



Governing Urban Diversity:

Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities

Report 2f

Fieldwork inhabitants, London (UK)

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Authors:	Jamie Kesten, Mike Raco, Claire Colomb, Tatiana Moreira De Souza, Sonia Freire Trigo
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1 Introduction

There is a growing conventional wisdom in writings on European cities that presents them as centres of ‘*super-diversity*’ (Vertovec, 2007). This refers specifically to their increasing ethnic diversity and to the demographic diversity between and within such ethnic groups. However, cities are becoming increasingly diverse, not only in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. To indicate this enormous diversity, we propose to use the term hyper-diversity (Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013).

Within cities, groups can live segregated or rather mixed lives. Urban neighbourhoods may be fairly homogeneous residential areas in terms of housing and population, but they may also be heavily mixed with respect to types of housing (tenure, type, and price) and population categories (income, ethnicity, household composition, and age). In addition, individuals who belong to the same ‘official’ demographic category may possess quite different lifestyles and attitudes and involve themselves in a wide range of activities. Some may for example have a very neighbourhood-oriented life, with all their friends and activities in a very small area, while others may have their social activities stretched over the whole city or even beyond. Residents of mixed urban neighbourhoods may happily live together, live parallel lives, or be in open conflict with each other (Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013).

This report is written as part of the EU-FP7 DIVERCITIES project. In this project we aim to find out how urban hyper-diversity affects the social cohesion and social mobility of residents of deprived and dynamic urban areas and the economic performance of entrepreneurs with their enterprise in such areas. In this report we focus on the findings from our interviews with residents in which we explored their experiences of living with hyper-diversity and how it affects their lives.

This general aim can be broken down into more detailed and concrete research questions. They are central in the chapters of this report:

1. Why did people move to the diverse area they live in now? To what extent has the diversity of the area been a pull-factor? Or were other aspects (such as the availability of inexpensive dwellings) a much stronger motive to settle in the present area? (Chapter 3)
2. How do residents think about the area they live in? Do residents see their neighbourhood’s diversity as an asset or a liability? (Chapter 4)
3. How do residents make use of the diversified areas they live in? Do they actively engage in diversified relations and activities in their neighbourhood? To what extent is the area they live in more important than other areas in terms of activities? (Chapter 5)
4. To what extent is the diversity of the residential area important for social cohesion? Which elements foster social cohesion, which elements hinder the development of social cohesion in the area? (Chapter 6)
5. To what extent is the diversity of the neighbourhood important for social mobility? Which elements foster social mobility and which elements hinder social mobility? (Chapter 7)
6. How are diversity-related policies perceived by the inhabitants of the area? (Chapter 8)

The research in this report focuses on (one borough of) London, which is the most ethnically diverse city in the EU. The 2011 UK census revealed that out of a total population of 8.17 million, 2.6 million (31%) Londoners were born outside of the UK. Moreover, 55% of respondents defined themselves as *other than White British* (this includes both residents who hold a foreign

passport and British citizens from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) backgrounds). This proportion rose from 31% in 1991. The city is home to 41% of all non-White British residents of England and Wales, to 37% of all residents born outside the UK and to 24% of all non-UK nationals¹ (Raco *et al.*, 2014). It has subsequently been described as ‘*the world within a city*’ (GLA, 2005) and the most ‘*cosmopolitan place on Earth*’ (Vertovec, 2007).

Within London the research takes place in the London Borough of Haringey. This area has a ‘usual residents’ population of 263,386 according to the 2013 Office for National Statistics Mid-Year Estimates (ONS, 2013). As indicated in our earlier work (see Kesten *et al.* 2014: p. 4) Haringey is ‘a microcosm of London’s wider demographics and economics’. It is an extraordinarily diverse borough, the ‘*fifth most ethnically diverse in the country*’, with over 100 languages spoken and almost two-thirds of the population (65.3%) defining itself as from an ‘ethnic minority’ background, i.e. *not* White English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British (ONS, 2014b). Its migrant and ethnic minority communities are not dominated by any one particular group. It has a young population relative to London with 24.9% of Haringey’s residents under 20 years old; 66.3% of its population between 20-64 (within that group, Haringey’s 25-39 year old population is significantly higher than the London average), while 8.8% are aged 65 and over, much lower than 11.1% for the rest of London. The unemployment rate in Haringey stood at 8.9% in 2013, lower than the London-wide rate of 9.1% but higher than for the rest of England 8% (Haringey Council, 2013). Almost two-thirds (64%) of the 101,955 households of the borough are considered ‘deprived’ in one or more dimensions² (ONS, 2014c). However, there are also high degrees of spatial diversity between and within neighbourhoods, with a very sharp east-west divide in the borough marked by a railway line, with strong contrasts in terms of income, education and employment levels as well proportion of ethnic minorities (see maps in Appendix 4). For example, out of work benefit claim rates range from 6.1% in Crouch End and Muswell Hill in the west of the borough to 29.4% in Northumberland Park in the east (Haringey Council, 2013). Some of London’s most affluent locations, such as Highgate, Crouch End and Muswell Hill are found in the west. In the east, areas such as Tottenham have long been associated with deprivation and concentrations of marginalised groups and some wards (particularly in the north east of the borough such as Northumberland Park and Tottenham Hale) are classified as being among the most deprived 10% in the country (Haringey Council, 2011).

This report presents the findings from 50 interviews conducted with residents located across a number of Haringey’s 19 wards (see Appendix 2). The interviews were conducted in cafes, coffee shops, libraries and community centres across Haringey between October 2014 and March 2015. They followed a semi-structured qualitative and conversational style and were typically one to two hours long. In the next chapter we will first give some more information on the methodology that was adopted. This is then followed by six chapters in which we will answer the research

1 A self-identifying question on ‘ethnic group membership’ was introduced in the census for England and Wales in 1991. For an overview of how ethnicity and identity is measured in the UK, see <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/rpt-ethnicity.html#tab-Measuring-ethnicity->. In the 2011 Census 18 ‘ethnic’ categories were defined. Additionally, the 2011 Census included questions on religious affiliation, language spoken at home, and national identity. To define international migrants, the census used country of birth and passport held.

² ‘Deprived’ households at the time of the 2011 Census are defined according to one or more of the 4 selected deprivation indicators: Employment (any member of a household not a full-time student is either unemployed or long-term sick); Education (no person in the household has at least level 2 education, and no person aged 16-18 is a full-time student); Health and disability (any person in the household has general health ‘bad or very bad’ or has a long term health problem.); and Housing (Household’s accommodation is either overcrowded, with an occupancy rating - 1 or less, or is in a shared dwelling, or has no central heating) (ONS, 2014).

questions above. In the conclusions we summarise the main results and address our main questions. We will also give some broader guidance for policy-making.

Collectively, we argue that socio-cultural diversity forms an intrinsic and normal part of everyday life in Haringey (and London) and, as shown by Wessendorf (2014) in her ethnographic work in the adjacent London Borough of Hackney, has become '*commonplace*', in that residents routinely and pragmatically negotiate difference in their everyday activities and social relations. Our respondents have adopted *reflexive subjectivities* in which encounters of diversity become '*both an experience of reality – in the sense of a lived experience and measurable empirical condition – and an interpretation of such experiences*' (Delanty, 2012: p. 335). Most of our interviewees were positive about living in Haringey and identified the ways in which diversity improved their quality of (urban) life and the neighbourhoods in which they lived. We uncovered evidence of deep and various social networks and associations amongst and between many different groups, a thriving sense of civil society, and strong preferences for mixed communities and the presence of spaces of (public) encounter in the built environment. However, we also discuss some of the threats to this relatively positive picture of city life in a highly unequal city along income and class lines. Exclusionary housing market processes and disruptive regeneration projects are underway, along with more intensive rounds of demographic change and population growth. At the same time lower skilled workers face the prospect of more precarious forms of employment, while the impacts of new more restrictive welfare regimes for those reliant on state support are likely to destabilise more established communities. Much of what is taking place in Haringey is a microcosm of broader changes in London and other comparable European cities.

2 The interviewees

2.1 Selection procedure: how did we select our interviewees?

Our research was underpinned by a reflexive approach in which we combined a set of non-probability sampling techniques with the day-to-day pragmatics and ethics of doing research in a complex and diverse urban environment characterised by hard-to-reach groups. Four main methods were used to identify respondents.

First, when identifying our interviewees we returned to the contacts we made within the organisations, programmes and initiatives whose activities were described and analysed in earlier work, which included online forums, community centres, residents' initiatives, representative groups, associations and networks (see Kesten *et al.*, 2014). We began by arranging interviews through the contacts and recommendations offered by several gatekeepers of those organisations and networks, although progress following this approach was slow in the early stages. By doing so we were nonetheless able to access individuals who were either members/actors, or users/recipients of the services of these organisations. Second, based on this snowball or referral sampling process, we also obtained a number of further interviews, as well as through personal contacts of the research team and of other interviewees. Third, we posted requests for voluntary participants on Streetlife.com, an online forum which connects people to others in their area using their postcode. This was done once with a postcode in the east of Haringey and once with a postcode in the west of Haringey. We received a lot of prompt and eager responses to our posting. While this approach proved very successful in yielding responses and getting interviews completed, we decided after a number of interviews to search for further respondents using other means. This was because many of the respondents accessed this way shared certain characteristics, such as a relatively high level of income and education (which are known to be key determinants influencing ICT literacy and use, ownership of electronic equipment and participation to local forms of citizen's involvement and mobilization). Fourth, we thus approached the organisers of the Haringey

Food Bank (based at the Selby Centre in the Northumberland Park ward of Tottenham) who facilitated interviews with a number of their users who, having been referred by other agencies based on need, were on a lower income and experiencing various degrees of personal and financial hardship.

In total we spoke to 12 residents via streetlife.com; 9 with the help of Haringey Food Bank; 8 via local residents groups and intermediaries for local areas – specifically the Love Lane Residents Association (2), Highgate Neighbourhood Forum (2), Hale Village (2), Garden Residents Association (1) and Our Tottenham Network (1); 6 via personal contacts of the interviewers; 5 via snowball sampling from other interviewees; 3 from Haringey Play Streets; 3 through contacts at the Selby Trust/Centre and a further 2 residents via a community payback scheme also taking place at the Selby Centre.

In developing our sample, we were mindful of how it was being shaped in terms of the experiences and backgrounds of our participants. We therefore continually and reflexively adjusted our practices in order to maintain the broadest possible diversity of respondents. Throughout the fieldwork we took into consideration the balance of our sample in terms of gender, age, country of birth, ethnic background (by self-identified census category), religious belief, sexual orientation, disability, level of education, occupation, household income, household composition, household type, household tenure, area of residence, length of time in current residence and length of time in area by ensuring that we asked all of our interviewees about these criteria during their interview. We used this data to constantly (re)assess the composition of our sample at different stages throughout the fieldwork process and, where deemed necessary, adjusted our approaches to counter any perceived potential imbalances accordingly. For example, in the early stages of conducting our research our sample began to display a lack of male interviewees, interviewees under 40 years old, and interviewees without a university degree, and an overrepresentation of residents with relatively high levels of education and income, so we sought to address this by targeting interviewees in other ways. Having completed all 50 interviews these imbalances are no longer as significant as they initially were: 20 out of our 50 interviewees are male; 5 of our interviewees are aged 18-24 and 19 are aged 25-44; and 19 of our interviewees have either secondary school, college or vocational qualifications or lower.

2.2 Which groups did we miss?

One difficulty with the sample was in ensuring that we maintained a representative *geographical spread* of respondents from a variety of (perceived) neighbourhoods across Haringey. Given the size and complexity of the borough, there remained some inevitable ‘patchiness’ in our data. While our interviewees were drawn from most of the borough’s 19 wards, it is evident that only a relatively small proportion lived in the more affluent western districts (6 out of 50). This was not due to a lack of accessibility of interviewees in these parts of Haringey but rather as a consequence of seeking to ensure that important stories and experiences from participants targeted along other lines were featured. Nevertheless the interviews conducted with residents from western wards of Haringey provided valuable insights and opportunities to compare and contrast experiences in different parts of the borough. The experiences of residents living in north and south Tottenham, in the east of Haringey, are particularly relevant to our research focus given the super-diverse nature of the area, rapid socio-demographic changes and large-scale regeneration agendas affecting it, and the local community mobilisations these are provoking in response, as will be discussed later in this report.

Our sample also contained a smaller number of residents who have lived in Haringey for less than 10 years than we may have liked, i.e. recently arrived residents, although we (reflexively) accumulated more responses as the fieldwork progressed. Some of the most recently arrived mi-

grant communities in the borough, e.g. from Central and Eastern Europe, were hard to reach (we only had one respondent from that group, a student). Moreover, despite being aware of the broad demographics of Haringey and our sample being very mixed in terms of the ethnic background, country of birth and religion of our interviewees, we did not speak to any Haringey residents with Turkish or Greek Cypriot ethnic backgrounds, nor to any resident from the large Orthodox Jewish community living in the borough; and we only spoke to one resident from a Latin American background.

Finally, it is important to note that due to ethical considerations and regulations, we did not seek to approach participants under the age of 18. The direct voice of children and teenagers is thus absent, although references to their experience were made by many of our adult respondents who referred to their early years of life in the area, to children or young people surrounding them (including their own), or to those they interact with at work and in other (local) settings.

2.3 Some general characteristics of the interviewees

In order to gain an accurate picture of their characteristics and backgrounds we asked a broad range of demographic questions of each of our interviewees (see some examples in Appendix 3). As stated above we ultimately achieved a reasonable gender balance in our sample with 20 male and 30 female interviewees. We also had a fairly even spread of interviewees in terms of age, with our interviewees ranging from 22 to 80 years old. In total we spoke to 5 residents aged 18-24, 19 aged 25-44, 17 aged 45-64 and 9 over the age of 65. These age ranges were based as closely as possible on those used by the UK Census in order for us to easily evaluate the extent to which our sample compared favourably to the age demographics of the area.

The majority (27) of our respondents were born in the UK, although a sizeable proportion were also born overseas with 3 born in Jamaica, 2 born in the USA, Zimbabwe, Somalia, the Netherlands, and Poland respectively and 1 born in Malawi, Djibouti, India, Spain, Guyana, South Africa, Syria, Dominica, Portugal and Mexico. In addition our interviewees identified themselves as belonging to a range of different ethnic groups as defined by the UK Census, the largest of which was White British (20) but also 9 who identified as White Other, 3 as Asian/Asian British: Indian, 6 as Black/Black British: Caribbean, 4 as Black/Black British: African, 1 as Mixed White and Asian, 1 as Mixed White and Black Caribbean, 1 as Mixed Other and 5 as Other. We also asked our interviewees about their religious beliefs and found that 21 described themselves as having no religion, 4 as Church of England, 3 as Christian, 3 as Catholic, 3 as Muslim, 2 as Hindu, 1 as simply believing in God and 13 did not answer this question. Many of those responding to this question reflected that while they would identify as belonging to a certain religion they are not practicing.

Interviewees were asked about their sexual orientation and 45 identified themselves as heterosexual, 2 as homosexual and 3 did not answer. We found that 9 of our interviewees identified as having a disability, 35 did not have any disability and 6 did not answer. In terms of level of education (including both achieved or currently undertaking) 14 of our interviewees reached postgraduate degree level, 17 undergraduate degree level and 19 some form of secondary school, college or vocational training. The household monthly net income of our interviewees was fairly evenly split with 14 answering that they and their household earned more than €3,435 (£2,500) per calendar month, 11 between €2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500), 23 less than €2,060 (£1,500) and 2 who did not answer. In terms of household tenure, 22 were in owner-occupier households, 15 were renting from a housing association/local authority, 9 were renting privately and 4 owned their property as part of a shared ownership scheme.

Overall, whilst there are inevitably some biases and limitations in the sample, we were able to obtain a broad range of respondents, in spite of the inherent challenges associated with doing so. We adopted an iterative, reflexive methodology in which we constantly reviewed and reassessed the diversity of our respondents and tried to think of creative ways, mechanisms and access points in order to reach out to new potential interviewees. Appendix 1 provides a brief overview of some of the characteristics of our 50 respondents. This report has to be read in conjunction with that table, for the reader to have an overview of the characteristics of each respondent mentioned in the subsequent chapters. Appendix 3 shows how our set of respondents compares with the average values for the Borough of Haringey, for the whole of London, and for England and Wales according to a number of key characteristics measured in the UK Census 2011.

3 Housing choice and residential mobility

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we outline and assess the varying housing trajectories of our interviewees by addressing two sets of questions. Firstly, why interviewees moved to the (diverse) neighbourhoods in which they now live and whether the diversity of the area acted as a pull-factor. Secondly, whether our interviewees experienced this move as an improvement from their previous place of residence. This chapter will demonstrate that for many respondents the process of *choice* is a highly constrained one and that the presence/absence of social and cultural diversities is only one factor amongst many in explaining why individuals come to reside in Haringey. The broader London context is particularly significant in that Haringey is not perceived by many to be a particularly ‘different’ place to other parts of the city, and many respondents have work and social networks beyond their neighbourhoods, meaning that issues of place accessibility and housing affordability are key concerns. Diversity in respect to the latter is mainly concerned with the diversity of tenures and housing stock in the area. Positive views of what ‘*mixed communities*’ consist of are concerned with both the character of the built environment and the social imaginaries that exist of local population diversity (see Taylor, 2004; Vertovec, 2012). We also show that high levels of social, cultural and ethnic diversity were seen by many incomers as leading to an improvement in their perceived well-being, even though this was sometimes not immediately apparent and took time to evolve.

3.2 Why did the residents come to live here?

A sizable proportion of our interviewees had lived in Haringey for over 20 years, some as many as 30 or 40 years. This is indicative of the fact that, while it is experiencing significant population churn, Haringey also has a sizable proportion of its population that has lived there for many years, often as a result of successive waves of migration to the UK, or of social housing allocation processes.

A question of choice?

It is important to note, when seeking to understand why the residents we spoke to came to live in Haringey, that a significant number of our interviewees had *little choice* in moving to their neighbourhood, particularly those reliant on welfare services or charities. Some, such as Alan [R40] a homeless man living in a hostel in Haringey expressed their dislike of the area: *‘I’m an east London boy, I’m not a happy bunny over this side of the water like, y’know, I’m not a Tottenham boy, I’m an east London boy, cockney, born and bred, and I’m over ‘ere and basically, I’m not [b]’appy... I’ve got to stick it because I’m at that age now, I’m 60 now’*.

For cases where there was little or no choice or control involved in the initial move to the neighbourhood a more salient question is what factors led long-established residents to remain in Ha-

ringey. Our interviews indicated that this could be connected to positive perceptions of neighbours and the neighbourhood such as a strong attachment to, and familiarity with certain local areas, facilities and people including the presence of friends and family nearby, factors which will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.4 on respondents' perceptions of the positive and negative aspects of the neighbourhood. However we found that continuous residence in Haringey was more often the result of a lack of choice due to economic constraints on their ability to move, in particular in the eastern part of the borough.

A number of interviewees had lived in Haringey for all or almost all of their lives as a result of circumstance rather than initial choice. Eudine [R46], a part-time receptionist and single mother, noted how she was *"born and bred in Tottenham"* and that she *"... was born this side [south] of Tottenham ... then I moved with my mum to the other part, which is the north part of Tottenham, and then I've come back down to this side, so I've always lived in Tottenham all my life"*. One common constraint on housing choice was public authority housing allocation. When asked how she came to live in the home she lives in now, she explained that once she became pregnant with her son she took the flat offered to her by the Council, arguably yet another constraint on what might otherwise have been characterised as her choice of neighbourhood. Kylie [R43], an unemployed single parent, reflected on how she has *"been in Tottenham [her] whole life"* and has moved several times within Tottenham including staying in a hostel for five months due to family problems. She explained that she has been living in a one bedroom Council flat with her 8 year old son for his whole life because she is finding it difficult to be moved to a larger property, another indication that she has little choice over where she currently lives. Another example of housing allocation as a constraint on housing choice would be Jason [R38], who described how after separating from his ex-girlfriend he *"was moved from Islington to Haringey, yeah... I didn't really choose Haringey, it was chosen for me ... all I chose was not a ground floor flat, err, and I was given Haringey"*.

Abyan [R35] came to live in Haringey when she was 2 years old, having been born in Somalia and describes how she *"always lived in this borough, but we lived in like temporary housing"* and her family were housed temporarily in many different places for years whilst on a waiting list for the permanent Council house they now live in. Darren [R45] also had no choice in the move, describing how he *"... moved up here from Dominica, it was about eight, or nine years ago, and, yeah, I didn't have a choice in the matter, or say really, I was just told this is where we're living and it's where I'm gonna be based, so yeah ..."* also adding that his living in Haringey was dictated more by the Council placing his family there than by his parents who just wanted to live *"wherever we can live within London, that was the aim..."*. Many other interviewees, such as Abdi (R4), Mary [R12], Alice [R19], Jason [R38] and Jamila [R39] also mentioned the role of Council and housing association placement processes as the crucial factor affecting their current housing 'choice'. Numerous other interviewees had moved to Haringey as young children and still remained today. Lindall [R31], for example, describes how he:

"... came here when I was young, when I came from Jamaica at the age of 12 - been living in Haringey from then... That's where my parents were living innit... they were living in Haringey, so we lived in Haringey, Green Lanes, and then we moved to Tottenham, Black Boy Lane. We moved in from 1970, so I've been living in Tottenham from 1970 'til now".

For those who articulated a conscious choice in moving to their neighbourhood, explanations of the reasons for moving were often quite serendipitous and related to the availability of suitable housing and/or access to existing social networks, rather than a resounding belief that the area's diversity was somehow different to the areas they were coming from. Responses fall into two broad categories: *the built environment*, including positive perceptions of the benefits of living in the locality including practical factors such as the availability of accessible public transport, employ-

ment, and welfare services, nearby green spaces and the availability of a range of (affordable) housing options; and *the social environment*, with respondents pointing to the importance of existing social networks and connections and the general feel of the area.

The Built Environment

Respondents discussed a number of issues relating to the local built environment and the character of the place(s) in which they lived. One of the most common core reasons given by respondents for choosing to move to their current neighbourhood was the affordability and type of housing available in comparison to other parts of London. Respondents like Dorota [R42] and Leo [R28] came to live in Tottenham Hale as they were renting student accommodation in the area, while Debbie [R5] reflected on how, as a student, the cost of renting in South Tottenham had first attracted her:

“I was living in Manchester and I'd just finished my undergraduate degree and I was awarded a scholarship for the London School of Economics and I needed accommodation fast... [in South Tottenham] there's mass poverty around me, it's an incredibly poor area and, for that reason, it was reflected in the rental prices which is one of the reasons why I chose to live here because as a student, emm, naturally students end up in the cheaper areas because they don't have an awful lot of money and that's where I ended up”.

No longer a student at the time of interview, Debbie [R5] was in the process of buying her first home in the very same area and reflected on how the relative affordability of house prices in Tottenham had once again been a major advantage for her as it has meant that she has been:

“... able to stay in the community that I already lived in because it was financially, like it was attainable for me to buy here, like I've had friends, y'know, a lot of people will live in quite nice areas and then they will move somewhere else because they can't afford [to buy a home] the area they live in - that wasn't an issue for me - I was like 'great, I can afford where I live,' which is ideal 'cos I don't wanna move area anyway”.

Comments like those from Debbie [R5] above demonstrate how what is often presented in official discourses and policy statements as a ‘problem area’ in need of significant regeneration is, to many respondents, (also) a rich and complex urban environment that possesses a diverse range of housing types and uses. The utility value of the area’s property market was important to many respondents. A typical example was provided by Donna [R10] who recalled:

“... we wanted to have a child, so we decided we should move onto land [from a houseboat], so yeah, so we looked around and, from Haringey and Tottenham was like a lot of people were moving here from Hackney...it seemed like this was the last affordable neighbourhood that you could move to from Hackney and still be kind of central, but you could afford to buy a house here, so the main reasons were it was close to where we already were, it was affordable and we knew people here”.

Victor [R1] also noted that the type of housing in parts of Haringey “*was important because we're both music teachers and musicians, we needed to make sure we had enough space to actually have our instruments and all our things and this kinda worked out*”. Neighbouring areas often lacked larger ‘affordable’ properties that could be utilised in this way, making the very character of certain neighbourhoods an attractive asset. Similarly, John [R9], a long-time home-owner in Northumberland Park, recalled:

“I used to live south of here in an area just over the border in Hackney, in a flat, and I wanted to move to a house, I have various hobbies, including tinkering with old cars, so I had

that idea in mind and it made me look around this area and so I started looking for a run-down house that I could do some work on and afford to buy”.

A number of our interviewees were owner occupiers who had bought their house two or three decades ago, when house prices were very cheap, and had been living in Haringey for a very long time. Ann [R8], a retired nurse, bought her house 40 years ago when it was affordable for a public sector worker to do so in a quiet road in Northumberland Park, which remains one of the most deprived areas in Tottenham, Haringey, London and also the UK. Ruby [R20] bought her home in the 1980s as it was what she could afford, and because she had family in the area. They were typically in low to middle income blue or white collar jobs back then. Outright home ownership in the area would now be entirely unaffordable to workers in low to middle-income employment. Matilda [R26], who after her marriage broke up wanted to stay in North London and lives in wealthy Highgate, mentions that she is able to live there because of being part of the generation of home owners that benefitted from massive increases in house prices and dramatically improved their housing career through housing equity gains (rather than just income rises): *“when my marriage broke up, I needed to sell that house and I was lucky enough, that house had increased enormously in value, this is what's happened to us lucky generation, it's luck and nothing else”.* That move was only possible because of already having a house in North London: *“it was affordable, if you had a house in north London, it wouldn't have been affordable to someone coming from nowhere... This is what I mean about the luck, if you happen to have bought at ... when we were young people and we bought, it was incredibly cheap in north London, so we bought our house in Muswell Hill for £59,000 - you're talking an Edwardian four bedroom house with a nice garden - I'm so sorry to say this to younger people 'cos it makes them feel sick”.*

The perception of Haringey and Tottenham as the *“last affordable neighbourhood”* in central London, as described by Donna [R10] above, was a very powerful reason given by others looking to own their own home, as Margaret [R4] a middle-aged respondent, commented that in the 1990s her family and friends were, *“all getting on the private property bandwagon and I just thought ‘oh God, I've gotta buy my own property, where can I afford?... I mean, people weren't queuing up to live in Tottenham, y'know - they might be now - it's changed, it's, y'know, it's got a different appeal, but that was where I could afford to live...”.*

Reflections on the relative affordability of neighbourhoods in Haringey, particularly in the east of the borough, were repeated by several other respondents who had bought their homes more recently via shared ownership schemes. Rupinder [R48], who had bought a one-bedroom flat in Bruce Grove via a shared ownership scheme 7 years ago, stated:

“I came to live here because it was in the place where I could afford to buy a house, so I bought ... you know the shared ownership scheme, umm, even though I looked elsewhere, the prices were way beyond my budget, so I found this quiet little street, mostly families living there - nice little house - it was refurbished, so I got that place”.

Zara [R27] who had moved to London from the north of England also reflected on how she had: *“... bought a flat under shared ownership in Hale Village and one of the main reasons for moving here was really about transport links were very good and I could actually afford to buy something, although not outright obviously, but five percentage of something in the area with excellent links into central London”.*

Many other respondents highlighted Haringey's proximity to the economic and cultural hubs of central London and the availability of good public transport connections as a major attraction and another core factor motivating their move. Donna [R10] recalls her partner's thought process prior to their move into the area *“...she was more concerned about public transport and being central and being able to get to work and stuff like that and also she wanted, she was more concerned about like things like the street and, y'know, what sort of house it was and stuff like that”.* Julie [R47] remembered how proximity

to her workplace was an important factor in her initial decision to move to Tottenham, *“I was working in Victoria, I looked for places that were easily accessible to Victoria on the tube when I first came to London, so I knew of Tottenham, I knew it was in an affordable area, this is where I ended up”*.

For respondents who had moved to the area many years ago potential employment opportunities locally were also a significant pull-factor. For example, Trevor [R32] had moved to Tottenham in 1998 and recalled that *“because I'd done an apprenticeship and I was a qualified wood machinist, I was advised by the union that there was work in north London, particularly in the Tottenham area, with the old timber yards and everything ...”*. Also, several of our respondents were migrants from Africa and the West Indies who came to London in the 1960-70s to pursue careers in the area. Monica [R22] and Alice [R19] were both retired nurses who had arrived in Haringey over 30 years ago from Jamaica and South Africa respectively and had both worked in the North Middlesex Hospital located there. For many of our respondents Tottenham was, with other areas in London, the first port of call, through a typical chain migration settlement process, helped by relatives already here.

Finally, a number of respondents spoke of how their housing choice was influenced by the perceived quality of green spaces in Haringey and what they offer to people at different stages of their lives. For instance, Donna [R10], had moved to her current home in Bruce Grove 10 years ago and recalled that a core reason for first moving to Haringey was *“that we could have access to green space. And so because the parks were close by and there were good parks around here - that was a big factor”*. Or as Margaret [R4] who had lived in Tottenham since 1974 noted, *“[Tottenham] ... is a very green area, so that kind of helped me choose... where I live, my house backs onto a park, so I can see Lordship Rec - I've just got a vista. You've got Lordship Rec [Lordship Recreation Ground], you've got Bruce Castle Park and you've got Downhills Park and there's this huge swathe of green, it's like being in the country”*. Victor [R1], also noted that that his *“area is very green and there's a lot of parks and a lot of things to do...”*

The existence of these public green spaces and local sites of interest nearby, such as Alexandra Palace and Bruce Castle, were presented by some as making the area ‘different’ to other parts of London and a good place in which to live a fuller life as John [R9], who had owned his home in Northumberland Park for almost 20 years, mentioned *“I was attracted by... the fact that there was more open space than there was in Hackney... at that time, I did know about the, umm, the reservoirs - the Lea Valley - which is very close at hand... y'know, my acquaintanceship with that, actually, has grown very much over the years since then, umm, I really love being close to that, having lots of open space there”*. The significance of green spaces will be returned to in Section 5.3 on the use of public spaces.

The Social Environment

The importance of established social networks and pre-existing connections as factors that influenced location choices came out strongly in the interviews. Some respondents, such as Margaret [R4] and Victor [R1] were familiar with the area prior to living in their current home, either through previously living nearby or by moving back to the area having lived elsewhere for some time. This familiarity informed their choice. For Victor [R1] the main motivating factor behind living in his neighbourhood was a combination of his existing familiarity and attachment to the area and being close to family. He explains:

“... I grew up in Haringey, so I grew up in Tottenham, north London, and that's where my family are from. We lived in south Tottenham, ever since I was born and then I went away to uni[versity] and it was great ... and then when it was time for me to grow up and get a job, I ended up moving back to Haringey because it was somewhere that I knew and I felt safe and, [by contrast to] living in west London, living somewhere totally different, I just wanted to live somewhere that was familiar and that's how I ended up here”.

Similar responses were made by others, particularly middle class residents who had moved to more affluent neighbourhoods. One respondent, Tamsin [R22], who moved from an adjacent and more deprived area of north London, was typical of many and recalled that:

“... it was more of a coincidence, but what we found was that actually, when we moved into that house, quite a lot of our friends were also in that nesting phase and so quite a lot of our friends from that particular social set, we all gravitated within five/ten minutes of each other. Even though we have quite busy social lives and with the kids, we can't always co-ordinate our diaries so easily, it's just nice to know that we share that community nearby and it allows for spontaneity as well... I would say that everyone is a B, or possibly an A in terms of S[ocial and] E[conomic] G[roups] actually, so it would be hard to judge on our street”.

The ‘*feel of the area*’ was a major pull-factor for many respondents, Victor [R1] recalled how in contrast to areas like Shoreditch, Dalston and other parts of the adjacent Borough of Hackney where a lot of his friends had moved - “*where it was quite happening, and there was loads of bars and loads of places to go out and deli's and all that sort of stuff*” - he and his flatmate preferred their current flat on the outskirts of Tottenham and Wood Green as “*somewhere quite residential and quite neighbourbody*”.

A sizable number of respondents highlighted the social diversity and cosmopolitan feel of the neighbourhood as important reasons for residential mobility. The presence of a diverse population made the area attractive, a finding that tallies with other studies that have looked at cross-national migration networks. Sundip [R2], recalled his own reasons for coming to Haringey and the role that existing social networks played in his residential choice:

“I came to live in Haringey way back in 1979, as a 20 something young man, and I was in rented accommodation for the first five or six years in a small flat in Wood Green as well and then I bought a place on this estate, so I've lived there ever since... when I first came to live in London, I had some friends who lived around here, so I'd actually stayed with them whilst I was settling myself and then I found a flat”.

The relationship between existing social networks and residential choice means that the area's diversity can become an important factor in making it ‘attractive’ to migrants, or indeed any individual wishing to live with those ‘like themselves’ in some way. As Donna [R10] noted, her reason for being in the area was that “*London is so big, that... as a newcomer, it's almost impossible to get your head around all these different neighbourhoods*” and so she and her partner therefore wanted to “*be in a community of people that we sort of knew*” and alluded to the fact that, as a same-sex couple, it was important for them to live somewhere where they, and their young son, could fit in and feel comfortable, knowing in advance through friends that they would not be the only same-sex family nearby.

Layla [R21], a White British homeowner in her fifties, specifically mentioned the diversity of the area as an attractive factor that helped her make the decision:

“... we knew it was a diverse area before, and that was important to us in terms of it being an ethnically diverse area... Neither of us would have wanted to have lived somewhere that was very white for example. Because although I'm white, the friend that I was buying with was Caribbean, and so we wanted somewhere that was ethnically diverse so we felt comfortable in it”.

Part of Layla's [R21] reason for wanting to live in a diverse area was also related to her own identity as a Lesbian. She also mentioned that Haringey Council was, at the time, viewed as progres-

sive, Leftist and pro LGBT rights, therefore in line with her values. She convinced some of her friends to move in Haringey or nearby too.

The presence of *already existing* socio-cultural diversity in both London and Haringey acted as a magnet for other newcomers. Lena [R14], for example, came to the area from Poland and saw the presence of Polish communities as a strong pull factor as London could be a bewildering arrival city: “... *the beginning was with Polish people, then I was sharing with my friend, Polish friend*” and this continued until she began to feel more established and started to build her own networks. Haydar [R29], for instance, who was originally from Syria, came to the Wood Green neighbourhood in part to be close to the location of his work [a pharmacy] but mainly because the area was seen as a diverse place and this diversity fostered a perception that it would be a welcoming place in which to live: “*mainly, I liked it because it was very cosmopolitan - I could find people - and secure being there as well*”. Moreover, he expressed that he felt:

“...comfortable with that and I don't feel as a stranger, like the odd one out. I think because like I said earlier, it's cosmopolitan, so it's combined of different types of people and most of them are not very local, so everyone can feel like he's part of the community. I don't know if you've been to the countryside, where everyone knows everyone apart from you, and then you really feel different, but I actually feel happy here about that, especially this town, I don't feel strange at all”.

It is clear that a number of our interviewees had very little choice in where they lived. Also that those with more freedom to make a choice to live in Haringey did so based on a combination of factors including affordability and utility of the existing housing stock, central location and good transport links as well as familiarity with, and attachment to, the local area and population and access to green spaces. Although it was often not a primary concern, there was evidence that the area's socio-cultural diversity acted as a magnet for some incomers. This was particularly true for respondents who imagined or stated that they would feel ‘out of place’ in a predominantly ‘White British/English’ environment, and for those who sought a sense of familiarity with those of a similar nationality, ethnicity or sexual orientation. In this respect our findings mirror those of a range of studies on in-migration to major cities, and recent debates over the dynamics of what Sanders’ (2011) terms ‘arrival cities’. The respondents who mentioned the affordable built environment and transport as the main factors for settling in their neighbourhood did not discard diversity, which often came as a positive side-effect of living in the area: “*As you say, I wasn't looking for diversity first, but I am used to diversity, so I was happy with it*” (Philippa [R30]).

3.3 Moving to the present neighbourhood: improvement or not?

As noted in the previous section, as many respondents had moved to their neighbourhood as children, never left their current neighbourhood, or had lived in the neighbourhood for from 10 to 40 years, it proved difficult for many to reflect on whether the move to their present neighbourhood had been an improvement. Several respondents, though, had lived in different parts of Haringey, or of North London, and were able to explain the reasons for their mobility and reflect about what it had meant for them.

Having lived in different parts of Tottenham for almost 20 years - first having rented a room, then a flat and then later becoming a leaseholder of her own flat - it was difficult for Julie [R47] to reflect on whether moving to her present neighbourhood had been an improvement or not, although it was reflected on positively:

“I liked the area, it suited me on a number of levels, good public transport links, just about affordable, plenty of interesting food to be had in the area - on a number of levels - it ticked

the right boxes. I mean, I could stick a pin anywhere in London, I guess, and find places that might give me similar facilities, but Tottenham is where I ended up and it's sort of grown on me over 20 years."

Like Julie [R47], several other respondents talked about trajectories of housing mobility within the borough, gradually going up the housing ladder. Many wished to stay in the area if they could whilst improving their housing conditions (e.g. Carmela [R15] from private tenancy to shared ownership; Sharon [R33] from a small house in the eastern part to a bigger house in the western part of the borough). Broadly speaking we found little evidence of regret from interviewees at having moved into their neighbourhood in Haringey. It tended to be the case that those who possessed a clear element of choice in where they lived believed that their present neighbourhood was an improvement on their previous one and those who did not have the same degree of choice, whose choice was significantly constrained by external factors, or who had no choice at all, generally did not.

Current neighbourhood as an improvement

Respondents who felt that moving to their current neighbourhood was an improvement outlined three main reasons for doing so: (i) feeling more connected to the area; (ii) diversity leading to increased greater excitement, comfort and inter-cultural understanding; and (iii) improved opportunities.

(i) Feeling more connected to the area

Areas of Haringey were often reflected upon positively in terms of their community-feel and neighbourliness as well as the size, function and variety of housing stock compared, for example, to Hackney, the neighbouring borough to the south where some of our respondents had lived previously. Donna [R10] described her current area of Bruce Grove as less "rough" and "dodgy" than her previous home in Hackney, while John [R9] reflected back on how:

"... there's that thing of pace of life, of course... certainly, ever since I came to a city, it's been ... you notice that people have very little time, where they're always rushing off to another appointment somewhere, but coming to this part of Haringey, I did find it, surprisingly, relaxed, umm, more relaxed than it had been in Hackney".

Many respondents indicated that the sense of collective community spirit in their current neighbourhood was a major improvement. For example, Rupinder [R48], having moved to Bruce Grove initially in order to own her own home, responded:

"I would say, yeah. There is a neighbourhood watch, there are community events, there is a network group, the Bruce Grove community meetings ... there are initiatives, for example, springtime, they did it last year and the year before. That is an event where they get a charity to come to church, they dump a lot of plants and beautiful flowers and everybody from the street can come and collect it, and the same day, everybody comes home and puts them in nice little pots with plants outside the window, so it becomes the most beautiful street in London ... the initiative of having spring flowers, so this is the kind of stuff they organise on the street, so it's really nice".

Rupinder [R48] was pleasantly surprised by the neighbourliness and sense of community that she found in the area upon arrival. This experience stood in stark contrast to places she had lived previously, having experienced numerous problems with private landlords and feelings of isolation in other places where she described how:

“... I had an anonymous life and I never, ever, ever saw my neighbours, and people would pass me, even if they commuted with me every day, they wouldn't even look at me... It's funny 'cos everywhere else I've lived in London, I never met my neighbours, I never saw them, I never spoke to them, but that is completely impossible to happen in Tottenham. I remember the first time the neighbour down my street, saw me in the morning, on a Sunday, and greeted me - I felt weird - 'cos did he actually greet me, was there somebody behind me that he was greeting? But no! (Smiles)”.

Several residents we spoke to had moved into their current address from previous homes in other parts of Haringey and reflected on how experiences within these areas differed. Referring to an area in the more affluent west of Haringey where he used to live and still likes to shop and socialise, Victor [R1] who was born and raised in Tottenham, mirrors comments made by Rupinder [R48] on the sense of community in the area, he notes:

“Crouch End is more like a little village, there's a lot going on, there's always a little festival going on, or something going on at the local park but where we're living now, it's a lot more residential than those places I lived before. When we lived in Crouch End, and we lived in Alexandra Palace, we didn't really know our neighbours, even though there was a lot going on. Living here, we talk to people in the street and this is quite a small road and everyone kind of looks out for everyone... that didn't happen as much in those other little villagey areas... a lot of the neighbours had lived here for generations, so...it does have a better sense of community, I think, and it reminds me of growing up in Tottenham, and we knew all our neighbours, you could go to your neighbour's house and things like that and it's kind of like it here, especially with my neighbours either side, I know them really well, they always look out for us”.

For Victor [R1] the feeling of community in areas such as Tottenham, where his family and social networks were stronger and which he felt were not changing as rapidly, was seen as an important pull factor.

(ii) Increased diversity leading to greater excitement, comfort and inter-cultural understanding

For some younger respondents, the diversity of neighbourhoods across Haringey (and London) was also associated with a sense of dynamism and excitement. Those who had come from rural areas found the urban environment particularly stimulating in a social and cultural sense and saw moving to the area as a major improvement in the quality of their life. Respondents often noted that they were at first taken aback by the visible diversity of the people living in Haringey. Dorota [R42], a student migrant from Poland contrasted her experiences in Haringey with those she had living in a small rural town in southern England which she described as “generally ...a very, very British area” and also “very white”:

“I'm not sure whether I could say that I match them because I don't really know the area, I don't really feel like I'm participating in the life of the area, but what I really like, and what I can identify myself with, is this kind of diversity. I really like experiencing new things and meeting new people and talking to them, hearing about their backgrounds, so that's what I really like about the area. I never had a chance to experience stuff like that before I moved there”.

Contrasting his experiences with those where he had lived previously in Strasbourg (France), Abdi [R3] also reflected on how living in Haringey was more enjoyable for him due to a combination of the nature of the diversity in the area and the different policy approaches:

“Right, so if you like, I'm a drop in the ocean [in France] and in this country [UK], there are a lot of ethnic groups, so the system, y'know, allow them to live differently. But, in France, it's all the Algerians and ... well, it's not as ... well, more ethnic ... well, there's ethnic there, but here is more like people are more relaxed, y'know, more relaxed to be a foreigner than in France... here, people are more relaxed, so they can think better and enjoy the life. In there, you feel like you can feel the pressure... sometimes we are in the middle of Paris and if they don't like it, they [the Police] can ask you, y'know, 'your paper, where's your paper?' The system is... it's not as like free. Here, you feel like more at home... you can see that, you don't really belong there, you're just forcing yourself. That's why a lot of people have crossed the channel anyway, they like to come to England (laughter)”

For some respondents from migrant backgrounds moving to Haringey from outside London offered not just an increased level of comfort but an added sense of security. Valencia [R49], originally from Mexico, claimed that her neighbours in Wood Green were particularly diverse and that this provided a degree of security for her as a migrant which she did not feel in her previous home in Newcastle in the north of England:

“... here I'd say that obviously, it's more diverse, you see much more people from y'know black and ethnicities, but at the same time, you do see people from Eastern Europe ... I believe that there are lots of Latin Americans here, Colombians, near Seven Sisters, but not so much here, but that's how I see it more diverse. I don't feel safe in Newcastle, there were people from other places, but most people are like people from Newcastle ... 'where are you from?' 'Mexico.' 'Oh, my God!' It was like 'wow! I've never seen somebody ...'. And here, it's like 'oh, okay'. It's just another one of those countries, y'know, all the many people that live here”

For one White British respondent, Geoff [R34], moving to Haringey having previously lived in less diverse and “predominantly white” places offered an unexpected opportunity to develop a greater level of inter-cultural understanding, appreciation and acceptance of the diverse backgrounds of his neighbours:

“I'd never really come across that many different religions. And coming here ... once you get to know people, I don't know what I thought before, it's like these people, just because they've got a shawl or something on their head, they're just the same as me, y'know what I mean. Just because they look different, once they speak, they're just the same. That's come across as a shock, as I say, I dunno what I thought before, emm, actually a girl I've spoke to a couple of times, young girl - she's Muslim - got the shawl over her head and I don't know what ... what I usually think like what are they like staunch religious n'all that, when you speak to her, she's laughing and cracking jokes n'all that, just like normal people do, and it's like, they're just the same”

Geoff [R34] saw the diversity of his neighbourhood as an indisputable improvement and was extremely positive about the impact that his experiences of living in a more diverse area had offered him.

Having moved from Hackney, also an extremely diverse borough, Donna [R10] reflected on neighbourhoods such as Tottenham as, in some ways, not being particularly different to other areas of London. In the context of the most ethnically diversity city in the EU and the ‘most cosmopolitan place on earth’ (Vertovec, 2007), where the experience of ‘living with diversity’ in some form or another is one that is shared across almost all (particularly inner) London Boroughs, it would seem less likely that interviewees moving within London would see the diversity of Harin-

gey as a major pull factor. As Donna [R10] noted, “*you expect it to be diverse, you expect people to be fairly open minded, you expect umm, y’know, you expect it to be just very, very diverse and kind of accepting and open*”. Diversity in London was principally seen in banal terms, as a ‘*commonplace*’ part of the backdrop of everyday life (Wessendorf, 2014). Although it was seldom explicitly mentioned as a motivating factor for moving into the neighbourhood, it is clear from the comments above that, given the acknowledged diversity of the city as a whole, the experience of ‘*living with difference*’ (see Valentine, 2008) was not one that was unique to Haringey. Perhaps, for Donna [R10] (as a parent of a young child in a same-sex relationship) her perceptions of the “*accepting and open*” nature of Tottenham were at least one less thing to worry about.

(iii) Improved opportunities

Despite a recognition of the limited opportunities available in the more deprived parts of Haringey in which they lived, several young people who had migrated to Haringey from overseas felt the opportunities afforded to them in their current neighbourhood constituted a significant improvement. Lequann [R44], who had moved to Tottenham as a child from Jamaica after a difficult upbringing, stated confidently:

“It is an improvement because ... the way I look at life is that certain stuff happens for a reason. So imagine if I was out there, my closest, older brother that I was with, he died, so I don't know if I was to pick up a certain kind of lifestyle... it's way more better because you come 'ere, you meet new people and you learn new stuff, education and you get me like? Even though, sometimes it's hard to get into a job, at the end of it, if you really look, you actually get a job! And it's not like actually ... you've got job centre there, you're not gonna starve!”

Another good example comes from Darren [R45], who had moved to Wood Green in the east of Haringey from Dominica as a young child with his family who were seeking greater economic opportunities in London. Despite having no choice in his family’s initial move Darren [R45] is confident that his economic opportunities have significantly improved having moved from Dominica. Yet, many negative experiences growing up in the area have led him to feel that, given a choice, he “*...wouldn't actually live where I live now in Haringey...*” but rather “*...more or less on the northern outskirts of Haringey, sort of Enfield, touching Palmers Green, Highgate, y'know, Muswell Hill, those sort of areas ...*” because as he sees it “*...there isn't really a lot in Haringey opportunities-wise, I personally don't feel like there's a lot in Haringey, so if I was to live in Haringey, it would be on the outskirts of Haringey*”. Darren [R45] did however reflect on the fact that he “*... could answer the question in terms of I have seen an improvement in Wood Green, or Haringey from when I first started living here, I've seen a massive improvement in it... Investment-wise and maybe sub-culturally, especially with a lot of [increased opportunities for] young people*” but noted despite this improvement over time that it was still in need of further improvement.

Current neighbourhood as a deterioration

Perhaps inevitably, those who had not made a conscious choice to move to their current home and neighbourhood were often less positive. Jason [R38], for example, having been placed in Haringey by the Council, which moved him from his home Borough of Islington when he became homeless after a separation, was far from pleased. When asked how he felt about having to move boroughs he responded “*Not bad, but when I realised it's Haringey, I wasn't happy about it... I don't like Tottenham, no... it's degrading... the people are just not nice at all, it's full of, umm, bookies, gambling places, it's just totally different to Islington, y'know, Holloway, something different, and ... I just don't think it's for me, the area, y'know, I want to move to somewhere like Enfield, yeah, Enfield Borough*”.

Lena [R14], who originally came from Poland but had also lived in Wood Green for a number of years was particularly critical of the neighbourhood and noted that “*No, I did not like it... I wanted*

somewhere in East London. I wanted, I don't know! New building, I wanted a block of flats, I wanted like, yes, something completely different... But I think even my street was very neglected", although she also noted that there had been some recent improvements as *"the Wood Green area was completely different back then"*, a point we will return to in Chapter 4.

Some new residents who had chosen to move to Haringey found the transition from previous places relatively difficult. Valencia [R49], who arrived from Newcastle (and originally came from Mexico) recalled her early experiences of moving in:

"In Newcastle it's different, you don't find places that include all the bills, or that have so many rooms in a house - eight/nine rooms - you don't find that in Newcastle. So I came here and I found that everywhere I went, there were mice, everywhere I went, there were like 20 people living and couples sharing a room, to me, that was like ... couples sharing a room? So I didn't like it and also there was a long contract for 12 months and I was looking for something because I didn't know London, something that gave me the flexibility of moving, so when I found a place and it was on a two week basis, no contract, no nothing".

Other respondents, such as Eudine [R46], reflected on how their move to their current home and neighbourhood had not been an improvement because they had moved into a smaller property or because the area they lived in now was more hectic:

"No, because I was in a house before and now I'm in a flat, but I've gotten used to it, if you get what I'm saying, I've been there long enough now, I've gotten used to where I'm living and the surrounding area... Where I came from is more quieter than this side of Tottenham - 'cos of Spurs - it's quite hectic sometimes and you can't get home, you can't get into the area 'cos certain times, when Tottenham's playing, when they're finished, for two hours, you can't get in this area, by bus or nothing, you just have to walk".

The challenges associated with migration to any new place are well documented and are borne out in experiences such as those described above. It was not uncommon for respondents, even those who are positive about their residential choice, to feel that some parts of Haringey were becoming overcrowded and 'overwhelming', or that the recent pace of change had led to a sense of unfamiliarity and alienation, as discussed in Sections 4.4 and 6.2. As will be discussed below some felt that their new neighbourhoods required them to navigate 'too many' day-to-day encounters and this generated social tensions and a sense of disorientation.

3.4 Conclusions

There was some evidence that the area's social and cultural diversity had acted as a pull factor, but relatively few interviewees cited this diversity as their main reason for choosing to live in the area. It was difficult to establish robust causal relationships and there are echoes of Keith's (2005: p. 167) reflection that it can be extremely difficult *'to name the parts of the rhizomatic multiculturalism that constitutes contemporary postcolonial London'*. Some respondents were social housing tenants who had very little choice over the location of their housing and had been placed in their home by the local authority. Even for private-renters and home-owners the range of available 'choices' over housing were becoming increasingly constrained by rises in property prices and rents. It is possible, however, to make a connection between the diverse demographics of Haringey and the influence of social factors, such as joining friends and family already living in the area, motivating our interviewees to choose their current home. Even more significantly the discussion has shown that the *diversity of the built environment* plays a fundamental part in shaping residential mobilities. It is the availability and accessibility of a broad range of material assets such as housing (both public

and private), spaces of encounter, and public transport connections that influence choice, where choices are possible. As mentioned in Section 3.2, while it was not always a primary pull-factor the diversity of the area was often viewed as a positive side-effect of living in the area.

4 Perceptions of the diversity in the neighbourhood

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we explore our respondent's perceptions of their neighbourhood and their neighbours with a view to describing how they experience different aspects of diversity. We are particularly interested in the relationship between perceptions of neighbourhood diversity (discussed here) and the lived practices and experiences of diversity manifested in how respondents describe their relations with their neighbours (discussed briefly here in Chapter 4 and also later in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6). Existing literature highlights an ambiguous and, at times, seemingly paradoxical relationship between perceptions and practices in relation to diversity (see for example Clayton, 2009; van Eijk, 2012; Watt, 2006; Wessendorf, 2013). As this chapter will show, our findings indicate that, for the vast majority of respondents, the diversity of the neighbourhood was viewed as a natural part of everyday life. This normality of diversity, described by Wessendorf (2013) as *'commonplace diversity'*, is argued to often be typified by a positive but somewhat superficial appreciation of diversity accompanied by relatively little direct experience or meaningful relations across lines of difference in the private sphere. It is with this notion of *'commonplace diversity'* in mind that we seek to understand the perceptions of our respondents towards their neighbourhoods.

We begin by reflecting on where respondents perceive the boundaries of their neighbourhood to be and the different factors affecting these perceptions. This is followed by an assessment of respondent's views of, and relationships with, their neighbours. We end by presenting the commonly mentioned positive and negative aspects of respondents' neighbourhoods and reflecting on whether the diversity of the neighbourhood is typically perceived as either an asset or liability.

4.2 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood

Whilst asking interviewees to define the boundaries of their neighbourhood and to explain the factors affecting these definitions some interesting similarities emerged in the responses we received. It was common, for example, for most interviewees from across a range of very different backgrounds and experiences to report a relatively narrow definition of their neighbourhood. Most respondents focussed on either their immediate street or surrounding local ward area (which often correlated with official boundaries for the area) and typically saw their neighbourhood as consisting of areas within a 5-10 minute walk of where they lived, irrespective of whether they engaged in many activities outside of this area or not. The reasons behind this perception were subject to variation. One respondent, Sundip [R2], offered a good analogy to describe his perception of the many layers of his neighbourhood which, for him, was ultimately focused on the local estate and ward level:

"It's like an onion, for me. I live in Noel Park [Estate] and I feel very committed to it, but I know that a bit of my life has to be around Wood Green, a slightly bigger part has to be within Haringey and then it's part of London, so ... and then, of course, I could carry on and on and on like that, but it's a bit like that, but at the core of it, I'm in Noel Park".

The definitions of neighbourhood given by our respondents can be briefly summarised as based on five often inter-connected and mutually reinforcing factors: (i) the facilities they used and activities they undertook regularly in the local vicinity; (ii) a sense of familiarity – developed over

time – with local places and people, (iii) having children who attend school locally; (iv) the level of activity of local residents groups, initiatives and other local organisations (both formal and informal); and (iv) neighbourhood reputation.

(i) *Facilities used and activities undertaken locally*

One of the most common reasoning's given for how respondents described the boundaries of their neighbourhood centred upon the community facilities that they used and the activities that they engaged in locally on a regular basis (which will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 5). Defining her neighbourhood based on her use of local facilities and her attachments to local people, Julie [R47] responded: *“broadly, Tottenham because that's where I've been living ... I'm familiar with that middle sort of section of Tottenham... I do have some people I regard as friends living in Tottenham, but in terms of the places I would go to shop, to access public transport, to access public services and so on, that's all within a short walk of my front door”*. Abdi [R3], attributing his neighbourhood definition to several factors including familiarity with local facilities, the local population, and length of time spent in the borough, explained that he defined his neighbourhood as Bruce Grove due to the presence of a number of Somali restaurants in the area that he enjoyed visiting with fellow Somali friends and family members, along with the fact that Bruce Grove is where he had lived when he first arrived in the UK as a teenager.

Geoff [R34] offered what might be described as a quintessentially British response, describing his local pub, ‘The Salisbury’, in Green Lanes in the east of Haringey as the *“focal point”* of his community and one of several local facilities which influenced where he considered his neighbourhood to be, stating *“the pub's always like your focal point, but yeah, you've got like all the shops and all that, not big, massive supermarkets ... like your Tesco Express and your newsagents and take away shops, everything's all there. You've got Turnpike Station, that's about a 10 minute walk to Turnpike Station, which is also quite handy”*. Janet [R7] also praised her local pub, in Crouch End in the west of Haringey, remarking that *“the pub is like the centre of everything”* and reflecting on how she (and her late husband) would visit regularly to socialise with her neighbours and participate in the pub quiz. She saw it as a key site of encounter between the different groups of people that lived in the area *“retired people, young people ... when you go in there, people will talk to you... I mean, diversity, nothing is like The Harringay Arms!”*

For some respondents, like Margaret [R4], neighbourhood was narrowly defined around their street and in Margaret's case the nearby local park and the local shops *“... my neighbourhood is really, I suppose the park, I feel that's my neighbourhood 'cos I see that every day, umm, and my street really, from ... well, maybe the shops just down here maybe a bit further along 'cos I've got some friends up here, yeah, so it's not very big, what I consider my neighbourhood”*. Other respondents defined their neighbourhood slightly more broadly by ward area, such as Debbie [R5], who defined her neighbourhood as *“South Tottenham”*, but who described it as Seven Sisters to friends to coincide with the well-known tube station nearby. She defined her neighbourhood in this way primarily because of her journeys from home to work via the tube and also those that she makes to her local gym and supermarket. However, her perception that the area lacked popular pubs, cafes and restaurants led her to comment: *“I don't think I really live, particularly, in this space, like I don't think I live in the environment socially”*. This sentiment was shared by others with very narrow and street-focused notions of neighbourhood. However, even those who defined their neighbourhood in terms of their local ward area, often focused their responses to questions about neighbours and neighbourhood around their street and those immediately opposite and adjacent to it, suggesting a slightly narrower perception of neighbourhood than initially indicated, or at least a stronger focus upon the facilities and people closest to them.

(ii) Sense of familiarity with local people and places

As indicated above, the sense of familiarity and attachment to local people and places, most often formed over a significant amount of time, played a major role in shaping notions of neighbourhood for many of our respondents. A good example of this type of response came from Abdi [R3], originally from Djibouti, who described how he defined his neighbourhood as his ward area (Bruce Grove) because he "... grew up in that kind of area... My ex-wife came from there, my mum-in-law used to live, so I was always local... My uncle used to live there and all of my friends came from that area, although I did spend half of my life in Islington, but I feel more comfortable in Bruce Grove because I've got, y'know my uncle and family there". That sense of comfort and familiarity, was echoed by Lindall [R31] who, having lived in Haringey for 45 years, saw his neighbourhood as South Tottenham, from "Seven Sisters to Bruce Grove" because "I look at it as neighbourhood as like people I grew up with, places that I'm familiar with, that I grew up with..." and described a clear sense of where he saw the limits of his neighbourhood "outside of that though, it's a different thing, innit... Outside Bruce Grove and everything else, to me, that's like outer ... it's outside. If I had a problem, I'd have to get back to that circle to get the help I need 'cos people know me, family and friends, girlfriend". Raj [R11] was also particularly close to his immediate neighbours having moved to the area from India with his family when he was five years old and growing up alongside his peers:

"We know everybody that lives up there. Most of have all been brought up, single parents, umm... so we kind stuck together since we were, I don't know, since we were five, six years old and we are still...everyone knows each other because you see everybody every day, you know, it is a community, in a way. So, yeah, you know everyone out there. Even if it is just to say, hi, hello, you might not know their name, but, you know them and you recognise them".

The 'co-presence' described by Raj [R11] above has the potential to act as the basis for longer-term solidarities (something we will explore further in later chapters). John [R9] attributed his perception of his ward area (Northumberland Park) as his neighbourhood to his intimate knowledge of the local area "yes, that neighbourhood is Northumberland Park... bounded by the High Road N17, the Northumberland Park Road and Landsdowne Road... I would tend to think of that as my neighbourhood... the fact that I've walked all of the streets in that area, umm, and can remember nearly all of the names... the fact that I have come to know, umm, the take on most of it in that area, and that if you're walking, then there's a fair chance of seeing someone that you know".

The responses above can be contrasted with those from respondents such as Jason [R38] who had moved into the neighbourhood more recently (and not by choice) and who was unemployed and experiencing financial difficulties. Jason [R38] was resentful of having to live in the area and, given his challenging financial circumstances, negative experiences with his neighbours and his lack of significant social contacts nearby, defined his neighbourhood as the area around his former home in Islington, despite living in his current residence for over 4 years.

Particular attention has to be given to the responses given by the male respondents who grew up in low-income parts of east Haringey. For Darren [R45], attending school and volunteering as a youth worker locally had played a significant role in his attachment to, and familiarity with, his sense of Wood Green as his neighbourhood. This was primarily as a result of the friends and connections he had made while doing so: "I went to school in Wood Green, most of my main friends are in Wood Green and I took a massive role in some of the youth services around... everything just seemed bang on centre for me in Wood Green and the fact that we've got the shopping city as well... so I never really felt like I needed to stretch out a lot". Familiarity with local places and people were particularly important for Shane [R36], who grew up in Tottenham as a teenager and explained that, for him and his friend:

“...the boundaries were quite small, purely because Tottenham is quite a rough area, Haringey, so there's lots of things like people being robbed and things like this for their phones n'stuff. Me, personally, me and my friends, we don't go too far. You sort of stay in your area where you know everybody, the shops and you're okay, yeah... Basically, I grew up on Philip Lane, so really, we would go anywhere in Haringey, you can go anywhere, but mainly you stay close by where you live.... mainly my street, the park, the shops around the street.”

The relative immobility and small territory of teenagers in low-income neighbourhoods of London is in large part explained by the more or less severe tensions and rivalries between teenage groups from different social housing estates or areas, and between gangs involved in drug dealing. These so-called ‘turf wars’ or ‘post-code wars’ (see Cooper, 2013 for a brief account), often mentioned in the London media in the context of the recurrence of violent knife and gun crime incidents amongst teenagers (especially from BME backgrounds), have had a strong impact on the mental maps and mobility practices of young (male) people. Darren [R45] reports on the fears which teenagers in the eastern part of the borough have of visiting other parts of the area: *“we had a few people from Wood Green and you tried to get them to go to Tottenham - it was like 'oh, I'm not going Tottenham, I've got issues with guys in Tottenham,' or 'I don't wanna be in Tottenham 'cos it's not my area.' That was actually what it was”*. Darren [R45] explained that as he got older and because of working in a youth project, he had to visit and work in the entire Borough of Haringey and had to go to areas he would never have gone to before, feeling guarded:

“... when I've been in Wood Green or Tottenham it [the atmosphere and treatment from the Police] was a lot more hostile and a bit more aggressive and, again, that was just due to what was going on in the area and it wasn't, as I said to you, just through the Police, but the postcode wars, especially being new in the area, not really understanding the way the culture worked in the area made it a lot tougher for me, so I found that sometimes, I'd be walking around Wood Green, Tottenham, parts of Manor House, the outskirts of Haringey, on the border of Manor House and Green Lanes, I found, yeah, it was exactly just that, it was a lot more aggressive, whereas when I was walking through some of the outskirts of Enfield, Palmers Green, Muswell Hill, even though I was driving through, I wouldn't really have as much aggression, or negative stigma attached to it”.

(iii) *Having children who attend school locally*

Several respondents noted how raising children played an important role in defining the boundaries of their neighbourhood. Thinking back to when her children were younger, Janet [R7] recalled how, as she put it *“...the real defining thing became having children...”* as she noted how her perception of neighbourhood broadened as a result, *“...neighbourhood was defined in terms of kids friends, the playgroup, the nursery, childminder and I would say that my concept of neighbourhood was stretched from Muswell Hill down to Finsbury Park ... I had some friends from the other side of the Haringey Ladder, so it was Muswell Hill, Finsbury Park, The Ladder, and Crouch End itself extending over to the Islington borders”*. Steve [R16], whose reasoning was a combination of the areas he visits and the significance of his children's school nearby (although not the closest due to lack of places), also noted how his definition of neighbourhood and his social networks had broadened as a result of having two young children:

“I guess I define my neighbourhood by the areas I go to... obviously, I've got my immediate neighbourhood which is, very much, this street and then my sons' school is, actually, over at the top end of the Ladder and so that's my neighbourhood too... A school is a very strong part of my sense of community and, obviously, some of those parents will live on the [Har-

ringay] Ladder³ (pause) so I have some interaction with people who live round there, the northern part of the Ladder, I suppose, but it's really, yeah, defined by that school".

Several other parents mentioned their child's school as playing a significant role in their definition of neighbourhood, although in some cases the school was too far away, and in too different an area to their own, for it to extend the sense of neighbourhood in the way that Steve [R16] describes above. For example, Donna's (R10) son attends primary school outside the immediate Bruce Grove area in the more affluent Crouch End (also due to a lack of school places locally), but she wouldn't define Crouch End as her neighbourhood but rather the "school community".

(iv) *Activity of local residents associations and initiatives*

Another common response we received was that an awareness of (and often involvement with) active residents associations, collectives, representative groups and other local initiatives also played a role in shaping notions of neighbourhood, as further explored in Section 5.4. Donna [R10], described Bruce Grove as her neighbourhood because, as she put it, despite feeling very "Tottenham proud", she is most active in her community at the ward level due to her longstanding involvement with the local residents group, stating proudly "I'm very involved in our residents group, it's called Bruce Grove Residents' Network. So, I very much think of our neighbourhood as the Bruce Grove ward, which is, umm, which goes over to the High Road - that's the one end of it - Philip Lane, right here, is that bit of it. I consider Downhills Park and Lordship Rec to be the other edge of that, those parks, to be that end and then sort of up to and including Broadwater Farm". Her involvement in co-organising her local Play Street⁴ added a more street-based element to her concept of neighbourhood as this was something that regularly involved interaction with her immediate neighbours and their children (Play Streets were discussed in our previous report, Kesten *et al.*, 2014, and will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 8 of this report). Several respondents explained that their perception of neighbourhood was heavily influenced by the existence of neighbourhood watch groups. Alice [R19] described the boundaries of her neighbourhood by naming the specific streets of "Clinton Road, Black Boy Lane, Clarence Road, Cornwall Road" doing so "because we formed a 'Safer Neighbourhood'⁵ and that's the area" referring to the area covered by her neighbourhood watch group in liaison with local police. Rupinder [R48] explained how: "I would say I belong to the Bruce Grove neighbourhood 'cos there is a Neighbourhood Watch, there is a local councillor in charge of our issues, there are local meetings that take place, where neighbours discuss anything, organise events...". While the definitions of neighbourhood provided by Alice [R19], Rupinder [R48] and other respondents above are noticeably narrow and could be perceived to be a response to local crime rates, neither Alice [R19] nor Rupinder [R48] mentioned any major crime concerns. Our research showed that despite some interviewees responding with narrower definitions of neighbourhood, this did not affect their willingness to visit other areas in and outside Haringey for leisure and work (as will be outlined in more detail in Chapter 5).

(v) *Neighbourhood reputation*

The final noteworthy factor affecting perceived neighbourhood boundaries was reputation. As indicated in Chapter 1, Haringey is spatially divided and reputations vary significantly across different wards and neighbourhoods. The responses from our interviewees both reflected and chal-

³ The "Haringay Ladder", or simply "The Ladder" is a local nickname given to a series of parallel residential streets perpendicular to Haringay Green Lanes made up of Victorian houses now inhabited by many middle-class "gentrifiers" which resemble a ladder when seen on a map.

⁴ A scheme where residents of a street gain permission from the local authorities to close their road to cars and encourage local residents (primarily children) to play and socialise in their street, <http://www.playingout.net>.

⁵ <http://content.met.police.uk/Article/About-Safer-Neighbourhoods/1400006213008/1400006213008>

lenged some of these perceptions and, in doing so, appeared to be shaping their own perceptions of neighbourhood. For example, Steve [R16] comments:

“there's quite a divide in this very immediate area of Haringey, as in Harringay⁶, they're completely different, and we kind of realised fairly early on that Harringay is kind of a wannabe Crouch End, kind of up its own arse, and it's very much the other side of Green Lanes, and there's some aspirational Harringayites on this side, umm, and we couldn't afford ... do you know the Ladder? We couldn't afford to live on there, even though there's some fantastic houses, but we didn't want to live that side ...”.

In this example Steve [R16] refers to aspirational (Harringay) and affluent (Crouch End) areas of Haringey and gives an insight into how his perceived neighbourhood boundary is constructed in contrast to the reputation of Crouch End. Steve [R16] also observed that residents of some more aspirational areas would be less inclined to visit, or even be aware of the existence of, notable sights and spaces of interest in areas without as positive a reputation, using the example of Lordship Recreation Ground and Broadwater Farm in Tottenham, the latter of which is synonymous with rioting which took place there in 1985:

“Whenever there's someone who does venture there [Lordship Recreation Ground] from the Ladder, you get a sense that they are venturing, and when they do come, they go 'wow, I had no idea this was here.' It's been there for all this time, and they've been there all this time, it's quite interesting, they'll look more west and we'll look more this way [towards Tottenham] - I don't know, quite, what that's about. So, there were very practical reasons, but also, perhaps, political reasons as well [for perceived neighbourhood boundaries] and I think it's fascinating, actually.... I would expect, to a certain extent, yes with some people, and if I told them that I wanted to encourage their kids to come to our bike club, I probably wouldn't say, it's the Lordship loop track, just next to Broadwater Farm, y'know, which it is!”

Steve [R16] is making it clear in his comments above that he has witnessed how the negative reputation of Tottenham, and specifically certain sites like Broadwater Farm, still has an impact upon the perceived neighbourhood boundaries (and everyday practice of living in Haringey) of many residents.

Although some Tottenham residents did reflect negatively on various aspects of their neighbourhood including concerns over crime/safety, a lack of economic opportunities or a perceived decline in social cohesion (see Section 4.4), very few living in Tottenham would characterise their experiences and perceptions of their neighbourhood as predominantly negative. Tottenham residents were aware that the perception of their area held by outsiders was far from positive, as Debbie [R5] put it *“Yeah, that stigma has certainly not gone and people are like 'oh, you're from Tottenham, y'know...”*. However, residents themselves largely felt that negative characterisations of Tottenham were unfair and unrepresentative, as Debbie [R5] continues, *“I don't see it as a negative and, in fact, it grates me that people see it like that”*. Other residents downplayed concerns of crime and disorder, for example Eudine [R46] who noted *“on my estate, there is a lot of people that are not from the estate that take drugs on the estate but... they won't bother me, maybe because I don't make them bother me... As long as they're not troubling me and my child, I'm fine”* or Julie [R47] who commented *“there are kids hanging around on the estate a bit and it's been a bit visible recently, particularly groups of young fellas hanging around*

⁶ Harringay is a local ward area of Haringey: <http://www.harringayonline.com/page/harringay-vs-haringey-vs-harringaygreenlanes>

daytime, but I walk around doing my own thing and they've never bothered me... I get the distinct impression they're up to no good, but they're not bothering me whilst they're up to no good". Further detail on respondents' positive and negative perceptions of their neighbourhoods is provided in Section 4.4.

Broader definitions

Interestingly we did find that some residents formed their attachment to neighbourhood more broadly than to just their immediate street or ward area for various reasons including having lived in different parts of the area for a long time and having regularly visited different social and public spaces throughout the area. Some respondents, like Janet [R7], defined their neighbourhood as including their immediate ward and other surrounding areas stretching from "Muswell Hill down to Finsbury Park and Crouch End extending over to the Islington borders" but notes specifically that her neighbourhood does not stretch over to the eastern parts of Haringey (which are more deprived). In a few cases an even larger notion neighbourhood was adopted, as was the case for Victor [R1] who remarked:

"I did grow up in Haringey. All these places that I've lived, Crouch End, Palmers Green ... although this is kind of Wood Green, Tottenham - I work in Tottenham - I would say it's all my neighbourhood 'cos it's where I grew up and I have friends who are neighbours. I know people all over the borough, I went to primary school in the borough and I've still got a lot of friends from that time... I would say all this area and all the places that I've lived is my neighbourhood really, I know it like the back of my hand".

As shown above there were broad variations in perceptions of neighbourhood dependent on a combination of factors including the micro-geographies of the built environment, the biographical histories of respondents, the individual's physical mobility, social, economic and family status, and its perceived reputation, and the extent to which individuals lived, worked (where applicable), and established social networks in and around their place of residence. Local associations and perceptions also became particularly important in shaping mind-maps of which areas constituted a neighbourhood and which did not, as did the reputations of those areas. Examples of broader definitions of neighbourhood like those from Victor [R1] and Janet [R7] above were less common and were typically held by respondents with a combination of both a long established connection to their neighbourhood and higher levels of income, social capital and thus mobility.

4.3 Perceptions of neighbours

As indicated earlier in Section 4.1, our interviewees perceptions of their neighbours can loosely be characterised as adhering to the notion of 'commonplace diversity' (Wessendorf, 2013: p. 407), in that 'ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity' was 'experienced as a normal part of social life and not as something particularly special'. It was often not something respondents had thought much about, although when asked, most clearly viewed it as a positive aspect of their neighbourhood. One respondent, Victor [R1] summed up the feeling expressed (both explicitly and implicitly) by many towards the diversity of their neighbourhood in remarking "The thing is, it's normal, I grew up around loads of different cultures, a lot of my friends were from all over the world, it's not something I even thought about before you asked me that question". The overwhelming majority of our respondents reported positive perceptions of, and relations with, their neighbours.

Reflecting on who the inhabitants of their neighbourhood were, the most common response received from almost all respondents, regardless of which part of Haringey they lived in, was to describe their neighbourhood as "multicultural", "diverse" or "mixed". Respondents most often did so by recounting the various ethnic backgrounds of their neighbours. For example, Eudine [R46] who identified as Black Caribbean and lived in the White Hart Lane ward of North Tottenham in

the east of Haringey described her neighbours as: *“Multicultural... that's it really, multicultural... Like you've got Somalians, Turkish, Blacks, Africans, Chinese ... we've got everybody living here, every kind of culture living around here”*. Victor [R1], also Black British: Caribbean, who lived in Wood Green in the east of the borough stated *“I think it's [his neighbourhood] quite mixed... in terms of ethnicities, as Haringey is... very mixed as in white, black, Muslim and all that, really mixed neighbourhood and they all get on, that's what's good”*. Abdi [R3], who identified as Somali, focused his description of his neighbours in Bruce Grove, Tottenham on the fact that he had *“... seen mostly Eastern European... black Africans, Jamaicans... and Somali people... obviously English - I see a lot of English”*. Alice [R19], who identified as ‘Coloured’ in the South African sense, the equivalent of Mixed heritage in the UK, described her immediate neighbours in South Tottenham as being from England, the Caribbean, Montenegro, France, and Iran. There were many similar examples of respondents who described their relations with their neighbours from a huge variety and combination of ethnic groups as (at least anecdotally) positive, and in many cases a positively banal and everyday fact of life. For example, Ruby [R20] a White British woman who had lived in her home in Tottenham for 30 years remarked *“I don't know if there's an advantage, I mean, that's just the way the world is. Y'know, we are a multi-racial world.”*

Having highlighted the significant ethnic diversity of their neighbours, some respondents of the eastern part of the borough from lower income groups noted, however, that their neighbourhood and social circles were not diverse in terms of income. A good example of this sentiment comes from Abyan [R35], a 22 year old woman of Somali origin who has lived in Tottenham ever since she arrived in the UK when was 2 years old. Abyan [R35] reflected that *“Everyone's pretty much low income, otherwise we wouldn't be here”*. Several other respondents described the socio-economic status of their neighbours, many of whom also articulated the spatial divisions which exist within Haringey. For example, when asked how he might describe who lives in his neighbourhood Darren [R45] responded *“On the eastern side, a lot of the people that I've interacted with and I've come across on the eastern side are more the working class and the underclass and the western side, more middle class area, upper class... I know some of the most richest people in Britain actually live in Highgate, so you can actually see that there's a massive difference...”*. A similar description was offered by Rupinder [R48] who stated:

“So quite bluntly, you're not gonna find the most educated and, well, polite members of society there, but there is a couple who are actually college professors, the academics living there - there are also big families living there, there are also many homes with problems like domestic violence, drugs, alcohol, unemployment, some juvenile, criminal issues as well, but it's a big mix over there and it's quite varied ... you've got Afro Caribbean families, you've got Asian families, you've got Eastern Europeans, there are also English families there and older members of residents in that street, the ones who are actually located near the church, established there for various, many generations and the newcomers, like me, are actually from the other side of the street, middle to the end of the street”.

Respondents from the west of the borough also mention the ethnic diversity of their neighbours, although in a context where, in contrast to the east of Haringey, the average income level is far higher and the origin of the population is more *“European, so it's Italian, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish ... I'm just trying to think through the classes, y'know, American, Canadian - plus, you've got ethnic minorities [meaning BME] - obviously, obviously, not nearly as many, but you still have a mix and you still have a big turnover”* (Sharon [R33], a middle aged White British resident of Crouch End). As a longstanding resident of Crouch End in the more affluent west of Haringey Janet [R7] claimed to know all her neighbours, most of whom she describes as being very wealthy, she mentions a Venezuelan family, an Afro-Caribbean woman who has a daughter, Somali or Ethiopian residents of flats nearby, and also describes other neighbours in terms of their occupations as university lecturers, builders, bankers and actors.

The typical household composition was mentioned by several respondents as a critical factor affecting neighbourly relations locally as Sharon [R33] noted, that her neighbourhood, while diverse in terms of nationalities, is primarily dominated by families with children or ‘empty nesters’, *“so it's not diverse in terms of ages because younger people can't afford to live there, not anymore”*. Georgina [R24] who also lived in Crouch End recalled how her elderly neighbour saw the possibility of younger couples and families moving into the area as a positive development: *“That's what one of the older people said to me, hopefully young couples will move in, will have children and it will bring the area alive again. Because it can be a little bit, it's absolutely quiet, it's really really quiet all the time.... There's no cohesion, as far as I can see”*.

Also reflecting on the age of her neighbours, Alice [R19], among many others, described how her neighbours were very mixed in terms of household composition, with young couples, families, single parents, and the elderly all represented. While Georgina [R24] and Sharon [R33] both problematized the age profile of their neighbourhood as a potential barrier to relations between neighbours, other respondents offered reflections on the ages and occupations of their immediate neighbours. Debbie [R5], remarked that the residents of her building are generally young (mid 20s to 40s) and White British or White European, many of them artists and photographers and professionals living relatively cheaply, and described a really strong sense of community within the building as a result of these similarities, although she was clear that she did not view the residents of her building as her friends and disagreed with many of their political views. She also noted the presence of sex workers and a brothel on her street as well as a Roma/Gypsy site and a Council estate at the end of her road and described how all had been a cause of tension between some residents at different times.

Age was a descriptor of neighbours that was used by many other respondents. Victor [R1], a teacher in his early thirties, reflected positively on his neighbours who were often much older than he and his flatmate, who shared his Caribbean background, and who reminded him of his own family and of growing up in Tottenham *“... I have a lot of respect for my neighbours because a lot of them are older than me. A lot of them remind me of my parents, or my grandparents, especially the West Indian and Caribbean and the African ones, they're very much like they could be my aunties and uncles, just their way of thinking”*. Trevor [R32], a retired parking attendant, noted that most of his neighbours were elderly and so he tended to look out for them: *“particularly when it's cold and wet and damp, y'know, I'll knock on their door and make sure they're alright, make sure they've got a bit of heating on, make sure they're okay - I do that. If I don't see them, I'll always make a point of finding out what's what”*.

Description of relations

Unsurprisingly in an area as large and diverse as Haringey, when asked about their neighbours the interviewees' responses cover a spectrum of attitudes and relationships. These ranged from strong bonds and patterns of interactions some of which are considered friendships, to relatively superficial but neutral, to hostile and/or highly negative (quite rare). This is in line with previous research on ‘neighbouring’ as a process, which has shown various degrees of ‘neighbourliness’.

Our research indicated that some respondents described very limited relationships with their neighbours which they attributed to the transience of neighbours, the language barrier and a general lack of trust among local residents (see Section 6.3 for further discussion of barriers to neighbourliness). The *loss* of ‘friendly’ relationships with neighbours was a strong theme evoked by long-term residents who live in streets where the transformation of the housing stock has increased the degree of transience, as analysed below in Section 4.4. Ruby [R20], for example, when asked whether she would consider her neighbourhood as a helping neighbourhood, answers *“No, not at all. If you'd asked me that question 25 years ago, I would have said 'yes, definitely,' but not now”*. She

continued, *“We don't really have a lot of close, neighbourly relationships, people just don't mix very much. I used to get on very well with several sets of neighbours ... on one side they're all young, Eastern Europeans, they don't speak English as a first language, they make a lot of noise, which we complain about, so we don't have a very good relationship with them, they are a bit of a nuisance really... 15 years ago, I used to know quite a few people in our street, but they've all left the neighbourhood, the people I used to know, and the people who moved in just don't mix”*.

Concerns over neighbourhood change were reflected in other negative perceptions of neighbours. Alan [R40], for instance, felt that growing diversity had had a detrimental impact on the neighbourhoods of Haringey: *“There's a load of 'em round there... Most of all them shops are all kind of foreign people... You don't see a lot of English... I think it's the same all over the place ... The Romanians stay to their own, the Polish stay to their own, Albanians, they stay to their own”*. Jason [R38] held an equally negative perception of his neighbours who he described as *“not trustworthy”* because he had *“been burgled twice and I suspect it might be the people I know”*. Other respondents in Wood Green, such as Richard [R41], argued that the area lacked a sense of security, in part owing to its growing diversity: *“I wouldn't trust my neighbours as far as I could throw them. If I left something outside, I'm pretty sure it'd go. Aab [pause] it's not a friendly area, umm there are friendly people, I am pretty sure, but they don't socialise”*.

A significant proportion of respondents, however, described strong bonds with their neighbours and patterns of interaction that exceeded a superficial neighbourly relationship, as described in more depth in Section 6.3. Several respondents mentioned having their neighbours over for dinner, some, such as Eudine [R46], did so on a regular basis:

“Where I live, in my block, on my floor, just particularly on my floor, it don't care where you live, I mean, what country you come from, or what background you've come from, we have one Sunday a month where one person on that floor cooks for everybody on that floor, for Sunday dinner, so you get different cultures that way and you taste different food and that's just once a month and it's just making our floor acceptable”.

Numerous other examples of positive relations were identified drawn from residents living across Haringey such as how Alice [R19] share's vegetables she has grown with her neighbours, how four of Janet's [R7] neighbours have her keys, house sit for one another and look after each other's pets or how Victor's [R1] neighbours helped him park his car several times after he had just passed his driving test and was lacking in confidence or how Lindall [R31] and his long-time neighbours would go to *“parties, family functions... clubbing... down the pub”*.

Finally, for the majority of respondents relations with their neighbours could be characterised as either neutral or pleasantly minimal, as *“hi/bye”* relationships where they would often greet each other in the street but little more. For example *“...Neighbours I get along with 'cos whenever I come out, they'd be like 'hi,' and 'bye,' this n'that... You wave, you say hello, you have a conversation for a little minute and then you just keep it moving”* (Lequann [R44]). The mutual respect of acknowledging fellow neighbours was typically positively valued but seen as a *“bonus”* and *“not necessarily important”*, although often a pleasant surprise and positive feature of life in the neighbourhood as Rupinder [R48] notes below:

“...these older members of the street, they make sure they know everybody who lives there. Even if you come exhausted from work, they'll greet you and ask you how was your day n'all that, old fashioned way, and many people are retired and they just monitor the street to see if anybody tries to break into your home, they're on the phone immediately, calling the authorities, they won't tolerate that at all, so there is a mutual concern for well-being and also like a vigilante force you could call it”.

One response which is indicative of the connection between diversity and relations with neighbours for many of our respondents comes from Donna [R10] who remarked that she doesn't 'match' with her neighbours but does not problematize this. For Donna [R10], the "beauty of London" is that "nobody's the same and nobody would expect to be the same" but that "what we might be the same on are some of the things that we care about". She continued to explain:

"The match is about community here and I think where this neighbourhood - and Tottenham overall - does really well, manages really well, is to bring people together around community, around where we are, and around our place and our community, rather than being the same, or thinking the same, necessarily. Obviously, you've gotta have a certain amount of similarity in terms of, umm, y'know, what you think is acceptable, but that's fairly broad, so I think where ... I think the matching is about concepts of community... it's not about what we look like, or who we are ... it's not at all about being the same, it's about coming together with our difference and caring about our community".

While respondents were aware of much of the demographic profile of their neighbourhood and able to describe to some extent the ethnicity, age, socio-economic status and occupation of many of their neighbours, these markers were often less significant to them than other broader factors such as the length of time spent in the neighbourhood or whether the household had young children. In many cases it was possible to disassociate notions of neighbourliness and community from perceptions of similarity, allowing for a more inclusive form of neighbourly relations. Whilst, as noted above, there were some concerns that new waves of migration and gentrification were bringing about negative changes, the overall view of diversity was that there were more issues in common between people living in the research neighbourhoods than divisions.

4.4 Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects

In this section we present interviewees' perceptions of the positive and negative aspects of their neighbourhood, a sizable proportion of which linked either directly or indirectly to the diversity of the neighbourhood.

Positive perceptions of neighbourhood (and its diversity)

The vast majority of interviewees reflected positively on their neighbourhood and, both prior to and after being asked about diversity specifically, characterised the diversity of the area as one of its most positive features. The most common and significant positive aspects of neighbourhood described by respondents can be split into two categories: (i) positive relationships between neighbours (including new experiences and greater levels of tolerance, understanding and comfort); and (ii) access to good and diverse facilities locally (including shops, restaurants, green spaces, public facilities and transport connections).

(i) Positive relationships between neighbours

One of the most common responses, without specifically mentioning (or being asked about) any aspect of the diversity of the neighbourhood, was to praise the presence of strong social bonds, cohesion and community spirit amongst neighbours with comments such as: "everybody gets on well with each other, especially if they know each other and know that you're a neighbour" (Eudine [R46]); "the best thing I would say is that kind of human connection with people who live in the area... there is a high level of solidarity" (Rupinder [R48]); and "the best thing is about the kind of community spirit that we've got here" (Donna [R10]). Steve [R16] explained how his positive attachment to his local area was based on his familiarity and friendly relations with his neighbours: "So, having children here has been fantastic and I love, I love walking around here and just seeing someone I know, and it might be someone who works in the

shop, that woman who said that, or it might be a parent, or whatever - I love that sense of connectedness, which I've never really had before... I love the sense of community in our street".

While for a small number of respondents such as Abdi [R3] and Anwar [R18] this community spirit was based around a common cultural or ethnic group, for respondents like Steve [R16], Donna [R10], Victor [R1] and many others the community bonds and spirit they describe and praise as one of their favourite things about their neighbourhood are based primarily on locality and cut across ethnic and cultural lines, offering them new experiences and opportunities to learn about the different cultures and lifestyles of their neighbours, signalling the emergence of an everyday cosmopolitanism.

This finding of strong community bonds within diverse neighbourhoods was reinforced when respondents were asked specifically whether the diversity of their neighbourhood was one of its positive or negative characteristics. Our research indicated that the ethnic and cultural diversity of the borough was nearly always mentioned as a positive aspect of the neighbourhood (often as the most positive). This was best summed up by Lucy [R13], a White Zimbabwean respondent, for whom diversity was simply *"Positive... Definitely positive"* and made the area a more lively and interesting place in which to live. The following response from Somali born Abyan [R35] was also indicative of the majority of respondents who saw the diversity of their neighbourhood as unquestionably positive:

"It's a good thing because it's just different people, so instead of it being one set of group, you can mix and everyone's pretty much friendly as well. So, that's a good thing, when you mix, it's better that way, interact with other people's cultures, innit".

Abdi [R3], who also identified as Somali, spoke of how the diverse nationalities of his neighbours was a positive thing for him because:

"... you tend to know people all over the world, it's an easy thing ... say, if you go to Nigeria, you know how Nigerian people behave, if you go to Greece you know, if you go to Turkey, you can say merhaba [hello in Turkish]... So, you know people, like you can easily attract them because you're familiar, especially if the people travel a lot, it's good to know people. I mean, the world now is just a big village anyway, so you can go anywhere".

Dorota [R42], originally from Poland, also felt that interactions with diverse individuals in her neighbourhood enhanced her understanding of different cultures, histories and perspectives: *"when you talk to people like that, who are completely different to you, it really helps you to understand many things better"* and this sentiment was shared by Darren [R45] who described how *"... one of the best things to me, personally, living in Haringey is the fact that it's multi-cultural. It's the fact that the opportunities to meet and experience a different culture, a different lifestyle"*. Geoff [R34] offered an example of how he felt that living in Haringey had made him more open-minded and aware of the world:

"...The Turkish guy I was telling you about, that lives here, he's told me a lot - and I speak to him quite a lot - he's told me a lot about his story, it's a real eye opener... I wasn't too clever on all my views on immigration, I wasn't too clever before, but emm, speaking to people, it's like a real flipping eye opener. There's a lot of Turkish people in that area and I could imagine, if you were speaking to him, the circumstances he's been through to end up here and it's made me realise it is important, it's important to help these people - I didn't really think that before - I used to think 'oh, close the border,' n'all that, I don't think like that no more".

Eudine [R46] made a similar point to Geoff [R34], describing how her increased contact and interactions with her neighbours had made her more open-minded and patient with others in her home and professional life:

‘I would say on my floor, it's different to my neighbourhood. It's made me more tolerant with people around 'cos you don't know what they've come from, you don't know their mentality. It makes me more aware of what's happening around me and what they will be going through and the people on my floor, I've gotten used to them over the years and so we have gelled more than anybody else... Well, even to do with work, where I'm not tolerant with people that don't speak English, trying to understand what they're trying to say to you now. I mean, I've got people on my floor that doesn't speak English and if they've got a problem with the Council, I will help them to sort it out, so that kind of thing’.

Shane [R36], a young White British respondent who grew up in Tottenham, stresses “*where I grew up - Albanian, Kosovan, English, Jamaican, Irish, Turkish, everybody's from different places, never race [has been an issue], never*”. He contrasts the potentially racist views of some young people who “*grew up in a different place*” outside of London, i.e. one without diversity: “*They just don't know difference, they're ignorant... Like I said, growing up in Haringey, you don't realise it's so bad because it's normal, this is how you live. If people get stabbed, it's not on the news, but in another area, somebody gets stabbed, it's on the news straightaway, it's big news, so they're just ignorant in their own ways, that's all they know, they don't know foreign people, so they don't know how to be versatile*”. These views are also influenced by various other factors including: length of time spent in the borough; household composition (i.e. having children) and involvement in residents associations and initiatives. We will return to the subject of bonds between neighbours in more detail later in Chapter 6.

This sense of diversity offering residents new experiences and levels of understanding was noted as especially significant for children and young people. Victor [R1], a popular music teacher in a secondary school in Tottenham, makes this same point specifically in relation to his students: “*I think it's definitely a positive, definitely positive, because working in a school, and our school has a diverse ethnic mix, it's great for the kids to learn about each other's cultures and backgrounds and also experiences*”. The positive example that living happily in a diverse context set for children was seen as particularly important, as John [R9], a single father, reflected “*teaches tolerance and understanding that there are different ways of living, different religions, different cuisines, different ways of thinking... and the schools, certainly celebrated that by teaching and observing all the major religious festivals and, emm, (pause) and having meals, y'know, from the Caribbean cooking and roast beef and Yorkshire pudding*”. Steve [R16], the primary care-giver for his two young sons, compared the experiences of his children, “*I love the fact that, for my children, it's just normal for them to be amongst so many children of different backgrounds, different languages*”, with his own and those of other adults in the neighbourhood, “*There's no way that any adult I know has that daily contact and quite reasonably intimate contact, sustained contact, with such a broad range of backgrounds, ethnicities and languages*”, at times almost envious of the opportunities for meaningful cross-cultural interaction and relationships that they were experiencing.

As mentioned earlier in Section 3.3, a number of migrant or BME respondents lauded the diversity of their neighbourhood as providing them a sense of comfort and security. This feeling was attributed to the nature of the ethnic diversity in Haringey where no one group is dominant, allowing interviewees from a range of backgrounds to avoid feeling like “*an outsider*” or the embodiment of difference and diversity for being, for example, the only non-White British person in a predominantly White British environment. Jade [R25], who is from a ‘Mixed: White and Asian’ background, recalls the difference in comfort she feels in South Tottenham compared to her former university in Derby in the north of England:

“... definitely something that attracts me and makes me feel more comfortable. If I was living in an area that was less diverse, I think - because I'm mixed race - I would feel not as comfortable, or I'd be more aware of it, where this is more neutral for me, I'm kind of used to the diversity, so I don't necessarily see it, but if I was somewhere less diverse, I would notice. I went to university in Derby, where it's a very white population and I noticed”.

Valencia [R49] described earlier in Section 3.3 how the diversity of her neighbourhood was a reason why she experienced the move to her current home as an improvement. She described how the social and cultural diversity in Tottenham has made her feel more welcome and at home than she would have done in more affluent and less ethnically diverse parts of the city:

“Maybe, we're all mixed there, but that's the perception I get. This is like a neighbourhood, y'know, and a lot of people I feel, obviously, most people are of ethnic minorities, like myself, or a lot of black people, Africans, Jamaicans, but that's something I like because ... I'm pretty much used to being with lots of people from that sort of culture, so I feel safe here, I feel more like I belong here than if I was living in Chelsea, for example”.

For other interviewees there was a specific reflection on the positive benefits of being in close proximity to those ‘like themselves’ in some way. For Abdi [R3] this similarity centred upon being around fellow Somalis, while for Donna [R10] it was in relation to her sexuality and family life: *“I think one of the reasons I like my neighbourhood is there are, umm, y'know, there are a lot of other gay people here, and that's important to me, so I know, for example, I know at least kind of 10 other same sex couples who have children, who live in my neighbourhood... Yeah, so that's important to me, y'know, that my son knows other families that are like his...”*. Layla [R21], also a lesbian, also liked the tolerance of her area:

“... another positive for me is that none of my friends are going to feel uncomfortable about coming to visit me here, whatever their background is. Whereas if I moved to the countryside and lived in a little village where everybody was white like I am everybody would stare, perhaps. I think one of the things about diverse areas is that it has a higher level of tolerance for difference generally, so it absorbs difference. There isn't one way that's normal, so you don't have to be one way to be normal. Does that make sense? ... You don't have to be the same as everybody else because you can't be the same as everybody else because everybody else is all different from each other. So if you've got that sort of difference sitting there then there isn't one dominant ideology, ideally. And then if you fall out of that dominant ideology then you're really in a minority, whereas here it's difficult to be in a minority”.

(ii) *Access to good and diverse facilities locally*

The positive perceptions of neighbourhood diversity and the experiences it offers residents often became a reflection on neighbourhood connectivity in relation to the local facilities available, specifically about the opportunities to experience foods from around the world due to the various different grocery stores, bakeries, cafes and restaurants within the neighbourhood. Margaret [R4], among many others, reflected positively on the fact that *“in Tottenham, you've got so many places to eat ... you've got fabulous Turkish food shops, which is wonderful, and you're not that far from Green Lanes [area of Haringey well known for its Turkish restaurants among others]”*. Victor [R1], demonstrated a detailed awareness of the spatial distribution of Haringey's range of ethnic food offerings:

“So, living in Haringey, I've been exposed to all this amazing food and the thing about Haringey is there's pockets of culture everywhere. At the moment, Palmers Green is very Greek orientated, there's a lot of Greek restaurants... and Southgate as well... and then obviously, you go further down, and it's Green Lanes and there's a lot of Turkish restaurants... And

then, you go to more Tottenham/West Green Road/Wood Green areas, there's a lot of Caribbean and African food... even on Green Lanes, I went to an amazing Eritrean restaurant, I think it's called Muna's and she's been running that restaurant for over 20 years and she's just incredible... so I've eaten so many different cuisines and it's incredible. That's one of the positives about living here and the fact that it's so diverse with ethnicities and cultures, so that's one positive".

The diversity of small shops and 'ethnic' businesses available as one of a neighbourhoods most positive aspects was a recurring theme from many interviewees. Debbie [R5] spoke at length about the positive benefits of her local Turkish shop which included a greengrocer and bakery in contrast to what she saw as the alternative *"I don't wanna have to walk down streets that are like homogenous and full of Tesco's ... and a Costa's and other places... I want to have local shops and local things and things that people eat from my local community and things that I can try which are different and different people that I can meet"*. Steve [R16], beamed about his local Greek-Cypriot run grocery store as a form of *"community hub"* and praised the fact that it afforded him the opportunity to be able to *"buy fresh coriander late at night"* or go *"shopping on Christmas Day"* as he had been able to do when he had previously lived in Mexico. Reha [R17] notes that for her, *"The best [thing about her neighbourhood is that]... I love access to all sorts of foods at any time because between Haringey and Hackney, you can go 24 hour shopping ... if I want a specific ingredient for a curry, or a Caribbean dish, I would know where to go and I'll get it, and it's not that far away"*. Also, Layla [R21] *"I can walk down the end of my road and I don't need to go on holiday to half the places in Europe... When I go to Turkey, for example, all the food I eat there I can buy at the end of the road... Ditto for other places like that"*.

In addition to the diversity of food on offer in shops and restaurants some respondents, such as Abyan [R35] described the sharing of food between friends and neighbours from different ethnic groups, as a material and enjoyable expression of diversity and a rather universal sign of sharing, *"My neighbourhood's wicked, my street, White Hart Lane, is cool because if we cook something for ourselves, we have people over, we just share it out to each other - they do the same thing as well - so it's really nice, it's a bit friendly"*. While, according to Shane [R36] living in Haringey offers him the opportunity to gain a window into other parts of the world through food:

Shane: "From my point of view, it's very positive. I go to my friend's house, I can taste some food from Africa. I can go to my friend's house, taste some food from Portugal, we bring different things to the table".

Interviewer: "So, food is a very important element when it comes to like ...?"

Shane: "Yeab, it's sort of ... for everybody, you need food to survive, so when you go to your friend's house, you see they eat different food, you smell it, it's nice, you're interested, it intrigues you. You see a bit of fruit you haven't seen before, you want to ask questions about it, 'what does it do, how does it taste?' They show you parts of their world".

Many other interviewees also mentioned more standard factors that made the area a positive place to live. Mary [R12], for example, noted that location relative to central London, good public transport connections, and the presence of green spaces as some of the most positive aspects *"The best thing, it is close to the tube [laughter] ... the kids like the area, They like all the parks in the area"*. Most respondents mentioned the amount of parks and green spaces in Haringey, including play areas for children and other public facilities such as the local swimming pool as key positive features of their neighbourhood (see Section 5.3 on the use of public space for more on this topic and the crucial role of parks as spaces of encounter). Steve [R16] and others reflected on their fondness for local parks and other green spaces *"I love the fact that we've got so many green spaces nearby, but you can get on a bus, or on a bike and be in central London very, very quickly"*. Or as Victor [R1] com-

mented, reflecting on his area in relation to those of his friends who grew up in rural areas, *“here, transport links are great, I live 10-15 minutes’ walk from a tube station, there’s a train station just around the corner ... it’s fine”*. For Margaret [R4], who identified as physically disabled, the transport links in her area were particularly important, *“I mean, I have a bus right outside my house which, with my leg, is fabulous ‘cos I just hobble out, get on the bus, go to the tube, I can go to Turnpike Lane, I can go to Seven Sisters, I can go to Tottenham Hale, I can be in here [workplace] in 20 minutes”*.

Negative perceptions of neighbourhood (and its diversity)

Inevitably some negative aspects of neighbourhood were also mentioned. The most commonly reported negative perceptions of neighbourhood can be grouped under two categories: (i) the threat of current and potential changes to the area and (ii) issues of crime, incivility, safety concerns and stigma.

(i) Threat of current and potential changes to the area

One common response from long-time residents was that new waves of migration combined with housing market dynamics were changing the social character of the area. Anxieties were identified among respondents around a sense of ‘overcrowding’ and the feeling that there was too much fluidity of populations in their neighbourhoods. As Haydar [R29] who had lived in Wood Green for 10 years noted in interview:

“... the area always keeps changing people, which means that there [are] not [so many] permanent resident[s], they’re not people who own houses, the people who rent and work in London they move to this area, they move to other areas, so I always see new faces as well. It’s not like when you go to towns and countryside, you see residents who are there on a permanent basis, they were born and they spent all their life in the same area”.

The role of Haringey (in particular the eastern part) as a (first) port of call for migrants and as a transient place was mentioned by several respondents as a long-standing matter of fact, part of the identity of the area, for good and for bad. Layla [R21] emphasizes that *“you always need areas that are more transitional areas, and I think Tottenham – because of more rented accommodation, places like that – will always be more of a churn area”*. Several respondents talked about the successive ‘waves’ of visible migrant groups which came to Haringey over time since the post-WWII era: Philippa [R30], for example, talks about the change from *“a lot of Cypriots from Cyprus and Caribbean’s”* to *“more Africans”*: *“with immigration, people come and then they move out, then another lot comes and another lot moves out, so it’s always changing”*. Ruby [R20] mentions the shift from White-English, West Indian (in Tottenham) and Bangladeshi (in Turnpike Lane) to Somalis (for the past 10-15 years) and a large number of Eastern Europeans (for the past 5 years). This process of change is not just residential but also reflected in the nature of shops.

Several long-term residents of Tottenham, many of whom from an ethnic minority background and themselves previous migrants several decades ago, expressed their concerns about the impact of new migrants on their surroundings and felt that recent changes had put a strain on the area’s social cohesion. Monica [R22], a retired nurse who arrived in Haringey from Jamaica in 1975, stated:

“I have seen a lot of changes over the years because when I came to live in Haringey, there were a lot of shops, mostly Caribbean people, but now, coming up to about 2000, there’s a lot of diversities, different nationalities and less West Indian. That time when I started living here, everything was clean and there wasn’t like now, there’s now a lot of ... with the different diversities coming in, there’s a lot of changes where there’s a lot of dumping and theft and

most of the shops that were in the high road, Tottenham High Road, has closed and the different people take it over and, y'know, as I said, I've seen a lot of changes over the years”.

The target of her concerns were Eastern Europeans who have recently moved to the street where she lives. Lucy [R13], another long term resident who is generally very positive about diversity in Haringey, also singled out the role of recent newcomers from Eastern Europe and how their presence had begun to have an effect on the area and that new micro-tensions were emerging:

“They're all sorts. There's Romanians, there's this, there is that. They are Eastern Europeans and they are loud, they are rude, they, you know, at 3:00 in the morning, ins and outs, closing, banging doors, speaking loud on their phone. It's just very upsetting, you know. A few times I've gone on to say, you know, 'is there something wrong with you?', 'do you need help?', you know. I've complained to the landlord, he spoke to them. Another thing is rubbish, you know. We've had this, I wouldn't say altercation, but I've gone out to speak to the landlord to say, 'look, it's ridiculous, you know'. The amount of rubbish that is on the street...”.

However these worries and complaints were only rarely phrased in derogatory “racial” or ethnic terms, rather, the emphasis was on the *transient nature* of the incriminated individuals or groups (students, new low-income migrants (legal and illegal), or young professionals) or on specific behaviours on the part of tenants and landlords. Long-term residents complained about noise, about rubbish thrown in the street and lack of maintenance, and about the lack of interaction from their new transient neighbours who are not perceived to wish to engage in the life of the street, as illustrated by Monica [R22]:

“Next to me ... that house is rented by students and, according to the contract they have, they're always going and coming, so you're used to them going in and then you see another group and it goes like that, maybe they're at university and then when the course is finished the move on, another group coming and stuff like that. And on my other side, which is number 12, I live in 11, and the houses are joined, so it's 10, 11, 12 - on the other side they are Polish people - and I think what the man has turned the house into is like a bed and breakfast, he don't live there, so you get people going and coming all the time, all the time and it's mostly his people ... mostly Polish. So, you see, they just come, sleep, they're gone, spend maybe two or three days, they're gone, and because English is not most of them first language, if you see them and you say 'bello,' they wouldn't answer anyway, so you don't bother to say it, y'know”.

This statement reveals the problematic impacts of the recent and ongoing transformation of the housing stock in Haringey. The loss of housing appropriate for low and middle income families was mentioned by several residents (of very different class and socio-economic profiles) from across both sides of the Haringey divide as a key concern. This is happening through several processes: the conversion of single houses into small flats or Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMO) (in particular in the eastern part of Haringey), or in the wealthier, western part, the purchase of houses by “super-rich” foreign investors or absentee landlords. The changing ownership and rental structure of large parts of Haringey which those transformations entail are perceived mostly negatively by long-term residents. The transformation of areas previously dominated by single-family houses was picked up by several respondents, who described the transformation of these houses in HMOs, sometimes expanded through loft and back-garden extensions, and the spread of the phenomenon of ‘Buy to Let’ as expressed by Monica [R22]:

“Those houses are three bedrooms, but the mister that owns it, he is a builder, he is a building contractor, so he has his own Polish people that work for him and he turned that three bedroom into a six bedroom, like a bed and breakfast, and extend into the garden, so there's no garden space. So, that is what he does, and he doesn't live there. But, if there's any trouble because sometimes, in the summertime, when there's a lot of them in there, sometimes they start an argument which escalated into the road and they would call the police and maybe the police would find out who owns the property and stuff like that, and that's the only time you would see him come by, and when he come by, he don't speak ... well, he's never spoken to me”.

Ruby [R20] describes a similar process and hints at the overcrowding which is very prevalent in the eastern part of Haringey:

“The house next door to me used to belong to the Council and was always a family house, now, it's got a large number of young Eastern Europeans in it and that's been a trend of housing in the area particularly, a family house comes onto the market, it's never bought by a family anymore 'cos families can't afford it, or don't want to live in this area, so it's bought by a developer and they put a loft extension in, put a ground floor extension in, turn it into three flats and that's happening all over the borough... What's happening is the make-up of the people in the area is slowly changing. It's because of housing costs, y'know, the sort of people who are selling ... if you were, say, a young parent with two or three children of below 10, that's the sort of family that these houses were meant for - they can't afford them - nobody with young children can afford to pay what our houses are now worth, which is why they all get sold to developers, families can't even consider them. It's a real shame, but that's what's driving the change”.

Ruby [R20] notes that in her area, *“we're basically losing all our family housing. At the moment, we're just at the beginning of that, there are still a lot of people left who own houses who just a family lives in, they're all getting older and they're not being replaced by young families coming into the sort of house that I live in... What will happen, over time, is that the neighbourhood will become more and more dense, as a three bedroom house occupied by two people is turned into three flats, each occupied by two or three, sometimes four people, so you'll go from people being fairly spread out to being more and more densely accommodated - I think that's quite a risk - because I think that if you don't have people with young children coming into the area 'cos there's no accommodation for them, the life blood of the community is quite badly affected by that”.* She crudely concludes *“I don't think it's in the interests of the neighbourhood to become what's basically a bedsit land for young, Eastern Europeans”.*

Philippa [R30], referring to the same process in the more affluent western part of the borough, expresses similar concerns about the rise of the ‘Buy to Let’ phenomenon in Highgate, through which houses are converted into rented flats:

“... one of the problems is transience in that you don't get a settled community if you only have small units because people come, when they have children, they have to move somewhere else, so it's always changing. We had some families in the street that had to move ... I think also, these Buy to Let landlords, they used to throw out the tenants after six months, to stop them getting ... they have some rights if they've been there a certain length of time, I forget what it's called. You have some rights to stay after a certain time, after six months I think, which makes it more difficult to throw them out, or maybe to put the rent up. So, very often, they throw them out and you find all the bedding, all the beds in the street, this happens a lot now - all kinds of clothes and beds and everything out there in the street - because they've thrown out the tenants”.

As will be further developed in Section 6.3, the changing housing market dynamics and the (perceived) transience of new migrants are seen as generating major problems for good ‘neighbouring’ and ‘neighbourliness’.

A small number of respondents additionally worried about the changes in the income and class levels of newly arrived residents in the eastern part of the borough, hinting at the process of gentrification as a problem. Philippa [R30] noted that the class composition is also changing *“not quickly, but gradually... because people can't afford to buy houses in other places, I should say more middle class people are coming in here to buy houses, to some extent”*. Layla [R21] notes that *“it will be interesting to see what happens with the big Tottenham stadium, the new build of the Tottenham stadium, and the houses and the restaurants and the places”*, hinting at gentrification triggered by large-scale regeneration projects. Two respondents from wealthy Highgate in the west of the borough also mentioned the increasing cost of living, like Sharon [R33]: *“the worst thing about the neighbourhood is it's completely unaffordable for young buyers”*. Issues of regeneration, gentrification and housing policy will be addressed further in Chapter 8.

(ii) *Crime, incivility, safety concerns and stigma*

Respondents offered a number of examples of how living in their neighbourhood was not always a positive experience. The most extreme example was given by Anwar [R18] who had been robbed at gunpoint in his neighbourhood in Tottenham and had not felt safe in the area since. Darren [R45] found he was more likely to be racially profiled and stopped and searched without cause by the Police in his neighbourhood of Wood Green and Tottenham than in western parts of Haringey *“the constant stop and searches, the way that you're looked upon”* and also that *“it was a lot more hostile and a bit more aggressive”* while Lindall [R31], having also recounted negative experiences with the Police in the past still felt *“that the police [are] trained really to keep the poor, poor and keep you where you are”*.

Debbie [R5] raised safety concerns over her use of public space in her neighbourhood and did not feel safe walking alone, particularly at night (see Section 5.3 for more on the use of public spaces).

Shane [R36] had experienced first-hand how it *“can be dangerous growing up in Haringey”* and put this down to the high proportion of Council housing in the eastern part of the borough and the desperation of many leading to crime: *“... In Haringey, there's a lot more Council housing than there is in Palmers Green [in the neighbouring Borough of Enfield where he lived before]... I think people who live in Council housing, there's nothing wrong with them... they're more hungry for money, they don't have a lot of money, so they may commit more crimes”*. Kylie [R43] explained how *“They have carnivals there [Bruce Castle Park] in the summer and that's when you get most of the madness, where you get all the gangs wanting to come and you hear that this one's coming from this area, this one's coming from that area, yeah, and it can get pretty rough. Gangs from surrounding areas, outside of Tottenham”*.

Several respondents in the eastern part of the borough mentioned a history and reputation of petty or more serious crime (e.g. drug dealing) in Tottenham, but all emphasized that the situation had got better over time, with a decrease in (visible) prostitution in South Tottenham and reporting increasing feelings of safety across the area. Several respondents mentioned that before (e.g. in the 1980s and early 1990s) *“in Tottenham, the parks were completely no go areas, it was very rough, I mean, it's not like it is now, it was very different”* (Sharon [R33]). Ruby [R20] mentions *“a period of time where Haringey/Green Lanes was well known for being the centre of drugs consumption and we had a bit of trouble with people being shot in the street and various things... That would probably be about 10 years ago and then the police made a major effort to clean the area up”*.

The most commonly reported forms of crime were minor, such as burglary or car break-in. Forms of incivilities were also mentioned, such as fly tipping, dog mess, spitting on the pavement or poor environmental conditions of the streetscape (e.g. dirt, dereliction). But many long-term respondents of Tottenham mentioned visible environmental and physical improvements to the public realm over the past decade. Better lighting and policing were mentioned on several occasions, as well as improvements to some streets and parks post-riots, for example Carmela [R15]: *“We can go now from Bruce Grove to Tottenham Hale by walking. Before, yes you could go, but it was very like the streets were a bit dangerous, there was no light and now you can go in the main road because there they have the lights on everything and that's really good”*.

Most respondents from eastern parts of Haringey were aware of the negative stigma associated with their area, in part related to negative perceptions of its diversity. As noted earlier in Section 4.2, many respondents from Tottenham emphasize that the safety of their neighbourhood is, according to their view, much better than is often externally projected or assumed, and tend to minimize or refute the ‘bad’ reputation of the area. One student, Dorota [R42], recalls that *“although I remember that once I booked a room and I told my family that I'm gonna live there and my uncle, who's British, when he found out that I'm gonna live in Tottenham, he got really scared... He was pretty apprehensive about the whole idea of me living there and I think he was just kind of protective, but it was the high like criminal rate and the riots that started there, so all of that add up and yeah”*. Similarly Zara [R27] a recent buyer of an apartment in Tottenham Hale noted that:

“Yeah, I think, absolutely, there is a stigma - I feel it less now I've lived here for a while - I suspect that people who are outside of Tottenham still have those images of Tottenham... they don't know that we have our own cheese made here and, y'know, there's all kinds of amazing, creative things going on here. There's a big food movement in Tottenham and it's fantastic, but that's the side of things that isn't necessarily known”.

Others described their neighbourhood as being perceived as a ‘no-go area’. Georgina [R24] typified the views of many respondents who were either returning to the area or moved there from elsewhere in London or the surrounding region: *“I think it is improving, they are doing some work here, but still, the perception is... my sister said ‘You can't move to Wood Green, it's dangerous’”*. Debbie [R5] had a similar experience with her friends:

“People get really scared coming round here which is interesting. I've had quite a few people who've come and felt really nervous about being around this area... and don't feel particularly safe, like they don't wanna walk round here by themselves and don't really like it... it's still got the reputation of riots being linked to this area”.

Our research found that the negative stigma that areas such as Tottenham are perceived to have in the national media and amongst some public sector professionals, was not so important to many incomers who, in some cases, were either unaware that such stigmas existed, knew the area had changed, or viewed the area through very different perspectives. As Donna [R10], originally from the USA and who moved to Tottenham from Hackney 10 years ago, noted that the area *“feels very safe and welcoming... ‘cos I didn't grow up here, I didn't know any of that [negative] history”*. This was also true for Rupinder [R48] who noted that *“Before I moved in, I had no perception whatsoever, no awareness of Tottenham... I was just looking for a place I could afford, to establish myself and have a more balanced lifestyle”* and contrary to the negative perception Rupinder [R48] described an overwhelmingly positive experience of her time spent in Tottenham. However some respondents like Debbie [R5] were conscious of the fact that, while she and others like Rupinder [R48] and Donna [R10] might be able to escape some of the worst manifestations of the stigma of living in Tottenham, those without the same level of privilege (such as being white, middle class and more highly edu-

cated) were likely to suffer as a result *‘I think that’s desperately sad, that people feel that they need to move out because of what that postcode can do to them and their life chances and I feel like that is something that I’m privileged to not have to worry about, emm ... because of my identity... because I’m educated and I’ve ... yeah, and for various other reasons, yeah’*”.

While some of our interviewees did recount personal experiences of the crime and security concerns raised by concerned outsiders above, these experiences varied significantly by neighbourhood, type of public space and time of day and also the age, gender and ethnicity of the interviewee and, although sometimes very serious (e.g. being robbed at gunpoint) were more often more trivial (e.g. someone stealing door-mat or Christmas lights). Despite these and other concerns raised the majority of interviewees still reported feeling safe in their neighbourhood. We reflect further on this issue in Section 5.3 on the use of public space.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that the vast majority of respondents perceived their neighbourhood in a highly positive way, and its diversity as one of its main positive features. In many cases it was even named as its most positive feature, due to the opportunity for new experiences, cross-cultural understanding and appreciation for various forms of difference, particularly among children, facilitated by the presence of diverse neighbours and local facilities. This positive perception of diversity was often evident without a specific question on diversity being asked. However, significant concerns about the future and potential changes to the area were also mentioned and a substantial number of respondents, although reflecting on diversity as a positive thing, accompanied this view with a list of the challenges they perceived to be associated with it, the most significant of which were perceived language and cultural barriers to good neighbouring (to be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6).

5 Activities in and outside the neighbourhood

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we explore the core activities of respondents inside and outside of their neighbourhood of residence. It is widely argued that urban diversity generates different forms of encounter between reflexive citizens based on exchange and dialogue (see Fincher *et al.*, 2014; Tansan-Kok *et al.*, 2013). For Delanty (2011) these interactions, fostered through local activities, help to form new associations, identities, and structures of consciousness. They may encourage individuals and groups to relativize their own identity, establish positive recognition of the other or even develop a collective sense of shared identity in relation to a place or a set of cultural values. Different activities may, however, generate more divisive forms of identity and can even lead to mutual suspicion and intolerance (see Delanty, 2012 for a wider discussion). In the first part we explore where and with whom our respondents undertake their activities. We then focus on their use of public spaces and the importance of associations in shaping their activities, in particular place-based or place-focused associations where the physical and social environment of particular neighbourhoods acts as an object of concern that binds diverse individuals and groups together. We particularly reflect on how class, and other characteristics, affect people’s involvement in social networks and local associations and campaigns.

5.2 Activities: where and with whom?

Respondents highlighted a broad range of activities, some of which took place in the neighbourhood and some of which took place in different places across London. Activities were linked to a combination of class, gender, employment, ethnicity and age and reflected the hyper-diversity of the area and its residents. We have organised the social activities mentioned by the interviewees into the following four types: (i) leisure activities (sports and cultural hobbies); (ii) consuming and

going out with friends; (iii) activities connected with the identity and practices of specific ethnic, cultural or religious groups; (iv) activities based around children and relationships of care. These activities partly match the types of egocentric networks mentioned by respondents - described in Section 6.2 - and often take place in the various public spaces described in Section 5.3.

One particular type of activity - which involves participating and volunteering in associations - is not described here but in Section 5.4, although many respondents mentioned such activities as part of the list of things they do in their free time, mixed with other types of activities.

(i) *Leisure activities: sports and cultural hobbies*

Most respondents mentioned sports, cultural and leisure activities practised alone or with others with similar interests. Firstly, most respondents mentioned activities that draw on the use of public open and green spaces. As elaborated upon in the next section, such spaces play a fundamental part in all of the respondents' social lives and are widely used by respondents of all backgrounds to walk dogs, meet friends, informally play team sports (e.g. football), ride a bike, let children meet and play, relax (alone or with friends), read, walk, jog. Besides, parks and open spaces are the theatres of various cultural and sports activities organised by the Council or by community groups to foster cohesion and encounter, for example the Tottenham Carnival in Bruce Grove Park; the "garden show" and Fair in Lordship Rec and events at the Eco-Hub in that park. Layla [R21] explained that a very active Friends of Lordship Rec group: "*does a lot of activities which are not targeted at bringing communities together but would do. So they run a café, they organise work days in the park; I think this weekend they've got some bulb planting days for example. They also run different sorts of social or cultural activities in the café, in what they call the eco hub there... and they do different things like that... and when I've been it's quite a diverse group of people that go*". Several respondents mentioned the community-led regeneration of the Lordship Rec park as a very positive model⁷.

Several respondents mentioned practicing sports (e.g. team sports often informally practiced with friends or age peers) and cultural activities as hobbies, many of which involve participating in the cultural, educational and sports activities offered in publically-owned and managed facilities and buildings, such as public libraries, colleges and leisure centres (see next section). Several respondents mentioned using these spaces to make use of their core services (e.g. practice sports or read), as well as to attend particular activities organised in those spaces, e.g. activities for toddlers, public lectures, reading groups, music events etc., many of which for free. Geoff [R34], who was unemployed, mentioned using the public library a lot, in part for the internet connection it provides. Several retired respondents, like Matilda [R26], mentioned always "*doing one course in something or other... at the moment, I'm doing Roman Civilisation - and I go to Tai Chi*". Monica [R22] (a retired nurse) attends the University of the Third Age at the public library, as well as talks (e.g. organised during Black History Month). Ann [R8] is part of a pensioners group which meets at the Tottenham Town Hall.

Several respondents additionally mentioned taking part in activities offered by community centres or other facilities ran directly by community groups and non-profit associations with a charitable status (see next section). Another interesting activity mentioned by Sundip [R2], as well as others like John [R9] and Janet [R7], is the occurrence of various annual events and festivals at major venues like Alexandra Palace (which is run as a trust), or 'Ally Pally' to the locals⁸. He gives a diverse array of examples of the types of events that take place there including darts tournaments,

⁷ <http://lordshiprec.org.uk/>

⁸ <http://www.alexandrapalace.com>

Star Trek conventions, firework displays, a Cypriot wine festival and music concerts of all genres to give some idea of the wide variety of people that would be attending these events.

Respondents with more time and disposable income mentioned regular trips abroad, and leisure activities outside of Haringey within London such as picnics or Christmas outings in Hyde Park; concerts in the North Greenwich Arena or at the South Bank, attending a performance or show, a jazz concert (Vortex); or taking children to museums. The type of events mentioned were related to cultural capital. Middle-class residents mention cultural consumption in central London more often (e.g. Tate membership). Many respondents, however, do not go out of the area very often, if they do not work outside the borough. Some noted that they were North London-centric in their everyday life and things that they like to do. One talked of London's "*mini neighbourhood mentality*" (Donna [R10]) as a survival mechanism for living in a very big city where everybody has their own little patch and that assets and public spaces were an important part of this imaginary. This may reflect in part financial and/or time constraints, as transport and leisure activities are expensive relative to income in London. Some described how as a result of factors such as age, disability, income and lack of trust in neighbours, their activities were predominantly focused around their home, although there were often exceptions. For example, Geoff [R34] described how, due to being unemployed he wasn't able to go out as much as he would like and so he would instead spend most of his free time at home playing his guitar, sometimes with another musician neighbour. As mentioned in Section 4.2, many young people from deprived areas in the eastern part of the borough, in particular in social housing estates, live spatially restricted lives, by constraint, fear and choice. This was reflected in the geography of their activities.

A few respondents explicitly mentioned doing "*middle class activities*" (e.g. "*walking in walking groups*", Philippa [R30]) and pursuing specifically "*middle class*" practices of cultural consumption while living in relatively deprived areas, like Debbie [R5]: "*I do yoga, festivals about clouds and cheese ... like (laughter) come on, this is middle class stuff, but I know exactly what it is and I also berate myself at the same time because I'm so aware of what I'm doing*". She describes the yoga class as full of "*middle class hippies, or lefties like me*" and feels the need to justify the distinctiveness of such activities:

"The thing is though, is that ... they talk about community cohesion and community integration and about communities coming in with one another, interacting, emm, and that's fine, but you can't force it. And also, naturally, people end up staying with people that they can identify with and can relate to and have some form of common bonds with, and I have a common bond with people in Haringey, in that I live there and that I share this space with them and, in doing so, I do feel part of a community with them, which is why I'm not bashing them over the head and they're not bashing me over the head because we do feel part of a community, but y'know (pause) I do wince that what I'm doing is rather middle class".

Some long-standing residents of relatively deprived areas (e.g. Lordship Rec/Broadwater Farm or Tottenham) noted how the newly arrived middle-class gentrifiers "*ventured*" cautiously into areas with a negative reputation to participate in specific activities and events, as reported with an ironic tone by Julie [R47]:

"I mean, what was quite interesting, at Broadwater Farm last summer I think it was, they've got various gardening projects there, and it had been advertised Haringey-wide and there was this organic food thing going on - quite a few locals of Broadwater Farm there - they'd been growing the veg and the community centre used it, but there were clearly some

yummy mummies⁹ had ventured into the area and they had their handbags clutched like this (laughter) and my friend, who was my landlady, who lived nearby in Tottenham, we were both there, sort of comparing notes on 'there's a yummy mummy, there's a yummy daddy.' It was quite funny, it was an environmental, organic thing going on in Tottenham, which Tottenham people were going to. Clearly a few people ventured in from further afield and looked quite uncomfortable".

(ii) *Socializing and going out with friends*

Many respondents reported socializing with long-established personal friends or with acquaintances established through various channels (see Section 6.2). This often takes place through consumption and socializing activities in commercial spaces of encounter described in the next section. As mentioned previously in Section 4.4, the presence of a wide range of popular restaurants serving food from all over the world (e.g. Turkish restaurants in the eastern part of the borough) was mentioned frequently by respondents as one of the most positive aspects of Haringey. It is unsurprising then that these facilities also featured heavily in responses on activities. Many respondents discussed the ways in which shared meals and the excitement of sampling the variety of foods and drink found in diverse communities, acted as a strong bonding mechanism (see also Section 5.3). Such activities are influenced by the economic status of respondents, but the presence of cheap establishments makes them relatively accessible. Respondents like Haydar [R29] spoke of how *"I actually plan dinners with friends, bring them to our local restaurants like [inaudible name of restaurant], I love it, I love their food... I know the vegetarian restaurants, I know Nando's very well where I go to 'cos Nando's is also one of my favourite places, emm, I also go to Haringey, Green Lanes restaurants"*.

When asked about his activities Sundip [R2] responded: *"Unfortunately, I don't get too much free time, but a lot of my time is in the kind of standard British leisure activities of going to the pub, going to the pictures, going for a coffee, meeting up with mates, having a chat with them and then the rest of it is television (laughs)"*. Some respondents mentioned cooking and sharing food with friends at their home as an important social activity, e.g. Janet [R7]: *"Everyone I know is really into food and drink, so very sociable - because we didn't have a lot of money - we did a lot of social activities at home, we had a lot of parties at home"*.

Young people, in particular male, mentioned just *"hanging out"* with their friends in parks and public space, playing sports, trying to meeting those of the opposite sex, or taking up activities offered by youth centres. Lindall [R31] observed how he felt that young people are now more likely to *"just sit at home, computer, computer, Play Station, this, everything... I've got kids as well and I see all of these things"* and attributed this to a dramatic decline in youth centres and activities, something mentioned by other respondents (see Section 8.1):

"From even when I was young, we used to have little clubs and things, it wasn't just like it was specifically for black people or anything, but we had these little clubs in the evenings, after school, that we could go to 'til 9/10 o'clock, then we'd go home and we had those little social stuff that the Council and little organisations had, so we could go church halls and stuff like that, play football, but nowadays, you don't have none of that no more, so you find now that the kids, they're growing up, they've got nowhere to go, so they're either home or on the street and then there's problem... There's things like even the Scouts and Boys Brigade, stuff and all them things, those things are like gone".

⁹ The term 'yummy mummy' is a slang term used in the UK to describe an affluent, good-looking, self-conscious stylish mother who can afford to take care of her children without financial worry (supported by a rich partner) and invests a lot of energy in socializing and cultural consumption practices with similar mothers.

An interesting aspect of the respondents' comments on their socializing and leisure practices was the extent to which they crossed the 'dividing line' between the wealthy western part and the more deprived eastern part of the borough, separated by a real physical, mental and social barrier. Several respondents emphasized the sharp spatial, economic and social divide between the two parts of Haringey, while some hinted at the role that level of education, language, socio-economic status and other identity-based factors play on residents' ability and comfort with moving from east to west and vice versa. Julie [R47], from the eastern part of the borough, says she can go to the more affluent western parts of Haringey such as Highgate, Crouch End or Muswell Hill without feeling intimidated because she is articulate, English-speaking and reasonably confident, and had to go to these areas in the past for professional and personal reasons, but she stresses how other people may feel intimidated by those neighbourhoods. She jokes that *"there are places, cafés in Crouch End, that irritate me severely, people coming in with their four wheel drive push-chairs and braying very loudly and allowing their children to run riot and they try and reason with a two year old and I'm thinking, if that child was in Tottenham, it would be getting a smack round the ear and told to behave itself"*.

(iii) *Activities connected with the identity and practices of specific ethnic, cultural or religious groups*

For other respondents, activities were more focused around bonding within their own specific ethnic and cultural groups, such as Abdi [R3] who noted that his main activities were focused around visiting local Somali restaurants and internet cafes to network with friends and fellow musicians and catch up on Somali news and politics: *"I tend to go to Somali restaurant, yeah plus I'm a musician, y'know... Yeah, I keep seeing different people [from] my own community... I record music and put voices sometimes, even Somali style, sometime I see them... So, people like ... I always find it easy to go mix up with [my] own community 'cos of my social status, apart from that, it's fine"*.

Some respondents mentioned activities related to religious worship, and mentioned the Afro Caribbean evenings organized by St Michaels Church (Bounds Green/Green Lanes) and the collective Friday prayers at local mosques. It should be noted that we were not able to interview any member of the Orthodox Jewish community, which has a very strong presence in the southern part of the borough, and whose daily activities are strongly shaped by religious practices and rules.

(iv) *Activities based around children and relationships of care*

Finally, family-centred activities that are based around children had a particular dynamics and resonance in the context of discussions on lived experience of diversity. Children are a key factor generating new or more intensive patterns of activities and local encounters, as stated by Donna [R10]: *"I guess because I'm involved in the residents group, I use a certain amount of spaces, but since my son was born, yeah, that's transformed a lot of how I engage with the community, it's much more about my son now"*. Shane [R36], speaking about his activities, mentions child-oriented things: playing in the park, paintballing, swimming, going to the soft play centre, the aquarium, the Science Museum. The role of networks based on children and of schools and other spaces providing activities for children and parents is further elaborated upon in Sections 5.3 and 6.2.

Conversely young people and adults without children, especially those newly arrived in the city, will tend to socialize with other childless individuals, as indicated by Janet [R7] when reflecting on her life before having children: *"my best friend is Iranian, my other best friend is Dutch, my other one was Irish, my other one was Austrian and we hung together because of course, we had so much in common - we didn't have families - so because we didn't have families, you're drawn to other people because like on holidays etc., the people who are here, away from families, tended to get together, so we didn't get together because we didn't like English people, or English people didn't like us, and so that common thread, that brings foreigners together, is interesting"*.

5.3 The use of public space

Our respondents openly discussed the importance of public spaces in shaping their activities and acting *'as an organising frame through which the social is rendered visible'* (Keith, 2005: p. 110). It was the place of encounter for many of our subjects and the space through which different forms of reflexive identity and awareness of diversity emerged. What we see, to use Keith's (2005: p. 97) term is evidence for *'a range of spatialities'* and temporalities in which public spaces both facilitate (more often than not) and restrict (in some instances) the activities of residents. Like other recent research on London (Neal and Vincent, 2013: p. 909), our research highlights *'the importance of focusing on the micro, quotidian ways in which differences in social and/or ethnic background shape [those] relationships'* and exploring *'the ways in which those differences are routinely encountered, managed and/or avoided'* in various public spaces. In this section we use a broad definition of *public spaces* as including the following five categories:

- (i) Open and green spaces (e.g. parks and sports grounds);
- (ii) Publically-owned and managed facilities and buildings (e.g. libraries, schools);
- (iii) Community-run facilities and buildings (e.g. community centres ran by community groups);
- (iv) Publically accessible but privately-owned commercial spaces such as local cafés, cinemas, restaurants or shops; and
- (v) Virtual public space (online platforms and social media).

(i) Open and green spaces

Nearly all interviewees mentioned parks, open and green spaces as a central part of their life in Haringey¹⁰ - as a key positive element of their neighbourhood, as a space of socialization with family and friends, as a regularly used space for specific activities (mentioned in the previous section) and as a space of exposure to, and encounters with, the diverse population of the area. Some parks, like Lordship Recreation Ground, have cafés, sports grounds and facilities which were frequently mentioned as spaces of socialization, apart from the park itself. This was especially important for respondents with children, who meet other parents and children there. Besides, as mentioned in the previous section, many parks and open spaces host various cultural and sports activities and events organised by the Council or by community groups to foster cohesion and encounter.

The fundamental role of parks and green spaces as spaces of leisure and encounters for a very wide and diverse range of users who would perhaps not meet otherwise was described by several respondents. Abyan [R35], talking about Bruce Castle Park, stresses that *"it's the only place, I think, where everybody from the neighbourhood goes, like you see everybody in the park, in the summer anyway, but, other than that, I don't really think there's anything else"*. Kylie [R43] mentions the same: *"Everyone, everyone, young boys, older boys, people just having a drink on the bench (laughs), old people, they're chilling out ... everyone, everyone, black, white, everyone"*. Raj [R11], talking about sports facilities in parks, states that *"it's there for everyone, so it's not used by just one type of person or anything... Yes, it's mixed use, I mean, the sports ones, yeah, load of kids but, yeah, in general, the parks are completely mixed... You know, you got, well you know, all races, all ages... It's quite mixed in Haringey, I find the lot"*. Donna [R10] also states that *"everybody uses those spaces, I mean, really everybody, y'know, I mean, kids, adults, y'know, older people, umm, y'know, it's really mixed, it's a real mix... You get sort of sporty people, you get people with families having picnics, you get people working, who are just kind of going out there having a coffee or whatever... it's a real hub... Downhills"*

¹⁰ Some respondents distinguished between the relatively small, low key local parks they use on a daily basis, and larger open spaces outside the area known across London to which they will go purposefully, e.g. Hampstead Heath and its outdoor swimming ponds, Finsbury and Clissold Parks in adjacent London Boroughs, or the Olympic Park.

Park Café is a real community hub, umm, I would say more than any other place around here".¹¹ Our findings echo those of Neal *et al.* (2015: p. 463) in their study of the role of parks in multicultural urban settings (e.g. the London Borough of Hackney), which they describe as sites of inclusive openness, convivial encounter and *'animators of social interactions, participatory practices, and place affinities across ethnic and cultural difference'*.

Some respondents describe the different uses made of the park by these diverse groups: *"Everybody uses it different, some people, they have lots of family come and they have big picnics... some people, they walk their dog, some people, they play sports... some people, they just come and sit down in the park, everybody has different uses"*. Football was mentioned by several male respondents who grew up in the area as a key bonding activity among specific ethnic groups or between them (e.g. Abdi [R3] mentioned the organisation of football days in a park in Tottenham Hale). The juxtaposition between different uses is often without conflict, as Shane [R36] puts it: *"if you avoid what you don't like, a lot of the time, there's no conflict"*. Some respondents also alluded to micro-practices of territoriality in the way parks and open spaces are used by different groups, which allow for co-existence of diverse groups and uses. Abyan [R35] mentioned that:

"... people usually have their bits, like their territory in the park... Like there's a log, we've got these big logs, they're like the cool guys ... they're just there with their bikes, running round. We've got the back bit, that's where me and my friends like to sit because you can see everything in the park. And then, there's the football people that play in front of us all the time, we've got the kids bit on the side and then you've got all this at the back, on the other side, you've got the local alcoholics and crack heads, sit in this corner on this bench. You've got the basketball area ... it's pretty much cool, everyone just sits around".

However, there were also negative views on local open spaces (parks and streets) and the impacts that these had on residents' activities. Female and older respondents, in particular, highlighted the sometimes threatening character of such spaces, and explicitly talked about avoidance or coping strategies. Layla [R21] mentioned *"I don't tend to sit around in the park in Tottenham because the chances are you will get approached or hassled a bit, and there are some parts of the park which I know are just ... Well there are some people who live in the park, and some people who just spend all of their time in the park. Mostly its men and mostly they're drinking or using drugs. Sometimes I jog round, they're relatively harmless but it doesn't feel that comfortable"*. One interviewee, Debbie [R5], noted that she intentionally avoids her local park entirely due to safety concerns (e.g. people drinking and using drugs) in favour of a park much further away. She also restricts her use of certain streets and spaces to certain times of the day in response to the threatening character of some public spaces at night, in part due to poor lighting and regular street harassment from groups of men who assemble on the area's main road: *"I will not walk down certain streets by myself because I don't feel particularly safe in them, I will not wear certain clothes 'cos I don't feel as safe in those clothes and, ... I've, before, limited the amount of alcohol that I've drunk because I've worried that, if I get too leathery walking down here and I look a bit tipsy, it could ... it might be perceived as though I might be easy bait for other people"*.

¹¹ Although most respondents emphasize how diverse and varied the users of parks are, a small number did mention the perceived lack of use of some particular types of open spaces by certain groups: Rupinder [R48] noted that the wilder, less formal spaces of the Tottenham Marshes (a wetland located within the Lea Valley natural park at the eastern edge of the borough) are used by sports people, rowers, swimmers, wildlife photographers, nature lovers, but not so much by migrant and BME Communities. This is perhaps due to their more secluded and wild character. Rupinder [R48] mentioned not venturing to the Tottenham Marshes on her own, without being part of a group, because there are isolated spots.

She added that, *“as an ardent feminist, who did a masters in gender studies, I absolutely hate the fact that I feel I have to control and alter my body and my behaviour because of how others are around me in this area and I will walk down other streets in other parts of London and actively know and realise that I feel safer in certain places... And I can come back to, sometimes, in here and think I don't feel particularly safe around here”*. When asked if this was directly associated with the diversity of the population Debbie [R5], who defines herself as holding *“extremely left-wing views about equality and diversity”* was initially hesitant to answer, but gradually opened up: *“the groups of people that are hanging around on this (pause) some of them who hang around on the street are ... yeah, of course, they're black, if that's what you're asking me, yeah, some of them are, yeah, but do I think it's because of that? No, it's not ... I'm not worried because of the black ... I'm worried because like it's groups of men, drunk, and they're hassling me and if that happened in any situation, I would feel panicked and that has happened in other situations, not in Haringey, and I've felt worried...”*. This situation upsets her as it triggered racist comments from people close to her, something which she felt uncomfortable with, as she doesn't think the issue of harassment is linked to race (*“I've seen these guys also hassle women of all races and ethnicities, so it's not ... that racial dynamic is not exclusive in that situation”*).

Apart from public parks and open spaces, **community gardens** and **private allotments** were mentioned by a few respondents who have been involved in growing and managing them, and stressed their role in bringing together a diverse set of people (Alex [R50], Ruby [R20]), in particular older people. Ruby [R20] states:

“I know most of the people who have plots near me. On one side is a Turkish man, on the other side is a British man with brown skin, I don't know what his background is, and he's profoundly deaf, so he's quite difficult to talk to, but he's a very nice man. I have another couple of neighbours, the plot on one side - I'm next to two plots - the couple who run the other plot are a Belgium woman married to an Italian man and they're really very nice people, they're both, I would think, in their mid-30s probably. My closest friend on the allotment site is a Portuguese woman who's 80 and she's lovely - she's taught me all I know (laughter). And there's a West Indian guy, who is in his late 70s, and he hires himself out to do heavy digging for everybody else and he's quite a character. There's a little group of West Indian men, who get together and drink their beer and sit in cars and, apparently, just want to get away from their wives for the day, so they're quite fun. But, it's mostly older people, with a sprinkling of much younger people, but I would say that the majority of the people are retired”.

The street is sometimes referred to as a space of socialization, either by teenagers who are just *“hanging out”*, or by a couple of residents who have actively organised street parties and events on specific occasions. Ann [R8] reports a street party organised for the Royal Wedding and the Jubilee, *“where people have all taken food and sat at tables and chairs, we had music”*. Steve [R16] mentioned that the first street party he helped organised *“was amazing, it was in June, it was brilliant weather and nobody had ever done it before, but just so many people came out and people who weren't involved in organising it, so a lot of the people from different ethnic backgrounds, different income levels - not homeowners - that came out to enjoy it too”*. The ‘Play Streets’ initiative (see Kesten *et al.*, 2014) was mentioned by Donna [R10] and Steve [R16] as key in enabling interaction and fostering encounter between highly diverse families who live in the street(s) where the scheme has been run. Such families would not necessarily have met each other, or would have been fearful of one another: *“for example... there's a Polish woman who has two kids and she doesn't speak any English at all, but y'know, they come to the Play Streets... it's almost as much for the adults as it is for the children”* (Donna [R10]). Donna [R10] also mentions meeting a Somali family, and overcoming her initial fear of a *“tough looking kind of macho white guy, really big guy, like really working class”* through meeting and befriending him and his family. She

mentioned that other residents who did not have children had offered to help, e.g. an “*Eastern European*” male neighbour who helped to carry the fences that close off the road.

The enclosure of roads for street parties or for the Play Streets initiative - temporarily barred from traffic for the purpose of fostering socialization - is highly symbolic and very powerful, as expressed by Steve [R16]: “*for me, personally, ... the sense of empowerment, when you put up the road closed sign and the sense of dismay when you take them down again in the evening - very, very powerful - and, okay, I'm not a car owner and I'm very pro-bike, but I think, even for car owners, they were saying the same thing*”. This respondent, however, suggested that this kind of initiative might be taken up more easily by “*more affluent, less deprived communities and by people who are more likely to find it easier to engage with their neighbours and their street*”, because of the way such initiatives are advertised (e.g. at a farmer’s market patronized by higher income groups) and of the bureaucratic requirements necessary to set up a Play Street scheme (an application and questionnaire to submit to the Council among other things). The mobilization of (part of) the middle-class in forms of place-making is further discussed in Section 5.4. Steve [R16] reckons that “*there’s a certain amount of self-selection there... yes, there are gonna be people in Crouch End and Muswell Hill who will just take to this, just do it, but if the Council really wants to follow through on a lot of the socio-economic benefits of this, and the health stuff, umm, we need to be pushing it in areas where it's harder to get people to engage with it and I really don't think anyone's doing that*”, referring to Tottenham.

The other uses of open space – streets, squares or car parks - which were mentioned by respondents include car boot sales and markets. The latter were mentioned by a few respondents, who highlighted the divisions along income lines between the audiences of different markets. Ruby [R20] mentioned an expensive farmer's market organised by a group called Tottenham Ploughmans, which “*tends to attract the more affluent end, so they'll have craft bakery, local brewery, things like that, which if you're on a low income, their produce would be out of reach*”.

One respondent referred to the streets and public spaces of the southern part of Tottenham and stressed the visible difference in the use of public space exhibited by the Orthodox Jewish community which lives in this area and strictly observes the Sabbath on Saturdays:

“I first moved into Stamford Hill, I noticed it's like being somewhere foreign because Saturday, none of the local shops, the little shops were open, yeah, from Friday afternoon, none of their shops are open and it's quiet, so you can drive around ... usually, most places are busy on a Saturday, here's it's quiet. Well, if you come into Tottenham, it's probably busy, but Stamford Hill, it's very quiet” (Reha [R17]).

(ii) *Publically-owned and managed facilities and buildings*

Many respondents mentioned a number of key **public facilities and services** which are widely used by a cross-section of residents, in particular in the eastern part of the borough: the Wood Green Library and the Marcus Garvey Sports Centre and Library¹² (described as a “*fantastic place*” by many respondents); publically-managed gyms, sports and leisure centres; the College of North-East London (a further education college); the Northumberland Park Resource Centre among others. Under austerity cuts, there is a risk that such spaces of interaction will be scaled down, or even closed down in the coming years, something that was greeted with much negative comment from interviewees. A few respondents mentioned particular pieces of local heritage (the Markhouse, Beam Engine, Bruce Castle Museum, and Alexandra Palace) as destinations for local visits.

¹² <http://www.haringey.gov.uk/community-and-leisure/libraries/find-library/marcus-garvey-library>

Several respondents with children mentioned the key role played by **schools** and other venues which offer activities for children. Carmela [R15], a Spanish migrant, referring to the “*babies groups*” advertised at her local doctor’s surgery, stressed that “*this area is really good for activities for children, for free, and there are a lot of things for babies and then now for children, which I hope we will be able to use*”. Schools are, to an extent, spaces of encounter between heterogeneous groups. Neal and Vincent (2013), in their examination of mixing and friendship practices of parents and primary school children in two super-diverse North London Boroughs, characterized by gentrification processes and old and new migrations, suggest that primary schools are places where adults and children from different backgrounds are likely to meet and interact and have to ‘*negotiate relationships with those who are differently socially and culturally situated to themselves*’. They show, however, that children are more likely to have friends in a different ethnic group than a different social class, and that out of school, children tended to spend time with those who were similar to them. This reflected the fact that adults, while valuing the diversity around them, tended to gravitate towards ‘*people like us*’ (BBC news, 2015).

Ruby [R20], who worked in a local school, reported that while local (state) schools were highly diverse in terms of ethnicity, they, however, often displayed a lack of social and class mix, in particular in the eastern part of the borough:

“Many of the schools in this area are quite troubled. The catchment area for most schools is largely fairly poor communities and, in the areas where you do have more affluent people, they mostly pay to send their children elsewhere, they don't come into the local schools. So, in all of the local schools, you've got a very significant proportion of children where English is not the first language and most of the schools have quite a difficult set of behaviour issues. And, in some cases, we've got a lot of refugees coming to this area and if you hear what these children have been through, it's hardly surprising that they're a bit difficult”.

Ruby [R20] reports that parents who come from conflict areas engage with their childrens’ school to a varying degree:

“It depends on the nationality, it's very, very different depending on background and expectations and things like that [she gives examples]... by and large, the children of immigrants, particularly those who've come from a difficult education, value, and respect education a lot more than indigenous, British children do. It's very taken for granted by our own population, a bit like voting, our kids don't bother to vote - people who've come from countries where there's a dictatorship can't believe that they don't bother to vote 'cos it seems like such a privilege”.

(iii) Community-run facilities or buildings

Many respondents mentioned using the activities and services offered by community centres or other facilities ran directly by community groups and non-profit associations with a charitable status. The Selby Centre¹³ and the Bernie Grant Arts Centre¹⁴ (named after Tottenham’s late legendary black MP Bernie Grant (1944 - 2000)), were mentioned on many occasions. Both organisations are very innovative and successful in the London context and specifically work to reach out to, and celebrate, the diverse ethnic groups in the area. Other smaller community centres,

¹³ <http://www.selbytrust.co.uk/>

¹⁴ <http://www.berniegrantcentre.co.uk/index.php/about-us/our-vision>

such as the Broadwater Farm Community Centre¹⁵ and the Lordship Hub Co-op¹⁶, were mentioned as very important for the residents of the surrounding areas, in particular those with children. Several respondents mentioned the key role of youth clubs and youth centres (without specifying if they were Council-run or community-run), which organised small trips, cooking sessions, snooker and sport activities bringing together young people from various origins. As further discussed in Section 8.1, several respondents, however, mentioned the threats faced by some community centres, in particular the smaller ones or those serving the needs of a particular ethnic group. Respondents also spoke about a notable reduction in the number and activities of youth facilities in recent years.

(iv) Publically accessible but privately owned commercial spaces

Many respondents mentioned privately owned but publically accessible spaces offering services on a commercial basis (at a relatively low, or sometimes higher, price) as spaces of both encounter and consumption: shops, cafés, pubs and restaurants. Unsurprisingly, economic status significantly impacted the type of spaces which respondents were able to patronize and the goods and services they were able to consume. Particular forms of cultural and ethnic capital also played a key role in shaping their preferences.

Most respondents, regardless of their characteristics, mentioned the importance of **small and independent shops** in their activities, i.e. newsagents, ‘corner shops’ (convenience stores), ‘ethnic’ food stores and greengrocers. Whilst these are spaces of (basic) consumption, many of them act as key sites of neighbourhood interaction and have a significant impact on how respondents experience their own neighbourhoods and others. Debbie [R5] mentions a Turkish shop which is:

“... absolutely fantastic and it sells absolutely everything known to man and everyone from miles walks to this shop and goes there and it is a real kind of community hub which just looks like your average, kind of large local supermarket from the outside, but it's got a bakery inside and it's got all this fresh fruit and veg and it's really good because the fruit and veg is actually really cheap, it's a lot cheaper than the supermarkets (...) that's why everyone goes there because it is a sense of community and it's good value and I would hate for that to go and people were worried about that, and that's been discussed, that we'd lose that”.

Some middle class respondents, who value such shops, nonetheless also mentioned the need to patronize places for ‘higher end’ consumption, e.g. buying in farmers’ markets or in more upmarket areas. Other respondents mentioned large-scale shopping centres (i.e. Wood Green) or main shopping streets (i.e. Bruce Grove, Green Lanes) as spaces of encounter.

Cafés were mentioned by many respondents. The types of cafés that exist in Haringey are highly diverse and reflect the complex class and ethnic composition of the borough. Cafés run by migrant entrepreneurs and/or targeting a particular ethnic group through the food on offer (e.g. Portuguese, Turkish, Kurdish, Somali etc.) were identified by several respondents as key places to meet others, although it was also noted that they were often used to meet individuals from *similar* cultural or ethnic backgrounds. One Somali respondent, for instance, suggested that he saw such places as sites to meet other Somalis and to reinforce their intra-group networks. Layla [R21] talked about the “*little privately run social clubs*” which are visible on the streets of Tottenham, i.e. cafés aimed at a particular ethnic community which “*act as some sort of community centres, probably for*

¹⁵ http://www.fusion-lifestyle.com/centres/Broadwater_Farm_Community_Centre

¹⁶ <https://lordshiphub.org.uk/>

the men in those communities". She notes that "if you ever look in them it would be 99% men that would be in there", and reckons that such cafés provide a comfortable place – "I'd imagine if they just went into a mainstream commercial premises they wouldn't feel so comfortable". Some internet cafés (e.g. the ones on the Tottenham High Road ran by Somalis, mentioned by Abdi [R3]) also play a key role for the "trans-local" links of migrant communities (by helping them to maintain contacts with families outside of the UK and providing spaces for the exchange of news between co-ethnics).

However, many cafés ran by entrepreneurs from a migrant or BME background are frequented by a mixed crowd and a range of local users who value the specific food and drinks served. Moreover, cafés in local parks were mentioned by several respondents as cementing local relationships, particularly amongst women and parents of different backgrounds. A few respondents also mentioned the opening of new types of cafés in the eastern part of the borough, i.e. cafés owned by large chains, such as Carmela [R15] who welcomed the opening of a branch of Costa Coffee in Tottenham because it is perceived to be physically nicer, more neutral and more inclusive than some of the 'ethnic' cafés:

"Thank God for Costa Coffee. No, it's true because before, there was nowhere we could go, with my baby. I just came to Costa Coffee in Tottenham Hale, and I don't want to do any publicity, but thank God for Costa Coffee! ... now I go into coffee shops because it's a nice place to enjoy the community also, you get in touch with other people different from you, it's a really nice place, I think these coffee shops, for example, have got a lot of people to mix ... because it's really nice".

This matches the findings by Neal *et al.* (2013) and Neal (2014), who observed people using the branches of franchised cafe chains in Hackney. While such places are often dismissed as homogeneous and commodified, their blandness and anonymity may encourage greater mixing and familiarity between ethnically diverse groups.

A few respondents mentioned long-standing **local pubs** (e.g. The Salisbury, The Harringay Arms) as important spaces of socialisation and community cohesion, in particular for English and Irish white working class communities. Janet [R7] mentions that:

"Friday night is the big meet up night there ... they had a pub quiz team and they used to do inter-pub things and they had a football team and they had a darts team in this tiny, little pub and the thing what I found fascinating is they always did funerals. Now, maybe this is a kind of Irish thing here, when anyone died connected to the Harringay, everybody turned up and did the funeral. My husband, when he died, 350 people from the community and the neighbourhood and all his connections turned up at his funeral and the people at the pub all organised it for me, y'know, did most of it".

Some respondents, however, mentioned that unemployment and a low income prevent them from using such spaces regularly (e.g. Geoff [R34], "it's £4 a pint, I used to go into the pubs quite a lot, but it's too flipping expensive these days"). Additionally, several respondents did not feel comfortable in some of the traditional, working class pubs of Haringey which were perceived as rough or unsafe for women, or alternatively preferred to meet in cafés due to distaste of alcohol or religious background. As Debbie [R5] comments, "there's one pub which is across the road from me, but it's not particularly safe and I wouldn't particularly wanna go in there by myself, emm ... it's a case of like as a woman, I wouldn't feel like I was particularly safe in that environment. It's known for a lot of ... like ... people really going tooth and nail before the Spurs matches in there, so I wouldn't want to go in there".

Others highlighted the importance of **restaurants and eateries** in shaping their social activity, such as Haydar [R29], a pharmacist from Tottenham, who in the previous section spoke of how he invites his friends to dinner at local restaurants. Most respondents praised the diversity of local, cheap ‘ethnic’ restaurants as very positive and mentioned using them from time to time or regularly. Some respondents, however, highlighted the lack of higher-end, ‘trendy’ pubs, bars and restaurants catering for a more middle class audience, in particular in the relatively ‘ungentrified’ eastern part of the borough around Tottenham, as expressed by Layla [R21]:

“Well, there aren’t really any restaurants here. There isn’t a big middle class community with the money that goes with that and the sorts of things you might want to do. So there aren’t really any restaurants, some of the Turkish cafes have some tables that you can go and eat, but it’s not, you know... There’s San Marco’s that’s been here for like 25 years which is a pizza place, but otherwise there’s not a lot of, you know, if you want to go for a nice coffee and read the paper or have brunch or something, no, there’s nothing like that. In terms of shops, if I want to clothes shop or look for presents or anything like that, no, there isn’t anything”.

Layla [R21] then names the ‘posher’ areas where she would go for shopping or eating out (Crouch End, Stoke Newington).

There were thus clear divisions between those who worked in the areas in which they lived and those whose social activities were connected to their place of work or their class and consumption preferences. Middle class respondents in the eastern part of the borough express an ambiguous relationship to their surrounding neighbourhoods, which include both displays of commitment, belonging and attachment, and practices of distinction and consumption outside the neighbourhood if it does satisfy all their needs. They often stated that they felt it was necessary to go outside of their neighbourhood (either to Central London, East London or the western part of the borough - Muswell Hill or Crouch End) for certain social activities, like ‘going out’ in the evening, due to a perceived lack of appropriate restaurants and pubs. Such responses reflect the findings of other research in London in which there are growing separations between the lives of residents living in close proximity, based on class, income and employment status. Middle class residents were thus more likely to display or refer to visible practices of cultural distinction, to use Bourdieu’s concept. Some new establishments which have recently opened in the eastern part of the borough to cater for a more middle class audience were therefore welcomed by some respondents, in particular professional women such as Debbie [R5]: *“there’s a more trendy, kind of hipstery pub which is near Bruce Grove which is called the Beehive..., and like people in my block of flats ... y’know, fell over themselves when they discovered that this pub was going ...”.* Layla [R21] referred to the same establishment as *“a new pub that’s opened up in Tottenham that’s a bit more welcoming, open, less of a kind of blokey drinking sort of...”.*

The other commercial spaces of encounter which were mentioned were **betting shops** (albeit negatively, mentioned by Sundip [R2] in the context of local opposition to the opening of new ones) and **cinemas**, with respondents highlighting the distinction between large, mainstream cinemas showing “blockbuster movies” and independent cinemas with an alternative programme, such as a new art house cinema in Crouch End or other venues outside the borough (the Rio in Dalston, The Phoenix in Finchley). Sundip [R2] reflected on the significance of cinema attendance in the central shopping district of Wood Green near his home both for himself, as one of his favourite pastimes, but also for two particular BME communities more broadly: he recalled how, during his time as a local councillor, he lobbied to get the local multiplex cinema chain that was being built to show Turkish and Bollywood films. He was very proud of the fact that, as he put it, *“...if you go to Wood Green Cineworld, of the 12 screens there’ll probably be two or three screens today*

that will be showing Turkish films” and similarly “whenever there’s a big Bollywood movie, people come from all over the place to see a film” because he saw the social and cultural benefit this would offer to BME communities of the local and surrounding areas as a way to make Wood Green an even more popular leisure destination. Other spaces of encounter included a relatively affordable local **gym** in which some respondents met their neighbours and established new networks, such as a Polish student, Dorota [R42].

(v) *Virtual public space*

The use of social media, virtual spaces, networks and platforms was mentioned by many respondents, across age, gender, class and ethnicity, as a key instrument to keep up-to-date with activities and social networks in their neighbourhood and in the borough, and to build local social cohesion: Streetlife, Facebook groups, online forums (e.g. Harringay online), residents’ blogs, or Twitter were mentioned. The usage of new technologies and new media seems to cut across generations. While Twitter was mentioned by younger respondents (e.g. Zara [R27]), many older respondents actively used online platforms, e.g. 75 year old Philippa [R30] who joined Meetup upon advice from a friend: “...it’s an American website and basically you just go and meet up and there’s about 50 groups in London all doing different things like Tai Chi, music, walking, history, you name it, anything you want to do and so I ticked a few things and now, of course, I’m getting emails every day saying ‘do you want to meet up, this, this, this and this’”. Janet [R7] also mentioned using Meetup to find people to do activities with, and praised Streetlife as being very helpful to find professional craftsmen to do repairs and works in her house, to get rid of unwanted furniture and equipment, find out about cultural activities and events: “so either you ask for help, or you make recommendations... so you share information and it is this whole thing of giving and taking and reciprocity ... I found the walking group, you find all these pop-up restaurants, there’s all sorts of things, people looking for rooms, people giving recommendations, I mean, it is like putting your ear over the neighbourhood fence and listening to all this conversation”. In Highgate, an upper-middle class area, interviewees reported using mailing lists to exchange tips about tradesmen or planning news.

5.4 The importance of associations

By ‘association’ we understand bottom-up processes of socialization, organisation and mobilization from individuals and groups (‘civil society’) with shared characteristics or interests to achieve certain goals which may be about redistribution, recognition or encounter. Such forms of association may remain rather loose and informal, or become crystalized or formalized into permanent structures (e.g. charities, trusts or other legal forms). For example, active members of a migrant group may set up a charity to support their fellow migrants; residents may form a local association to improve their immediate living environment or defend their tenancy rights. As Kesten *et al.* (2014) have shown, a large number of highly diverse and vibrant associations of different kinds operate in Haringey and many of these seek to build relationships between individuals and communities, with or without public funding. This is part of a wider trend in London in which civil society groups have traditionally been very active and participative (see Hall, 2007). This diversity and vibrancy of forms of local organisation and community mobilisations contrasts with the often negative portrayal by the media of the eastern part of the borough (Tottenham) as an area of poverty, violence, social apathy and social problems. Associations play an important part in shaping the activities of many residents, and participation in formal associations and formal civic engagement ‘are two dimensions that the literature on social capital stresses as being crucial to foster trust and democratisation within the national and local community’ (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015: p. 168).

In this section we distinguish between three types of associations: those built on shared cultural and sports interests, social causes or issues (which are not focused on the neighbourhood or physical environment *per se*); those catering for specific migrant, religious and ethnic minority

groups; and ‘place-based’ associations focused on the local physical and social environment of particular neighbourhoods. We briefly describe these in turn, before analysing who is involved – and not involved – in them, as well as the role of such associations as places of encounter in a hyper-diverse borough. We finally reflect on the role of the middle class in (local) place-making, building on recent literature on the subject.

It should be stated from the onset that the level of involvement, and the types of associations in which people were involved, were related to employment and economic status, age and family status, and in some cases class and education level. Some respondents, for example, explicitly referred to ‘typical’ middle class associations (Ruby [R20] mentioned her involvement in the Women’s Institute, a home-owning residents association, and her husband’s activities in the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and the British Trust for Ornithology). People in employment and/or with young children tended to limit their involvement due to time constraints (long working hours and commute; family duties). Several retired interviewees mentioned being more active than before due to the availability of time, such as Ruby [R20]: *“I participate a lot more in community based things than I used to when I was working... Now, I’ve got much less money, so I do a lot more things that I don’t have to pay for, but I also have a lot more time”*. Older, retired residents in good health thus played a key part in community life. Some respondents stated that they were not part of any group, either for not being a gregarious person that likes joining associations, or for lack of time or other pressing concerns, like Geoff [R34], who is unemployed, recovering from drug addiction and living in sheltered accommodation: *“No, not really... groups n’all that sort of thing, that’s not really my thing ... if it involves music, I’m interested”*.

Associations built on shared cultural and sports interests, social causes or issues

Such associations may meet and develop activities locally, but their focus is not the local environment as such. Respondents mentioned participating, for instance, in a ‘Theatre of Mankind’ group which meets twice a month in Wood Green and Hornsey for members to write poems and stories; or in a Bolder Older group that is designed to bring elderly residents together. Rupinder [R48] was involved in establishing and running a women’s cycling group in Haringey with women from all backgrounds, when *“nobody else was interested in cycling groups for women ... because it’s been regarded as a man’s sport”*, and stressed that the group has brought women of different ethnicities and religions together *“I’m Asian, the cycling coach is a black female, the leader is a White English woman and we all started this from scratch and the women that joined are from all social and cultural backgrounds, quite diverse and extreme”*.

Some respondents (mainly retired) were involved in volunteering for social causes or issue-based associations, e.g. Women Asylum Seekers Together, the UNISON trade union, the local branch of Friends of the Earth, the gardening project of an NHS scheme for young people with mental health issues. Volunteering was viewed highly positively both for the feeling of satisfaction of doing something good for other people in need (e.g. Julie [R47] referring to her work at the Haringey Food bank), but also for the encounters it generates with other volunteers locally. Rupinder [R48] mentioned the key role played by community support groups to reach out to particular individuals or social groups “left out” by the welfare state. She talked about a Woman’s Day organised as the local Further Education College:

“... you had women’s organisations, Turkish, Caribbean, African, Asian, Greek, Turkish, everywhere - they were massive - this place of support for domestic violence problems, it seems to be the biggest problem here... if you don’t have access to mainstream services because of lack of awareness, language barriers, or nobody else to advise them and guide them because there can be many hard to reach communities, yeah, and if there is nothing out there for them

to use, there's nowhere else to go, they can have very isolated lives and some of those voluntary projects establish a bridge between the mainstream society and these isolated groups”.

Community centres and associations catering for specific migrant, religious and ethnic minority groups

In the eastern part of the borough there is a history of associations and community centres catering for, and ran by, particular migrant, religious and/or ethnic minority groups (e.g. the Irish Centre; the North London Community House for Turkish and Kurdish groups; the Lord Morrison Hall which primarily serves BME communities). While many are self-managed, the Council supported them and/or rented affordable buildings to them for decades. The existence of these centres is partly related to the politics of ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s - how Labour took root in Haringey. Two respondents mentioned the “ethnic” nature of community centres as something quite specific to the borough (although there are similar patterns in other parts of London): “Haringey did set up more ethnic community centres than other boroughs, during the time of Bernie Grant, when he was leader of the Council. (...) I think it was his idea to have these different ethnic community centres. There's a West Indian one in Turnpike Lane ... there's an Asian one, a Cypriot one, there's a lot of different community centres” (Philippa [R30]). The respondents who mentioned those community centres (who were not always their users) offered contrasting views about them. A few commented upon the role such centres play in positively supporting the diversity of the area. One respondent, Sharon [R33], who defined herself as holding liberal, Left-leaning values, expressed scepticism about the ‘segmented’ nature of these centres, questioning whether they are a good thing for ‘integration’ or whether they foster a potentially divisive communitarianism:

“So, in the east of the borough, you've have the West Indian Community Centre, the Greek Cypriot Community Centre, the Turkish Cypriot community centre, the Irish Centre, the Somali Women's Centre ... you see, I don't think that that helps at all, I think that you should have a community centre and everybody should be free to go and I don't think that it helps integration at all, when you support all of these communities to be separate... It's all very well giving people a place to go locally, but there comes a point, I think, where you have to say 'actually, after 40 years, maybe, y'know, actually, now, shouldn't we all be in a community centre, not split along ethnic lines, or sexist lines ... I'm not saying you can't have those groups, but I'm saying it shouldn't be exclusive the whole time”.

She expressed worries about potential radicalisation (in the case of young Muslims), although she stated this is not really an easy task in the borough at present: “I don't know what's being done to tackle it, but I don't think dividing groups up is a way forward with that, people need to feel included.... I'm very concerned that where you've got a lot of disenfranchised people, where they don't have a buy-in into the community, that they're there to be radicalised”.

Another White British, female middle class resident (Philippa [R30]) remarked, however:

“I think that is a view that many people have, many English people have that view that we should have integration, and even these UKIP people, they're talking about integration, but it's not so simple... If you see English people abroad, they don't integrate at all, they speak their own language, they send their children to English speaking schools, they don't integrate at all - same in France - I've got friends who I've visited in France and they spend all their time with other English people, most of them don't speak French at all, they don't bother”.

‘Place-based’ associations and campaigns focused on the local physical and social environment

Many respondents mentioned having been, or being part of, what one may call ‘place-based’ or ‘place-focused’ associations, i.e. groupings of individuals which live in the same area and want to campaign for their quality of life and property interests (‘Not In My Backyard’ types of mobiliza-

tion); take action to improve their surrounding environment for the greater good of all residents; defend particular amenities; advocate or on the contrary oppose particular developments in their area. Examples mentioned by respondents included allotment projects, the Tottenham Civic Society, the Tottenham Conservation Area Advisory Committee, various residents associations (generally of home-owners, e.g. the Bruce Grove Residents Network), Council housing tenants associations, 'Friends of local parks, or the Garden Residents Association which seeks to address 'quality of life issues' including trees, traffic management and their community garden.

Some respondents are involved in campaigns built around a particular space or issue, e.g. 'Hands off St Ann's Hospital' to stop the selling off of St Ann's Hospital, or the mobilizations by particular housing estates' tenants associations and the Haringey branch of Defend Council Housing¹⁷ against the demolition and redevelopment of Council housing estates (see Section 8.1). Some umbrella organisations have emerged and attempted to provide a platform to connect different place-based groups and associations and support broader campaigns, e.g. the Haringey Federation of Residents Associations¹⁸ and the Our Tottenham Network (on the latter, see Kesten *et al.*, 2014).

As mentioned in the previous section, online social networking and "*clicktivism*" was mentioned by many respondents as a way of connecting with neighbours and neighbourhood, but also of mobilising and campaigning around important local issues and interacting with local councillors and MPs. Julie [R47] mentions signing petitions on local issues, "*firing off emails to David Lammy [the MP for Tottenham] every five minutes*", contacting local councillors or party members, launching an online petition via 38 Degrees for a campaign about Hampstead Heath which ended up with 12,000 signatures. Others simply mention signing up for the mailing lists of active campaign groups and networks to know what is happening in the area and be kept informed.

Many of these associations regularly interact with the Council, the police or other public bodies and authorities through processes of lobbying, cooperation, or formal statutory schemes such as Safer Neighbourhoods (through which regular meetings are held between residents' associations and the police to discuss local issues of criminality and safety). Some of them have also, interestingly, started making use of the new 'community rights' created by the Localism Act passed by the UK government in 2011. The Act established a new level of planning - Neighbourhood Planning - to 'empower local communities' through a decentralization of (some) planning decision-making from local government to neighbourhood-based community groups¹⁹. In Haringey, so far there is only one Neighbourhood Forum preparing a Neighbourhood Plan, in Highgate²⁰. Two respondents actively involved in the Highgate Neighbourhood Forum were interviewed. As described in more depth in Kesten *et al.* (2014), its members have actively sought to engage a wide range of residents beyond the usual educated, home-owning middle class to try and make the neighbourhood, and the forum, "*as welcoming and inclusive as possible*" (Matilda [R26]). The two respondents brought a lot of time, energy and skills from their previous jobs (in media and in local politics) into the Forum, and were connected to many other local associations (amenity societies, environmental groups, parents' groups). They both emphasized how being involved in the Forum had expanded their local networks even more and put them in touch with a wide-ranging variety of individuals and groups.

¹⁷ <http://www.defendcouncilhousing.org.uk/dch/>

¹⁸ <http://hfra.wikispaces.com/>

¹⁹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/neighbourhood-planning>

²⁰ http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/housing_and_planning/planning-mainpage/policy_and_projects/neighbourhood_planning.htm

The Localism Act also includes three new ‘Community Rights’²¹. One resident, Ann [R8], mentioned one local occurrence of the exercise of the *Community Right to Bid for Assets of Community Value* which she has been involved in - the local bottom-up campaign to bid for, and buy, a pub threatened with closure, the Antwerp Arms²². She tells the story:

“At the back of the park, there's a pub called the Antwerp Arms, and it's been going on for a year, they decided that they would try to buy it because it was going to be sold and pulled down and houses or flats built, and it's beautiful, it looks out onto the park, it's really pretty. ... So, there was a meeting more than a year ago, and people went to it from all round, and they said whether they were interested, and they set up that they would sell shares and you could buy as many shares as you liked, they were £50 each, so we bought one, so then you could be part of it. And there have been meetings going on regularly and they have applied for government grants and other grants and, just last week, or the week before, they got all the money they needed to buy the pub completely outright... And once it's all sorted, which will probably be soon, they're going to put new managers in - it may be a husband and wife - and they're going to do tea, coffee, lunches, and that's something that I would like to go to regularly 'cos it's local, it's community.... It's happened in other areas, I think there's only one other one in London, I can't remember exactly where and it's happened in other areas around the country, that pubs were going to be closed down and they would lose their local pub and we've had quite a lot of support from a group that's done it before”.

She mentions that the person who organised the campaign and set up the Antwerp Arms Association is a female teacher “*very good at organising things*”, and that the campaign, which was successful, has brought together rather diverse groups, although often, middle class residents and/or those with educational, community and organisation skills drive the campaign.

Who is involved (and who is not) in place-based campaigns and associations and why?

Those involved in place-based and place-focused associations of the kind described in the previous section do so because of their interest or the cause pursued, but also because they offer opportunities for socializing and expanding their local social networks. Several respondents stressed that this entailed meeting a variety of people “*different*” from them. Alex [R50], talking about the resident’s Association in his street, stresses that “*... when we started we used to have, I would say, a really good make up of probably about a third Greek, a couple of Turkish people, a third White English, a few black people, y'know, it reflected the area really, really well*”. He notes that older people tend to be more involved, although a number of middle aged and young residents, in particular those with children, have got involved (to support the Play Streets initiative). Julie [R47], an active member of the Kenwood Ladies Pond Association (of about 500 members) describes it as an “*eclectic mix of regular swimmers*” which gathers “*barristers and doctors and so on, quite high powered people, but then there are also others who are just living in the area, ordinary folk, who just want to exercise their right to swim in the*

²¹ The *Community Right to Bid for Assets of Community Value* allows voluntary and community organisations to nominate an asset which they consider has benefits for social well-being. If the owners of a listed asset wants to sell it, they must contact the Council, who will notify the nominating community group, which then has a preferential opportunity to bid for the property/land in the first six months. The *Community Right to Build* gives the option to build small-scale community-led developments (homes, shops, businesses or facilities) without going through the normal planning application process, with the agreement of more than 50% of local people. The *Community Right to Challenge* gives local groups the opportunity to express their interest in taking over a local service where they think they can do it differently and better. An overview of those rights is available here: <http://mycommunityrights.org.uk/my-community-rights/>

²² <http://www.antwerparms.co.uk/>

open as well". Allotment initiatives were also mentioned as cutting across class and income level by Ruby [R20] and Sharon [R33].

Place- and amenity-based associations and campaigns thus clearly have the potential to bring together people from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. Our findings show clearly that in Haringey, the local 'territory' is '*a source of social solidarity per se or a platform for local public engagement*' (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015: p. 168) for many respondents across characteristics, in particular class (to an extent). The Play Streets initiative, mentioned in some of our previous research (Kersten *et al.*, 2014), was reflected on positively by several respondents for its ability to foster dialogue and interaction among neighbours from all backgrounds who live in a street, as mentioned in the previous section. But some respondents emphasized that the proportion of people who get actively involved in such activities might still be relatively low compared to the overall population of an area:

"... we've got a little park in our area and there's about eight or nine people who've kind of come together as Friends of the Park, right. The population of that area is 8,000, but eight or nine of them are interested in it and they look after it, they talk about it and they talk to the park-keeper and, occasionally, they'll organise some event, or something, which other people might participate in and so on. But, at the end of the day, there's only eight of them, but they provide a really important focus for that park" (Sundip [R2]).

When digging deeper into particular initiatives, it often turns out that a small handful of key active and committed individuals drive them. Often such key individuals are involved in several local campaigns with similar aims. Both individual respondents, and the overall analysis of all interviews, also tend to show that certain groups are over-represented in such campaigns and associations. Julie [R47] notes: "*it's not a hard and fast rule, but I just noticed that the people who were more involved were either essentially from the White British, or Irish background, or the more established non-white migrant descendants*". Several respondents also highlight the key role of middle-class residents in particular sets of activities, a long-established trend in the western (wealthier) part of the borough, and a more recent trend in the gentrifying eastern part, as will be discussed in the next section. Donna [R10] argues that in her residents association:

"...you tend to have two kinds of people that are involved. People who've lived here a long time and feel very invested in the neighbourhood, therefore, they're willing to make an investment in the neighbourhood, therefore, they're involved in the residents group - ... The other kind of involvement is somebody who's just moved into the neighbourhood, and they're very kind of community-minded, and feel like they wanna get to know the neighbourhood better, and they wanna know more and they wanna make connections, so they're getting engaged in the neighbourhood. What we don't get a lot are the kind of ... I mean, the more people are struggling, I think the less likely they are to be involved, so a kind of new, Polish immigrant, who's 20 and trying to get, y'know, things together, they're not really involved in the residents group... Umm, families who are really on the edge are not really involved, you've gotta have a certain kind of stability, I mean, the residents group tends to be more homeowners than renters, y'know, and they tend to be either older, or people with young families, or, y'know, families. There are some single people, y'know, there's a guy who's single and he's been really involved and, y'know, he cares, he just cares about the neighbourhood - there's quite a few, y'know, kind of single people".

Other respondents stressed that households struggling with adverse socio-economic circumstances in Council housing estates, and private tenants of HMOs are less likely to be engaged and involved locally and noted that members or residents groups are typically either those who have

lived in the area for a long time or those who are new to the area and are community minded and want to get involved. There was also some evidence of a small number of respondents, particularly newcomers feeling quite disconnected from local associations and preferring to engage with broader interest- or hobby-based based groups in different parts of the city.

The involvement of the middle classes in place-making and local public engagement

The role of the middle class in place-making in London and Paris was recently studied by a team of researchers who analysed and compared the behaviours and discourses of middle class groups in five neighbourhood types - inner city gentrified (not socially mixed); gentrifying (socially mixed); suburban; exurban and gated communities (see Bacqué *et al.* 2015). The study analysed the social relations, political attitudes and engagement (including, for example, schooling, use of public services and neighbourhood activism) of such groups. It demonstrated the key role played by (local) 'space' as a framework for capital accumulation, as a marker of distinction, as a space of social engagement in (middle) class formation, reproduction and expression. More specifically, the study analysed the practices of 'place-making' and 'place-maintenance' (Jackson and Benson, 2013), and 'selective neighbourhood advocacy' (Bacqué *et al.*, 2015: p. 199) of middle class groups, in particular in an inner city, socially mixed, gentrifying neighbourhood of London (Peckham) which is quite comparable to Tottenham. Jackson and Benson showed how middle class gentrifiers in Peckham performatively 'do the local' and 'constitute neighbourhood' (2013: p. 794). They are 'engaged in a process of getting their neighbourhood recognised (by others like them) – investing it with symbolic meaning' (2013: p. 806), and attempt to shape their place of residence through place-making activities. The middle classes intervene in re-making 'Peckham' through everyday practices (e.g. making a point of consuming in local independent stores and venues, renovating a house) and through concerted efforts to intervene in the future of the area by getting involved in local campaigns, in particular around conservation and restoration issues (2013, 2014). Middle class groups are often driven to claim moral ownership and elective belonging to the inner city neighbourhood they settle in (Savage *et al.* 2005), and are thus a significant force of urban spatial change and neighbourhood transformation.

These findings were confirmed by the perceptions and reports provided by our respondents, whether they defined themselves as 'middle class' and talked reflexively about their own practices, or whether they were not middle class and commented on the practices of others they interacted with in various local networks. There was an awareness among those heavily involved with various resident associations that their membership often tended to follow similar characteristics namely community-minded, middle class, owner-occupiers often either with young children or retired²³. A few respondents mentioned mobilising around unwanted planning applications. But it would be unfair to state that NIMBY²⁴-types of behaviour were dominant, as respondents gave ample evidence of the mobilization of middle-class residents in practices of inclusive community- and place-making. Steve [R16], who helped organised street parties and a local Play Street, noted that the initiators were "*all very much middle class, professional, home owning, with children, generally - in*

²³ Class differences in local public engagement were reflected very early on. Darren [R45] talked about the Youth Parliament initiative (a group of young people who democratically got elected to represent young people in the Borough of Haringey) as an example of visible differences between young people from west and east Haringey, with more involvement from middle class youngsters from the western part of the borough, and a more reluctant attitude from youngsters from the eastern part, who would state "*what do I wanna do that for? That's boring. I don't wanna do that, it's politics, politics is boring*".

²⁴ An acronym for the phrase "Not in My Back Yard", a pejorative characterization of opposition by residents to a proposal for a new development because it is close to them, often with the connotation that such residents believe that the developments are needed in society but should be further away from them, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NIMBY>

terms of the organisers and the pushers for it - not always with children, actually, and so, y'know, reasonably well off (pause) and there was a sense of identity of this street". Layla [R21] refers to the Friends of Lordship Rec group (which she is not part of) and reckons *"there's some political middle classes involved there, trying to reach out"*, which she values as positive. Margaret [R4] makes exactly the same point: *"they're white, middle class people - I don't really know that - but I suspect they are... They, obviously, live in and around, but they're gonna be the ones that'll organise everything and they'll organise everybody else and they'll try and include, y'know, the diversity within"*.

The involvement of the newly settled middle class in gentrifying areas has been described by other researchers in London and in other cities. Here it is worth highlighting that the middle class respondents we interviewed are notably different from the upper-middle class managers studied by Andreotti *et al.* 2015, who live in their neighbourhoods in an individual and privatised manner and have little local public life. The 'middle class' is a loose and wide-ranging label which covers many different realities, and different fractions of the middle class display variable degrees of investment, 'territorial commitment' and engagement in their neighbourhood. The middle class interviewees of our study lived either in inner city gentrified areas (e.g. Highgate), or socially mixed gentrifying areas (e.g. Tottenham, Wood Green). Few or none were from the upper middle class, defined in economic and income terms. Many were 'middle class' by virtue of their educational, cultural and social capital, of their past or present occupation (often in the public sector or creative professions), of their status as home owners. They were 'asset rich' and 'cultural capital rich' but not necessarily 'cash rich'. The relatively high-income residents of the western part of the borough we interviewed professed Left-leaning and socially liberal values. While some the interviews revealed that they were engaged in a game of 'distance and proximity' (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015) vis-à-vis other social and ethnic groups in their neighbourhoods,²⁵ they certainly were not displaying strategies of civic disengagement, partial exit and urban disembeddedness (Andreotti *et al.*, 2015) or of spatial and social withdrawal (Atkinson, 2006).

Margaret [R4], however, was critical and cynical in her assessment of the role of the new incoming gentrifying middle class in the Friends of Lordship Rec: *"I think the problem with gentrification is they end up running everything... Y'know, on my park, on Lordship Rec ... there was, suddenly, all these people that run everything were running this, you know, and it's like ordinary people don't run it and the people off my allotment didn't, actually, enter into it and yet the allotment backed straight onto the Rec, that they're just so ordinary, they didn't feel part of that because it was run by, sort of, y'know, the usual, sort of, middle class, sort of, white suspects"*. She feels that there is a degree of naivety in the 'new' active residents' attempts: *"... they'll never achieve it, umm because the whole thing, it's (pause) the whole idea is just something, sort of, completely different to what ordinary people's lives are all about, y'know, but I think, for most people in Tottenham, their lives are about living, working, maybe being unemployed, bringing up kids, going shopping, getting by - maybe family, maybe church - but it's not about organising these nice, little events on the park, y'know, I don't think"*.

Tamsin [R22], who organises a Street Party Committee, noted, *"... we have a mix of older residents and new residents, and the older residents always talk about how posh the road and the neighbourhood's become... So I think going back, even 15/20 years ago, prices where we live in Hornsey were seen as the cheaper end, it wasn't Crouch End, it wasn't Muswell Hill, so it was very affordable and so you get a mix of occupations and people that come from working class, but I think more of the recent ... I believe one of the houses just sold for £1.6million on our road, and so now you've got a completely different type of people moving in"*. Alex [R50] also

²⁵ Middle class attitudes to social mixing are ambiguous - something widely shown by previous research on London (Butler and Robson, 2001; Jackson and Butler, 2014; Bacqué *et al.* 2015) and other cities in Europe. The gentrifying middle class often display a discursive appreciation of cultural, social and ethnic mix, but this attraction is often not translated into everyday interaction - what Butler and Robson (2001) have referred to, in the London context, as 'socially tectonic' relationships.

noted that some of the dynamics of his residents' association had changed with the changing socio-economic makeup of the neighbourhood, in part through gentrification, and that this was problematic. He felt that it was necessary to ensure a diversity of members, i.e. *"getting people from the private flats, or people from the Council flats, so their views are reflected more so than owner/occupiers - the majority, obviously, are owner occupiers - 95 per cent... And that's more important to me, that you get a view of people who are renting, or living in social housing, what do they need?"*. Steve [R16], who helped set up the Tottenham Bike Club, made a similar point as he described his struggle to find a balance between activities catering to higher as well as lower income groups: he describes how the free Saturdays bike coaching sessions initially attracted a rather middle-class audience and how efforts were made to attract people from the neighbouring social housing estate (Broadwater Farm), who later became the main audience.

5.5 Conclusions

The chapter has indicated that respondents take part in multiple activities - in the neighbourhood and elsewhere - which are shaped by multiple factors and characteristics. The role of publically accessible, safe and welcoming open spaces as enablers and catalysts of encounters and socializing appears to often have been fundamental, as is access to collective assets, the availability of affordable consumption spaces, and the presence of diverse cultures and ways of associating. Public infrastructure and support funding to community groups and activities play an essential part in enabling such encounters to take place, and their diminishing provision in an era of austerity and cuts in central and local government would significantly limit the opportunities for diverse encounters lived in what Bridge (2006: p. 66) terms the *'daily reality'* and *'negotiation'* that comes from location. Some activities seek to develop social/community cohesion and are related to different forms of sociality and common interest, such as religious attachments or participation in sporting activities. Others focus on place-shaping and interventions that seek to change places: in that sense local associations play an important role in supporting a sense of attachment to, and care for, the neighbourhood and surrounding residents, and bring together individuals and groups from highly diverse backgrounds.

6 Social cohesion

6.1 Introduction

The policy literature on the relationships between social cohesion and hyper-diversity displays a high degree of ambivalence. On the one hand diversity helps to produce relational identities and to establish new *'social imaginaries'* or sets of common understandings that facilitate day to day living (see Delanty, 2012; Taylor, 2004; Vertovec, 2012). On the other hand diversity is commonly presented as a threat to social order, with the spatial juxtaposition of difference leading to increased conflict over resources and the breakdown of collective identities and political movements (see Clarke and Newman, 2012). As Keith (2005) notes, the banal truth in many cities lies somewhere in between. Urban living can lead to a reflexive form of citizenship in which broader questions of urban living are resolved through day-to-day interactions with a diversity of groups. But it can also act as a lightning-rod for broader discontents.

This chapter examines these relationships between social cohesion and diversity in Haringey and draws on social capital literature to analyse our findings. Kearns (2003) breaks down understandings of social capital into three core components, each of which is described in Figure 1: (i) social networks; (ii) social norms; and (iii) levels of trust. Underpinning these components are different forms of capital, as shaped by the types of intermediate outcomes listed below. *Bonding capital* relates to the relationships between and within social groups; *bridging capital* is a description of the relationships that may emerge between very different individuals, in terms of cultural, social, or

economic status; and *linking capital* is a reference to the links between individuals and the welfare and policy arrangements that are put in place to support them. The degree of social cohesion (or its opposite social exclusion) of a particular place emerges from combinations of these different forms of social capital.

Figure 1: The Core Components of Social Capital

Components	Intermediate Outcomes	Scales of Operation
Social networks	Quality and quantity of social interaction	Bonding capital
Social norms	Shared objectives	Bridging capital
Levels of trust	Cooperative action	
	Reciprocity	Linking capital
	Civic engagement	
	Access to resources and opportunities	

(Source: Kearns, 2003: p. 41).

We begin the chapter by exploring the social networks and forms of social capital that were described to us in Haringey before moving on to discuss some of the core imaginaries and ways of thinking about cohesion and diversity that are emerging. We then outline some of the key relationships between social capital, the built environment, and a sense of *neighbourliness*. We draw directly on Abrams and Bulmer’s (1986: pp. 18-19) claim that:

Neighbours are quite simply people who live near one another. Living near to others is a distinctive context for relationships — nothing more. And the most obvious special feature of nearness as a setting for relationships is the exceptional cheapness with which it can permit good relationships and the exceptional cost it can attach to bad ones’ (Abrams and Bulmer, 1986, pp. 18–19).

These relationships can be distinguished between what Mann (1954) defined as *manifest* and *latent* neighbourliness. The former are characterised by overt forms of social interaction, such as mutual visiting in the home and going out for leisure and recreation. The latter consist of ‘favourable attitudes’ towards neighbours which result in positive action when a need arises, especially in times of crisis or emergency. We argue that there is evidence of both forms of neighbourliness and that whilst that growing (hyper-)diversity is leading to new forms of indifference and even hostility, it is also acting as a seed-bed for the formation of stronger manifestations of mutual support and cohesion. The analysis would appear to challenge the work of others, such as the Social Integration Commission (2014: p.7) and their claims that *‘despite socialising more with people of different ethnic groups, Londoners are proportionally less integrated by social grade, ethnicity and age than the rest of Britain’*.

6.2 Composition of interviewees’ egocentric networks

Individuals described the presence of wide-ranging social networks that reflected the growing hyper-diversity of Haringey. These networks were related to combinations of: their own changing circumstances and perceptions; the changes that were taking place in the social diversity of their neighbourhoods; shifting labour market opportunities within and beyond Haringey; and fluctuating levels of bridging and bonding social capital. Respondents were simultaneously involved in overlapping networks, but from the analysis we can identify 4 principal types, each of which will be discussed below: (i) networks based on long-standing links of kinship and friendship; (ii) net-

works based on shared activities/interests; (iii) networks based on common identity; and (iv) networks based on children and relationships of care.

(i) *Networks based on long-standing links of kinship and friendship*

The presence or absence of families played an important role in shaping networks both for recent migrants and long-term residents. Family networks acted as an important source of security and certainty, particularly during periods of change and/or crisis. Most interviewees have family members in London: siblings, children, parents, and cousins, some outside the borough. Many mention them as first port of call in case of a problem. Eudine [R46] stated that, “[family living close by is] *very important to me. I've grown up with my cousins and my family, so it's very important to me, they're like my brothers and sisters 'cos we've grown up so close. My generation are almost the same age... we meet up and the kids meet up to go cinema, they also meet up to have dinner, when family comes from abroad, we meet up, so it's quite regular*”. Many Londoners are accustomed to commuting for a relatively long distance so various respondents mentioned regularly crossing the city to visit friends or relatives who did not live in Haringey.

Old-time friends made at school or university, locally or elsewhere, were mentioned by several respondents. School friends, in particular, established cohesive networks that were not particularly open to expansion or bridging to others. Perhaps unsurprisingly, people who went to school in the area and/or those who had been long-term residents had a relatively wide circle of local friends and social bonds. These tight networks were viewed in terms of intimacy and privacy and were not confined to co-ethnic groups as is sometimes implied in writings on diversity (see Bauman, 2001). Over time many had also got to know and befriend close neighbours from their street or block and established strong forms of bonding capital and neighbourliness (as will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.3).

In a majority of cases, we found evidence of wide-ranging kinship and friendship networks in terms of the cultural and ethnic background of a respondent's social circles. Several respondents are from a mixed ethnicity, report being in mixed partnerships/relationships or having children who are in mixed partnerships. This matches the reality of London's demographics. But the consequence of the hyper-diversity of Haringey is that most respondents report friendships across ethnic groups as a normal part of their life. All report friendships with people from different ethnic groups or national origin in their close circles. Lucy [R13], for example, a White Zimbabwean with Scottish lineage, noted that:

“I've got a German friend who lives down Boundary Road. I've got an Irish friend that lives on that Boundary Road and a Scottish friend... and my friend from Sierra Leone. Just a beautiful community. There's a Chinese friend around the corner”.

It was an outlook shared by Shane [R36], who talked about his street and the friends he meets at the local football pitch:

“I wouldn't say there's one predominant group, there's different sets of ... everybody where I come from, everybody hangs round together, like I'm from England and Wales, my friend, he's from Turkey - my friend, he's from East Africa - my friend, he's from West Africa - a friend from Columbia, Vietnam, Portugal, all over the world, everybody just comes together”.

Jade [R25] similarly noted that her friends were a mixture of: *“Irish, English, African, Caribbean, a couple of Indian friends ... yeah, Hong Kong ... yeah, mixed, just mixed ... Polish, yeah from all over”*. Haydar [R29] also pointed out that his networks of friends reflected the diversity of the borough: *“There isn't [sic.] any of my ethnicity in the area which I really know, they are all from different ethnicities and back-*

grounds". Darren [R45], too, drew his old school friends from a broad range of different ethnic backgrounds: "*Yeah, I was quite fortunate, I met them at a time when we were just at school, you don't really understand 'oh yeah, someone's from Jamaica,' or they're from Nigeria. We gym as well, so some of the guys that I go to gym with, they're Turkish, Greek/Cypriot. So, in that aspect, I guess you could say I have different groups, but my main group is ... yeah, yeah, I've never actually thought about it like that*". He did note that his closest circle of friends were all of Black Caribbean or Black African backgrounds and attributed this to their status as a minority group in his school of "*predominantly, Polish people*" and to a wider shared experience of being young black males living in Tottenham.

(ii) *Networks based on shared activities/interests*

For the majority of residents it was the pursuit of a *shared interest* that formed the basis of their strongest local networks. Geoff [R34], for instance, noted that the ability to play musical instruments had helped him build his strongest relationships: "*I'm a good musician, I am - blues stuff - guy next door, drummer - good drummer - so, get on with him ... when I first moved in, he was tapping away and I was like 'I can hear someone on the drums'. I whacked my guitar right up n'all that, make sure you can hear that, yeah, got on that way... obviously, him and I get on well, we've got a lot in common*". Others reported that they had met people in shared spaces of encounter with examples including local gyms, walking clubs, cycling groups, and pub quiz teams. Such activities brought together people from different backgrounds in eclectic and unpredictable ways, as will be further developed in Chapter 5. One respondent Rupinder [R48], gave the example of the local cycling club acting as a focus for shared interactions and her example is one of many:

"...some women could not even speak English properly, [but] they could ride, so sport could actually overcome the language barrier... if you get people together with one motivation and really keen on doing something, things will get done. So, you wouldn't believe, Muslim women were riding with us, the burka, the long black dress, and they could pedal and I was like 'there's no way you could do this!' We were all wearing our shorts in the summer ... 'how could they do this?' But, they did it, did what they wanted to do, they have good cyclists, we just couldn't believe it, and at first we were still getting to know each other, but as a group of women, we actually worked well together. There was none of the friction, or any arguments, we had a really good atmosphere here and we had the right support as well".

Such examples highlight the importance of the accessibility of local facilities and of local associations of all kinds in building social cohesion, a theme covered in Chapter 5 and that will be returned to in the discussion of public policies in Chapter 8.

Employment, either in Haringey or elsewhere in London or the wider South-East is also a strong influence on network-building. Those who work outside the borough have friends from work that they see outside, and may appear to be more mobile (they mention going out to central London more, like Covent Garden). In some cases respondents had more disposable income to do that. Those in professional jobs, such as teachers and managers, commented that work was an important basis for the formation of social networks with 'like-minded' people. Others, even in less skilled occupations, highlighted how important work was for making contacts.

And finally, active participation in local groups also provided a strong basis through which some individuals built up their local networks. As was discussed in Chapter 5, Haringey possesses a thriving network of voluntary associations. For some respondents, such as Tamsin [R22], who lives in Hornsey, a strongly middle class neighbourhood, participation in local campaigns opened up many opportunities for networking. She leads a group calling for a Play Street, the periodic closing of roads to allow residents to turn the streets into spaces of encounter. This acted as a

nucleus around which she could establish strong and sustained local networks – an experience typical of many activists, as developed in Chapter 5:

“I went through a period of consultation with each neighbour and I was often invited inside, so I pretty much know everyone on the street and sometimes, I used to joke, it will take 10 minutes just to get down the street on a Sunday because you're bumping in and you're chatting, catching up and quite a few people have dogs and they're walking their dogs to Ally Pally [Alexandra Palace Park] in the mornings, so if I'm coming out, going to work, y'know, I'll then say ...Hi?”.

(iii) Networks based on common identity

As stated in (i) above, most respondents had very diverse networks of friends in terms of cultural and ethnic background, and did not think much about this hyper-diversity, taking it for granted in the London context. However, class identity did play a formative role in many respondents' social networks (in particular for middle class residents, as discussed previously in Chapter 5). Additionally, some cultural, religious and/or ethnic groups did display stronger patterns of in-group socialization and bonding and weaker evidence of cross-group bonding. Some respondents reported that they felt more ‘at ease’ with others with whom they felt a shared sense of affinity (e.g. Monica [R22] who originally migrated from Jamaica several decades ago) and were less comfortable with those who were markedly ‘different’. Others reported on the presence of more visible or intensive patterns of socializing within their ethnic group, although this was not a dominant feature from the interviews (see also Section 6.3 below). Abdi [R3], a Somali migrant, noted that the size of the Somali community and the strength of the bonding capital within it, meant that he didn't feel the need to interact much with non-Somalis, as he had when living for a period in Strasbourg, France. Most of his experiences of other groups consisted of superficial “*hi/bye*” relationships with neighbours that were both friendly and detached. For him, it was relatively difficult, and not perceived as particularly necessary, to establish strong bridging or linking capital with others: “*Hard to get mixed ... different community, different approaches*”.

A few respondents mentioned language affinities and the spontaneous connection with other migrants sharing the same language as important factors in their friendship (e.g. Spanish-speaking Carmela [R15]). The prevalence of quasi-exclusive patterns of socialization with co-ethnics due to lack of English language ability was, for some individuals, a self-reinforcing pattern. Philippa [R30] mentioned that issue: “*Sometimes, when we're doing these campaigns, we go to the shops and put signs up and things and this guy said to me 'sit down, I want to talk English.' So I said 'well, you've only got to speak to people and you can practice your English,' and he said 'I never see any English person!' That guy was from Algeria. But, that's the case with some of these people, they perhaps see them, but they don't really get to talk to them*”.

Religion also played an important binding role for some migrants, particularly those from communities with strong religious identities. There were insights from Polish migrants, for example, on the role of the Catholic Church in reinforcing existing socio-cultural networks. Combinations of religious and ethnic-national identity created some powerful forms of bonding capital. The fundamental role of religion in shaping all aspects of daily life and social networks is also very strong in the case of one long-established (British) community, the Orthodox Jewish community in the South of Tottenham, a group mentioned by respondents of this area as distinctive from

other groups for its relatively inward-looking and endogenous attitude^[1], as noted by Reha [R17] and Jade [R25]: “*they tend to keep to themselves*”.

In most cases, however, the relationships between identity and social networks were complex and person-specific (something captured in contemporary debates on cross-sectionality) and represented a mixture of different forms of social capital. Layla [R21], for instance, a lesbian woman, noted that she had expanded her social networks through living in a diverse neighbourhood, but had originally felt more comfortable amongst what she identified as her own social network, i.e. fellow LGBT individuals: “*one of the things that happens quite often if you’re a minority yourself. If you’re lesbian or gay you come together around that aspect, so that crosses all social barriers in a way that socially it doesn’t happen otherwise if you’re not in that sort of minority in that way*”. Such examples highlight the role that the presence of diversity can play in creating bridging social capital. It can enable individuals to broaden their social networks. Even in the case of Janet [R7] above, she also noted that “*the whole thing about mixing with other people, opens you up and you learn new things, you learn about different foods and different religions and different customs*”. The presence of diversity had fostered a new sense of cultural learning and interaction (as mentioned previously in Section 4.4).

Similarly in the case of some professional respondents, their networks evolved over time with a growing connection with ‘like-minded’ people from across London, from a variety of backgrounds but from a similar class and/or professional occupation. As with many professional people Lena [R14], an architect, described how as a skilled Polish migrant and mother she had outgrown the local networks established with other local mothers and built networks with those with whom she had a stronger affiliation. As she explained:

“A couple of months ago I decided I am going [to look for] like-minded people. I was given advice, actually because I found myself dealing with mothers not making much progress, even though I was still working and doing my own stuff, but I figured out that they’ve got different problems and when we are meeting together there is more gossiping. They started knowing each other and I found this very toxic and these mothers knew who I am, what I’m doing...plus when I was meeting with them, they just didn’t understand what I am talking about... diets, mind-sets, about business, [and about] creating business”.

She also described a growing animosity towards her former [mainly Polish] neighbours: “*They are quite often taking government support which I was taking as well some money from the government and still do for my business to start, but I think the mind-set was so different and I started meeting a lot of people with the same mind-set, I’ve got friends who do the same they are property investors in the area and I’m basically meeting them*”. When asked if these new networks were with fellow Poles, Lena [R14] responded “*... no, no, no, one girl she is from Latvia, one girl she is Indian but she grew up in Coventry somewhere up north. Yes, that is my main, actually, friends who I’m meeting and other people whom I used to work with, hmm... which I’m meeting... I was going to Central London events, networking a lot. That is my main friends, actually, and family, neighbours not so much, you know*”. Examples were given of like-minded individuals, some of whom were encountered at schools or social events, but with whom a connection was relatively easy to make: “*as soon as she met, I just really want to see you, talk to you and that come out of actually people who are very similar*”.

^[1] We did not interview members of the Orthodox Jewish community, which is not easy to ‘reach’ for external researchers, and so are not able to comment about the extent and nature of the internal and external contacts and networks held by members of that community.

Such examples demonstrate that social networks and interactions with neighbours in Haringey do not *necessarily* become stronger over time, even for individuals who are long-term residents. They can take on an ephemeral quality and gradually evaporate as individuals' life courses evolve. In most cases they are combined with strong social networks based on shared cultural, ethnic, religious, class or occupational characteristics. The social diversity of local neighbourhoods acted as an important staging-post and enabled important migrant networks to be formed but in some cases these had been 'out-grown' over time.

(iv) *Networks based on children and relationships of care*

Having children appears to have a transformative role on the social networks of many respondents. Donna's [R10] experience sum up those of many of our interviewees:

"the thing is, since I've had a child, it's really changed my friendship circles a lot, umm - having a child - because I used to be much more about like my friends, or my colleagues, or my partner and I, our social circles, it's just really changed because now, it's all about like my son's friends, so we're much more likely, now, to socialise with parents of his friends, than say, some of our old friends ... although, obviously, we've kept up with, y'know, other friends, but umm, in terms of the amount of time we spend, it's, probably, much more the frequency of it is much more, and the length of time is much more about parent friends".

Others, such as Janet [R7] described children as "*the connection thing*" and a "*hub*" from which she got to know others in the neighbourhood and through which her networks suddenly changed (see her quote on her pre-children networks in the previous sub-section above). Schools and nurseries played a key role in binding diverse groups and creating new collective identities, imaginations and networks, as discussion in Section 5.3. Parent of two Steve [R16] summed this up through his own experiences in which it: "*is children who have, probably, been bringing me together with lots of different people, helping to make those contacts*".

But the influences of children on social cohesion go beyond this. Schools represent a place of encounter between diverse groups and a number of parents commented on the ways in which their children's social networks were 'more diverse' than their own and that this was leading to new forms of network-building. Abdi [R3] summarised his own thoughts on his children's friends: "*they have the opportunity to go and mix up with them and I wasn't in need to mix up with them and they wasn't need, either, to be mixing up with me*". Similarly, Darren [R45] a local resident and relatively recent school-leaver recalled that "*at school, it was not so much that you were forced to do it, it was a natural thing. At school, it was lunch time, break time and you'd play with whoever that could make you laugh, or whoever you feel comfortable with - outside, it wasn't so much like that. If you were to probably speak to someone of my age, they would probably tell you maybe the exact same thing, like they do interact with loads of people*". This perception that children also brought about more progressive and interactive forms of integration than found amongst older generations, was a widely shared perspective. Once again Janet [R7] provided one of the most thoughtful insights:

"my kids' generation, I think, are completely the most tolerant, I mean, my kids, in terms of their feelings about their friends, and who they hung out with, didn't work out on all the kind of marriage/dating front, although a lot of my kids friends have married Chinese and Vietnamese and Hong Kong and Poles etc., - my son's just married a Hungarian - so their generation did not see a problem about colour and race and so on and so forth".

The everyday contact with hyper-diversity in the neighbourhood was perceived as a 'school for integration'. Some, like Philippa [R30], argued that "*the people who grow up here do integrate because they've grown up here and they mix in school and they probably feel more in common with the locals than with their*

families original". The role of children-centred networks is therefore very powerful but it is also very gendered and family-centred. They are particularly important for mothers who may otherwise experience isolation but they can also, as discussed, generate a range of interactions and help 'normalise' diversity as a lived experience. Such networks are important in particular for those without close relatives nearby, as expressed by Sharon [R33]: "when you do have a family and you want that support and you don't have your family around you, then you rely on your network of friends, which is why we've all known each other since they were babies because you look after each other's children, they have sleepovers, you want to go out, you share the babysitting, you do all of that and so you build up this network and it is like having an extended family, to a degree". Sharon [R33] mentioned that having children is a key factor that makes you become "part of the community because you build around the school gates", and compares this to her life before being a parent: "so in Tottenham I knew people because I was fighting this planning application, which we lost, but here, it was around the school gates where you meet people".

The interaction generated through children generates both positive and negative reactions. It exposes parents to difference and may nurture certain prejudices or views, as exemplified by Carmela [R15], talking about the mothers she met in baby groups and at the nursery:

"It's not a barrier, but we have nothing in common... I've nothing against people on benefits - all the mamas were on benefits - and I have nothing in common with them, I'm a working mum and I don't know what should we talk about, just about our babies and, yes, I can talk about my baby and I didn't go there to talk about my baby, that's what I had 24/7. I went out just to talk about something else, not about environment, but just about, I don't know... well, I'm not gonna meet them for a coffee, you know, but generally I can talk to them in the nursery, I talk also to the carers of my child and they are more or less from that place on the top of Brazil ... there are people from the Caribbean and there are people from Africa, there is not another place that I could have met them 'cos I'm not gonna see a person in the street and say 'oh, hello, I'm Carmela.' It's just because of our children".

Conversely, not having children, as stated by Ruby [R20], may act as an impediment to mixing:

"I think the Eastern Europeans, the latest to come to the area, they're very different from everybody else because by and large, they're young and single... The big difference with them is they don't have children, so they don't have children in the local schools, which is the key to start mixing, parents meet other parents, the children form friendships ... children are colour blind, they don't care, if they like someone or not, they don't care what colour their skin is, or what language they speak at home. So, that's a really big integrator, is when children meet each other at school, so they form friendships and then the parents meet and that's how a community starts to integrate. The Eastern Europeans are completely outside of that, as I said, they're almost all young and single".

6.3 Living together with neighbours: bonds and forms of mutual support

Positive forms of neighbouring

As noted in Section 6.1, neighbourliness can be understood in both manifest and latent terms. Abrams and Bulmer (1986) argue that the literature on neighbouring shows two positive elements for neighbouring: that of friendliness and helpfulness, to which they add a third: respect for privacy. All of these are evident in Haringey. Our research uncovered numerous examples of bonds of mutual support given by residents towards their neighbours and a general sense of *helpfulness*. There was particular concern for vulnerable groups, such as the elderly or disabled, with less of a focus on the extent to which individuals were or were not culturally diverse. Individuals such as Alex [R50], who played a leading role in local associations gave examples of how he

helped neighbours from diverse backgrounds. This vignette is particularly insightful as to his motives and activities:

“... she lives on her own, and she's actually been there for quite a while now, about three years, but I must say, she's been broken into twice ... y'know, a woman on her own, so if anything happens, it's a knock on my door straightaway. So, I've been in there twice trying to sort everything out for her, so I feel a bit protective about her. So, that's the end terrace, then I've got Zola, who's Jamaican, who's directly my neighbour and she was married to Dennis. We've always got on really well, I help in the garden - I just do stuff - as you do. Like, one example is I found out last April, or in the summer, that she hasn't had a boiler, her boiler's not worked - and she's got no money - so I've been trying to raise money to get a boiler for her, get it fitted, tried to get her assessed by the Council, y'know, all this - she's just above the threshold for extra money”.

There were many examples of helpfulness and neighbourly support. These provided fairly basic but important forms of cooperative action and reciprocity. Alice [R19], for instance, noted that neighbours would watch out for each other's properties during holidays, while Abdi [R3] would share facilities such as heaters across separate flats. Such activities quickly established high levels of trust and local social norms that gave individuals a sense of community and place. This even went as far as “*paying car tax that was about to expire [for neighbours] or looking out for parking spaces for each other, giving each other plants [when they moved out of the area]*” (Alice [R19]). Most relationships consisted of what she termed “*hello/how are you*” interactions, that both enabled a sense of social distance to be maintained whilst building levels of mutual trust. Others noted that neighbours would frequently “*take in a parcel for me*”; undertake household repair jobs (for free or paid); exchange food (with neighbours from different ethnicity); care for the common garden; hold extra sets of keys for neighbours; assist the elderly or less mobile with shopping for basic provisions; or watering plants during a neighbour's absence. In one case a respondent went off for the week-end and did not secure her front door properly. Her neighbours looked out for her house. Such examples demonstrate that hyper-diversity encourages, rather than undermines, a degree of neighbourly cohesion. The presence of mixed groups of individuals does not lead to mutual disconnection, but instead encourages new forms of *manifest* neighbourliness to emerge. Relationships are forged through day-to-day interactions in place and lead to the formation of positive, collective forms of support. Reported examples included: support given to vulnerable groups to fill out complex bureaucratic forms; driving people to local shops; and the sharing of knowledge on planning and neighbourhood issues.

Other manifestations included multiple *accounts of banal and everyday friendliness* with many examples of residents inviting each other to their homes, of children playing and befriending each other, and of mutual kindness and practical and emotional support in times of family crisis. Ann [R8] mentioned receiving a lot of practical and emotional support by her neighbours who were “*wonderful*” when her husband died of a rapid illness, as they helped prepare the wedding of her daughter in advance of the planned date for him to be able to attend it before his death. Public holidays had also become important moments of connection. The growth of the mainly Catholic Polish community, for instance, had added significance to the Christmas period and a general sense of collective well-being. Many also reported more benign signs of acknowledgement towards their neighbours and forms of latent neighbourliness without forming strong bonds: Christmas cards, nods, hellos. Such interactions, however, were highly valued as they both established latent trust whilst also maintaining a *respect for privacy*, a sense of mutual indifference. Friends and neighbours constituted, in that sense, distinct types of subject, as reflected in Darren's [R45] view that “*I would say my friends, as in social friends, are separate from neighbours. I consider the neighbours as a different group altogether, even though there is a friendly relationship, there's not such a strong*

bond, or attachment’. Long term resident Margaret [R4] felt that a latent sense of neighbourliness was essential to her well-being and positive sense of place:

“I’m a great believer in good fences make good neighbours, I don’t, particularly, want to be great friends with my neighbours, umm, but I do want to be on good terms and, you know, I might do something social with them occasionally, but I don’t want to be great friends with them”.

All of these relationships were influenced by the spatial character of the neighbourhood and the ways in which private and public spaces created arenas of interaction. Debbie [R5], for instance, noted that the residents of her building got along very well, with a common Facebook page that they use to communicate and regularly share/swap/sell/exchange goods, possessions, services and skills with each other as well as regularly meeting up in each other’s apartments. There was a conviviality about “*looking out for one another*” in terms of safety and security.

These forms of latent neighbourliness were also reflected in some perspectives on the banal and everyday nature of social and cultural diversity in Haringey (and London) and the ways in which tacit and everyday forms of recognition in public spaces gave individuals a sense of security and belonging. Julie [R47], a White British respondent, summed up her views:

“It’s almost the fact that Tottenham just rubs along - it just happens - without sort of going out of the way to have your Diversity Week, as it were. There are every sort of nationality and religion and so on you can possibly imagine, pictures up somewhere like Tottenham, or rather neighbourhoods of London that are just as diverse... The fact that I live in Tottenham, as somebody who is white, north European descent, nobody bats an eyelid - a similar neighbourhood that’s in New York or big cities in other parts of Europe that might not happen - and the fact that people of different backgrounds just exist alongside each other in London, I think, is a good thing and without making a fuss about it, it’s not something we’re blowing our trumpet about, it just happens”.

For many respondents diversity therefore formed an important part of everyday neighbourliness and helped to create a positive sense of latent friendliness. However, there were also narratives of anxiety amongst respondents and concerns that new barriers and forms of difference were emerging and it is to these that the discussion now turns.

Barriers to neighbourliness

Some of the growing diversity of the area, in terms of ethnic mix and socio-economic divisions was, some reported, having *negative impacts on a local sense of neighbourliness*. Language barriers were highlighted by some as a particular problem in neighbourhoods with tightly-knit economic and social networks among co-ethnics. Philippa [R30] mentions that in Wards Corner most people only speak Spanish: “*She asked me, this lady that cuts my hair, she asked me if I would do a speaking English group because they don’t get any practice in English at all, hardly*”. Ruby [R20] also mentions her encounters with many residents who could not speak English, in particular elderly Muslim female migrants who may have stayed at home most of their lives in London. She worked in a local school in which 75% of the children did not speak English at home and discovered many parents spoke no English at all. She noted that:

“Now, if you walk down the street here, you often don’t hear any English being spoken and that’s a real change from say, for example, the West Indian community, although they obviously look different because of the colour of their skin, they all speak perfect English. I

think language is so important for integration, that that's the biggest barrier that prevents the different groups from getting together”.

Trevor [R32], a Mixed Heritage British respondent, saw language differences were a source of tension:

“Language is a massive [issue],... we're not bothered about your different cultures, if you're from Barbados, you're Barbadian, Jamaica, you're Jamaican, you're a mixed race guy, like me, that's lived in Jamaica, we embrace everything and in Jamaica, you've got Indians, you've got Chinese, you've got that, but they all speak the Queen's English and yet, this is England, and no-one seems to wanna talk the language and it causes massive divisions, massive divisions because my attitude is that 'as in Rome do as the Romans'”.

Additionally, language was seen as a constraint on neighbourly relations with members of non-Anglophone ethnic groups both for some long-term migrants who have been in the area for a long-time but speak poor English, or for newly arrived migrants. In those circumstances, children often act as facilitators of communication, as Abyan [R35], whose migrant mother speaks very poor English, noted: *“You've got that language barrier, they don't know how to speak English and you have to walk around and do the hand talk, talk with your hands”.* Shane [R36] also reflected on this process:

“In a sense, some parents they take longer to learn English, so obviously, they rely on their children more, where basically, they rely on the child to make a lot of decisions because the child understands the UK government, the laws, the way the system is.... Because of the language, they have more understanding, so somebody can explain how housing benefit works. When you explain to the mum, you have to explain to the child - the child explains to the mum - but the child might not explain everything, the mum might need to learn some other information”.

There were other barriers to neighbourliness that emerged from the interviews. Layla [R21], for instance, stressed, that local relationships between neighbours were increasingly constrained by the prevalence of poverty and difficulties affecting inhabitants of a place:

“If you focus on my end of the street I think that generally because people have been here a while we know each other. We have quite a tidy little end of the street, people are generally quite helpful. I do think that most people in the right circumstances will be kind and helpful. It's only when they're pushed into a difficult, I suppose that's one of the times that I'm feeling less positive about the area that I find difficult. It is a poor area, and sometimes poverty is stressful. And I think sometimes that stress comes out when they're on the street, driving along, in a way that comes out as quite hostile, negative, or aggressive. And sometimes that's hard”.

Additionally, as discussed in Section 4.4, changing housing market dynamics and the (actual and perceived) transience of new categories of inhabitants (students, newly arrived migrants from Central and Eastern Europe) was seen by many long-term residents as a barrier to good ‘neighbouring’ and ‘neighbourliness’. The degree of transience through the neighbourhood influenced both the perceptions of neighbourliness amongst longer-term residents and the views of more transitory migrants.

The high level of residential movement was reported by some as having a destabilising effect on a sense of place and community. Margaret [R4], for instance, saw transience as disruptive: *“Tottenham's quite transient, or certain ... maybe London is quite transient, but my road is quite transient, there are half*

a dozen people that have lived there for a very long time and we all know each other". This had, she felt, led to the erosion her own sense of wanting to build local relationships:

"If they want to be friendly to me and say 'hello,' then I will, but mostly, they don't and I understand why they don't, but I suppose, as I've got older, I'm not really that bothered about being nice, you know, I don't care, really, as much as when I was younger, it was like 'ooh, be nice.' It's like, if they wanna, kind of, make an effort with me, I feel as if I've made a lot of effort in life, umm, and let somebody else have a go, you know".

Darren [R45] also recalled that, *"the neighbours we had never really tended to stay there for long, you'll see one person for maybe one, or two months and then all of a sudden, the house is being cleared out and the next month, there's another set of people moving in"*. While another White British resident John [R9] noted that *"the changes we've been referring to really are to do with the transient population of people coming and going and that's the saddest thing really, when people don't stay long enough to put down roots, I find that I have no chance to get to know people"*.

Monica [R22], a retired nurse originally from Jamaica, suffers from the gradual loss of (West Indian) friends and acquaintances in the area, barely knows anyone in her street, except a newly arrived Jamaican lady who befriended her and *"keeps an eye on her"*: *"when I moved, they were about three English and all were West Indian families, so everybody know everybody, everybody into each other's houses and things like that... now, you hardly know who your next door neighbour is because they are all new people that come into the road to live"*.

Some also associated these movements of population with a break-down of shared norms and social cohesion in the area. In John's [R9] words: *"I suppose the most obvious sign of this is the way in which people put out rubbish, and there's also a tendency for many houses that are rented to be occupied by large numbers of people, emm, which does create a lot of rubbish, so it spills out over from the bins and creates problems"*. There were also multiple references from interviewees to the links between insecurity and transitory neighbours. Overcrowding, the frequent turnover of residents, and language barriers combined to create a clear sense of 'otherness', with new migrants seen as creating new insecurities in the area and the break-down of cohesive social capital. Such anxieties were amplified when forms of otherness became visible in the built environment.

Some respondents also claimed that transitory communities of migrants were much less likely to take on roles as active citizens and that this could corrode the activities of voluntary organisations and groups. The lack of engagement with the place and with neighbours which transient tenants are perceived to display is emphasized as highly problematic. Ruby [R20] states *"The people in the flats had no commitment to the community at all. In most cases, they were only on a short term lease, so they weren't expecting to live here, when the houses were built, so they didn't really care"*. Layla [R21] similarly argues: *"Just in the street that runs onto us there, there's quite big houses and quite a few of them are converted into flats and I think quite a few of them are used for short term accommodation... so you get a constant dumping of furniture down that street... people don't have an attachment to the area... it's a bit renowned, Ruskin Road, as being a difficult, you know, the houses aren't terribly well kept, you get a lot of rubbish on the street, it doesn't look cared for at all"*.

In the wealthier western part, 'transience' is of the very opposite kind as the one reported in the eastern part. The threat to the diversity of the affluent western part of the borough is perceived to be generated by increasing house prices (which price out families, low and middle income groups) and the changes in the type of buyers which purchase houses. Matilda [R26] referred to the growing phenomenon of 'mega-mansions' bought by "super-rich" foreigners who only use them a few weeks each year, something which has attracted a lot of media attention in London:

“...the Russians - the Greeks now - it's a safe place to lodge your money is to buy a house in Highgate, or all over London, it is a London issue... It's a problem for us [in Highgate] because the people that come in and buy those big houses, they don't live here mostly, and even the people who are buying the flats to let, they might let to local people, but they're going to be absentee landlords living in Hong Kong, well this is not conducive to a community.” ... “Sometimes, they come to bring their children to school, but basically, they don't take part in the community, even if they're living here, they don't take part in the community, you never see them, they don't come to any events, they wouldn't be supporting us in this, they don't contribute to anything ... so that's what I mean, it's not a good idea, at all”.

Sharon [R33], also a Highgate resident, makes the same point: *“the people that bought our house bought it as an investment, they didn't buy it to live in... and I worry about that because it means that you don't get the diversity in the area... it means that there is no social cohesion because you don't have people who care and, at the moment, you have a lot of people round here - and in Tottenham too - who care about where they live and making it better and making it a nice place to live, but if all you've got is investment properties and people staying for perhaps three months, perhaps six months and with no buy-in into the community, then, for me, that's the worst thing, that would be social disintegration”.* She refers to houses bought by a Russian in her street *“to be knocked together ... that doesn't do us all any favours at all, and they won't live there, they can't even vote, they're not engaged politically, it doesn't matter to them, there's enough money - they don't care about Council taxes or anything - it just doesn't matter”.*

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter has provided evidence that the presence of hyper-diversity in an area does not lead to the emergence of segregated communities or social relationships that consist of intense bonding capital at the expense of bridging capital. Whilst there are instances of insularity amongst some groups and growing conflicts and anxieties over the position of newcomers or transient residents into the area, in many instances the presence of diversity *enables individuals' networks to flourish and develop*. There was also evidence of networks stretching beyond immediate family members and the evolution of spontaneous care networks for the elderly and other vulnerable groups based on trust and a moral sense. The role of children and younger people in acting as agents of socialisation and the promotion of more progressive views of diversity in the area was also significant. Moreover, public spaces, activity groups, and welfare infrastructure are fundamental to the formation of social cohesion, reinforcing the findings presented in Chapter 5. The chapter has also shown that the quality and quantity of social interactions shapes many of the attitudes and perceptions of respondents and that there is a feeling that the area is undergoing socio-economic changes that are potentially disruptive to the area's cohesion.

7 Social mobility

7.1 Introduction

The links between social diversity and social mobility are contested and difficult to establish empirically. The term itself is characterised by varying definitions, some of which are descriptive and others more explanatory. In Figure 2 we have summarised some of the core definitions that are used in the academic and policy literature. Mobility relates to the socio-economic status of particular individuals and has long been connected to the motivations for migration, with greater social mobility connected directly with enhanced spatial mobility. It is also directly connected to educational attainment, a broader sense of ‘aspirational culture’ in neighbourhoods, and changing labour markets.

Figure 2: Core Definitions of Social Mobility

Core Definition	Key Characteristics
Social mobility	movement of individuals, families, or groups through a system of social hierarchy or stratification
Horizontal mobility	If such mobility involves a change in position, especially in occupation, but no change in social class
Vertical mobility	If a move involves a change in social class, can be upward or downward

Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica (2015: p. 1)

In London the situation is complex. The think tank Policy Exchange (2013) labels London a ‘social mobility gold spot’ and a place in which the juxtaposition of difference opens up opportunities for individuals to access a broader range of skills, expertise, and knowledge (see also Demos, 2011). The city’s diversity gives residents other advantages. The presence of diverse languages and higher degrees of cultural awareness has been associated with higher levels of business activity and economic vibrancy (see Nathan, 2014). However, at the same time the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission (2015) highlights some of the structural barriers to social mobility that exist across the UK and the cultural and economic factors that limit vertical mobility. Economic opportunities for working class youth are becoming increasingly limited and as Dorling (2014) shows the gaps between those in more professional classes and the poorest in London are growing relentlessly. The city is also one of the most unequal in the EU in terms of the income and asset gap between the richest and the poorest.

In this chapter we examine the evidence from our respondents on the ways in which (greater) diversity is perceived to have (or to have not) opened up opportunities for their social mobility or for the mobility of individuals in their immediate networks. We argue that social mobility as a concept assumes a degree of desirable and recognisable *linearity* in the career structures of individuals that is often absent or divorced from the complex day-to-day lives of individual citizens. It fails to capture the diversity of opportunities and aspirations that citizens possess and the tangled inter-relationships between the welfare system, labour market opportunities, and the webs of social relations that exist between individuals and within their communities. What emerges are a series of responses that indicate the fragmented and fractured life courses of many London residents shaped by fluctuating personal relationships and changing circumstances. Defining a socially ‘mobile’ person in such contexts is intellectually and empirically challenging as many individuals undergo permanent mobility and combinations of vertical and horizontal mobility.

7.2 Current and previous jobs

As discussed in Chapter 2 our group of respondents is broad and diverse. This makes it difficult to identify causal links between the diversity of neighbourhoods and the life paths of individuals and/or the factors that shape the relationships between current and previous occupations. Some are short or long term unemployed, some are in the process of having career breaks, others have assumed caring responsibilities, others are entrepreneurs, and others work in various public sector occupations (such as teaching). In addition we also interviewed students and retired people and groups, such as homeless or disabled individuals, who are marginalised from the labour market altogether. In this respect our respondents represent a cross-section of Haringey’s population. Moreover, relatively few of our respondents work in the neighbourhoods in which they reside, with many working in central London and/or neighbouring Boroughs.

Several interviews report challenging employment situations: unemployment, under-employment, low pay and having more than one job; studying and working at the same time. Some of the

younger residents were working part-time and studying, a now common feature in England due to the high cost of tuition fees: *“we're working part-time, only to get by for the next week or two. I get paid weekly, so it has to last for a week, so there's not much we can do, if you're working and studying at the same time, so we have to just make do with what we've got, for now anyway”*.

One interviewee, Philippa [R30], who has worked with and for migrant groups in her previous working life in the 1970-80s, recalled that most migrants in the area *“came to get working class jobs, driving a bus, or cleaning”*, and that this pattern continues today with more recently arrived migrants. For example Latin Americans running the stalls in the Wards Corner (a Latino Market) often have two jobs – as office cleaners and market stall holders. Some have a higher education qualification or profession in their own country which they cannot use in the UK and are thus forced into low skill, low pay jobs. This form of underemployment is compounded by problems of English language competence. As was discussed in Chapter 6, poor English skills encourage immigrants to expand their bonding capital with others in their own communities, as a way to survive as part of tightly-knit economic and social networks among co-ethnics, and this can limit their capacity to become socially mobile in a vertical way.

7.3 Using neighbours and others to find a job

Accessing employment, social networks and the advantages of hyper-diversity

Bridging capital is an important element in explaining patterns of social mobility (see Kearns, 2003). Connections between individuals from diverse backgrounds, it is claimed, can enable those in deprived neighbourhoods to develop connections with more skilled and resource-rich groups and this will enable them to move vertically between classes. In only a small number of cases we found evidence that an individual's social mobility had had a positive impact on opportunities for others in their social networks. For IT worker Raj [R11], the new contacts that he has developed through skilled employment in central London have benefitted some in the Wood Green area. Raj [R11] has helped others to access work and acted as a source of inspiration for some of his (neighbourhood) friends: *“the previous company I worked in, two of my friends... there was a job going in the company and I knew that these guys would be ok to do that. You know, they've got the right skills and, you know, they would be able to do the job. So, I recommended them both. Both of them to work there”*.

Some respondents suggested that they had grown up in local neighbourhoods in which aspirations for social mobility were typically low, but that this had not prevented their vertical mobility. Raj [R11] recalled that:

“if you did grow up in an area with more upper class people, my upbringing was, you know, a different level, then, yes, I think, you would have wanted to achieve more and, you would've probably gone a lot further and, you know, you would've, your goals and your ambitions would've been different to ours, in Wood Green you was happy with what you had whereas, yeah, you would grow up with different type of people, upper class people, and you would've probably aimed higher. You would have aimed a lot higher”.

He also noted that an older friend had acted as *“wise-counsel”* for him and his friends when he was younger, indicating that a diversity of local people could provide individuals with support to go on and take up educational or employment opportunities:

“... we would ask him anything: advice, anything. And he would just, he would tell us how it is in the real world, you know?! Some of us would get a bit carried away, in our own kind of dream world and he would always kind of bring us back down and he'd always, like, if you had something, something bad happened, or you know, he would be the person you'd go

and see. He would make you feel better...he's done that for everyone. So, it was nice having him around. And obviously because he is older, you'd listen to him".

Such examples demonstrate a degree of *social leverage* in which individuals are given active and tacit support to take on new employment or educational opportunities through their social networks (see De Souza Briggs, 1998; Woolcock, 2001).

Others highlighted the ways in which bridging networks could change attitudes to education and how this could lead to greater vertical mobility. This was conditional on both the types of networks that individuals possessed and the availability of educational opportunities offered by adult education colleges and universities. For several long-term Haringey residents from working class and/or migrant families, the local colleges of further education (the College of North East London in Tottenham) and polytechnic universities of North London (London Metropolitan) were well-known and mentioned on various occasions as having offered (or potentially offering) them affordable opportunities for training, often while in part-time employment. Part-time vocational and continuing education in or near the borough had improved their job situation, or was an aspiration in order to do so. Abyan [R35] felt: *"I can do like a teacher training course, as long as I've got a good qualification after, so I can progress from there, hopefully. It's gonna be a long ... education, all my life"*. Shane [R36] wanted *"to study landscaping, outside landscaping"* in the local Further Education College and Jamila [R39] took a Reiki course there.

Victor [R1], a school teacher, recalled how he had moved from a position of selling tickets in a theatre to taking up a university place and then taking up a job through his social networks:

"I just thought let me do something spontaneous and not play it too safe, so I quit my full-time job at the Barbican [Theatre] and then they offered me a part-time role... so I worked part-time at the Barbican, and I did my masters and it was great and then one of my projects, specifically for my dissertation, was how young people in an area use music as a form of expression. And so I went into a school, where my friend Sam was working, and I wanted to be part of some of the classes...I said to the school that I didn't have a teachers qualification and they explained to me ... they had a thing called ...a graduate teacher's placement (GTPs) - and I had to apply for one of them. So, I was employed by the school...and I've been working there ever since".

Through a combination of available educational places and the presence of social networks Victor [R1] was able to establish a new career path and return to the area to act as a role-model for others. He went on to note that *"a lot of past students come to see me, which is always really nice, and I have to write a lot of references for jobs for kids that probably left school 5/6 years ago...and try to support kids that I've taught in the past any way I can"*.

For those in lower skilled occupations 'word of mouth' and recommendations still played an important role in obtaining work and many of these came through neighbour networks. Shane [R36], for instance, explained his own situation:

Shane: "if they need help, we can give, if we need help, they give all the time, yeah, things like looking for jobs. Even other things, even if they need help painting the house or something".

Interviewer: "Did you receive this kind of help in finding a job, or referring you to some place from your neighbours?"

Shane: "Yes, when I did lifeguarding, it was through the Job Centre, but my neighbour was going to the Job Centre regularly and they saw it, so they in-

formed me...[But] nobody will help you more than your family - financially, emotionally, to help you find a job - your family, they always want the best for you”.

Social leverage also operated through established local *volunteering and mentoring networks*. There was evidence that by taking part in voluntary groups, individuals began to establish a range of support networks and new skills. As with all forms of social mobility these relationships were not linear or simple but our evidence shows that the presence of a diversity of groups in the area facilitated such interactions. One respondent (Darren [R45]) recalled how undertaking voluntary work through a Youth Club expanded his social networks and that through meeting a higher-skilled mentor named Stephen a series of changes took place:

“If I think about it properly, my experience of getting a job sort of came the long way round, where I gained experience in a lot of voluntary work all over the place and then had something then to put on my CV. Fortunately, in the youth club, I met Stephen... I used to work with Stephen, so you could almost technically say that that one was almost handed to me, but then again, I had history to back up that I could do what I wanted”.

The presence of the Youth Club enabled diverse social interactions to take place. As Darren [R45] went on to explain:

“looking at it from a wider point of view...because of the youth club being there, I got introduced to Stephen and then, in my introduction to Stephen, that’s exactly what he did, he mentored me along, helped me out with this, brought me to here, so he’s actually played a bigger role in opening my eyes to different things, really, yeah”

Or as another young resident, Lequann [R44], commented:

“All of this stuff, this is what I done when I started the volunteering work 'cos I was doing the neighbourhood working schemes with [a housing and regeneration consultancy], so they gave us different scenarios and the interview skills and them stuff, you learn how to go in and look directly at the person, you shake their hands and correct yourself, always looking up. So, we just pass that information onto other people, other peers that comes into the facilities also for that, are looking for a job”.

Others recalled how they had tried to develop the employability of young people by offering training and employment opportunities. Again, many of these examples come from lower-skilled manual trades. Lindall [R31], for example, recalled that *“I used to employ little like young guys and try and teach them the trade ... Car spraying and mechanics and stuff and I'd tell them like to go school and come later and I'd give them a little something... Yeah, I was good that way”*. Eudine [R46] also described her role as one of mentoring and highlighted some of the broader social and neighbourhood benefits of her work:

“... there’s loads of youth, like 18-24 year olds that I know that there’s apprenticeships going in Northumberland Park that I’ve put them on. I’ll go with them to make sure they get on, so they’re out of trouble, they’re not on the road”.

There were numerous examples of how similar forms of informal mentoring had helped individuals to access employment. Geoff [R34], for instance, recalled how meeting a neighbour had opened up employment opportunities in seasonal and relatively low-skilled work:

“Last year I was working part time for a guy and, hopefully, I will be again soon as he's not doing anything for over the winter, but yeah, he got me a job. As I mentioned, he's an electrician, so he knows my trade as a labourer ... a landscape gardener, he got me part time work just labouring, off the books sort of thing... He got that person to phone me and just say 'such and such has given me your details and said you are a good worker. Tell me a bit about yourself' sort of thing and ended up meeting him the next day and I've been all over London since I've met him, he's got jobs all over the place”.

Such experiences are typical of workers in the construction sector, some of which employed without a contract/on an ad hoc basis, but this example nevertheless indicates a degree of mutual support that enabled the respondent to access employment beyond his immediate neighbourhood, which in the longer run may increase his bridging capital. The presence of hyper-diversity opens up such possibilities and opportunities as it expands the possibilities for networks to be established and sustained. Often, however, precariousness and illegality may be attached to such forms of employment.

Formal and informal *community advocates* also play a key role in the development of local support networks. In Tottenham elected local councillors, such as Sundip [R2], a former councillor, noted that:

“Because I was part of a public body [the local authority]...I'd have to mark myself down as unusual 'cos people come up to you and say, y'know, 'do you know of anything?' or 'how do I do this?' or ... very often, I'm pointing them to training courses and so on, particularly, language courses 'cos obviously, if a person has good language skills, then London is a big market for labour. So, if the basic skills are there and something is usually around, even if at a time when things are really, really bad. So, y'know, in the main library in Wood Green, they run ... it's called the Haringey Adult Learning Service and they'll, usually respond, if there's a group of people that wants a particular training session, they'll do it... yeah, if I was a vicar, I'd call it pastoral care”.

These voluntary and community-based activities have become increasingly important in the context of welfare cuts. Those respondents who work in social or public services, or education, note how changes in the functioning of those sectors make their work, and the possibility to help people to achieve educational or employment goals, more difficult. Reha [R17] worked as a school teacher and mentioned how challenging and stressful the job had become:

“But, at the same time, it's fulfilling 'cos if you know, when you help one or two children, it's fulfilling, but on the other hand, it's hard work and it's disappointing a lot of the time when you make a lot of effort for the children and then they disappoint you, they don't turn up, they don't go and you think why are you bothering, but you know that some seed is planted and they might remember something and, later on, it might help, I don't know”.

There was some evidence that individuals who had been active in voluntary work went on to get full time employment. Alex [R50], for instance, accessed full time employment with Southwark Council to work on its *Cleaner, Greener, Safer* programme through the networks he made on the residents association and in the experiences he collected in Haringey projects on community gardens and the improvement of the local environment. In some instances (such as for Georgina [R24]) employment was obtained through local newspapers and other information sources such as websites, to which neighbours and local contacts had contributed. Such examples indicate a direct relationship between community activity and the prospects for formal employment at the individual level. Additionally, there was some evidence that having gained skills and experience as

a volunteer in order to gain full-time employment, some participants were called upon to offer advice to their friends on how to do the same. This was the case for Lequann [R44], a 23 year old youth worker from Tottenham:

“Say, for instance, I’ll be at work and I’ll get an email, like what do I say about this job, or what I say about ... then, I told my friend ‘oh, I’ll forward it to some of the guys n’that .’ Say, for instance, they’ll come to me ‘oh, I need a job, can I get a job?’ I’ll forward that information to my manager or the next lady that works with us, then they’ll forward them, they’ll come in, they’ll write down their details. So, anything that comes in that fits their criteria, we phone them up and we give them the information that they need and if they can get going for interview, or do we need to help them practice on their interview skills, so we help them with that as well”.

Finally, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the presence of ‘ethnic’ businesses and shops was mentioned by many respondents as a very positive thing they like about their neighbourhood, as consumers. But some also hinted at the fact that this flourishing economy is a key source of economic opportunity for migrants. Shane [R36] perceived that *“there’s not a lot of help with starting your own business, it’s always you get education to get a job and work for somebody, why don’t you work for yourself?”*, but remarks that newly arrived migrants often open a shop *“they open this, the open that, they’re trying”* while *“people from this country, they don’t seem bothered”* and prefer to work as employees for others. Such examples illustrate a set of positive relationships between the social capital and diversity of the borough and opportunities for social mobility, in this case through ‘ethnic entrepreneurship’. Our research also, however, uncovered some perceived barriers to mobility as experienced by interviewees and it is these that we now describe.

Barriers to social mobility

Some respondents highlighted what they perceived to be the negative impacts of ‘new’ migration on social mobility. Long-term residents (who had often been migrants themselves) noted that some of the newcomers were ‘different’ and had failed to integrate or take up job opportunities in the local economy. This lack of integration limited the formation of social networks and their social (and spatial) mobility. As Sundip [R2] noted:

“in the early days [of in-migration], that’s the way they’d integrate themselves, y’know, get the day jobs, y’know, and then once they get to know the area and get to know employers and ... usually, it’s friends of friends who then say ‘hey look, there’s a job going there, have a go’ ... and then it’s part of the dynamic of it as well, y’know, like if, for example, that same person has been here six months, has earned enough money, can go back to Portugal, and by that time, the Portuguese economy’s beginning to shift again, then they’ll have come and gone, as a lot of people from Eastern Europe have”.

Such experiences, it was claimed, were typical and added to the sense of precariousness in the area. Social networks in such circumstances were becoming both more important for transient migrants, who were looking for short-term opportunities, and yet paradoxically meant that individuals and groups living locally were becoming less connected.

These tensions were reproduced in claims that discrimination and diversity were interconnected. Some interviewees explained their exclusion from employment opportunities as directly resulting from the strong binding social capital that existed amongst certain groups, in particular certain ethnic minority groups. Given the diversity of Haringey’s business population, the patterns of discrimination that emerged were complex and did not fall into the false universalisms (*cf.* Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2006) that are prevalent in writings on segregation in the United States or

northern European cities. There are no clear distinctions between ‘host’ versus ‘migrant’ workers, for example, or simplistic racial divisions between ‘black’ and ‘white’ groups. However some local businesses exhibited preferences for workers of the same ethnic group, something which caused frustration for job seekers of another ethnicity. Darren [R45], a migrant from the Dominican Republic reported on his experiences of trying to get a job in the Tottenham neighbourhood:

“... there was this one shop and it had a poster up 'sales assistant required' and I went in there a number of times, handed in my CV - I never got anything back. And there was actually one time, I handed in my CV and then I went back out and then something came into my head to just watch what happened and the person actually put it in the bin, straightaway. Or, I would go in there, ask them about the sign on there and they won't speak English to me ... so when it came to applying for a job, it was literally, you don't want to apply in any of those shops because they're not gonna take you on because you're not like them, you're black”.

Darren [R45] went on to explain how his experiences reflected some of the local relationships between diversity and employment (in)accessibility and its longer term effects on a sense of self-esteem:

“... you just know you're not gonna get the job, or you automatically feel that you're not gonna get the job because ... unfortunately, I keep stressing on the Turkish and Polish because those were the instances that I had these experiences. You go in there and you just know, I'm not going to get the job... even if I got the job, I wouldn't be able to do the job effectively, a large majority of your customers don't speak English - I don't speak the language - why would you really hire me? And just the stigma that you'd get from it, and seeing your CV being thrown in the bin, when the sign's been up there for two weeks, it's a bit depressing”.

Strong English language skills, in this context, were actually not enough to support employability, as hyper-diversity makes the local labour market more segmented, in the form of ‘ethnic economies’ supported by entrepreneurs from the same ethnic or national origin. For instance Richard [R41], a trained cook who recently moved to Tottenham but had also lost his employment, reported that it had become increasingly difficult to find new work: *“I don't, I feel, I can actually feel it and see it when I walk into places. It's like, yeah. I'm not gonna get that job. I'm not gonna get this one. A lot of the times it's to do with my age as well”.* He argued that the prevalence of ethnic business and employment practices in the area had reduced his opportunities. He no longer possessed the ‘right’ skills for the labour market and felt excluded from the tight-knit ethnic firms that are taking a growing role in the area. Such findings reflect those of economists such as Ormerod (2015) who argue that immigration has had a damaging effect on the social mobility of existing semi and lower skilled workers.

However, for many low paid respondents, the main barrier to social mobility was less to do with diversity in the area, and more a combination of familiar factors, mainly housing costs, reforms to the welfare system, the high costs of living, and the availability (or lack thereof) of paid work. There was evidence of what Standing (2009) refers to as the ‘new precariat’ or a class of residents for whom insecurity and precariousness in employment (and to a lesser extent housing) has become a new normality. They work in jobs with ‘no past or future’, meaning that there is no prospect of career or skills development, promotion, or security. Additionally, as one community officer noted, recent regeneration projects had done little to change the lives of some of the local residents that he worked with (something we return to in Section 8.1):

“Right now, there's a lot of buildings popping up like mushrooms, a lot of regeneration projects, but you also see a lot of cuts in very vital areas of this area and those funds could be used to help people survive the recession because ... a lot of people in this area, they found work sometimes two/four days a week, precarious jobs so they are in and out of work constantly”.

One respondent, Jason [R38] an unemployed IT graduate, described his own situation in which he felt he had to give up his employment because it failed to pay a living wage. Regeneration and higher property values had made the situation worse:

“People do want to work but, like I said, they don't want to work and pay such and such's rent. I mean, when I was paying my rent, it was like I was just working to pay rent. I fell behind on the rent, so I had to quit my job and then there was a cap on the benefit, so yeah, I've gotta pay Council Tax now, before I didn't have to pay Council Tax - it's about £300 and something like that, but it all adds up, y'know. Everyone has gotta pay it now... Yeah. I feel like, now, I'm not gonna be homeless because the landlord, or housing agency, are not threatening me with a notice to quit because they're getting their money through the housing benefit, but the money I'm getting now is just ridiculous, £57 a week, it's crazy. So, I'm basically stuck in Catch 22 situation, umm, that's more or less it”.

As Rupinder [R48] noted, many of her neighbours faced multiple problems and had developed *coping strategies* to deal with their precariousness: “[they have] *poor access to jobs, well paid jobs [are] in central London [and] people cannot access them here, either they find only labour, or low paid jobs in Enfield and additional areas, that's how they get by*”. These difficulties have been compounded by relentless increases in housing costs, with respondents highlighting how some of these structural barriers limit their life chances.

Such obvious differences in employment and the reliance on welfare benefits between different groups represents an additional set of divisions between local residents and can fuel a sense of otherness and separation. One source of tension mentioned by several respondents has been perceived injustices in welfare support amongst different groups. Perceptions over deserving and undeserving welfare recipients and forms of entitlement have long been a source of contention in the UK. Some of the respondents felt that this was a clear dividing line between different ‘types’ of migrant and between those making a perceived contribution and those who are not. Lucy [R13], a Zimbabwean citizen summed up her feelings by claiming that:

“I am still a Zimbabwean Citizen. I'm not entitled to any funds in the UK so I don't get any benefits, which would help if I did. It makes me very upset and angry sometimes because I think to myself that it's in situations like these that, you know, not that I would like to stay in the benefit system but, to get a little bit of help, a helping hand. Because I pay my taxes, you know. I didn't come here with open arms, begging, you know. I did work and I just feel that a lot of Romanians coming into the country, part of the EU, and they come with, you know, huge load of kids, nine to ten kids per family, excluding the parents, ah, including the parent. And... huh... living here within two weeks they're in the benefit system, you know, they're cashing in four to six hundred pounds a week... huh... they're thieving”.

The presence of diversity raises questions of entitlement to welfare services and collective goods, with a tendency for some citizens and interests to highlight divisions between what Ahmed (2013) terms ‘willing’ and ‘unwilling’ migrants (e.g. between newly arrived migrants from EU countries and longer-term migrants from outside of the EU). Those not seen as ‘contributing’ to the economic vitality of the area were seen by some respondents as ‘bad’ migrants, reflecting increas-

ingly dominant national and city-wide narratives and public debates about those who show a willingness to ‘contribute’ to an imagined common good and those who are unwilling to do so and ‘take’ from existing welfare systems (see Raco *et al.*, 2014).

7.4 Neighbourhood reputation as an asset in upward social mobility?

The negative reputation of Tottenham, which for decades has suffered from bad publicity of its poverty, violence, and rioting was mentioned by several respondents. None of the respondents claimed that the language of territorial stigmatization represented ‘their’ own view, with many expressing attachment and pride in their neighbourhood (as discussed in Section 4.2). However many ‘took for granted that those negative external views of the neighbourhood were held by others. Carmela [R15], for instance, punctuated her description of the positive changes she sees in the area post-riots with an “*of course it's Tottenham still, we cannot forget that*”. One of the few respondents who spoke very negatively about the area where she lived (Kylie [R43], a social housing tenant in Northumberland Park, where large social housing estates are concentrated) mentioned how she felt its negative image influenced prospective buyers: “*I have the right to buy, but this is no good for me to buy and no-one really wants ... once they hear Tottenham, or Haringey, they don't wanna know, so it lessens my opportunity to move, really*”. Debbie [R5], an ethnically White British woman, also claimed that many of her friends were scared to visit her because of the negative reputation of the area and the co-presence of so many migrant groups. Another, Donna [R10], recounted that taxi drivers had refused to take her home in the past because they perceived the neighbourhood in which she lived to be ‘dangerous’ and a no-go area.

Others recalled experiences in which negative perceptions of Tottenham had limited their social mobility by restricting their employability in the eyes of potential employers. Lindall [R31], for instance, commented in unequivocal terms that coming from poorer areas of Haringey:

“... hinders you. I went for a job interview once, nice little job, this was in Enfield, and we spoke to the man in the place and when we told the man that I lived in Tottenham, he didn't wanna know and this is what I try to tell a lot of people, when you live in Tottenham, most of your stuff is limited, right. You might get little jobs in Tottenham, but if you get jobs in Tottenham, it's some really low paid stuff, so you have to go out and then when you go out, people wanna know where you're from and then they're like 'oh, Tottenham.' The stigma, innit. The stigma is that Tottenham's a bad place, them said they're all thieves and muggers and junkies and everything in Tottenham, so the thing spreads that way, so everybody's like ... people in Tottenham, you believe in it, to be honest, sometimes you don't even know who to trust out there?”.

Or as another Tottenham resident, Rupinder [R48] bluntly noted in interview:

“... of course if you come from Tottenham, you don't stand much chance in life...what can the youth expect from life? Not much...Imagine people living in this area, studying or going to the city looking for a job, how many chances do they stand of going there? Unless you have somebody inside to recommend you, nobody's gonna call you for an interview, that's how it is, recruitment is informal?”.

This sense of stigma and the perception that upward vertical social mobility was becoming increasingly difficult also recounted by Trevor [R32] for whom:

“Years ago, I would have said that if you lived in Tottenham N17, it had no boundaries. I would, unfortunately, today, have to say that the postcode is a problem for a lot of people. It's unfortunately, it's seen ... Tottenham ... we have some wonderful achievers, but Tottenham in

general is seen as a troublesome area, drug dealing, guns, knives, gangs, this, that, the other, it's got a horrific reputation that, to some extent, it actually deserves ... I would turn round and say that probably, 65 per cent of it is warranted - 'cos there is nothing down here, there's nothing, there's just nothing down here'.

Even those who had become socially mobile, such as Darren [R45], felt that Tottenham's negative national reputation continued to influence how they were perceived:

"When I went off to university, the first time, when I actually explained to anyone that I lived in Haringey, the first thing that would come out their mouth was the riots, did I live next to the riots, and, again because of my geographical location to the riots, that made it a bit tougher for me".

Other respondents noted that the problems facing individuals in the neighbourhood were compounded by strong local attachments and self-imposed limits in the perception of the geographical scale of potential employment opportunities. Hinting at the relative immobility and small territory of teenagers in low-income neighbourhoods due to 'post-code wars' (referred to previously in Section 4.2), Lequann [R44] stressed how these limited geographies and mobilities can restrict young people's prospects and sense of possibilities:

"Say, for instance, a kid that don't know nowhere apart from Tottenham, finally ventures out and meets new people and going to an environment thinking that could 'that environment actually be me'. Aside from actually being in Tottenham, you go to that environment, they're talking about stuff that you're actually interested in, apart from your friends going there and playing football, or playing video games and, when you come back to your environment, man, you look at things like 'mmm, maybe there's more to this, maybe I actually need to go out there and explore the world'.

Such findings reflect those of similar research in other deprived neighbourhoods in London (see Raco and Henderson, 2009). Rupinder [R48] reflected on the limits of social mobility in the Tottenham area and argued that local job creation was a particularly significant policy objective:

"It would be a lot better if people had those kind of access to employment here because the networks that exist here are not expanding outside these boundaries. People don't have boundaries that will stretch them all the way to Paddington, Chelsea, or any other well off area in London, they're limited now... to whatever's available here and beyond... they're cutting themselves very short and that is very sad 'cos that will act as a barrier. People will think 'oh, this is my support network, this is where I found my possibilities.' But those are very limited possibilities compared to what you actually would find if you could stretch your arm a little bit further".

Interviewees such as Darren [R45] also felt that their experiences of living in Haringey had made them aware of the multiple difficulties facing local people and the negative spiral between perceptions, realities, and political disengagement:

"I definitely think living in Haringey has hindered progression towards a lot of important opportunities, or life skills, definitely. And I don't think it's necessarily just Haringey, I've noticed a lot of working and underclass areas, some of the things in life that should be considered important just wasn't and that's because at home, or within the area, that's it, you live in an area where no-one votes, why are you gonna pay attention in politics for?"

However, such views were not shared by all respondents, particularly those already in relatively well-paid and skilled employment, or those whose identities (i.e. as older, white, middle class, female) allowed them to escape the worst ramifications of the stereotype of being ‘from Tottenham’ (i.e. young, black, working class, male). Julie [R47], for instance, argued strongly that in her experience,

“I don't really think living in Tottenham makes a huge difference... I think because of London being so expensive, people just live where they can afford to and the fact that you live in Tottenham probably doesn't mean much one way, or another 'cos there are some quite nice bits of Tottenham, there are run down bits of Tottenham. Unless you really know the neighbourhood well, you're average H[uman] R[esources] manager isn't really gonna be any the wiser”.

Or as a school teacher, Victor [R1], categorically noted, “No, it definitely doesn't, it doesn't hinder me in any way”. Others such as Lequann [R44] similarly argued that individual agency played a more important role than perceptions of stigma:

“I think it just depends on the person you are 'cos you can be that person saying 'I don't wanna send my kid to a school in Tottenham.' You send them to a different school, or you can be that person that 'right, I want my kids to grow up in Tottenham, I want them to know what Tottenham was like,' instead of saying to yourself like 'ah, this n'that' because sometimes, it's just based on your experience, y'know 'cos different people have different experiences. You can say that this person talking to me, in that type of way, so I kind of feel I should stay here, but it just depends on your mentality as well, actually, you're a weak minded person, or you're strong minded”.

7.5 Conclusions

Overall, this section has shown that the relationships between local social networks, place, and social mobility have some degree of influence on individuals in Haringey. It demonstrates that there is a growing emphasis on the building of support networks for younger residents. There are examples of mentoring and the provision of direct formal and voluntary support for young people. In some cases, particularly in lower skilled and manual occupations, there are also signs that social contacts and informal networks are helping people to access new employment opportunities. However, this section has also shown that bridging capital is relatively limited and that residents face significant barriers to the pursuit of greater vertical mobility, some of which are rooted in structural factors and explanations that go beyond the neighbourhood and the city (e.g. the UK education, housing and welfare system). The growing diversity of the area is not leading to new opportunities for our respondents, in fact in some cases it is raising new barriers and difficulties. It is, however, difficult to establish direct causal links between policy-related notions of social mobility and the views and perceptions reported in our interviews. There are some cases of upwards social mobility in labour market terms. However, the reality for many of our interviewees is much more complex.

8 Perceptions of public policies and initiatives

8.1 Introduction

Public policies play a key role in shaping urban environments and in facilitating (or reducing) forms of recognition, redistribution, encounter, and economic opportunity for resident populations. In cities such as London there are growing tensions between the discursive promotion of the city as a place of diversity and a tendency towards globally-focussed forms of urban devel-

opment and housing market dynamics that are encouraging mass gentrification and the displacement of diverse groups away from inner urban locations (see Imrie and Lees, 2014; Raco *et al.*, 2014). At the same time, as Kesten *et al.* (2014) show, it is at the local (Borough) level where some of the most innovative and inclusive policy and community-based initiatives are to be found, as policy-makers and community organisations establish pragmatic responses to the everyday urban experiences and practices of diversity. This chapter begins by exploring residents' perceptions and awareness of policy initiatives before highlighting the core priorities that they would like to see embedded in future rounds of intervention.

8.2 Perception and evaluation of existing policies and initiatives: what do residents know?

In line with the approach taken in our previous work on diversity policies in London (Raco *et al.*, 2014), and building on Fincher and Iveson (2008), we have distinguished between, on the one hand, policy initiatives specifically promoting recognition, encounter, tolerance and cohesion between 'diverse' groups; and on the other, more generic planning, regeneration and housing policies which contribute to the (re)distribution of economic, social and residential opportunities and have a significant influence on the existing diversity of the Borough of Haringey.

Perception of policy initiatives specifically promoting recognition, encounter, tolerance and cohesion between 'diverse' groups

A small number of respondents mentioned national UK policy on diversity and equality as fundamental to the positive changes witnessed in the borough over the past decades. Philippa [R30] argues that *"there is more of a serious approach to diversity [in this country] than, for instance ... in the 1950s and 1960s. They deliberately set up these Equality Councils, or community relations they were called, originally, and then they changed them into Race Equality Councils, but they deliberately set those up with people and they brought in a law, Race Relations Act, they brought in laws to make it illegal for people to discriminate on racial grounds, whereas I think in places like France, they still haven't brought in any law like that, quite honestly"*. Sundip [R2] also emphasized anti-discrimination legislation as key to improvements in Haringey:

"For me, the most important public policy thing that has helped me with my contribution over the 30 or so years, was the Race Relations Act 1976 because... I could say to a group of people, who may have been sceptical or reluctant, 'look, we've gotta do this because the Race Relations Act 1976 says you have to do it, it's the law.' And then I'd kind of add to it, 'but also, if you think about it as a good human being, it's also the right thing to do' and then, suddenly, I had a basis for taking the next step, so that, I would say, was the biggest thing. And the second thing, which is closely related to this, is what, in the official jargon, is called 'ethnic monitoring,'... it's a follow up on the Race Relations Act... if you accept that there are inequalities, how do you show how those inequalities are manifested and how do you correct them? And, in the kind of society that we have, kind of, western, liberal democracies, that kind of monitoring is really, really helpful".

Matilda [R26], another respondent, also noted that in previous decades the GLC [Greater London Council, which was abolished by Thatcher in 1986] *"worked very hard on diversity and equality in London, they had a big department that did it, I knew friends that had friends that worked there"*.

In terms of local policies and initiatives specifically targeted at fostering the recognition of specific groups, as well as encounters, tolerance and cohesion between 'diverse' groups, the majority of respondents were able to mention some initiatives which they had participated in, or had knowledge of: public events, festive and cultural activities organised in parks, public libraries,

youth centres and other public spaces to foster good community relations (e.g. ‘Our Big Gig’ which aimed to bring communities together through music; the ‘Big Iftar’ for Muslims to invite non-Muslims friends and neighbours to share food during Ramadan); artistic activities organised in community centres such as the Bernie Grant Art Centre or the Everybody’s Climbing Tree community centre; street markets; children’s fairs and park festivals (e.g. in the Lordship Rec). Several respondents emphasized the high number of activities aimed at young people (in the eastern part of the borough in particular), e.g. the Unity Radio (an internet radio station run by young people in Haringey), the Project 2020 music studio, the Haringey Shed (an inclusive theatre company in White Hart Lane including children with and without disabilities), sports activities and competitions in parks, the Exposure Magazine (a magazine by and for young people), or the Jackson Lane Theatre.

One respondent (Layla [R21]) noted how more emphasis seems to have been given to such activities and initiatives in the aftermath of the Tottenham riots: *“We did get attention after the riots... although not for long... Yeah, there was more money available, we certainly had the Tottenham Festival back, we had [laugh] you know, new lights up, we had things, a little bit of money went into the borough and there was a bit more effort to do stuff that brought the community together”*. Victor [R1] talked at length about his involvement in an initiative that attracted a lot of attention post-riots and was supported by the Council, the song initiative organised by the Gladesmore Community School. The children of this Tottenham School worked with their teachers and famous (often local) artists and musicians to release a song, *“Everybody Dreams”*. This included a flash mob video clip on the anniversary of riots, in which local traders and police joined the children on the street. The event was widely covered by local and national newspapers and TV news. Victor [R1] reports:

“... what I felt it did was build bridges, especially with our young people... the police were so heavily involved in terms of this project and their presence in this, it built bridges between them as well, so it got the kids involved in their community, involved with the police in a positive light... I think it was very beneficial and important for the community and a lot of people in the community know about our project because it was backed so hard by Haringey, it was unbelievable. It was in the ‘Haringey People’ [magazine], it was in all the Haringey newspapers, it was, literally, everywhere for a while”.

A small number of respondents mentioned initiatives that were discussed in Chapter 7 which had the combined aim of fostering social cohesion as well as promoting social mobility, in particular the ‘Young Advisors’ initiative (described in Kesten *et al.*, 2014). Such initiatives (focused on skills training, apprenticeship and access to unemployment) were seen as absolutely vital for young people in, for example, the deprived area of Northumberland Park: *“Projects like the Young Advisors, they allow young people to have access to actually try and do something and be taken seriously enough to actually do it, and then because of that, yeah, the community gravitates around it”* (Darren [R45]). Darren [R45] says that the initiative has improved respect and interaction between generations in the area where it was carried out, the Sandlings Estate, and with Eudine [R46], argued it has had a positive impact on the taming of the ‘gang wars’ between rival groups of teenagers and the wider ramifications of the safety concerns held by other young people on neighbouring housing estates in North Tottenham.

While all respondents who mentioned specific activities and local initiatives were positive about them, they often displayed a lack of knowledge or awareness about *who* exactly had organised, promoted and funded such events, with some confusion between activities organised by community groups (with or without funding from the Council), by charities or NGOs, or by the Council itself. One (new) resident wrongly assumed that such activities were always organised by the Council, based on her perception that in the eastern part of Haringey, *“people just manage to get*

by, they don't have the time to think about what they can do to improve the community, no, that's the Council's job" (Carmela [R15]).

Some respondents positively valued the interventions and public facilities provided by the Council over the years, such as Lucy [R13], who noted that such facilities in the area had generally improved over the 18 years that she had been there and that this had had a positive impact on her quality of life: "... government-funded, all these free activities, swimming, badminton, arts and crafts and it was only till then that I ventured and went there and realised that 'hang on! It's not so bad!' you know, there are positives about Tottenham and Tottenham is getting better and Tottenham library is beautiful". However a number of interviewees mentioned the recent cuts in particular local public services and programmes (either directly provided by the Council, or by non-profit providers which themselves might have suffered from cuts in public grants), and raised concerns about the impact this will have on social cohesion in their neighbourhood. Some impacts are already clearly visible. The closure of public toilets in some of Haringey's parks was seen as a major limitation by Georgina [R24] who also noted that the quality of such spaces has also declined. The closure of youth centres and the apparent decrease in activities offered for teenagers was mentioned by Abyan [R35]: "*just anybody that wanted to come, you just signed up ... they done good things like boxing... I think it was quite a smart ... a good way of keeping them off the [street] ... but, I don't think they do that anymore because I haven't seen anybody going to youth club for like two years*", and Lindall [R31]: "*we had those little social stuff that the Council and little organisations had, so we could go to church halls and stuff like that, play football, but nowadays, you don't have none of that no more, so you find now that the kids, they're growing up, they've got nowhere to go, so they're either home or on the street and then there's problem[s] because the law says they shouldn't be loitering*". This corresponds to the reality of severe and drastic cuts in youth services in Haringey, as well as in grants to specific initiatives (e.g. the Young Advisors) which have taken the back seat as a result.

Layla [R21], a former local authority officer, mentions the decline in public funding and Council-backed programmes for community development as problematic, and highlights the contradiction between the UK Central government's rhetoric of community empowerment and the reality of austerity politics:

"So it is left to people in places like Lordship Rec; it's left to kind of individuals. And I know that was kind of Cameron's Big Society, which you don't hear anything about, yeah. It was only four years ago, wasn't it? That was the idea that people should be doing it for themselves. But people don't do it for themselves unless they're supported to or enabled to, and I think that's what's been lost. There needs to be active work to encourage different communities to talk to each other and break down barriers in that way. I think that needs to be more of a priority".

Perceptions of urban regeneration and planning policies

Some residents expressed concerns at what they perceived to be a lack of attention and resources for the eastern part of the borough before the 2011 riots. Layla [R21]: "*I find personally I think that Tottenham in Haringey gets a raw deal; I think the poorer end – you know, we were the last part of the borough to get doorstep recycling.... And I have friends ... who live in the posh parts of Haringey and I feel, suspect a bit that the Council responds to those residents' concerns much faster than it does [here]*". Another respondent, who was involved in local politics for a few years, compounded that view, putting it down to the fact that most local elected councillors live in the (affluent) west of the borough. She however also argued that a lot of public funding was "*poured*" by central government (through previous national regeneration programmes which existed in England) into the eastern part of the borough over many years, but that there was little concern or monitoring about the specific use of the money and the impacts which such funding had on the local residents and their problems.

Several respondents from Tottenham, nonetheless, reported significant improvements in the quality of public spaces (streets, parks, lighting, cycle lanes, and transport links) and in feelings of safety, citing a drastic reduction in prostitution in the southern part of the borough, in drug-related incidents and violence in particular zones which were notorious for drug dealing, and generally in violent crime. One respondent Raj [R11] mentioned the Safer Neighbourhood Teams initiative from the Metropolitan Police (without naming it as such), which encourages cooperation between Ward and Police Community Support officers, and local residents of areas with problems of ‘crime and antisocial behaviour’.

Following the riots of August 2011, which started in Tottenham, and spread to other parts of London and England, the Mayor of London and Haringey Council commissioned studies seeking to analyse the ‘problems’ of Tottenham and propose regeneration strategies. Both reports (Mayor of London’s Independent Panel on Tottenham, 2012; Haringey Council, 2012) advocated large-scale regeneration through new developments to bring new businesses, developments and higher income groups into the area and to diversify housing tenure, argued to be too dominated by social housing estates. The Tottenham Strategic Regeneration Framework which was subsequently approved by the Council (Haringey Council, 2014) foresees up to 10,000 new high quality homes and over 5,000 new jobs created or accessed by 2025. In 2015, various documents forming the (legally binding) local plan were in the process of being amended to reflect those ambitious objectives for new development as well as the increased housing construction target (from 820 to 1,502 homes per annum) imposed on the Borough by the London Plan, the London-wide strategic planning document revised in 2014 (GLA, 2015). Most of the proposed growth is to be located in the eastern part of the borough, which is the poorest and has some of the highest densities. While all regeneration and planning documents hail the cultural and ethnic diversity of the area as something positive, the radical redevelopment plans which they foresee have and will have major impacts on existing patterns of diversity and social networks, particular in the eastern part of the borough. There is thus a stark contradiction between a celebration of diversity and the reality of actual housing and planning policy decisions which more often than not threaten it²⁶.

Some residents in Tottenham had a particularly deep knowledge of the scale and scope of local development and regeneration plans, particularly those who owned their own properties, those involved in or linked with residents’ associations, social housing tenants associations or other local initiatives and campaigns (e.g. the Our Tottenham network, see Kesten et al., 2014), or those affected by large-scale regeneration projects which entail the demolition of social housing units and existing shops or businesses. Views on the impacts, social and economic costs and benefits of such regeneration projects were divided.

On the one hand, some respondents were happy with the changes to the area brought about by market dynamics, private or public regeneration schemes; had no strong objections to regeneration plans; or emphasized the positive potential of those plans, because they felt that their area “*does need jazzing up a bit*” (Geoff [R34]). Some respondents expressed hopes that the regeneration would bring jobs for local residents, like Geoff [R34]: “*Something to attract work, that's something that's going down the right avenue because I know for a fact, locally, that there ain't a great deal of work locally around there, the people that are working, they're all travelling into central London... I suppose, when the regener-*

²⁶ Here it is worth noting that only few respondents talked about individual councillors or the internal politics of the Council with regard to those issues. One who did, by virtue of being closely familiar with it, underlined internal tensions between Labour councillors who have been divided over the type of urban regeneration to be advocated by the Council – the ‘New Labour’ side promoting the plans described above, against “*the old Labour side, who are saying 'no, this is basically social cleansing'*”.

ation starts, that will certainly be a pain in the backside, [but] that is work in the area, int' it... I suppose that is gonna bring work into the area". One resident noted that the opening of a big Sainsbury supermarket did create jobs for several local residents whom he knows, which he saw as very positive (Lequann [R44]).

A small number of respondents referred to gentrification in the eastern part of the borough²⁷, where the first signs of the process have become increasingly visible in recent years. Some of these respondents could be labelled, due to their characteristics, as pioneer gentrifiers, and welcomed the beginning of some degree of gentrification, in particular respondents who had bought property in areas such as Tottenham Hale: "Yeah, I think there is, but I think saying no to things isn't necessarily the way of stopping gentrification, personally... I think sometimes you have to work with things, and that actually people do want nice things, they don't want to live in a rundown area". In that sense some respondents welcomed the changes in the retail and catering offer which has accompanied the post-riot transformation of Tottenham, as discussed in Section 5.3. One 'gentrifier' respondent who had bought property in Tottenham expressed a crude view on the social costs of regeneration and gentrification processes: "I think it's gonna be better... Things will be probably more expensive, but now I think okay, I don't care because I'm in (laughs)... So if everything goes up, prices of houses go up, it doesn't affect me" (Valencia [R49]). She went on to state that those who could no longer afford to be in the area "kind of move on", including some of the homeless and unemployed who were perceived to 'loiter' in areas around the station interchange. In the longer run she felt that this would lead to "a clean-up of like people, junkies or something because they will not have a place anymore for that, and also because there will be more people interested, investors, or something, obviously, they don't want those people, so they make sure that ... they have ways of removing those people away from here... So I think that it will change, but for the better".

This was an extreme view, the exception rather than the norm. A long-term resident and home owner, John [R9], stated: "I've got no interest in the fact that the value of my house has gone up 'cos it's no use to me whatsoever and it means that people can't afford to live in the area because they can't afford to buy and they can't afford to rent... rental rates have gone up to stupid figures, I don't know what governments can do about that, very difficult to know, but I don't like it". Other home owners who talked about gentrification (potentially being the beneficiaries of it), emphasized that they didn't want too much of it, as expressed by Margaret [R4]:

"I mean, I can see it happening... definitely in the last couple of years, really quite quickly in the last couple of years, it's like 'oh ... there's people here that I don't, sort of, y'know ... a type that I haven't seen many of... I think it can be damaging, I think it is trying to create a balance because I think (pause) I think it is good, y'know, to have different kinds of people all mingling, rather than, y'know, ghettos of rich people and poor people and stuff, umm ... I do think you need a bit of a mixture 'cos otherwise, it just becomes (pause) something a bit, kind of, unreal really".

Debbie [R5] also stressed "... I don't wanna have to walk down a street where everyone looks like me and everyone has the same view of me and all the music that is being played is all the same as mine, like this is so much better when there's multiple views and multiple identities around".

The loss of (private) housing appropriate for low and middle income families was mentioned by several residents (of very different class and socio-economic profile), east and west of the borough, as a key concern. As discussed in Section 4.4, this is happening through several processes:

²⁷ The western part of the borough has always been more affluent or subject to much earlier waves of gentrification.

the conversion of single houses into flats or houses in multiple occupations (in particular in the eastern part of the borough), or in the wealthier, western part, the purchase of houses by “*super-rich*” foreign investors or absentee landlords. Several respondents expressed concern about the practices of rogue or absentee private landlords, who let houses in poor state to newly arrived migrants with poor English and do not maintain their property, with concerns both for the welfare of the people who were the victims of such practices, but also on the impact on next door neighbours and generally the sense of community of an area. More generally, some respondents (e.g. Victor [R1]) specifically mentioned how many areas of the borough had become less affordable and suitable for families with children. New residential development schemes were perceived as creating small and inflexible forms of housing for professional people and ‘empty-nesters’ with disposable income and ignoring the needs of other groups.

A significant number of respondents – cutting across class, income levels and tenure types – thus expressed major concerns about the social costs of regeneration plans and the threats to the existing community bonds, character and diversity of the eastern part of the borough. They questioned the nature, pace and targeted audience of regeneration schemes which focus on attracting external residents and investors. Their concerns included, first, the impacts of regeneration on existing social and economic infrastructure, i.e. the loss of independent shops and small businesses; the closure or demolition of community facilities (e.g. youth centres) and community assets (e.g. pubs or post offices); the loss of green and open spaces to new development. Philippa [R30], who has been involved actively for years in campaigns around planning, housing and environmental issues, mentioned the campaign, since 2003, to save Wards Corner, a Latin-American indoor market in Seven Sisters threatened by the large-scale scheme of a developer backed by the Council and Transport for London. An alternative community plan was produced to save the market. She also mentioned the campaign to save the site of St Ann's Hospital from massive re-development, and other campaigns to save community-run centres under threats of eviction from the buildings which they have rented from the Council for decades.

Second, the lack of affordability of the newly built developments, changes in the quality of the urban fabric through an increase in high-rise buildings in a city generally characterized by a low rise streetscape, and the demolition of valuable social housing units to make way for contentious major developments were key topics of concerns mentioned by several interviewees. Some residents directly affected by recent regeneration proposals, such as Julie [R47], were highly critical of the Council's plans for the redevelopment of Council housing estates through part-demolition and tenure diversification. Some social housing tenants speak about the poor state of their home, mentioning that the (previous) ‘Decent Homes’ improvement programme had not affected them and felt “*let down by the Council*” (Eudine [R46]), although many promises for improvements had been made in the past. They defended the right for social housing tenants to stay put in the area they called home, and complained that the existence of social housing was presented as a problem by the authorities: “*This area has lots of social housing, rather than say 'let's improve the social housing and keep it,' it's more about breaking it up and treating it, in itself, as though there is something wrong with social housing*” (Julie [R47]). Several respondents talked about forced displacement. Philippa [R30] thought “*it looks like they're trying to throw out the poor people and bring in the richer people*” – and expressed serious doubts about the promises made to relocate the displaced population post-redevelopment (“*... well, they say they're going to put them back, but the leaseholders, the ones who have bought their Council place, they will have the problem because the only ones that they will relocate will be the ones with the social rent*”). For Julie [R47]:

“...the whole idea of regeneration, it's almost Orwellian in the way that term is being used because there are quite a few estates across London which are being regenerated, and what it seems to amount to, is the people who live on the estates are being shifted out, whether they're

tenants or leaseholders, they're not prestigious enough people to be able to afford to live in the new development. Where there is a token amount of social, or affordable housing in new developments, it's with poor doors, there's not enough to re-house everybody who lived on the former estate, so a lot of people get farmed out elsewhere. And you can almost see, you'll end up with the kind of French pattern of cities, with the Banlieue further out, and the more prosperous people living in the middle, and that hasn't exactly worked in France. That links into welfare reforms, which are pricing people out of areas which had previously been mixed".

More broadly, a few respondents were very critical of the way in which the riots had been used to negatively portray Tottenham and justify the need for 'regeneration', which they saw as potential "social cleansing" (Julie [R47]) or "demographic cleansing" (Rupinder [R48]). They worried that existing residents would not be the beneficiaries of regeneration and would be pushed out to "suburbia", i.e. Outer London Boroughs (Enfield) or even outside London: "... get these people out of here, get reinvestment, shops, industry, offices, employment, build everything from scratch and all these communities that have been here since the end of the Second World War kick them out, send them to suburbia... They've been rooted here for so long though, they don't want to break those bond especially my street, if you see the way they communicate with each other, the older generation living on the street, if they moved outside the area, it would break their hearts" (Rupinder [R48]). One resident felt that the level of controversy generated by the dominant regeneration proposals for the area might even generate more social unrest (Lequann [R44]).

Some of the respondents who did not mention specific regeneration schemes or policies, perhaps for lack of knowledge about those, argued, however, that the changes they see around them in the eastern part of the borough do not seem to benefit local residents. Kylie [R43] states "Like now, all these new shops opening and Tottenham keep saying this regeneration thing, there's more jobs for local people, but I don't see it". There is a degree of anxiety and uncertainty about the future:

"What people need to realise is the big question is what's gonna happen after the regeneration? We're all going 'yeah, Tottenham's gonna be looking good, Tottenham's gonna be nice,' this n'that, but the big question is what's gonna happen? How many people from Tottenham will still live in Tottenham and how many people will reap the benefit of what's gonna happen?" (Lequann [R44]).

Finally, some respondents expressed a sense of frustration with the local authority which they perceived as disconnected from local people, their wishes and their needs. Some residents have been exposed to public consultation events organised by the Council in the past years (Jamila [R39], Layla [R21], Donna [R10], Julie [R47], Eudine [R46], Rupinder [R48]), and were uncertain, dubious or even highly critical of the nature and impact of such events. The one-way or sanitized nature of communication flows was mentioned by Layla [R21] ("they were a bit, you know, standard sort of Council people standing up and talking to you, and not a huge amount of people there"), and Julie [R47]: "... when there have been public events, and I've tried to ask quite direct, specific questions, what you get back is the party line... So, I said 'but you're talking about demolishing where we live,' and they don't actually answer that question and they talk about 'we're gonna create a public space, we're gonna do this ...' 'So, you're still gonna demolish where I live!' Not getting a straight answer is really frustrating, but that's what politicians do...". Some groups are, in any case, not reached by traditional consultation meetings, as Eudine [R46] stressed in relation to vulnerable people and older people, who are not "not coming to the meetings and they're relying on hearsay". Additionally, the perceived lack of impact of residents' voices was mentioned by several respondents: "I cannot tell you how many times, as a residents group, as a huge number of residents, we've said A, they do B... It's like, it never seems to make a difference, y'know, what we've said to them, or the kind of, y'know, our opinion, it doesn't feel like you're ever really heard ... these are their consultations, they have to do these consultations all the time, but they're total tick boxes" (Donna [R10]).

This has generated a sense of disillusion with participatory processes and a lack of trust due to unmet promises (*“what was put on paper by the authorities was not followed through so people have no trust”* (Rupinder [R48]), or a more aggressive/demanding stance in consultation events. One respondent mentioned the presence of *“community leaders, people that were part of lobbying groups and they have a long history with all the red tape and bureaucracy dealing with the authorities and they were the ones that offered more resistance to the dialogue because they knew, ‘we’d been here before, we’re not going down this road again, we know where it’s gonna lead up to”* (Rupinder R48]).

As a result, several respondents were tough in the words they used to talk about local authority officers and politicians - perhaps unfairly so, without mention of the severe constraints under which local authorities have had to operate in England in the context of severe cuts in their funding by central government and changes in their regulatory environment. A few respondents had a negative image of Council services as being *“small minded”*, risk adverse and not innovative, generating nonsensical policies (Donna [R10] mentions valuable trees being cut *“for health and safety reasons”*). Some respondents from the eastern part of the borough felt that:

“...the vast majority of Council workers, they don't even live here, but they work here, so there is a real disconnect between those that deliver the services and those that use the services... The people who are putting together those policies are absolutely disconnected from the life of the average resident. If you compare the social and economic backgrounds of people in Tottenham to other areas like Highgate, it's a different world, the struggles they face here on a daily basis, to survive in London it's heart-breaking” (Rupinder R48]).

Some expressed how their sense of disillusion with the local government has grown over the years: *“I’ve, suddenly, realised that local politics is for people who haven’t got anything else to do, really (laughter)... That sounds awful, but that’s what I think... The response sounds as if I don’t care, I think I care very deeply, it’s just the way it’s all set up”* (Margaret [R4]). *“I despair of local government in a sense... I’m not inspired by the people who represent us locally, but I will always vote, I will always turn out and vote, I have never missed an election ... I might be tempted to write something rude on the ballot paper, but I will turn out”*, Julie [R47] insisted, an attitude which contrasted with the disenfranchisement with local politics prevalent across England (where the participation rate at the local elections is typically low, 35.7% in 2014 (Rallings and Thrasher, 2014).

8.3 Policy priorities proposed by interviewees: what do residents want?

Using the analytical distinction proposed by Fincher and Iveson (2008) and used in Raco *et al.*, (2014) to analyse the primary purpose of urban policies - redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounters, it is possible to classify the various wishes and demands expressed by respondents as follows.

Redistribution

The need for more affordable housing and more regulation in the housing market

The growing lack of affordable and adequate housing was highlighted as a key problem by a number of respondents. As mentioned in Section 4.4, some respondents talked at length about the changes in the private rental sector and spoke about the need for rent control, and for more regulation of the behaviour of irresponsible landlords who exploit vulnerable individuals through high rents and overcrowding in poor housing conditions. Some also spoke of the need to stop or slow down conversions of single-family houses into HMOs. In that context, lenient public policies and regulations were seen as problematic. One respondent concerned with the loss of family homes and house conversions which favour ‘transient’ occupiers (see Sections 4.4 and 6.3) mentioned that the Council should be stricter in its award of planning permission to prevent such

conversions, but *“planning permission is being granted every time, no matter how many objections there are from neighbours as far as I can see, so I think the Council really does need to have a long, hard think about its housing policy”*.

Matilda [R26] also mentioned the need to enact stronger policies to support affordable housing at the London level, as well as regulations on the sale of house to foreign buyers: *“you could say 'no marketing of property outside of London until it's been on the market for a year here,' instead of as now, they start in Malaysia and China and Hong Kong because they can get the prices out of those people... if you had a strong authority in central London, they could do something about it if they wanted to and the present regime does not want to”*. One respondent mentioned the need for the government to seize the power to bring empty properties back into use, in particular those owned by rich owners as an investment strategy.

As was discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, the high level of rents in the private housing sector, and the fact that the UK has a system of housing benefits helping unemployed people to pay for their rent, actually acted as a disincentive for unemployed people to get into employment – an issue the Conservative government has been keen to address through the slogan ‘make work pay’: *“I live in a one bedroom flat, to be paying £980 a month is just ridiculous. I'm basically paying someone's mortgage for them and it's holding me back from actually getting a job. If I was earning £1,200 a month, I'd be paying £980 a month rent ... y'know, it's a negative approach to me, thinking 'oh, I'm just gonna be paying his mortgage' ... y'know, basically, it's like you're working for your landlord. That's how I feel, and that's how most of the people I know feel, so it just makes people feel like 'what's the point of getting a job?' So, they all stay on benefits, that's why the area's so negative”* (Jason [R38]). This has had significant impacts on processes of social cohesion and social mobility in the borough and is becoming a growing problem.

As mentioned in the previous section, a few residents spoke about their concerns with the selling off of Council housing or the redevelopment of Council housing estates through part-demolition and redevelopment into ‘mixed tenure’ estates, and want to see such plans stopped and Council housing protected: *“All this selling off of all the properties was a total disaster... how are we gonna run a city if policemen, firemen, nurses, doctors, street cleaners, cannot live and work in the city, and a city that is totally pushing all its people out, which is what we're doing, push out the poor, or push out the working class, push out the immigrants - well, what kind of city are we gonna have? ... to make a city that's gotta be a kind of a microcosm of society, we've gotta have all sorts of spaces for all different people... Paul, my neighbour next door, he's a wonderful contributor to society, when his place goes, he's gonna be pushed out”* (Janet [R7]).

Maintain and improve education and health provision

There is a strong desire on the part of many respondents for better infrastructure in Haringey, both physical and social. A lack of health care services across Haringey was mentioned as a problem by a number of respondents, and there is indeed a chronic shortage of GPs in the eastern part of the borough in particular. Education policy and encouraging access to further or higher education was mentioned, as well as initiatives also to support the upward social mobility of residents and empower individuals with a perceived lack of ambition, as expressed by Darren [R45]: *“a lot of people that I've come across, and I've seen, they seem to lack the empowerment within themselves and the drive within themselves to move from their situation, it's 'the government's doing this, the government are against this, the government are ...’”*. Rupinder [R48] pointed out that expecting outside investments into the area to create new opportunities for locals is not enough:

“I agree with that kind of argument that says people should come and invest in areas like this, to get infrastructures to improve people's lifestyles. Create jobs, not just industrial parks, you might need a clerk, or somebody to work in labour intensive positions, but create positions where qualifications are needed. This is a very deprived area, but you can find aca-

demics, highly qualified people. You can find doctors, like the coach for the British Cycling, you can find IT specialists, you can find people with good capital to contribute, but if they don't have any mechanism tools to support and to create something here, somebody must come from outside and contribute to that”.

Change to recent and current welfare reforms

Beyond cuts in public services, cuts in individual welfare benefits have also begun to affect residents in Haringey and the situation of a number of respondents has been negatively affected by the intricacies and impacts of recent reforms in the housing and unemployment benefits system (one respondent, for example, purposefully did not live with his partner so that she did not lose housing benefits). Some respondents thus mentioned the existing welfare measures and opportunities which they benefit from and do not want to lose in a climate of welfare reforms, e.g. Alice [R19] who spoke passionately in favour of keeping her ‘Freedom (bus) Pass’ which allows her to travel for free as a pensioner. Others, such as Lindall [R31], who had to rely on various forms of help and benefits, complained about the level of complexity, bureaucratic form filling and detailed, inflexible checks/tick boxing exercises which they have had to go through when needing assistance.

However, as mentioned in Section 7.3, the issue of perceived and actual welfare entitlements between different groups of residents had become a source of anxiety and tension for some long-term residents, who therefore wanted to see welfare reforms making the system “fairer” and more transparent. These divided views over welfare reforms reflect broader, intense public and political debates in the UK over the reform of the welfare state under a Conservative government.

Support entrepreneurship and local business creativity

Several respondents expressed concerns about corporate “chains... coming in and taking over neighbourhoods”, and highlighted the need for policies to protect existing businesses and independent stores from large chain supermarkets, or from large-scale developments such as the Tottenham Hotspur Football stadium. Others advocated the need to encourage a degree of change and diversification (e.g. in terms of new offer of cafés and restaurants for a more ‘middle class audience’) and welcomed the arrival of, for example, a Costa Coffee outlet in Tottenham. Some residents complained of the dominance of “betting shops and grocery stores and, y’know, chicken and pizza” (Donna [R10]) and questioned the past Council’s planning decisions in relation to high-street retail and commercial development: “there are six billion shops selling the same things on the high road, ... basically low quality, clapped out china and, okay, I understand that's someone's livelihood, and I'm not knocking that, but actually, we need a way to balance those things” (Zara [R27]). “If you walk down all the shops, there's about 400 hairdressers and about 400 fruit and veg shops, which are all identical and they're not particularly making a lot of money because they're, basically, in complete competition with each other” (Debbie [R5]). Donna [R10] suggested that current policies and regulations sometimes made it hard for individuals or small groups to develop the kind of activities, businesses or spaces that would be needed in their area. She mentions vacant shop fronts, and tells the story of two long-term residents (her neighbours) who tried to open up a pub on Philip Lane in Tottenham, and were reportedly denied permission to do so by the Council:

“They were trying to make this really nice pub and stuff and, y’know, instead, we end up with these kind of crappy places, but I really put a lot of that on the Council and, probably, y’know, to some degree, central government as well, for not kind of dealing with the kind of spaces that we need and responding to what the need is, y’know... When I first moved here, it was a pub called the Botany Bay, and it was a really dodgy pub, and then it went up for sale and that's when these guys were trying to create a nicer pub and now it's turned into one

of these ... like we need another grocery shop..., do you know how many grocery places we have?" (Donna [R10]).

Recognition

Real empowerment and genuine consultations with local residents

As mentioned in the previous section, a number of respondents expressed a degree of frustration and discontent over the consultation and public participation exercises ran by the Council. They wished the Council would actually listen to the views and needs of local people with regards to, for example, local planning issues.

Diversity and equality policies

A small number of respondents stressed that effective diversity and equality policies have to be implemented at the national or London-wide scale, because *"this is a big, metropolitan city, you can't really consider these issues in little tiny silos and the Boroughs are, to my mind, an artificial entity"* (Matilda [R26]). While major improvements in equality and recognition for ethnic minority groups over the past decades were highlighted by some respondents, others stressed the need for more improvements in giving a voice and representation for particular groups in decision-making processes and supporting their social mobility opportunities. One respondent, from a Somali background, stressed that:

"Somalis are still like trying to feel the way out to the system 'cos you never see a lot of Somali people in parliament, y'know, the big decision making. Even the Council, or working for Job Centre, you never see ... you see them doing their own businesses. Especially, the youngsters... You never find them try to interconnect with the real system like in this country. I find it like (pause) the system is like saying 'you're not ready yet to come and mix up with us'" (Abdi [R3]).

Spaces of encounter

As already mentioned in the previous section, several respondents were worried about the impacts of the cuts in public funding on particular initiatives, venues or community centres, many of which seen as highly successful in bringing communities together, and supporting safe and supportive spaces for vulnerable groups (see Section 5.3). A few respondents mentioned the need to maintain and increase support services for particular categories of (vulnerable) people: young people, women, or those from an ethnic minority background (Rupinder [R48]). There was also a concern that community facilities and assets were not being adequately protected from major changes in policy or from development pressures. Community gardens in Wood Green, for instance, face the threat of being paved over and turned into walkways by the local authority in the name of environmental improvements. Layla [R21] suggests that it is the Council's responsibility to organise or support more community events that generate cross-group encounters:

"I think the Council ought to do more, to try and – I suppose when I say integrate I don't know, I think it's difficult to talk about, there's always the expectation that new people come in have to integrate with the existing, but I think you can have two-way integration, you can have more things. I suppose how you do that is having community-type events, and we did use to have the community fair that happened in Bruce Castle Park, and now there's the other one that happens each year at Lordship Rec, and that is a way that sometimes you get out of your front door and talk to people who are not you're immediate neighbours. ... But when I went to their fair most recently I also found out about a south Tottenham community allot-

ment scheme down there, which I thought that might be quite interesting. I don't know if that brings people together. Those sort of things".

8.4 Conclusions

The interviews revealed that the vast majority of interviewees were aware of, and had participated in, a whole raft of activities and initiatives which foster recognition, encounter, tolerance and cohesion between 'diverse' groups, while not necessarily being aware of the actors and funding streams behind such activities. There were virtually unanimous positive views of such activities and initiatives, with some concerns about the potentially more exclusive or inward-looking nature of some of them (e.g. "*single ethnic-group focused community centres*"; middle-class-dominated schemes). Several interviewees expressed concerns and worries about the impacts of austerity politics and drastic cuts in government funding on these initiatives, which have had and will have detrimental impacts on the inhabitants of Haringey.

In terms of urban regeneration and planning policies, most interviewees praised the existing diversity of the eastern part of the borough, and agreed that it is important to preserve what makes Tottenham unique and vibrant in the process of (partly needed) regeneration and improvements to urban space. Some welcomed a degree of regeneration and gentrification because of the new jobs, retail and consumption opportunities, and physical improvements which they are perceived to bring. But a number of respondents who were aware of the planning and regeneration strategies currently favoured the Council and large-scale private developers were concerned about what we have termed (Kesten *et al.*, 2014) the planned 'diversification from above' embedded in official regeneration rhetoric (of the housing stock, of retail and business opportunities, and of the socio-economic profile of residents). The displacement of existing residents and businesses and the lack of housing affordability are a reality for many and a major source of worry. These concerns reflect similar developments, debates and controversies taking place elsewhere in London. Many respondents, however, did not bring up those themes in the interview, for lack of knowledge about plans for the area or unclear understanding of the scale of change that is in store.

9 Conclusions

In this report we have focused on the findings from 50 interviews with residents of Haringey in which we explored their experiences of living with hyper-diversity and how it affects their lives. We specifically interrogated the following questions:

1. Why did people move to the diverse area they live in now? To what extent has the diversity of the area been a pull-factor? Or were other aspects (such as the availability of inexpensive dwellings) a much stronger motive to settle in the present area? (Chapter 3)
2. How do residents think about the area they live in? Do residents see their neighbourhood's diversity as an asset or a liability? (Chapter 4)
3. How do residents make use of the diversified areas they live in? Do they actively engage in diversified relations and activities in their neighbourhood? To what extent is the area they live in more important than other areas in terms of activities? (Chapter 5)
4. To what extent is the diversity of the residential area important for social cohesion? Which elements foster social cohesion, which elements hinder the development of social cohesion in the area? (Chapter 6)
5. To what extent is the diversity of the neighbourhood important for social mobility? Which elements foster social mobility and which elements hinder social mobility? (Chapter 7)
6. How are diversity-related policies perceived by the inhabitants of the area? (Chapter 8)

Our general findings tally with much of the existing work on everyday living in London and how ‘*commonplace*’ hyper-diversity is for Londoners. It is also clear that attitudes to diversity reflect a high degree of *reflexivity* on the part of respondents, who in many cases see themselves as an important part of an area’s social mix. We concur with Delanty (2012: p. 335) who argues that in diverse and increasingly cosmopolitan societies we are seeing the emergence of new ways of thinking that are ‘*both an experience of reality – in the sense of a lived experience and measurable empirical condition – and an interpretation of such experiences*’. The outcome of these interpretations is the emergence of an ‘*empirically grounded normativity*’ in which ‘*universalistic orientations emerge from...the interactions of a plurality of social actors, who in encountering each other, critically engage with their situations*’ (Ibid, p. 336). This critical engagement, Delanty argues, emerges out of the ‘*logic of the encounter, exchange and dialogue*’ (Ibid, p. 337) as found in diverse neighbourhoods, workplaces, public spaces, and urban environments.

Our findings reveal much about these logics of encounter and the ways in which living in a diverse urban area involves day-to-day encounters and exchanges. Most of our interviewees were positive about living in Haringey and identified the ways in which diversity improved their quality of (urban) life and the neighbourhoods in which they lived. The area’s diversity is seen in relatively *banal* terms or as part of the backdrop to everyday life in the borough and in London as a whole. We uncovered evidence of deepening social networks amongst many different groups, a thriving civil society of associations and support groups, and strong preferences for mixed communities and the presence of spaces of (public) encounter in the built environment. There were widespread examples of both manifest and latent forms of neighbourliness and strong levels of informal support for vulnerable groups. As with the experiences of migrants elsewhere, the presence of existing socio-ethnic communities was seen as both a major pull factor for incomers and a source of cultural and well as material support. In many cases these support networks were reinforced by shared activities, such as participation in the Catholic Church, and/or similar lifestyles. Moreover, many of our respondents saw the diversity of their neighbourhoods in terms of mixed experiences of encounter. It was an ‘exciting’ place to live in which there were a range of different cultural practices and ways of living. Cafés, restaurants, and other accessible places acted as an important element in the quality of life of residents. Their diversity was often juxtaposed to the imagined opposite – a neighbourhood of blandness and ‘sameness’ that would leave many feeling uncomfortable and out of place.

There was, therefore, much evidence of positive recognition and a mutual evolution in cultures and identities. Many respondents also noted that the presence of different groups had led them to reflexively engage with their own sense of identity and lifestyles (*cf.* Delanty, 2012). There was also evidence of generational changes. It was common, for example, to find that children acted as a focus for encounters for diverse groups and were much more likely to establish networks with others.

We have also shown that perceptions of diversity are embedded in the *spatialities* of everyday living. The form and character of urban spaces have a significant impact on the types of encounter that take place. In parallel, place- and amenity-based associations and campaigns (described in Section 5.4) bring together people from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds who care about ‘place’ and ‘neighbourhood’, although certain groups are more active than others. However recent changes to the built environment have restricted the availability of accessible employment, goods, and services and this is having a disruptive effect on the everyday lives of many respondents. Some reported that their ability or the ability of close family members to remain in the area was being undermined by rising property prices and development pressures. The characteristics that made Haringey an attractive place to move to were under threat. Our evi-

dence adds to a growing body of literature that is documenting the broad-ranging social impacts of globally-funded property developments in London (see Imrie and Lees, 2014). Despite the *London Plan's* emphasis on mixed communities, the trend in areas such as Haringey is towards the creation of housing either for temporary residents (such as students) or wealthy incomers. Many respondents noted that their experiences were typical of London as a whole and saw them as part of the challenges that all citizens face when living in a fast-growing global city. But there is little doubt that Haringey is becoming a development 'hot-spot' and that, as discussed in Chapter 8, this is likely to have a significant impact on social relations in the area over the coming decade and beyond.

The presence of diversity also generated dialectical responses of both *security/comfort and anxiety*. Whilst many aspects of diversity, particularly its socio-cultural dimensions, were celebrated by respondents, there was also recognition that tensions between groups were emerging, based on the greater turnover of residents, language barriers, and intense bonding capital within particular groups. There was also evidence that (perceived) transient newcomers were seen as 'different' and as a disruptive influence on social cohesion and tacit expectations of good neighbourliness. This growth in anxiety elided greater diversity with feelings of insecurity and the partial breakdown of a sense of local order. At the same time, these anxieties were being reinforced by negative perceptions of the limited economic 'contributions' made by different groups and their entitlement to social services and welfare support. The visible presence in some neighbourhoods of marginal groups generated fractures and disagreements. Where associated with feelings of anxiety, recognition of diversity could quickly descend into polarised positions and a sense of individuals not 'pulling their weight'. Such perspectives reflect and help reproduce some of the politically-constructed views held by national and city-wide policy-makers about 'good' and 'bad' migrants (see Raco *et al.*, 2014), or 'good' and 'bad' citizens more broadly, in the context of austerity politics and welfare reforms.

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Appendix 1: List of the interviewed persons

	Name	Age	M/F	Occupation / Position in household	Income (per calendar month)	Ethnic background	Country of Birth
R1	Victor	30	M	Full-Time Secondary School Music Teacher in Tottenham / Lives with flat mate	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	Black British: Caribbean	UK
R2	Sundip	62	M	Semi-retired (public administration) / Lives alone	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	Indian	Malawi
R3	Abdi	42	M	Full-Time Train Ticket Office Clerk / Divorced and living alone	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	Black African: Somali	Djibouti
R4	Margaret	58	F	Part-Time & Self-Employed Dyslexia Support Tutor / Single lives alone with a lodger	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK
R5	Debbie	27	F	Full-Time Policy Officer / Lives with boyfriend	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK
R6	Greta	71	F	Retired nurse / Lives with husband	Declined	White Other	Netherlands
R7	Janet	65+	F	Retired Senior Research Fellow / Widow and lives alone (adult children left home)	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White Other: Polish/French	USA
R8	Ann	72	F	Retired nurse / Widow	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White British	UK
R9	John	65	M	Retired Computer Software Engineer / Single parent with teenage daughter	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White British	UK
R10	Donna	48	F	Self-employed Project Consultant / Lives with same-sex partner and 6 year old son	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White Other	USA
R11	Raj	35	M	Full-Time IT project Manager / Lives with mother	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	British Indian	India
R12	Mary	44	F	Housewife / Lives with 4 children and 2 grandchildren	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White British	Zimbabwe
R13	Lucy	30s	F	Unemployed / Living with mother and 2 children	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White Other: African	Zimbabwe
R14	Lena	35	F	Self-Employed Property Investor / Lives with husband and 2 children	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White Other	Poland
R15	Carmela	44	F	Full-Time Teacher / Living with partner and 18 month old baby	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	White Other	Spain
R16	Steve	54	M	Part-Time Cycle Coach / Living with wife and 2 sons (7 & 5 years old)	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	White British	UK
R17	Reha	60	F	Guidance Professional / Living with daughter	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	Other Asian	Guyana
R18	Anwar	36	M	Full-Time Project Worker & Administrator / Lives with wife and 3 children (10, 8 & 5 years old)	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black African: Somali	Somalia
R19	Alice	80	F	Retired Nurse / Single and Living Alone	Unknown	Mixed: Coloured South African	South Africa
R20	Ruby	57	F	Retired IT Programme Manager / Living with husband	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK
R21	Layla	53	F	Self-Employed Consultant / Living with same-sex partner	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK
R22	Monica	65+	F	Retired nurse / Divorced and living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black Caribbean	Jamaica
R23	Tamsin	25-44	F	Market Researcher / Lives with husband, 3 children and au-pair	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK
R24	Georgina	65+	F	Full-Time Teacher / 26 year old son lives with her	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	White British	UK
R25	Jade	28	F	Full-Time Manager at Physiotherapy Clinic / Living with mother	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	Mixed: White & Asian	UK
R26	Matilda	65	F	Retired / Single and living alone	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	White British	UK
R27	Zara	25-44	F	Charity CEO / Single and living alone	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK
R28	Leo	18-24	M	Student / Single and living in student accommodation	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	White Other	Netherlands
R29	Haydar	32	M	Student / Single and living in student accommodation	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	Arab	Syria
R30	Philippa	75	F	Retired / Widow, lodger living with her	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White British	UK
R31	Lindall	57	M	Unemployed / Living alone (children live with their mother)	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black British: Caribbean	Jamaica
R32	Trevor	58	M	Retired Parking Attendant and Union Shop Steward / Divorced and living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Other Mixed	UK
R33	Sharon	45-64	F	No Response / Lives with husband and 2 teenage children	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK

R34	Geoff	39	M	Unemployed / Divorced and living alone	(<£1,500)	White British	UK
R35	Abyan	22	F	Student & Part-time Retail Worker / Lives with mother and 3 siblings	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black African: Somali	Somalia
R36	Shane	27	M	Unemployed / Lives with mother and one brother (child who lives with mother)	€2,060-€3,435 (£1,500-£2,500)	White British	UK
R37	Dale	63	M	Unemployed / Living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White British	UK
R38	Jason	35	M	Unemployed / Single and living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black African	UK
R39	Jamila	45-64	F	Unemployed / Single and living with 17 year old daughter and 27 year old son lives alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Moor	UK
R40	Alan	59	M	Unemployed / Divorced and lives alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White British	UK
R41	Richard	52	M	Unemployed / Separated and living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White British	UK
R42	Dorota	22	F	Full-time Student / Single and living in student accommodation	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White Other	Poland
R43	Kylie	30	F	Unemployed / Single and living with her 8 year old son	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	Mixed: Jamaican & English	UK
R44	Lequann	23	M	Youth Worker / Lives with grandmother and her husband	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black Caribbean	Jamaica
R45	Darren	22	M	Full-time student and Part-Time Sales Advisor / Lives with parents	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black British: Caribbean	Dominica
R46	Eudine	49	F	Part-time receptionist / Lives with her 16 year old son	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Black Caribbean	UK
R47	Julie	43	F	Unemployed / Living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	White Other: British/Australian	UK
R48	Rupinder	35	F	Self-employed Translation and Crafts / Living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Indian	Portugal
R49	Valencia	45	F	Unemployed / Living alone	€2,060 (<£1,500)	Other	Mexico
R50	Alex	50	M	Freelance and Part-time Council Employee / Lives with wife, teenage son and daughter who has left home for university	>€3,435 (>£2,500)	White British	UK

Appendix 2: Map of Haringey Wards



(Source: <http://map-of-london.blogspot.co.uk/2011/09/haringey-map-region-political.html>)

Appendix 3: Comparing respondent characteristics

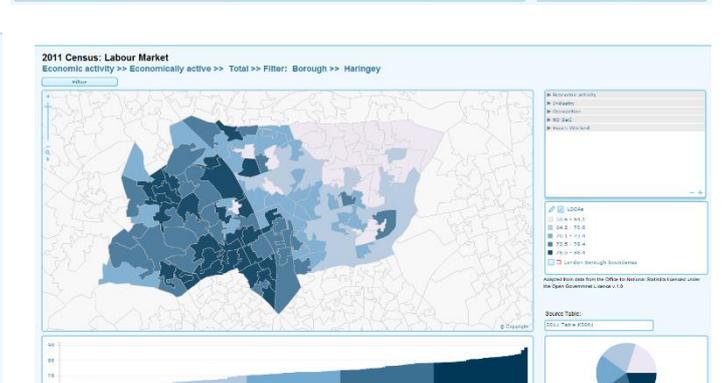
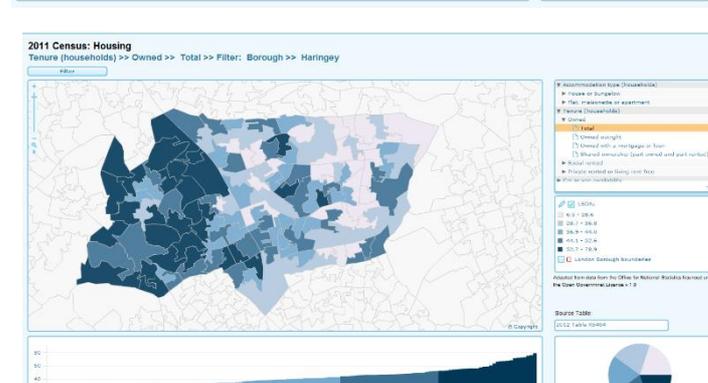
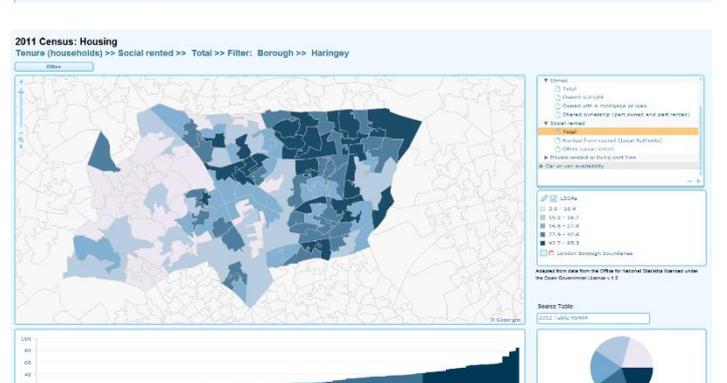
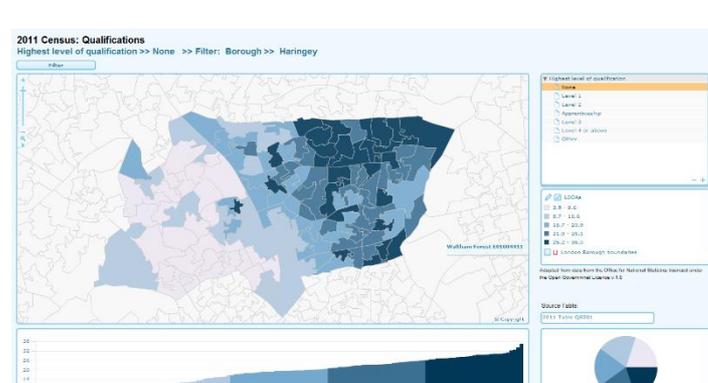
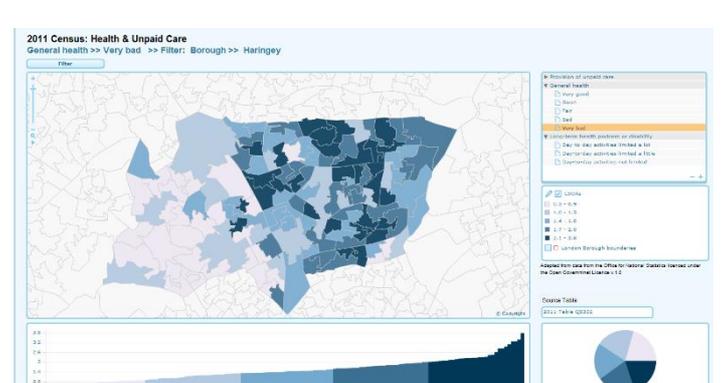
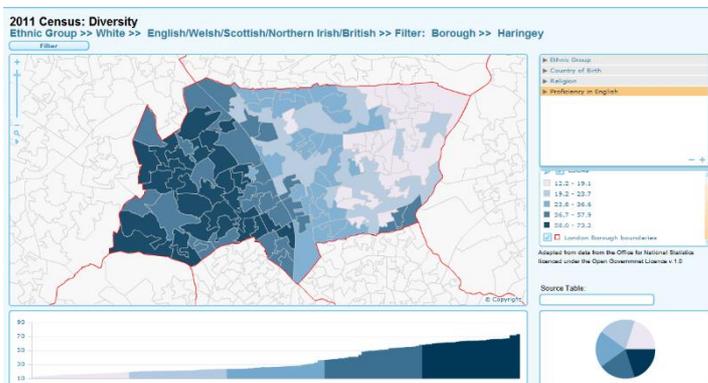
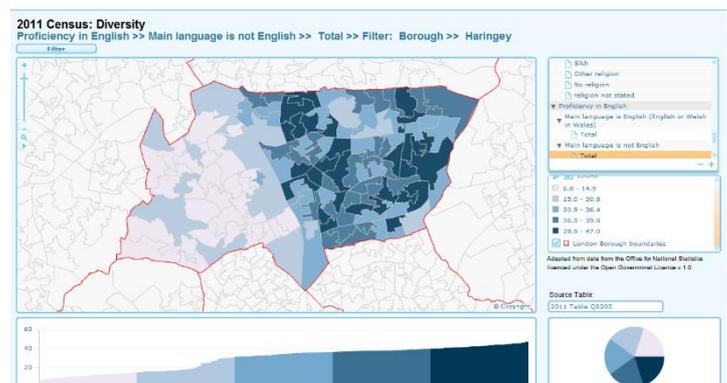
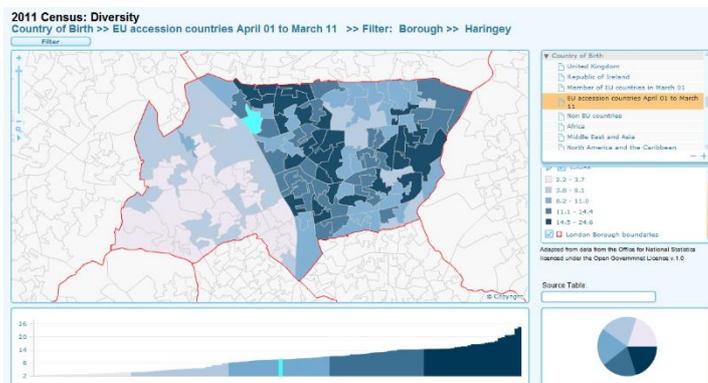
		Respondents (Total)	Respondents (%)	Haringey (%)	London (%)	England and Wales (%)
Gender	Male	20	40	49.5	49.3	49.2
	Female	30	60	50.5	50.7	50.8
Age	0-14	N/A	N/A	19.3	18.7	17.6
	15-24	5*	10	13.0	13.5	13.1
	25-44	19	38	39.0	35.5	27.4
	45-64	17	34	20.0	21.1	25.4
	65+	9	18	8.7	11.0	16.6
Ethnic group	White	29	57.99	60.5	59.8	86.0
	Black	10	20.0	18.8	13.3	3.3
	Asian	3	6.0	9.5	18.5	7.5
	Mixed	3	6.0	6.5	5.0	2.2
	Other	5	10.0	4.7	3.4	1.0
Place of Birth	UK	27	54.0	55.3	63.3	86.6
	EU	6	12.0	15.0	8.7	3.6
	Other countries	17	34.0	27.8	26.4	9.0
Religion	Christian	10	20.0	45.0	48.4	59.3
	Buddhist	0	0	1.1	1.0	0.4
	Hindu	2	4.0	1.8	5.0	1.5
	Jewish	0	0	3.0	1.8	0.5
	Muslim	3	6.0	14.2	12.4	4.8
	Sikh	0	0	0.3	1.5	0.8
	Other religion	1	2.0	0.5	0.6	0.4
	No religion	21	42.0	25.2	20.7	25.1
Household Tenure	Religion not stated	13	26.0	8.9	8.5	7.2
	Owned	22	44.0	38.8	48.2	63.5
	Shared ownership	4	8.0	1.5	1.3	0.8
	Social rented	15	30.0	26.8	24.1	17.6
	Private rented	9	18.0	31.4	25	16.7
Level of education	Living rent free	0	0	1.5	1.3	1.4
	No Qualifications	1	2.0	17.8	17.6	22.7
	Level 1 & 2 qualifications	3	6.0	18.8	22.5	28.6
	Apprenticeship	2	4.0	1.0	1.6	3.6
	Level 3 qualifications	5	10.0	9.6	10.5	12.3
	Level 4 and above	32	64.0	40.8	37.7	27.2
	Other Qualifications	7	14.0	12.0	10.0	5.7

*(18-24 since we did not interview anyone under the age of 18) (Source: 2011 Census data, Office of National Statistics, Author's own elaboration)

Education Levels Explained

- 'No qualifications': No academic or professional qualifications.
- 'Level 1 qualifications': 1-4 GCSEs or equivalent
 - 1-4 O Levels/CSE/GCSEs (any grades), Entry Level, Foundation Diploma, NVQ level 1, Foundation GNVQ, Basic/Essential Skills.
- 'Level 2 qualifications': 5+ GCSEs or equivalent
 - 5+ O Level (Passes)/CSEs (Grade 1)/GCSEs (Grades A*-C), School Certificate, 1 A Level/ 2-3 AS Levels/VCEs, Intermediate/Higher Diploma, Welsh Baccalaureate Intermediate Diploma, NVQ level 2, Intermediate GNVQ, City and Guilds Craft, BTEC First/General Diploma, RSA Diploma.
- 'Apprenticeship': Apprenticeship.
- 'Level 3 qualifications': 2+ A-levels or equivalent
 - 2+ A Levels/VCEs, 4+ AS Levels, Higher School Certificate, Progression/Advanced Diploma, Welsh Baccalaureate Advanced Diploma, NVQ Level 3; Advanced GNVQ, City and Guilds Advanced Craft, ONC, OND, BTEC National, RSA Advanced Diploma.
- 'Level 4 qualifications and above': Degree level or above
 - Degree (for example BA, BSc), Higher Degree (for example MA, PhD, PGCE), NVQ Level 4-5, HNC, HND, RSA Higher Diploma, BTEC Higher level, Foundation degree (NI), Professional qualifications (for example teaching, nursing, accountancy).
- 'Other qualifications': Vocational/Work-related Qualifications, Foreign Qualifications/Qualifications gained outside the UK (NI) (Not stated/level unknown).

Appendix 4: Mapping the East-West divide in Haringey



(Source: Maps based on data from the 2011 Census, <http://data.london.gov.uk/datastorefiles/visualisations/atlas/2011-rate-diversity-LSOA/atlas.html>)

