55.9% Recent migrants 74.7%	Borough, City
Proportion of foreign and national families who receive economic assistance (working age benefit claimants)	Rate of Department of Works and Pensions working age benefit claimants, total population (01/11/2009)	Grange 17 Riverside 14 South Bermondsey 21	Brunswick Park 19 Camberwell Green 21 South Camberwell 13	n/a	15.4	Ward, City

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
Quantitative items	Values					
Proportion of foreign and national families who receive economic assistance (% out of work benefit claimants)	People claiming out of work benefits (November 2010)	n/a	n/a	14.1%	12.5%	Borough, City
Reporting of anti-social behaviour and crime rate with special attention to violent crimes (weapon injuries)	Weapon injuries Nov 2008-Oct 2010	Grange 13 Riverside 20 South Bermondsey 27	Brunswick Park 18 Camberwell Green 39 South Camberwell 10	26 (average)	n/a	Ward, Borough
Reporting of anti-social behaviour and crime rate with special attention to violent crimes (crime rates)	Crime rates per thousand population (2010/2011)	n/a	n/a	126	105	Borough, City

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT			
Qualitative items			
		Bermondsey	Camberwell
Class composition		Bermondsey has historically been perceived as a relatively homogenous working-class area. But due to the re-development of the former docklands, there has been an influx of relatively affluent, ethnically mixed middle-class population to the northern part of Bermondsey	Camberwell has historically been characterised by a divide between the working-class northern part and the more affluent middle-class southern part. This divide still exists, though the development of social housing in all parts of the quarter has watered down the distinction somewhat.
Types of social capital (bonding, bridging, social links)		Bermondsey is traditionally characterised by strong, localised kinship links, with members of extended family living in immediate proximity of each other. Due to lack of affordable housing, this pattern is now disappearing. The experience is that there is limited 'bridging' between old Bermondsey residents and those who have moved into the re-developed docklands.	While the northern parts of Camberwell shares characteristics with 'old Bermondsey', there is more of an established tradition of social inter-action in the context of everyday life in Camberwell, in part because Camberwell has experienced in-flows over a long period of time.
Strength and closure/openness of social institutions (associations, unions, housing organisations, etc.)		There are a number of strong, well-established local community organisations, some dating back to early 20th century. Generally, tenants and residents associations have become weaker, with many residents having less of a stake in the local community.	Compared to Bermondsey, Camberwell has not got as many well-established, locally based organisations. As in Bermondsey, tenants and residents associations have generally become weaker
Presence and types of inflows of outsiders (migrants, tourists, night life users, gentrifiers, etc.)		Traditionally Bermondsey was a white working class quartier, with Irish immigrants as the only significant immigrant population. But the past decades have seen increased inflows of both immigrants and a middle-class population.	Camberwell has been characterised by different types of inflows for several hundred years. Historically a London destination for leisure and recreation, immigrants from abroad have in particular since WW2 moved to Camberwell. The night economy - restaurants and clubs - also attracts outsiders. A concentration of mental health, drug and alcohol treatment centres attract users who are seen as an outsider/anti-social presence by many residents.

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT			
<i>Qualitative items</i>			
		Bermondsey	Camberwell
Neighbourhood identity		There is still a strong Bermondsey identity, expressed through various events - ie Bermondsey Carnival and the unveiling of the sculpture of the Bermondsey Lion on The Blue. There is also wide-spread support of the local football team, Millwall FC.	Located between Peckham and Brixton, and at the edge of Southwark Borough, there is less of a neighbourhood identity in Camberwell, and residents identify with their estate rather than their neighbourhood.

QUARTIERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracts)
<i>Quantitative items</i>	<i>Values</i>					
Migratory balance rate	International migration: net (thousands) 2010	n/a	n/a	2.2	39.6	Borough, City
Immigration rate		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Proportion of foreigners in total population		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
Proportion of born in foreign countries in total population	% Born outside the UK. Latest available data for wards in Bermondsey & Camberwell from 2001 Census. Data for Southwark & London from 2009-2010 APS	Grange 29.2% Riverside 27.5% South Bermondsey 24.5%	Brunswick Park 33.8% Camberwell Green 35.9% South Camberwell 30.9%	32.0%	Inner London 38.8% Outer London 31.3%	Ward, Borough, City
Proportion of people with an ethnic background in total populations	% ethnic minority (i.e. not White British). Latest available data for wards in Bermondsey & Camberwell from 2001 Census (therefore undercounted). Data for Southwark & London from 2009-2010 APS	Grange 43.9% Riverside 36.7% South Bermondsey 38.8%	Brunswick Park 56.1% Camberwell Green 59.6% South Camberwell 48.7%	51.6%	49.3%	Ward, Borough, City

QUARTIERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
Quantitative items	Values					
Population composition by nationality	first five nationalities (Data for Southwark & London from 2009-2010 APS)	n/a - no numerical estimates	n/a - no numerical estimates	UK 77.3% Nigeria 2.1% Ireland 1.8% India 1.3% Italy 1.3%	UK 78.6% Poland 1.7% India 1.4% Ireland 1.3% France 0.9%	Borough, City
Population composition by country of birth	first five countries of birth (Data for Southwark & London from 2009-2010 APS)	n/a - no numerical estimates	n/a - no numerical estimates	UK 68.0% Nigeria 3.6% Ireland 1.9% India 1.5%	UK 65.7% India 3.2% Poland 1.6% Ireland 1.4% Bangladesh 1.4%	Borough, City
Population composition by ethnic background	first five ethnic groups. Latest available data for wards in Bermondsey & Camberwell from 2001 Census. Community Council categories derived from combining ward data. Data for Southwark & London from 2009-2010 APS	White British Black African Other White Black Caribbean White Irish	White British Black African Black Caribbean Other White South Asian	White British 48.4% Black African 15.5% Other White 13.4% Black Caribbean 6.5% Other 3.7%	White British 50.7% Other White 13.0% Black African 6.8% Indian 6.6% Other 5.7%	Community Council, Borough, City

QUARTIERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
Quantitative items	Values					
Population composition by religion	Data for Southwark & London from 2009-2010 APS	n/a	n/a	Christian 63.8% No religion 20.8% Muslim 8.7% Hindu 2.1%	Christian 58.2% No religion 18.4% Muslim 12.2% Hindu 4.9%	Borough, City
Proportion of migrants arrived < 5-10 years (recent migrants)	Data for Southwark & London from 2009-2010 APS	n/a	n/a	2000-2003 22.6% 2004-2010 27.0%	2000-2003 16.9% 2004-2010 29.9%	Borough, City

QUARTIERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION			
Qualitative items		Bermondsey	Camberwell
Earlier immigration history		In Bermondsey up to the 1970s, Irish immigrants, working in the docklands, were the most significant minority group. Significant groups of non-European immigrants only started settling from the 1980s. By 2001, the biggest minority population was Black Africans, but over the past 10 years, the number of Eastern Europeans has also increased.	Immigration to Camberwell goes back several centuries. Huguenots from and immigrants from Germany settled and often became part of the more well-to-do part of Camberwell. After WW2, in particular Commonwealth immigrants from the West Indies settled here, and over the past decades immigrants have derived from in particular West Africa, Somalia, and Eastern Europe.
Immigrants' profile (blue collars, traders and shop keepers, families, single men/women, etc.)		Overall a highly diverse profile, as there are immigrants/minorities living in both the more affluent and the more deprived parts of Bermondsey. Furthermore, most shopkeepers in Bermondsey are of immigrant/ethnic minority background.	As Camberwell has been an immigrant destination for a long time, many well-established minorities have lived here for 2-3 generations, with very diverse employment and livelihood profiles. Like in Bermondsey, most shopkeepers in Camberwell are of immigrant/ethnic minority background.
Visibility of immigrants		Well-established minorities and immigrants are visible throughout Bermondsey	Well-established minorities and immigrants are highly visible in Camberwell, and they constitute a majority of the population in the northern parts of Camberwell.
Main markers of intergroup boundaries (nationality, area of origin, skin colour, religion, length of residence in the quartier, etc.)		As the perception and reality of Bermondsey as a white workingclass quartier slowly is being erased, the area of origin and the length of residence in the area serves to distinguish between different groups of minorities and immigrants. Similarly, the territorial belonging, to estates, is important among the younger generation.	Black' is an important, but also many-sided marker of identity in Camberwell, with significant divides between in particular Black African and Black Caribbean populations, with the latter having been established in the area for longer. Locally specific notions of belonging, specifically to estates, are also important, in particular among the younger generation.

QUARTIERS AS ARENA OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
Quantitative items	Values					
(Police) Reporting of racist and xenophobic acts	Racist and religious hate crime, Metropolitan Police	n/a	n/a	12 months up to Aug 2011= 291 (3.7% of metropolitan total) 12 months up to Aug 2010= 467 (4.8% of metropolitan total)	12 months up to Aug 2011= 7840 12 months up to Aug 2010= 9787	Borough, City
Votes for political parties with anti-immigrant stances in the EU/national/regional/municipal/district election in target neighbourhoods in the last 10 years (2010)	British National Party (BNP) share of vote, 2010	In South Bermondsey, 3.7% in 2010 local elections.	No BNP candidate in any of the 3 wards in 2010 local elections.	2010 General Election=3.1% in north of the borough (Bermondsey & Old Southwark). No BNP vote in constituency south of the borough (Camberwell & Peckham).	Lost all Council seats	Ward, Borough, City
Votes for political parties with anti-immigrant stances in the EU/national/regional/municipal/district election in target neighbourhoods in the last 10 years (2001-2009)	BNP, National Front (NF) share of vote, other elections	In the 2002 local election, the National Front took 9.6% share of the vote in South Bermondsey, but no elected councillors	None	2008 - BNP London Mayoral candidate 1.49% first preference votes. 2005 - National Front 1.9% of vote in Southwark North & Bermondsey. 2001 - National Front 1.7% of vote in Southwark North & Bermondsey.	2008 - BNP won a seat in the London Assembly, getting 5.3% of vote. BNP Mayoral candidate 2.89% first preference votes. BNP gained 14 seats in local elections 2006: 12 in Barking & Dagenham, 1 in Redbridge, 1 in Havering.	Ward, Borough, City

QUARTIERS AS ARENA OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION						
		Bermondsey	Camberwell	Southwark	London	Available territorial levels (city, district, quartier, census tracks)
Quantitative items	Values					
Number and /or proportion of non profit organisations working around immigration issues		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	

QUARTIERS AS ARENA OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION			
		Bermondsey	Camberwell
Qualitative items			
Main issues of cooperation and conflicts (small business, use of public or semipublic spaces, access to welfare services, public safety, lifestyles, etc.)		Bermondsey has been used as a venue for right-wing, racist and ultra-nationalist demonstrations, and Bermondsey has also been known as an area traditionally less hospitable to immigrants. Overall the perception is that inter-group relations have improved over the past 10 years. Access to social housing remains a contested issue, as some of the majority population feel that newly arrived immigrants are being given preferential treatment.	Camberwell can be described as an area with a well-established multicultural profile, and there are – apart from gang-related violence – no major ‘flash-points’ from a law-and-order perspective. But Camberwell also remains an area characterised by divisions according to class, ethnicity and race. The most well-known incidents of inter-group tensions in Camberwell revolve around gang-related activities. While most of the bigger gangs are based in adjacent Brixton and Peckham, many gang members reside in Camberwell, and the Camberwell area thus becomes part of a ‘turf war’ fought over issues related to honour and respect, territory and drugs trade.