

**Revisiting London fieldareas  
1977,2007 Work in Progress**  
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- **First Conference “Understanding diversity: Mapping and measuring”**, 26-27 January 2006, FEEM, Milano, Italy. Contact person: Valeria Papponetti, [valeria.papponetti@feem.it](mailto:valeria.papponetti@feem.it)
- **Second Conference “Qualitative diversity research: Looking ahead”**, 19-20 September 2006, K.U.Leuven, Leuven, Belgium. Contact person: Maddy Janssens, [maddy.janssens@econ.kuleuven.ac.be](mailto:maddy.janssens@econ.kuleuven.ac.be), and Patrizia Zanoni, [patrizia.zanoni@kuleuven.ac.be](mailto:patrizia.zanoni@kuleuven.ac.be)
- **Third Conference “Diversity in cities: Visible and invisible walls”**, 11-12 September 2007, UCL, London, UK. Contact person: Valeria Papponetti, [valeria.papponetti@feem.it](mailto:valeria.papponetti@feem.it)
- **Fourth Conference “Diversity in cities: New models of governance”**, 16-17 September 2008, IPRS, Rome, Italy. Contact person: Raffaele Bracalenti, [iprs.it@iprs.it](mailto:iprs.it@iprs.it)
- **Fifth Conference “Dynamics of diversity in the globalisation era”**, 15-16 September 2009, FEEM, Milan, Italy. Contact person: Valeria Papponetti, [valeria.papponetti@feem.it](mailto:valeria.papponetti@feem.it)

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This batch of papers are the output of the first year of SUS.DIV research.

## Revisiting London field areas 1977,2007 Work in Progress

### Summary

This paper reports the first phase of a project which is itself part of a long term, multi-sited program of research into varieties of diversity in contemporary cities. We proceed from the observation that different ‘neighbourhoods’, even within a single city, may have different capacity to deal with diversity. A succession of field studies in different cities and parts of cities indicates a logic which accounts for the better or worse outcome of population mix. The foundation study of 25 years ago [comparing the two London boroughs revisited here] gave rise to an ideal type model which opposes closed/homogeneous and open/heterogeneous urban systems. Systematic comparison within this framework shows up differences between the areas *as local systems*, effectively situating each relative to the other on the continuum between open and closed poles. The present studies compare the presence/absence of indicators of open/closed-ness. They combine quantitative and qualitative data – i.e. visible material and structural elements that can be enumerated, and non-visible processes and relationships that must be inferred from things seen or heard. The material/structural elements form the framework of possibility for actors. They govern the scope of social networks, options for identity and relationship, and local conditions for trust and cultural dialogue. Just *how* the visible elements shape these non-visible processes is less clear. The metaphor of ‘fish tank’ and ‘fish’ is helpful. First questions: What kind of fish tank is this place? Which kinds of fish live in it? What options does it offer them? Second questions: How do particular types of fish move within it? Which options does the individual take up?

**Keywords:** Time/Space Comparison; Multi-Disciplinary Research; Styles of Div

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## **The Material Culture aspect**

Much of recent writing on the management of diversity in the cities of Europe assumes diversity to harbour intrinsic problems for the social and economic well-being of citizens. No one else has articulated this view more forcefully than David Putnam whose recent research claims to show that 'social capital', that is the capacity of people to interact with each other in a community enhancing manner, decreases with the number of diverse cultural groups inhabiting a community. There are at least two assumptions, which can be singled out as prevailing across this and other related studies.

The first concerns the assumption that culture is shaping distinct regimes of value and visual and material practices which persist even when living outside of the culture of origin, or as Martin Jay has called it recently, that 'it is culture all the way down' (Jay 2002:267); it has become a common strategy deployed by councils, for example, to direct funding to experiences that are deemed to enhance ways of transcending culture bound modes of being and thinking – such experiences are provided for in the form of public celebrations, usually held in 'anonymous' public places, which stage ritual moments in which attachments are thought to be reconfigured in a timeless, liminal zone. It is debatable whether the efforts of using such celebrations of world cultures, minority voices, ethnic pluralism and alternative local histories in public spaces as moments in which to foster intercultural dialogue and understanding is not essentially limited.

As Amin and Thrift (2002) show, the city's public spaces are not natural servants of multicultural engagement as they are spaces of transit with very little contact between strangers, and as are ritual moments of celebration which do not in themselves form a lasting memory trace upon which new attachments can be founded; as Amin suggests, "even in the most carefully designed and inclusive spaces, the marginalised and the prejudiced stay away, while many of those who participate carry the deeper imprint of personal experience that can include negative racial attitudes" (Amin 2002: 968). A novel, and from the funding perspective radical solution to understanding the dynamics of living in the face of diversity may be found in questioning the culture concept itself and to reinvestigate afresh what people actually do with things that are deemed cultural, such as food, clothing or housing when alternatives are abundant. Such an investigation would show not just how people create socially and economically effective ways of securing a personal future under often uncertain conditions in ways that may be bound up not so much at all with notions of culture, than with the transnational networks that are seen to sustain the flow of ideas and goods.

The question one may want to ask is not how can we effect the coming together of diverse cultures, but how the already existing socio-economic networks linking the place people inhabit with other real or even imaginary places can be localised in more effective ways, allowing people to capitalise on their transnational experiences and thus on their skills of managing the knowledge of material and social connections.

The second assumption concerns the notion of community, which is as pervasive across the literature as the culture concept, although far less explicitly stated. There is an implicit understanding that diversity is potential disruptive of social life as it threatens an identity that is there already in abundance by confronting it with competing forms of visual and material expression.

Durkheimian in its orientation, the attachments people form are in this view assumed to be framed by immaterial matters of kinship, religion and law; remove the force of such a frame by suggesting alternative ways of being and thinking, and identity is thought to follow into what David Lowenthal once described as a state of oblivion and of counter-memory. As the anthropologist Simon Harrison (1999) has argued, however, the Durkheimian notion that identity is abundant and a pre-existent given for every generation is inherently misconceived. His critique stems from his research experience in the culturally and linguistically diverse nation of Papua New Guinea where more than 1800 languages are spoken in an area not larger than Europe.

Identity immaterially conceived in terms of localised kinship, religion and property here is scarce and from a temporal perspective shallow, as once effective attachments are not remembered across generations, while material and visual manifestations of trans-social relations emanating from warfare and trade prevail and carry lasting national iconic and indexical articulation of identity.

Harrison points out that it is the production of material and visual culture, rather than its consumption, which carries the force of identity construction under conditions of a scarcity of identity. The resulting abundance of material and visual practices and expressions is seen as a factor sustaining the creation of identity and its transmission, although at the same time it precludes the possibility of a bounded community framed by immaterial forces. Such ideas critical of a simplistic notion of community framed by immaterial articulations of identity have clearly found their way also into the management of European cities which have recognized the huge potential of the transnational networks that immigrant populations bring to the local city economy (...) What is still necessary, however, is to understand the conditions under which such material and visual expressions of social networks and the knowledge of their decentered spatial articulation can flourish and be transmitted from one generation to another.

By worrying about the dissipation of communities under the impact of immigration, we have failed to realise that the European cities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have grown out of the Durkheimian ideology of social life and have left in brick and mortar trappings that inhibit the florescence of such transnational, culturally and economically independent and vibrant communities to a greater or lesser extent. Our research is concerned with revealing such trappings that show up in the ways and in the extent to which people make use of and shape the material and visual products of the city.

### **Outline/description of work in progress.**

The research is funded by the SUSDIV grant to UCL and combines the perspectives of Task Groups 8 and 9. It has benefited from participation in SUSDIV's Exchange and Training Program, specifically from the input of Rossella Lo Conte, Jade Gibson, Alessia Montuori and Mai Vidali; and from our ongoing collaboration with Raffaella Bracalanti and others at IPRS.

One aspect of the study builds on Sandra Wallman's previous work, seeking to account for the diversity of relations between people[s] and place and [so] of 'styles' of diversity between superficially similar areas. This study is both a comparison with one recently completed [with IPRS] in Rome, and a partial replication of work carried out in London in the early 1980s. Comparison with the earlier data will provide an opportunity to observe whether/how the London areas have changed over time and whether indicators of their emergent properties – i.e. of why they have evolved as they did – might be identified in retrospect. The past materials is not integrated here; this 'phase one' paper concentrates on present day Battersea and Bow.

The second aspect of this study focuses in the same areas and time frame but evolves around Susanne Kuechler's research on material culture and markets. Her work looks at material indicators of diversity as found in consumption patterns, specifically of food and clothing. Tracking material indicators brings relational networks to light; the pattern that such material relations make can add to our understanding of the processes that sustain diversity.

## Methods/data

To date we have mapped differences in the location and distribution of specialist shops, held informal interviews with residents and tradesmen met at random in the two areas, and organised fuller and more formal interviews by appointment with householders in their own homes. The interviews are always structured with a view to understanding differences between the two 'fish tanks' as perceived by the different sets of 'fish'. At the same time, data from the 2001 Census have been tabulated and analysed and the characteristics of the two 'fish tanks' compared.

This paper summarises our findings in three sections:

1. Overview of census material.
2. Overview of each area with sample household interview:
  - a) *Bow*
  - b) *Battersea*
3. Concluding discussion

*Appendix: Census Material: Tables and Figures.*

## Overview of census material appended.

### *Definitions*

Bow Survey Area (BoSA) belongs to Tower Hamlets (East London) and Battersea Survey Area (BaSA) belongs to Wandsworth (South London) boroughs. The two survey areas are easily identified on the map, but figures for small areas are difficult to obtain, and boundaries have changed since the earlier study.

The smallest area for which 2001 Census results are available is the Output Areas (OAs), which have an average population size of 125 households and around 300 residents. Those boundaries were created to enclose as compact an area as possible and to contain populations with *homogeneous characteristics*.

The Battersea area [BaSA] falls within Wandsworth 012A LSOA, but the Bow area [BoSA] is subdivided. Half of its streets fall in Tower Hamlets 003A LLSOA, and the other half in TH 003AB LLSOA. There are marked differences between them but they are combined here to constitute a Bow type. As a consequence, our Bow survey population is larger: 3,011 against 1,575.

The appended census data are presented for Bow / Battersea survey areas, Tower Hamlets / Wandsworth Boroughs and Greater London. The overview highlights significant differences revealed by the census materials.

### *Observations*

*Age structure* (Table and Figure 1):

The distribution of people living in Bow is more homogeneous than in Battersea. This latter has a peak at 25-29y, 5 years later than Bow has, and remarkably 40% of the total population is between 25 and 35 years old. Tower Hamlets has the largest percentage of people of 20-34y in the whole country, but as interestingly the proportion of people aged 45-79y is much smaller overall.

*Country of origin* (Table 2):

Europeans and Americans are spread equally across the two areas: East (Bow and Tower Hamlets) and South (Battersea and Wandsworth). Bangladeshis are strongly present in Bow and in the whole Tower Hamlets borough, where they compile 72% and 88% of the total South Asian population respectively, in contrast with a much smaller presence in the whole of London (22%). People of African origin seem to prefer the South with a very significant South/Eastern African population in Battersea (81%) and in the whole of Wandsworth (69%) of the overall community.

*Ethnic groups* (Table and Figure 3):

Battersea represents a very *white* settlement, with 72% of British living there, in contrast with a London average proportion of 60% overall. Mixed, black and Chinese are spread equally across the areas, while Bangladeshi remain the biggest community within Tower Hamlets and Bow in particular.

*Religion* (Table and Figure 4):

As a consequence of the ethnic origin of the people living in those areas, a very large Christian population live between Wandsworth (62%) and Battersea (65.5%). Bow has the same proportion of Christians as in the whole of London but a third of Tower Hamlets population is Muslim. One person out of 5 did not state any belief.

*Education and Qualification* (Table and Figure 5):

One person out of three has no qualification and one person out of three has a 4/5 qualification level in Bow and in Tower Hamlets, which reflects the overall pattern in London. Very interestingly, nearly half of Wandsworth population and 3 out of 5 people in Battersea have a 4/5 qualification level, and very low proportion of people have level 1 or no qualification.

*Social grade* (Table and Figure 6):

More than 70% of population on Battersea and Wandsworth has at least a C1 social grade, both higher than the average overall London. About 20% of people in Bow and Tower Hamlets owe an A/B social grade and the same proportion is in social grade E. The majority of those living in Bow and Tower Hamlets have clerical, junior managerial, administrative jobs (social grade C1).

*Socio-economic Classification* (Table and Figure 7) About 12% of people living in Bow, Tower Hamlets and London have a higher and managerial job position, versus 20% in Wandsworth and twice as much in Battersea (26%). In Battersea, managerial and professional jobs (1 and 2 in the scale) include more than half of the total population, while the same proportion in Bow cover jobs ranking 1 – 5. Bow and Tower Hamlets are closer to the overall London trend, except for the proportion of people who have never worked and have been unemployed for a long-term (rank 8), for which Tower Hamlets has twice the London proportion.

*Household type and composition* (Tables 8 – 9 – 10 – 11):

There are more flats than houses in all areas except Battersea, where they are equally distributed. Tower Hamlets has more than 80% flats, London has 77% and Wandsworth 63%. As a consequence most people who live in Bow, Tower Hamlets, London and Wandsworth live in flats. Most households are single person, and this is a general trend across smaller and larger areas. Battersea has the smallest proportion of married couples (17%) and the largest proportion of cohabitating households (14%).

*Tenure* (Table and Figure 12):

Twice as many people own their homes in Wandsworth than in Tower Hamlets (53% against 26%), and the proportion is even higher in Battersea (58%). Less than one quarter live in public housing in London, Wandsworth and Battersea, against 41% in Bow and 51% in Tower Hamlets. Proportions of private rentals are higher for All London than the constituent study areas.

*Travel to work* (Table and Figure 13):

37% of people living in Bow and Tower Hamlets travel by public transport while the average across the other areas is below 30%. One person out of three in Wandsworth travels by train, against 18% of those in the smaller Battersea area. More Bow and Tower Hamlets people walk to work (11% and 16% respectively) than in Battersea and Wandsworth (8% and 7%).

***Summary***

Battersea is more 'European', has a higher social class profile, better educated residents and smaller households. Bow has a very large Bangladeshi and Muslim community. Most people live in public housing, with larger household and family size. More travel by public transport. We have not yet been able to see how these and other class/income indicators are distributed across ethnicity

## 2 a) Overview of Bow Interviews [Jade Gibson and Rossella Lo Conte]

### Perception of Movement in and out of the area

There is perception of an increase in white middle class as the East End has been gentrified and people have sold up and moved out; and of more Bangladeshi in council housing. People also spoke of an older white middle class in council and housing associations, a decrease in the number of Cockneys, and an awareness of a growing number of Somalis in the area. There was some mention of an increasing Eastern European population, and of more Afro-Caribbeans.

### Integration and Interaction

The Roman Road area is mixed, but not necessarily a culturally integrated. A 39 year old Jamaican woman who ran a 'black music' stall on the market said, *'When in business, I'm British and integrated, but when I'm home, I'm Jamaican,'* and that she hoped her children would choose black partners as *'at some time one has to choose between one and the other'*. She claimed these views were due to growing up during the National Front years, coming to school in Tower Hamlets directly from Jamaica: *'you don't forget the past'*. An artist in her 60s remembers cleaning National Front graffiti off a building in 1981. By contrast a Cypriot fish and chip shop owner in his 70s, and a woman around 50 working at the Housing Association on Roman Road, spoke of the past as friendly and less dangerous.

One parent of late 30s, living in the original survey area, still regularly visits the Roman Road market on Saturdays and get fruit and vegetables. Others 'no longer' shop there, finding it unattractive, more expensive and without variety.

People interviewed also used other markets in Tower Hamlets. A Bengali mother, 27, shops in Whitechapel and Bethnal Green for specialist Bengali clothing and primarily Bethnal Green market and Globe Town markets [nearer her home than Roman Road] for food, doing 'big shops' at specialist Bengali stores where one can buy in bulk cheaper.. A Nigerian around 40 who had lived in the area for a year, said that when he did a 'big buy' he went to Balham or Brixton. He went there, instead of Dalston Market in Hackney, for African foods because he had previously lived in Wandsworth, and continued to work in Vauxhall. Because his work was close to Balham, it was easier to shop there, he said. Buying in bulk was a prevalent reason for going further afield, whether for a supermarket or international foods.

The supermarket on Roman Road recently closed. Where people now go depends on their immediate locality and access to transport. Those with cars went where the motorway gave access, either a 'family shop' on the weekend, as in the case of the family on Norman Grove, or where friends or family drove them to, such as Canary Wharf in the case of a St Kitts woman in her 30s who had no car, and went with a family member. Others, such as A, a single British/Spanish mother in her 30s, and her mother, RM, took buses or the underground to nearby supermarkets. The accessibility of transport played a large role in this.

Since the closing of the supermarket forced people to go further afield it has also changed market trade. A said that since the supermarket closed, the market had 'gone down'.

### Family and Social Networks

Individual people responded very differently to the area they lived in, and engaged with different notions of 'networks'. Here are some brief examples:

R, white widowed woman in her 70s, British, with daughter A also living in Bow until recently, had time on her hands and therefore enjoyed 'walking around the markets', often going further afield to Notting Hill Gate where she picked up her daughter's child from her Spanish-speaking school, and to Camden, where she had lived before. Her networks were small. She had previously had stalls on various local markets. She enjoyed '*just watching people*' while sitting in a '*typical greasy spoon*' with large windows.

RZ, the Bengali woman, 27, would socialise with family and friends in their houses, or in Muslim restaurants. When younger she had gone to clubs in the area, but later had adopted the Hijab, as a sign she '*was not scared to be Muslim*' in the face of the recent prejudice after 9/11 and 7/7. Now they have more parties at home. Although she had invited mothers of different ethnic backgrounds to her parties, she said most of them never came. She was recognised by other Bengalis in the area – schoolchildren, shopkeepers etc.

O and S, both at St Paul's and St Marks Church, St Stephens, spoke of the 'community' of the church, and that race mattered little when there was a common bond, such as within Church services. S said he didn't really know if the events that took place were necessarily culturally integrated, people '*more or less do their own thing*'. This view is supported by the Housing Association woman stating that there are specialist Bengali language women's groups held at the church, but she saw no reason for an exclusionist approach.

Work was another way of forming networks, sometimes very large. C, the woman, 37, who lived in Norman Grove for ten years, a mother of 4, had started as a volunteer in a breast feeding training network and now works part time, both in a parent-toddler association nearby for the National Health and within the breast feeding network. Her work takes her all over the area, and she claims to know around 300 local people who would know who she is and whom she would recognise. Her networks are extensive, including strong family ties in Cambridge and abroad, and she knew many people in our survey area, who she said would be keen to be interviewed, and indeed, requests to be interviewed started coming in shortly after. Through her people resources and her own interest in setting up and being part of groups, she had formed a very wide community, and has several close friends among ex-students and work colleagues.

C sent her children to the local primary school which she claimed had shifted from approximately 50% Bengali origin (in her oldest child's class) to being around 90 percent (her youngest child's class). She had also noticed an increase of Eastern Europeans - Russians, Poles etc, her youngest child having 5 Russians in her class of 25.. She had no problem with her child being in a primarily Bengali populated school. She said the Bengali children rarely came to parties or to play after school, and that was the general perception of the non-Bengali children at the school, but she was optimistic this would change once they got to secondary school, as she had seen '*mixed groups of teenagers hanging out together, or at least going home from school together*'.

This contrasts with the St Kitts woman in her 30s who was a single mother by with an only son, who sent her son to a local Catholic school, partly because it was where she had been as a child, and partly because she said, 'having children who don't speak English properly holds your child back'. The housing association woman however said that '*that's an excuse, children learn a new language in no time at all*' and said she felt all the children should mix.

C in Norman Grove said our previous survey area was now very white, apart from the council housing and had become quite gentrified. He had campaigned for the Liberal Democrats and consequently had knocked on many doors and thus had an idea of who lived in various areas. Quite

a few families send their children to the local private school around the Bethnal Green area, with 'distinctive red uniforms'. These families, says RM the 70 year old living in Coborn Road, do little to contribute to the area; they *'worked in the city, came and went in their cars, sent their children to private school, and went away on weekends.* C from Norman Grove said she had noticed a lot of people she had met in the immediate area were young couples who she felt had moved from flats to start a family.

People's engagement with the neighbourhood is variable and through different mechanisms – some work, some religion, some political campaigning, some hardly engaging at all, having networks extending across London. Thus, their descriptions of the area ranged from what maybe could be described as 'imagined spaces' such as *'there are a lot of people, I think they're Indian, or Bengali, I'm not sure, living around that area, but I don't really know'* or *'Roman Road, I don't go there, and you won't get a good Cappuccino around there'* [artist] to a clearly active engagement, *'I worked in Bromley-by-Bow, one of the most deprived area in the country... three towers, and you have to walk under the motorway to get to the supermarket, and I know many people around there.'* This diversity of local perception extends to the immediate environment; a shared garden between 6 families in Norman Grove where their children all played compared to people who maybe said hello to their neighbours but did not know anything about them.

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#### **BOW area sample interview: "O"**

We spoke to OSS in an impromptu yet long interview with the people volunteering to look after the church entrance as an Asian (not sure if Hindu or Moslem) Mehendi party was happening in the church hall, and people went to classes events and the gym above. The Mehendi party was for a future marriage and the hall had been hired.

**OSS** – from Nigeria, roughly 40s, has been 15 years in London, and lived in Bow area about a year, close to the church, then married and moved to Raynham in Essex, for 'space reasons', from a 2 bed to a 5 bed house last year. He was in IT for a long time, but became an estate agent, about 5 years ago.

OSS married in the Church, a year ago. Now goes to church 3-4 times a week, They love the Church, and work in the church community. There are nice people around here. Spoke of the mix of people – of different cultures in the area. He thinks not all Bangladeshis go to mosque, might be like in church; the community is big, but the attendance is not that much. When you walk down Roman Road the stalls are very mixed – Indian/black/white.

Lack of supermarkets is the biggest inconvenience, and the distance between stations; 'it is useful being near a tube'. They had Morrison's [supermarket] which was shut down. O does not shop for Nigerian food here. Likes Brixton –they have the same things here, but more expensive, and cost is more important than distance. He drives to the shops. He works in Vauxhall, and said, he tends to go that way (to Brixton) as it is cheaper.

At home they cook African food. When he lived in Bow, they would go to Roman road and buy there, for pretty much everything. However, when they planned a *'big buy of African food'* they

bought from Brixton, as it was cheaper in bulk, things like meallie meal, mince, meat and fish. Now they have moved they shop at Upton Park, and they found out it is cheaper than the market. Both he and his wife came from South London and he lived in Wandsworth ten to twelve years. *'Everyone goes to Brixton'* he said, *'it's popular'*. He also used to go to Balham. His wife used to live in Camberwell in South London and bought in Brixton market too. His wife also drives. He said there are not many Nigerians in Bow, more in Hackney. *'There are mostly Bengali and Somali in the Bow area, not many West Indians.'*

#### Activities:

There is a Sunday weekly service and a gym upstairs. Classes and events include tea dances, karate, kick box classes. People who come are all ages and cultures. O said the heart of the building is a community centre, and anyone can come. People hear of it by word of mouth and O said most people live very near and walk to the church, *'only die hard ones like us come from far'*. They said it was a good church with a good community, lots of activities and many people who attend have lived here for a long time.

They were volunteering to help for the evening. O said there are a dozen part-time volunteers.

O's wife is from Zambia and she cooks. He eats anything he is given. He says Zambian food is different from typical Nigerian. *'She shops; I will probably take her there.'*

After a year in Bow, O knew people in the Church but not people outside it. He said to be honest he was not really part of the community in Bow, or integrated, except in the church. And where they live now you don't meet anyone around, maybe say hi to the neighbours..

#### Links in London:

He has links in Wandsworth because he lived there, and is still in touch. His office is 5-6 minutes to where he lived before. Most people he communicates with are not here in Bow, but friends *'from home'*, work, school. He sees Bow people around but is not involved with them.

O has lots of family *'scattered'* across the country. He has lots of parties, *'any excuse to party'*, usually barbecue. The vicar of the church regularly comes to his place, and people come from church. He lives about ten miles away, so if he leaves home by nine he is here by 9.30. The parties have a mixture of people and they cook stew curry and pastry to satisfy different tastes.

#### Clothing

There are times when O wears African style clothing, *'depending'*. He's outside a lot and would get cold in African clothes. Tomorrow is his birthday and he was going to wear jeans and shirt. However, for a formal party he would dress up. He wears Nigerian clothes to church, Sunday, or weddings. On special occasions, it's *'a matter of choice'*. He went to a formal event on Saturday, approx 200 people, everyone dressed in Nigerian attire.

Clothes have embroidery and printing. You can find them in Hackney just down the road. In Liverpool Street, Petticoat Lane there is a whole street of Nigerian stores/stalls, run by *'Indians'*. He says the material was made in Holland/Denmark, like what they wear in Nigeria. Damask lace – the lace that hangs from windows, is popular in Nigerian clothing. Often he said it is put on furniture. He also spoke of Guinea Brocade as similar. In Nigeria, certain woven cloths are made.

The Petticoat Lane places are cheap. The stalls are there on Sundays. The materials are not made up yet, but are folded up and ready to be cut to size by tailors. Most people have a personal tailor – there are Nigerian tailors in Upton Park, which sell Nigerian attire, but he uses personal friends – one is a designer. He said the cloth is in bundles of 5/10/15 yards, and they put embroidery on and designs and stuff. It's like anything else, he said, cotton might be made in China, but made into shirts in London. There's no 'Nigerian print' he said. He said Ghanaians use the prints also; they are sold by Asians here, but 'back home' the people who sell the cloth are Nigerians. There is no particular choice or colour; it depends on your taste. He said he wears what his wife chooses, what he's given. Everything his wife is wearing is hand-woven. He said they make the same things in lace; sometimes an undergarment is worn and that '*when it is on, it is very nice*'. None of the materials is for Nigerians only – lots of people use them.

They get most of what they buy in Petticoat Lane. An outfit will be £70-80. Shoes are not made in Nigeria – probably Italy. Nigerians like good shoes, but '*we don't make shoes, we make slippers*'.

When he was six his father used take him to Petticoat Lane. Then he was living in Nigeria but came on school holidays. He studied in the UK. He said back then it was a lot different, you could spend Nigerian currency then and not as many Africans as now, '*everywhere you go now, it is all Africans.*' .Now, he says people don't see you in good light because bad things have been happening –fraud etc. Once people respected you for being Nigerian.

He has a brother in LA who is a doctor – the pay is better there. He works as an estate agent, and started as a computer scientist, which he did for 15 years. He was good at IT. This job is a lot of work. He bought business after going there to put in computers. He learnt as he went along. Now he knows a lot more. It's a very ruthless business and he feels bad sometimes. For example he was on a course today and the guy was swearing throughout, not for any reason, but that is how it is, it is the '*jungle life*' – you have to undercut someone. He has never worked so hard as last 5 years. '*Is intense, very intensive! Tough.*'

In London it is a lot freer than before. Living here has exposed him to many African countries he would have never known when living in Africa. The Ghanaians back home in Nigeria work in menial jobs and he wouldn't invite them to events. '*That's how it is.*' He has met people from Ghana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Madagascar; he meets them in parties and elsewhere. Also Angola, South Africa, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, not really North Africa, except Algeria. He met '*all types of people*' when he went to church in Balham. It was a Pentecostal church, 90 percent Ghanaian. He might meet them in the street in Balham, not particularly friends. But made friends with people from Uganda and Nigeria.

He met his wife thought a friend invited to a party with another friend, shared the same transport. They have never been apart since that day. They met in March and moved to Bow in June; they married the June after in the Bow church. They have missed the service only once or twice. The vicar is female, and '*proper English*'.

In London O goes many places. Not so much of the west, mostly south, north, east. Usually he goes to parties. Also travels for work; he deals with properties all over. He has family and friends in Wandsworth, Croydon, Tower Hamlets, Islington, Merton. Most of his friends are African, or German, not really white British. His church friends here '*count as black*'

He keeps in touch through phone, email and parties, he's 'always doing parties' -the biggest are 80-100 people. His wedding had close to 500 people. It's a very good form of relaxing, he said. He enjoys people around. Otherwise, he visits his church and sees people there, and most people he knows come to his office in Vauxhall. He has lots of cousins 'all around' and a brother in Islington.

When O lived in Bow he would eat out at Zera's in Mile End, Indian Cuisine, and at the Greek Restaurant Dino's next door to Zera.

## 2b) Overview of Battersea Interviews [Mai Vidali & Alessia Montuori]

*[Editor's note: Mai Vidali was a member of the original Battersea research team. The Battersea research area is popularly known as LARA, named for the Louvaine Area Residents Association set up in the late 1970's as a focus for Housing Action. Local people always refer to it this way.]*

### **Battersea revisited**

The main focus of the interviews with long standing residents was their perception of change in the neighbourhood. While there was no doubt that the population in both the wider Clapham Junction area and LARA has changed, the degree of dissatisfaction with the changes varied. There was agreement among the long-standing interviewees on the following:

- a more transient population is moving in (and out)
- newcomers are wealthier, younger and have different life styles to the old residents
- newcomers are less community orientated, spend less time in the neighbourhood because of work commitments and higher mobility
- the wider Clapham Junction area is changing to accommodate the new life style - bars and restaurants everywhere, but also better supermarket
- LARA is not adjusting to the needs of the newcomers - instead it is looking for old style users in the wider Battersea high rise council flats
- it is difficult to get to know newcomers because they keep moving in and out, they don't hang around street corners to chat, they drive cars or walk in large groups through the area

While one of the interviewees thought that it is for LARA to engage newcomers, another thought it was for newcomers to be more neighbourly and a third thought there should be more effort from both sides. The first gave the example of tree planting in her street that engaged both new and old residents. The second complained bitterly about neighbours questioning the presence of her black long haired son in the street. Her son was actually born and grew up in LARA. And the third interviewee described how an old resident approaches newcomers in her street and invites them together with old residents for a drink in her house.

Unsurprisingly, the view from the newcomers' perspective looks different. In one case, there is a perception of too much community feeling that limits one's freedom. This black single mother feels that she cannot refuse to respond to the demands or needs of neighbours. *"I mean people who live in LARA. I feel that I have to be involved, I have to be polite, I have to speak to people's sons and daughters. Obligations. If somebody's parents look after your child, how can you walk past them? How can you not let them in? But they are not a choice. I know everybody in the street and the whole area. It is very close knit community like it or not."*

The other newcomer interviewee, a young white woman, expressed a total ignorance of LARA or any sort of community feeling and falls into the category of the transient young people who walk or drive *through* the neighbourhood.

### **Networks**

The three long standing residents interviewed differ substantially in their life styles but all three have local networks. Jo. seems to relate to a small number of people outside her immediate family but her best friends are local. Jy. is busy with family and work but values her local friends. C. has an enormous network of friends and guests that includes neighbours. The two newcomers rely on work and University connections for friendships.

### **My own perception of change**

The area looks better, richer, more up-market, less run down, the streets look emptier, more quiet, the population is less black and the neighbourhood has fewer children playing in the street. All five interviewees are doing well both in terms of housing and financially. Two council tenants bought their houses, an owner occupier is selling hers at a high profit, one of the newcomers is in a housing association flat a bit too small for her but OK, and the other is preparing to carry out improvements to her newly bought maisonette. This is a different story from the 1970s when most of the tenants lived in terrible housing conditions and were in great need for help not only for housing but for social security payments too.

With the sale of council property the population profile in terms of income has changed. Few of the old low income households seem to be still around. Some have left the country, *'Shirley is in Barbados and visits occasionally'*, the West Africans have mostly gone, the Irish widow re-housed with her two children is still there and apparently living in poverty. There is concern on the part of interviewees about the present lack of the opportunities for low income households which they themselves enjoyed when LARA was active. Poverty has moved elsewhere.

For some people LARA and the HAA, with all the resources put into the neighbourhood in the 1970s, was an important event in their lives. Better housing conditions, local connections, a job in one case, continuity of a cherished way of life, opportunity for participation in community affairs have marked their lives. My five-year work in the area marked my life too. I got to know a variety of people I would not have met otherwise. I was able to help most of the ones who needed help. I was part of an experiment in the implementation of social policy aiming to improve living conditions in the inner city. How to judge the results 30 years later is still unclear to me. I have the feeling that it was just that: an experiment with a beginning and an end. The newcomers have no way of experiencing what the old residents have lived.

### **Shopping**

ASDA supermarket in Clapham Junction got the thumbs up from everybody! The old residents miss the street market for its good value fruit and vegetables and avoid the few stalls of expensive cheeses that have taken its place. For anything more unusual or for better value some people go to Tooting that remains an ethnically mixed area.

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## Sample Interview Battersea: "J"

J. is 69 years old, a Catholic who recently went to Rome to see the Vatican. She is originally from Guyana and has lived in the area for 40 years, now with her youngest son. His father, who did not live with them, died 15 years ago at his age of 60. Joan is one of the single parent families described in *Eight London Households* [Wallman 1984]. She was one of the first families to be re-housed with her two sons by the council because of the terrible conditions of the privately let basement flat where they lived before. She now owns her flat, bought in 1989.

I have always felt admiration for the way she brought up her sons, achieving a wonderful balance between discipline and fun. Her third son used to come to the office to bring messages from his mum and always had a joke to tell me. In seeing her again I felt that she had achieved if not the impossible at least something like it. Keeping black boys out of trouble must have been hard, I suggested and she said, *'I had to be hard with them, I had to do it. I told them no son of mine is going to jail'*. Today it seems that her sons and their families are very close to her and one of them helped her financially to buy her flat.

In looking back she said, *"None of my sons has been into trouble and this is important especially with boys. They had to be careful. My mother had eight of us.' If we don't have anything to eat don't tell anybody'. And my mother never had to go to court for any of us and neither did I. I survived and if I could make it everybody else could. This is my home and I put my mark on it. Bought second hand furniture and survived until I could make it. [My son] bought me a new music centre and I will give the old one to a charity. The kids ask me if I need anything or money. I say yes but I don't need anything. If they want to give me, I will take it."*

### Family

J. has four sons in total. The oldest was only two years old when she and her husband left for England, leaving him with the grand parents. They meant to bring him to London later but due to financial difficulties, they never did. They had two more sons, both of whom lived with their mother when she and their father split up.

After separating from her husband J. had a new relationship and a fourth son. He is now 30 years old and lives with her. He is easy to live with, she says, because he works all night and sleeps during the day. The oldest son lives in Canada. He keeps in touch with her and with his brothers despite the fact that they did not grow up together. He has visited them in London a few times. Last time it was for his brother's 40th birthday. The next one lives in Tedhurst and the one after in Balham. both with families. She has six grandchildren and one great grand-daughter from the oldest son's son. The South London grandchildren go to school locally. They all come to J's house for Christmas except her second son's two who go to the other grandmother. They are many: the third son and his girlfriend, who is also Guyanese [although they met here J. knew her mum and dad from back home], and their children and the son who lives with her.

### Other family

She has her mother in Guyana whom she phones every day. She went back ten years ago when her dad died. She has a sister in America and keeps in touch all the time. Some cousins live in Leighton, East London. She is also in touch with her ex-sister-in-law who lives outside London in Southall; and with the father of her first three sons. They used to go to school together and he phones sometimes to wish Happy Birthday and Happy Mothers' Day. She is in touch with his sister too.

## **Friends**

In talking about friends J. naturally moves to talking about people in the immediate neighbourhood. And at a time of crisis, she would call a local friend who works for LARA and lives in the area. *"In a crisis I would call Marie who lives in Brussels Road. Four years ago I came in from work and a friend of mine died suddenly in front of LARA. I came in and I started feeling unwell I had a high temperature and my son rang Marie and she rang Ann (both long standing LARA residents) and they looked after me. I mean my children live far."*

She has friends from her school days who live in Thornton Heath.

She also has friends around here. Helen and Marie - *"we work together"* - and Christine who still lives around the corner in Cologne Road. *"We still keep in touch with the people who have been here for a long time. We have a chat. The others are dead. After the old people died they rented the houses again and then they sold them off. A few people live in council houses now. Ann died, her son is still in the flat, but they sold upstairs. A lot of people moved out. Shirley is back in Barbados. She comes every year or two and then she is off again. Brussels Road is all private [tenure]. In this street there is only here upstairs and maybe one or two more."*

## **Neighbourhood**

J. is very well informed about the various LARA activities: *"youth clubs, pensioners' bingo, nifty fifties for people over fifty going ninety, discussion group for over 60s, nursery, after school club and for half term and summertime play scheme. It is good and very busy. I often go to the pensioners' activities. Three times a year pensioners have entertainment. It is open to people from outside the area. You have to pay if you go on an outing and there is a membership fee and we still have Christmas dinner and party in January."*

*"It is good because the area has changed. A lot of young people live here now you see them one day and you don't see them tomorrow. They live in let property. There are flats next door to me and I don't know who lives there. You see them move in on Saturday and by next Saturday they are gone. They are not very friendly. There are still some of the old people around although some have died. And some of the people who have lived here for 15 years they might say hello to you but no more. You don't know who is who. It was different. In the 60s and 70s you knew who lived here. Now you don't know who is breaking in when the police asks. Now there are just a few council houses. Mostly strangers come here now."*

*"People from the area who have moved here recently don't use LARA. You see them pass in droves on a Sunday. LARA is used by parents who don't live in the area. They had to open up because the area does not have enough children to keep the nursery and the latchkey scheme. Then they opened it up to everyone else. Here there are many people who have no kids. They are young. This is a big change. I said all these years ago 'I hope the area does not change' but it has."*

She continued expressing her dissatisfaction with change when we talked about other topics too.

*"The local shops have gone. I don't go to the wine bars. They change the names every six months. It is very different now. You don't see anybody during the day. You only see them when school finishes after 3. It is very quiet in the evening."*

*"It was different then. By the time you get to the corner you would talk to ten people. Even when you see people they don't look at you. They don't say hello. Most people drive now and you don't see them."*

### **People she dislikes**

J. has had trouble with her new neighbours on either side. The owner-occupiers on one side have built an extension and placed a large piece of lead over the party wall. She objected and they spoke down to her *'as if I was a child'*. She got angry and took half of the piece of lead down and complained to the Council who told her that the neighbour had no right to do this, but she should not make trouble having taken half of it down. In the end they had to take the piece of lead down, but the incident left her depressed about changes and in particular new owners building extensions and the council giving them permission to do this.

On the other side the council flats have been sold and are let to people who come and go frequently. They have also given her trouble. *"Once my son, who lives in Balham, was outside in the street and a man who lives next door told him, 'if you come here again I will call the police'. This is the way it is now. He has long hair and drives a red van. He says people look at him strangely. One night the same son was sitting in the car out in the street and someone called the police saying that they have knives and the police came and searched them. It is terrible. One night my son, who lives here, was coming in and the police asked him where he was going and when I heard him I got out of the bed and went to say he was my son. My sons don't like coming around here. It has gone back to the days when only white people lived around here."*

### **Jobs**

J. did various jobs when she first came to London and then for a few years lived on social security in order to keep an eye on her sons and make sure they don't get into trouble. Since 1980 she works as a cleaner at the LARA community centre. She works 20 hours a week, every day a little in the morning and a little in the early evening. *"I stay until the job is finished, sometimes it takes an hour sometimes much more."* She likes her job because it is local and she likes the admin worker there who she considers a friend.

### **Shopping**

She does her shopping for food at ASDA in the Junction and buys her clothes from a catalogue because she wears a big size. Her son does most of the shopping and she also goes to Tooting market on the bus. According to her, Northcote Road hardly has anything now. There is only wine bars. As soon as something closes down same in St John's Hill only wine bars. Tooting has a market and everybody goes there to shop. Sometimes she goes to Wandsworth for a bargain.

## Concluding Discussion

This study is a multi-layered comparison of the designated neighbourhoods. Each layer has drawn on the perspective of a particular discipline or disciplines, and on research methods appropriate to the level of analysis in view. The various perspectives and methods can be grouped according to whether they focus on material qualities of each *place*, or on the relationships and experiences of *people* associated with each place.

We started with the image of an aquarium. The tank itself is taken to represent the material and infrastructural conditions of each neighbourhood place. These are the conditions of possibility<sup>1</sup> defining the options available to people resident in that neighbourhood. Thus, one level of research has involved study of the form and history of each 'fish tank'; the other has involved the tagging of individual 'fish' in those tanks – following their movements, networks, choices made among the options available.

We use the fish tank metaphor as shorthand for essential elements of our approach: - i.e. that there is an important difference between 'fish' and 'tank' aspects of neighbourhood, and yet that they are crucially interconnected. But we should note also the metaphor's limitations: the boundaries of neighbourhood are permeable, negotiable, varying with situation and history [as our accounts show], never rigid like the edges of an aquarium. Similarly, the metaphor masks the fact that connections between place and people, individuals and households are relational, not static, multiplex, not singular tracks through a body of water; and that interaction between place and people goes both ways – the place limiting personal options, the choices of individuals eventually generating new options which in their turn change the conditions of the place.

In effect, social reality is always *in process*. If we want to know the workings of urban neighbourhoods, the dynamic of differences between them, the logic governing the outcome of population mix in each case, then we must understand each neighbourhood as a localised urban *system*. At this level of analysis, comparisons of styles of diversity in Battersea and Bow neighbourhoods, and in their parent boroughs Wandsworth and Tower Hamlets, can be visualised by placing them along a continuum of [relatively] open/closed types of system, each having more/less negotiable boundaries against outsiders, and being more/less adaptable to change. In the next stage of work the evolution of each area, and of the contrast between them, will be brought into the frame.

In the original comparison, the following comment was made. The two areas are similar in superficial ways: Both are dominantly working class, low income areas with a growing sprinkling of 'gentry' and a visible ethnic mixture. But on the basis of historic and economic surveys of the two boroughs and the ethnographic study of the neighbourhood in each, we found them to have very different 'local styles of diversity.' The Bow version shows a relatively closed and homogenous system, in all its dimensions, and in the Battersea case, a relatively open and heterogeneous system. Our current work so far confirms that this overall contrast is sustained. The next phase of work will compare past and present data sets in detail. We should note that our approach is comparative rather than predictive, but on the basis of contrasts in styles of diversity between Battersea type and Bow type local systems we may confidently expect that same input of government and other resources will have very different effect in the two kinds of area.

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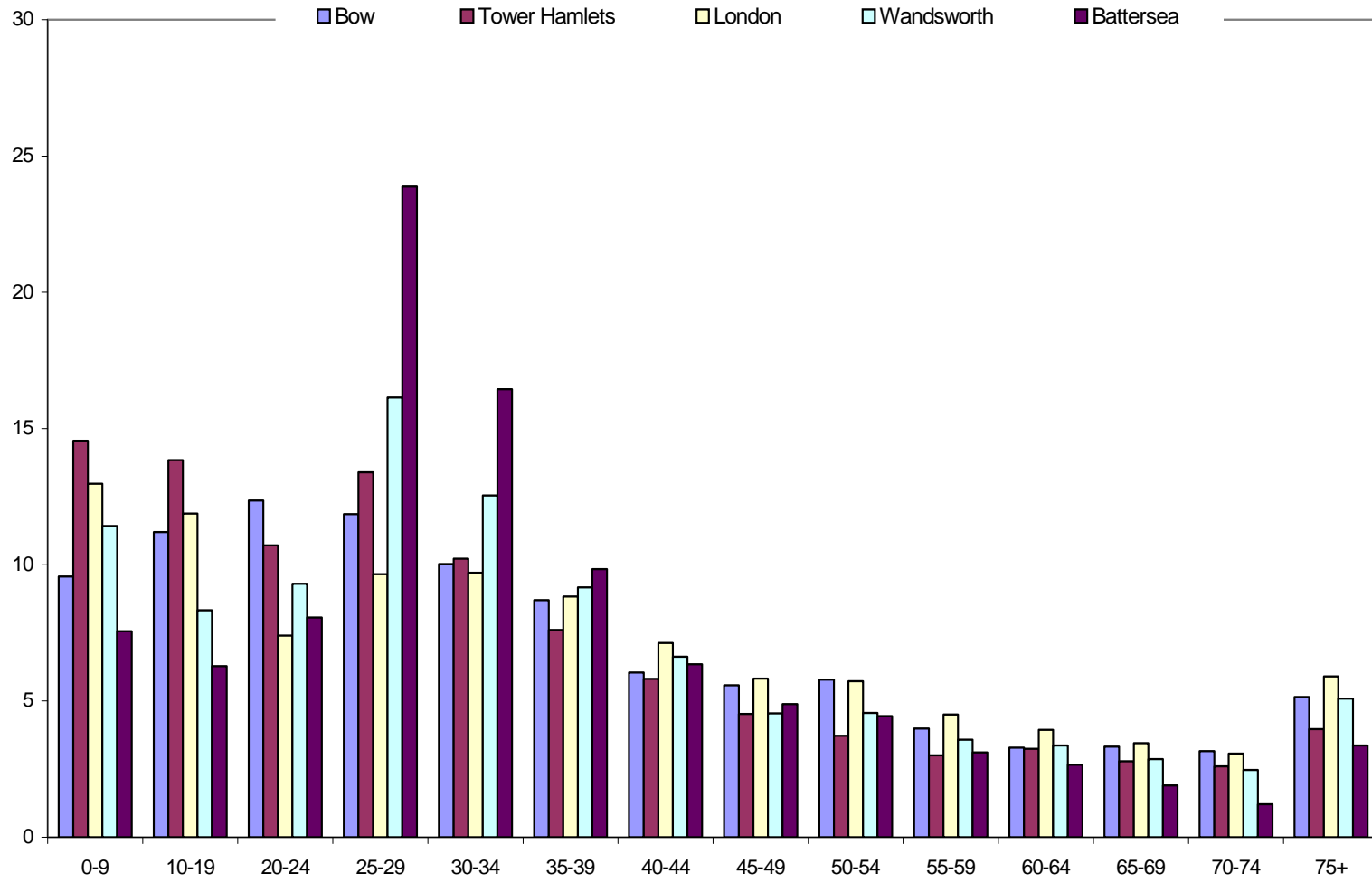
*APPENDIX Census Tables and Figures*

**Table 1.** Age (percentages]

<i>Years</i>	<b>Bow Survey Area</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets</b>	<b>London</b>	<b>Wandsworth</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area</b>
<b>0-4</b>	5.2	7.7	6.7	6.4	4.4
<b>5-9</b>	4.4	6.8	6.3	5.0	3.1
<b>10-14</b>	5.5	7.0	6.1	4.2	3.5
<b>15-19</b>	5.6	6.9	5.8	4.1	2.8
<b>20-24</b>	12.4	10.7	7.4	9.3	8.1
<b>25-29</b>	11.9	13.4	9.7	16.1	23.9
<b>30-34</b>	10.0	10.2	9.7	12.5	16.4
<b>35-39</b>	8.7	7.6	8.8	9.2	9.8
<b>40-44</b>	6.0	5.8	7.1	6.6	6.3
<b>45-49</b>	5.6	4.5	5.8	4.5	4.9
<b>50-54</b>	5.8	3.7	5.7	4.6	4.4
<b>55-59</b>	4.0	3.0	4.5	3.6	3.1
<b>60-64</b>	3.3	3.2	3.9	3.4	2.7
<b>65-69</b>	3.3	2.8	3.5	2.9	1.9
<b>70-74</b>	3.2	2.6	3.1	2.5	1.2
<b>75-79</b>	2.6	2.0	2.6	2.2	1.3
<b>80-84</b>	1.3	1.1	1.7	1.5	1.3
<b>85-89</b>	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.9	0.4
<b>90-95</b>	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3
<b>95-99</b>	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
<b>100+</b>	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

**Figure 1.** *Age structure*

Percentages



**Table 2. Country of origin (percentages]**

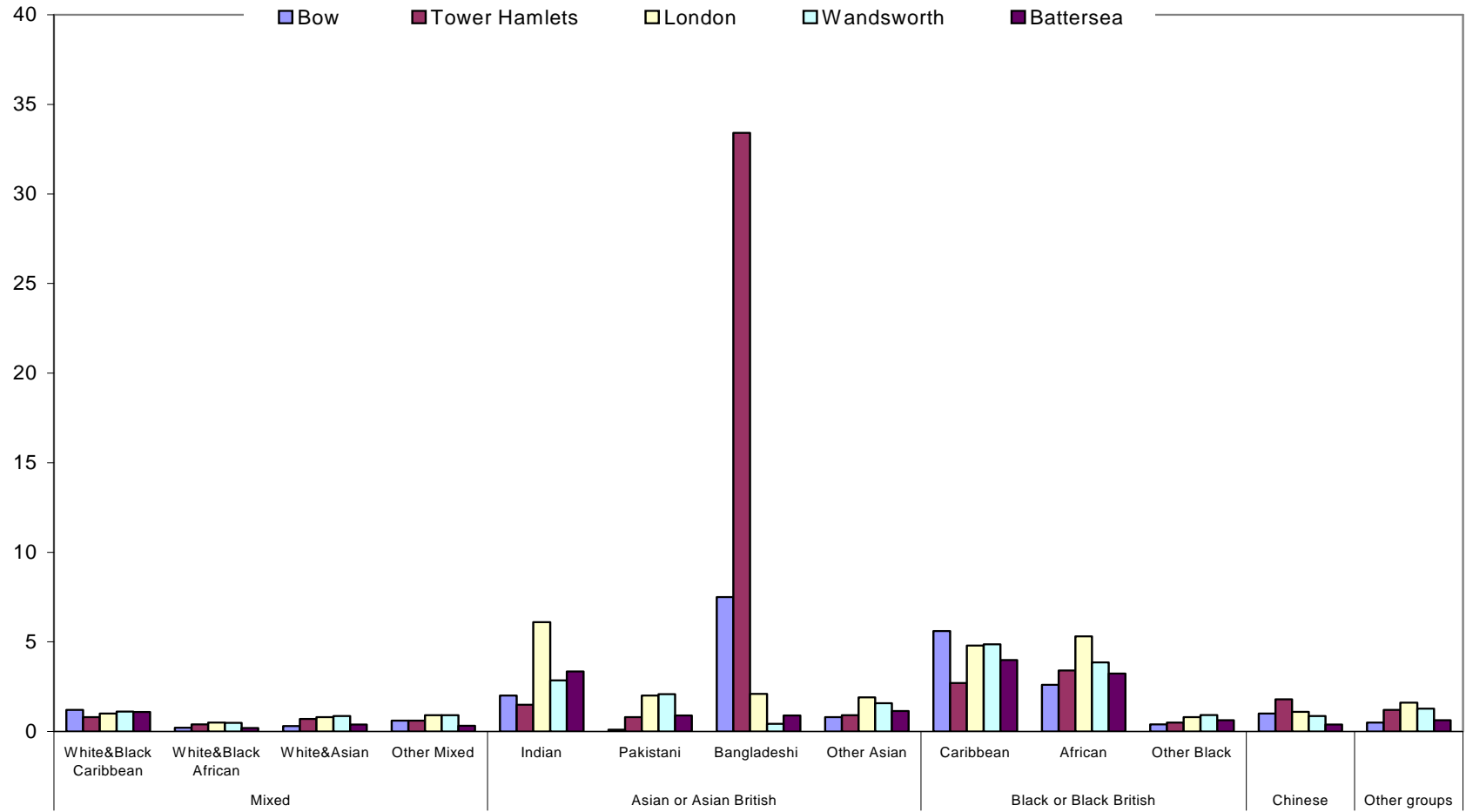
<i>Country of origin</i>	<b>Bow Survey Area</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets</b>	<b>London</b>	<b>Wandsworth</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area</b>
<b>All Europe</b>	85.1	70.3	80.1	80.9	81.9
<b>United Kingdom</b>	94.7	93.0	91.1	90.3	92.3
<b>England</b>	95.1	95.4	95.8	93.9	91.9
<b>Scotland</b>	2.4	2.3	2.1	3.0	4.6
<b>Wales</b>	1.7	1.4	1.4	2.0	2.2
<b>Northern Ireland</b>	0.9	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.3
<b>Republic of Ireland</b>	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.8	2.1
<b>Other WesternEU</b>	2.7	3.9	4.0	5.1	4.6
<b>Eastern EU</b>	0.6	1.2	2.1	1.6	0.7
<b>All Africa</b>	2.9	3.6	6.3	6.5	5.6
<b>North Africa</b>	7.0	8.7	7.2	6.3	0
<b>Central/W. Africa</b>	34.9	32.0	34.0	25.1	19.1
<b>South/East Africa (South Africa)</b>	58.1	59.3	58.8 (17.0)	68.6 (40.4)	80.9 (45.8)
<b>All Asia</b>	6.9	22.1	8.9	6.0	6.0
<b>Middle East</b>	10.6	2.6	17.9	14.7	9.4
<b>Far East Asia</b>	17.8	9.7	21.0	30.5	30.2
<b>South Asia (Bangladesh)</b>	71.6 (89.9)	87.6 (94.6)	60.8 (21.9)	54.6	57.3
<b>All America</b>	3.4	2.2	3.5	4.1	4.1
<b>North America</b>	96.1	83.7	82.3	77.4	81.8
<b>South America</b>	3.9	16.3	17.7	22.6	18.2
<b>Oceania</b>	1.3	1.4	1.0	2.2	2.1
<b>Elsewhere</b>	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2

**Table 3: Ethnic origin (percentages]**

<i>Ethnic group</i>		<b>Bow (N=3,010)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=196,106)</b>	<b>London (N=7,172,091)</b>	<b>Battersea (N=1,580)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=260,380)</b>
White	British	68.5	42.9	59.8	71.5	64.8
	Irish	2.3	1.9	3.1	2.7	3.1
	Other White	6.3	6.5	8.3	8.8	10.1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>77.1</i>	<i>51.3</i>	<i>71.2</i>	<i>82,9</i>	<i>78,0</i>
Mixed	White & Black Caribbean	1.2	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.1
	White & Black African	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.5
	White & Asian	0.3	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.9
	Other Mixed	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>2,3</i>	<i>2,5</i>	<i>3,2</i>	<i>2,0</i>	<i>3,4</i>
Asian	Indian	2.0	1.5	6.1	3.4	2.9
	Pakistani	0.1	0.8	2.0	0.9	2.1
	Bangladeshi	7.5 (72.0)	33.4 (91.3)	2.1 (17.8)	0.9	0.4
	Other Asian	0.8	0.9	1.9	1.1	1.6
	<i>Total</i>	<i>10,4</i>	<i>36,6</i>	<i>12,1</i>	<i>6,3</i>	<i>6,9</i>
Black or Black British	Caribbean	5.6	2.7	4.8	4.0	4.9
	African	2.6	3.4	5.3	3.2	3.9
	Other Black	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>8,6</i>	<i>6,6</i>	<i>10,9</i>	<i>7,9</i>	<i>9,6</i>
Chinese	1.0	1.8	1.1	0.4	0.9	
Other groups	0.5	1.2	1.6	0.6	1.3	

**Figure 3.** *Non-white ethnic groups*

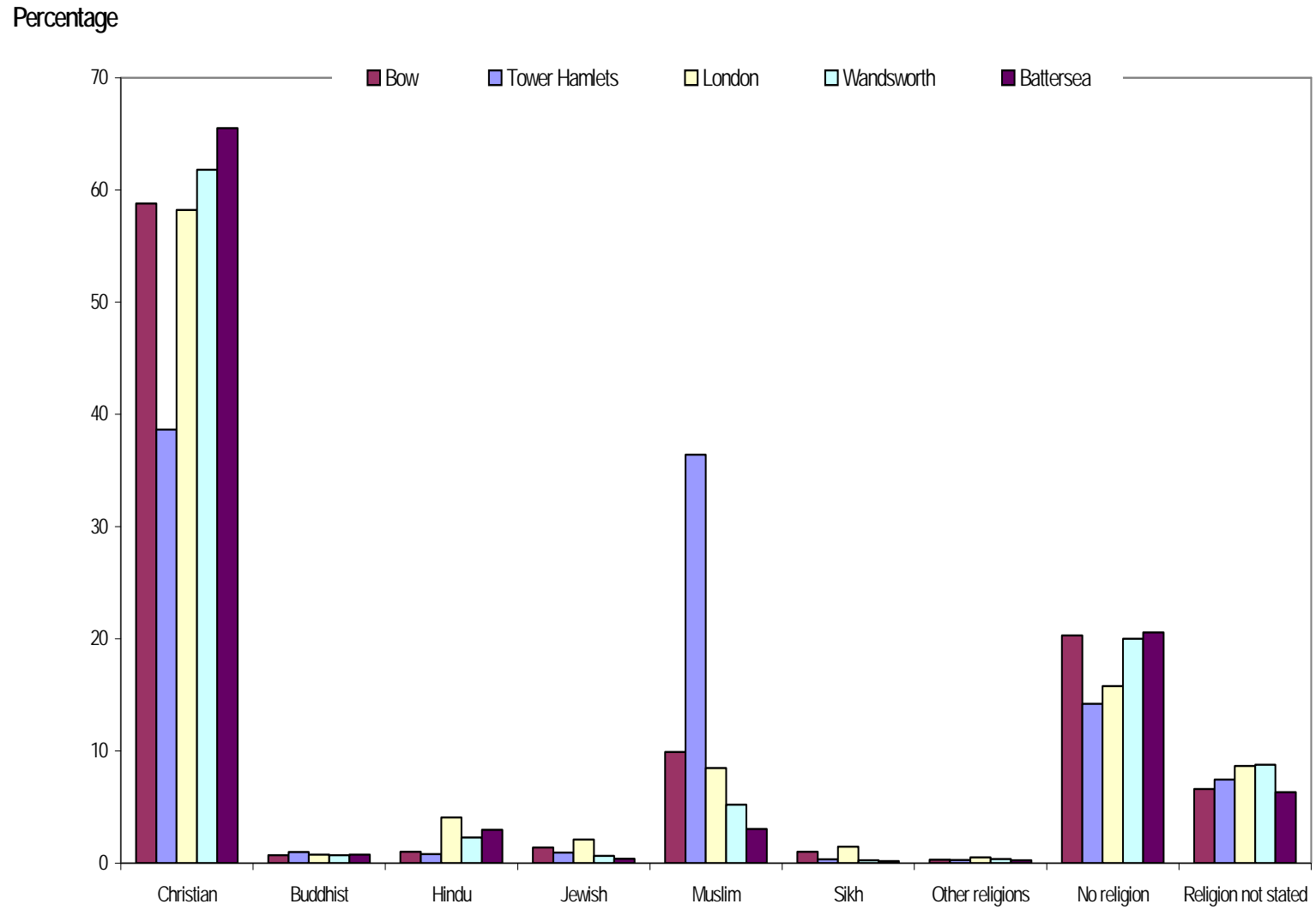
Percentage



**Table 4.** *Religious groups (percentages)*

<i>Religious group</i>	<b>Bow (N=3,011)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=196,106)</b>	<b>London (N=7,172,091)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=260,380)</b>	<b>Battersea (N=1,580)</b>
Christian	58.8	38.6	58.2	61,8	65,5
Buddhist	0.7	1.0	0.8	0,7	0,8
Hindu	1.0	0.8	4.1	2,3	3,0
Jewish	1.4	0.9	2.1	0,7	0,4
Muslim	9.9	36.4	8.5	5,2	3,0
Sikh	1.0	0.4	1.5	0,3	0,2
Other religions	0.3	0.3	0.5	0,4	0,3
No religion	20.3	14.2	15.8	20,0	20,6
Religion not stated	6.6	7.4	8.7	8,8	6,3

**Figure 4.** *Religious groups*

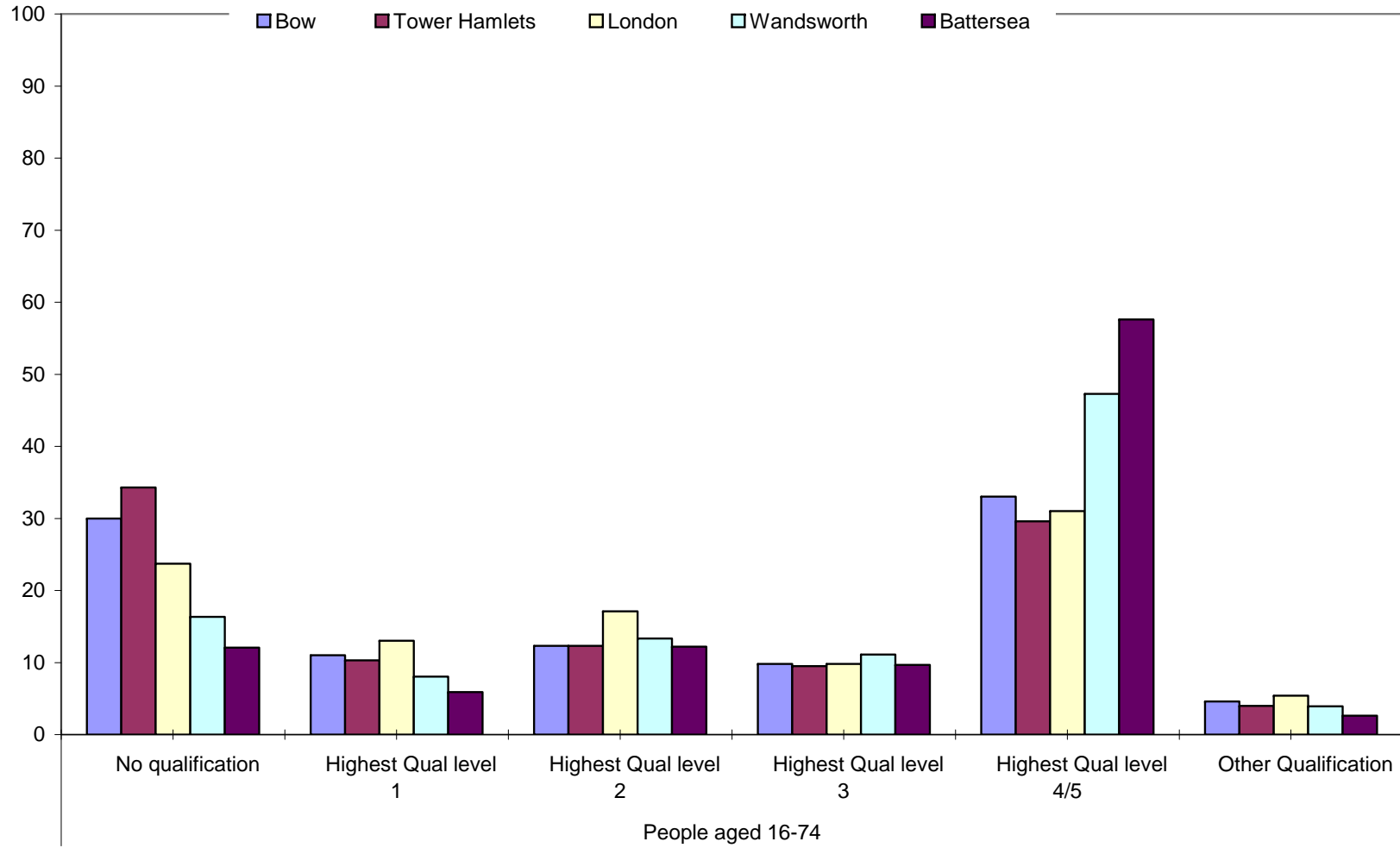


**Table 5. Education/ Qualification (percentages]**

<b><i>Education and Qualification</i></b>	<b>Bow Survey Area</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets</b>	<b>London</b>	<b>Wandsworth</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area</b>
People aged 16-74	N = 2,369	N = 143,429	N = 5,300,332	N = 204,647	N = 1,344
No qualification	30.0	34.3	23.7	16.3	12.1
Highest Qual level 1	11.0	10.3	13.0	8.1	5.9
Highest Qual level 2	12.3	12.3	17.1	13.3	12.2
Highest Qual level 3	9.8	9.5	9.8	11.1	9.7
Highest Qual level 4/5	33.0	29.6	31.0	47.3	57.6
Other Qualification	4.6	4.0	5.4	3.9	2.6

**Figure 5. Education/ Qualification**

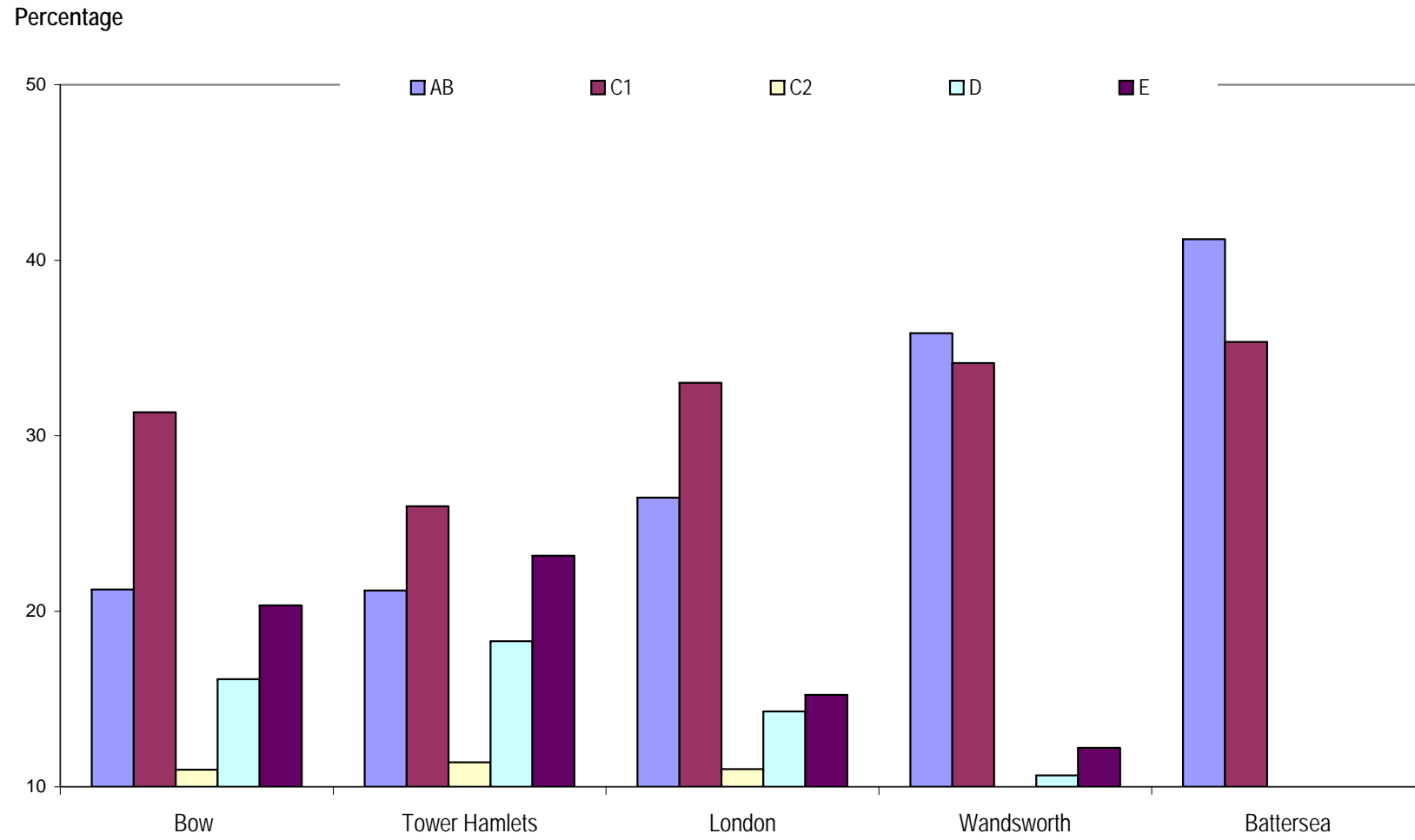
Percentage



**Table 6. Social grade (percentages]**

<i>Social grade</i>	<b>Bow Survey Area (N=2,524)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=149,108)</b>	<b>London (N=5,632,491)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=213,559)</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area (N=1,398)</b>
A/B Higher and intermediate managerial / administrative / professional	21.2	21.2	26.5	35.8	41.2
C1 Supervisory, clerical, junior managerial / administrative / professional	31.3	26.0	33.0	34.1	35.3
C2 Skilled manual workers	11.0	11.4	11.0	7.1	5.4
D Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers	16.1	18.3	14.3	10.7	9.0
E On state benefit, unemployed, lowest grade workers	20.3	23.2	15.2	12.2	9.1

**Figure 6. Social grade**

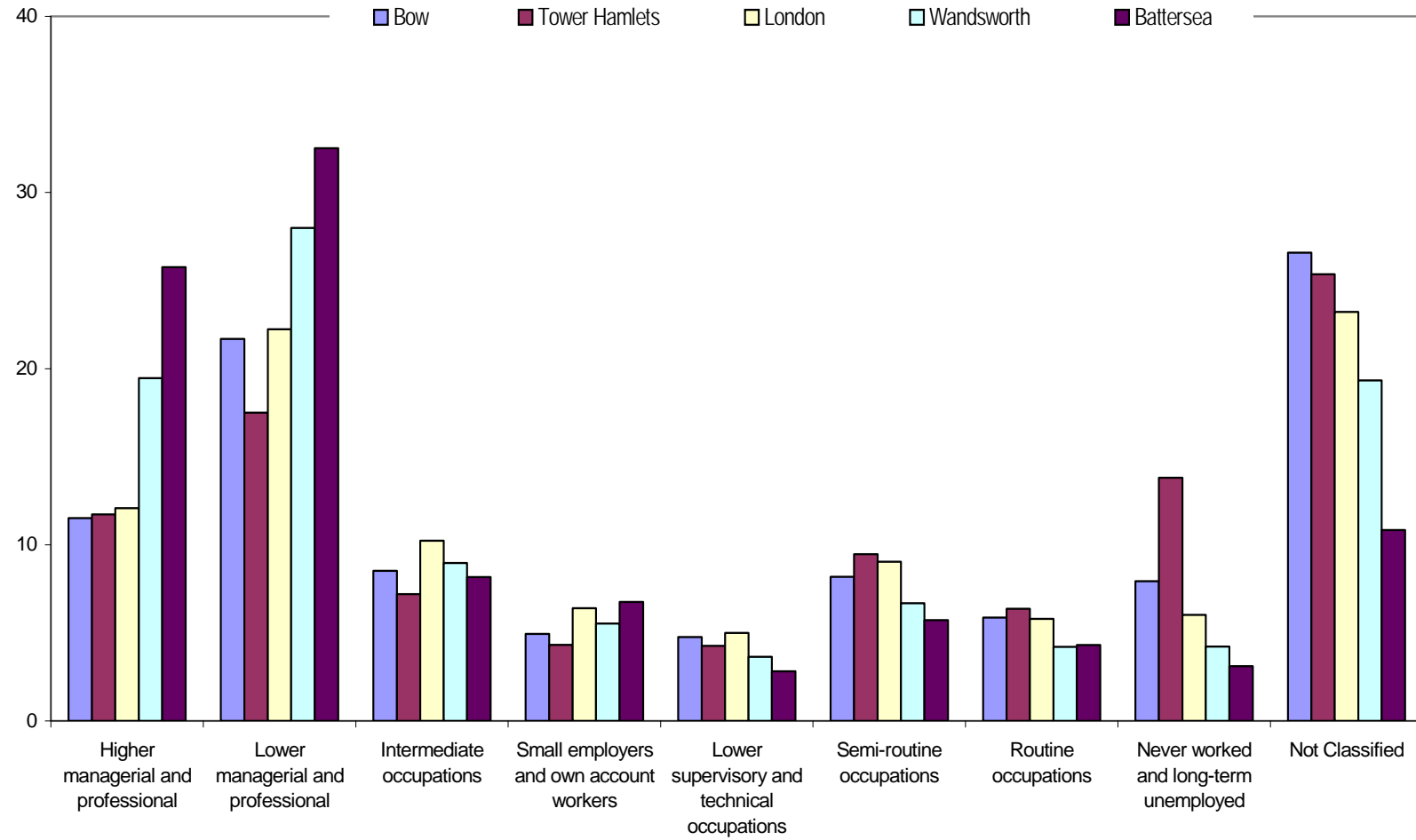


**Table 7. Socio-economic Classification (percentages]**

<i>National Statistics Socio-economic Classification</i> <sup>#</sup>	<b>Bow Survey Area (N=2,370)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=143,429)</b>	<b>London (N=5,300,332)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=204,647)</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area (N=1,347)</b>
1. Higher managerial and professional	11.5	11.7	12.1	19.5	25.8
2. Lower managerial and professional	21.7	17.5	22.2	28.0	32.5
3. Intermediate occupations	8.5	7.2	10.2	9.0	8.2
4. Small employers and own account workers	4.9	4.3	6.4	5.5	6.8
5. Lower supervisory and technical occupations	4.8	4.3	5.0	3.6	2.8
6. Semi-routine occupations	8.2	9.5	9.0	6.7	5.7
7. Routine occupations	5.9	6.4	5.8	4.2	4.3
8. Never worked and long-term unemployed	7.9	13.8	6.0	4.2	3.1
Not Classified	26.6	25.4	23.2	19.3	10.8

**Figure 7. Socio-economic Classification**

Percentage



**Table 8. Dwelling Types (percentages]**

<i>Dwelling Type</i>		<b>Bow (N=1,316)</b>	<b>T.Hamlets (N=80,781)</b>	<b>London (N=3,109,657)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=121,566)</b>	<b>Battersea (N=828)</b>
One family Dwelling	House or Bungalow	42.7	16.3	22.1	35.7	51.1
	Flat, Maisonette or Apartment	56.8	82.6	77.1	63.3	47.9
	Caravan or other Mobile or Temporary structure	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Shared Dwelling		0.5	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.8

**Table 9. People living in Dwelling Types (percentages]**

<i>Dwelling Type</i>		<b>Bow (N=3,011)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=193,987)</b>	<b>London (N=7,078,632)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=255,973)</b>	<b>Battersea (N=1,579)</b>
One family Dwelling	House or Bungalow	49.1	20.4	29.4	44.4	60.4
	Flat, Maisonette or Apartment	50.3	78.0	70.2	54.9	38.9
	Mobile/temporary structure	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Shared Dwelling		0.6	1.4	0.6	0.6	0.4

**Table 10.** *Number of people per household (percentages]*

<i>Number of people within household</i>	<b>Bow Survey Area (N=1,301)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=78,530)</b>	<b>London (N=3,015,997)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=115,653)</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area (N=795)</b>
1	35.6	38.9	34.7	36.6	41.4
2	28.2	26.7	29.4	31.6	34.8
3	16.6	11.8	15.0	15.1	13.1
4	11.2	8.8	12.5	10.4	6.5
5	6.5	6.3	5.5	4.3	2.4
6 or more	1.8	5.4	2.8	2.1	1.8

**Table 11.** *Household composition (percentages]*

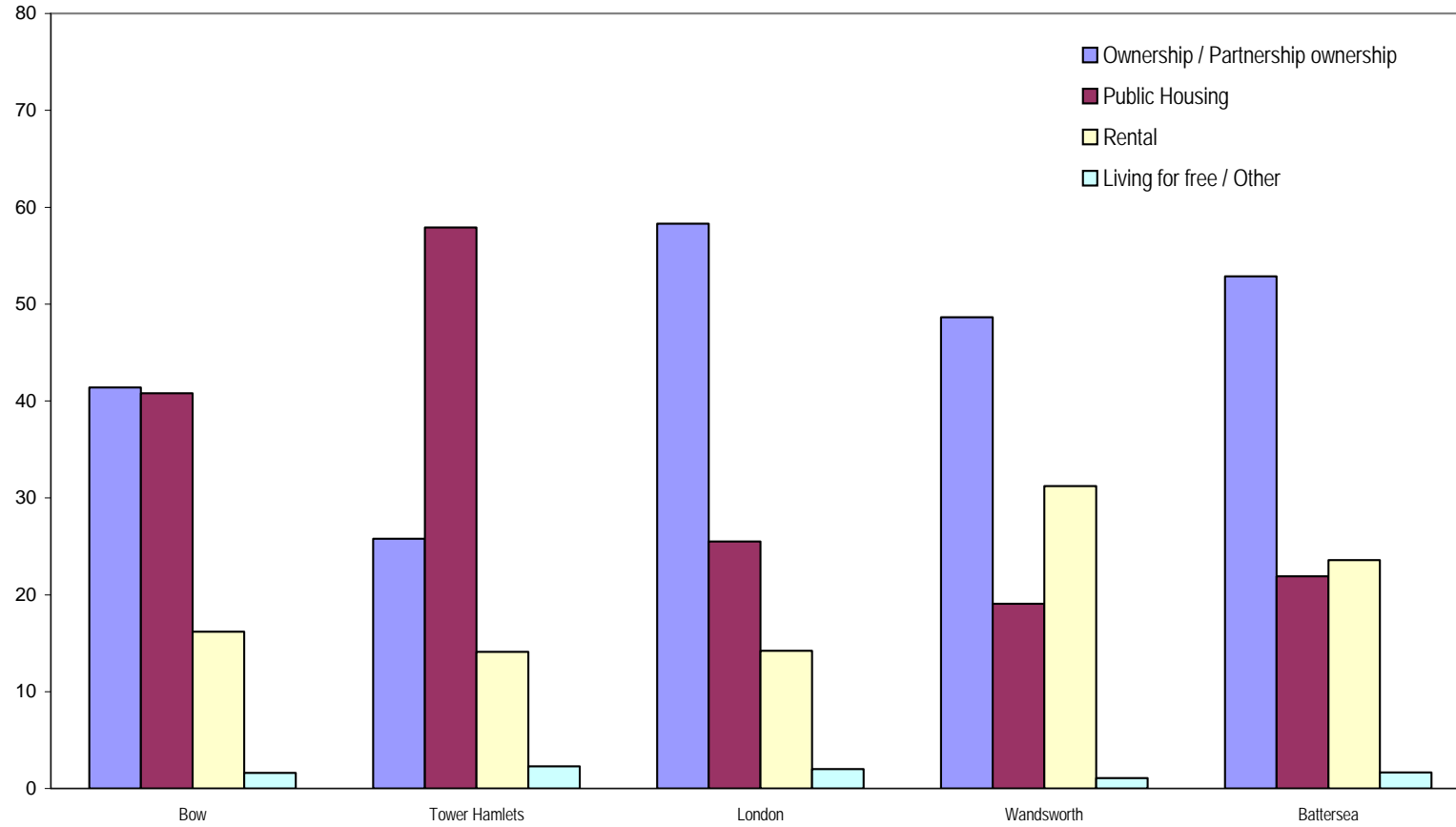
<i>Household composition</i>	<b>Bow Survey Area (N=1,304)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=78,530)</b>	<b>London (N=3,015,997)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=115,653)</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area (N=795)</b>
One person	35,5	38,9	34,7	36,6	41,4
One family	3,9	2,9	5,4	3,5	2,1
All pensioners					
Married couple	21,7	22,7	28,5	22,1	16,9
Cohabiting household	9,4	8,4	8,1	10,0	13,6
Lone parent	11,4	10,5	11,1	9,2	6,9
Other household	18,0	16,6	12,2	18,6	19,1

**Table 12. Tenure-People (percentages)**

<i>Tenure - People</i>		<b>Bow Survey Area (N=3,011)</b>	<b>T. Hamlets (N=193,987)</b>	<b>London (N=7,078,632)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=255,973)</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area (N=1,579)</b>
Owned	Owens outright	13.1	6.7	14.1	17.7	19.2
	Owens with a mortgage or loan	26.6	17.9	34.3	34.3	38.2
	Shared ownership	1.7	1.2	0.3	0.8	0.9
	<i>Total</i>	<i>41.4</i>	<i>25.8</i>	<i>48.7</i>	<i>52.8</i>	<i>58.3</i>
Social rented	LocAuthority	27.8	41.4	4.7	14.5	16.7
	Other	13.0	16.5	14.3	7.5	8.8
	<i>Total</i>	<i>40.8</i>	<i>57.9</i>	<i>19.0</i>	<i>22.0</i>	<i>25.5</i>
Private rented from	Private landlord or letting agency	15.6	13.4	28.5	22.1	13.4
	Employee of hh member	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.2
	Relative /friend of hh member	0.5	0.6	1.9	1.1	0.6
	Other	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>16.4</i>	<i>14.5</i>	<i>31.5</i>	<i>23.9</i>	<i>14.5</i>
Living for free		1.4	1.9	1.7	1.3	0.8

**Figure 12. Tenure – People (percentages)**

Percentage



**Table 13.** *Travel to work (percentages]*

<i>Travel to work</i> <sup>#</sup>		<b>Bow Survey Area (N=1,391)</b>	<b>Tower Hamlets (N=73,938)</b>	<b>London (N=3,319,164)</b>	<b>Wandsworth (N=141,191)</b>	<b>Battersea Survey Area (N=1,066)</b>
People who work mainly at or from home		7.0	7.7	8.6	7,7	7,5
People who usually travel to work by	Underground/Metro/ Light Rail/Tram	37.4	37.3	18.8	17,5	28,1
	Train	4.0	5.1	12.2	33,5	17,9
	Bus/Mini Bus/Coach	13.0	10.4	11.1	8,2	10,1
	Motorcycle/Scooter/ Moped	1.6	1.1	1.4	2,8	2,3
	Driving a Car/Van	18.6	16.5	33.5	17,3	20,4
	As Passenger in a Car/Van	2.3	1.4	2.5	0,8	1,2
	Taxi/Minicab	0.3	1.1	0.7	0,0	0,3
	Bicycle	5.0	3.0	2.3	5,4	3,9
	on foot	10.6	15.8	8.4	6,7	7,7
Other	0.3	0.6	0.4	0,5	0,4	
Average distance (km) travelled to work		7.8	8.2	10.4	9,7	9,5
Public transport users in household	with car or van	57.5	47.6	64.5	60,2	62,1
	without car or van	42.5	51.9	35.1	39,8	37,5

**Figure 13.** *Travel to work*

