DIVERCITIES
governing urban diversity

Dealing with Urban Diversity
The Case of London

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

This report has been put together by the authors, and revised on the basis of the valuable comments, suggestions, and contributions of all DIVERCITIES partners.

The views expressed in this report are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

A digital version of this report is available on the DIVERCITIES website: http://www.urbandivercities.eu

In memory of Ronald van Kempen

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PREFACE

This book is one of the outcomes of the DIVERCITIES project. It focuses on the question of how to create social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in today's hyper-diversified cities. The project's central hypothesis is that urban diversity is an asset that can inspire creativity, innovation and make cities more liveable and harmonious.

Headed by Utrecht University in the Netherlands, DIVERCITIES is a collaborative research project comprising 14 European teams. There are fourteen books in this series, one for each case study city. The cities are: Antwerp, Athens, Budapest, Copenhagen, Istanbul, Leipzig, London, Milan, Paris, Rotterdam, Tallinn, Toronto, Warsaw and Zurich. This book is concerned with London. The texts in this book are based on a number of previously published DIVERCITIES reports, available online at www.divercities.eu.

And finally we would also like to dedicate this book to the late Professor Ronald van Kempen (1958-2016) of Utrectht University without whom this research project would not have been possible.

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1 DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY: AN INTRODUCTION[1]

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This book examines the relationships between growing economic, social, and cultural diversity in London and the city's planning, governance, and development. It explores the ways in which debates over 'diversity' have been framed in political narratives at the city and local authority levels and how emerging agendas relate to broader national and international policy trends. London is the most ethnically, culturally, and economically diverse city in the EU. The 2011 census revealed a total population of 8.17 million, out of which 2.6 million were born outside of the UK. 55% of the UK population now define themselves as *other than White British* (this includes both residents who hold a foreign passport and British citizens from Black and minority ethnic 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 nationals[2]. It has subsequently been described as *'the world within a city'* (GLA, 2005) and the most *'cosmopolitan place on Earth'* (Vertovec, 2007). In terms of socio-economic diversity, levels of inequality in London are strikingly high, comparable with cities in the Global South. Dorling (2010) shows that the richest 10% of London's residents have 273 times the income and assets of the poorest 10%. Although London is one of the richest cities in the world, one in four Londoners (28%) live in households that are in poverty (after housing costs)[3] compared with the UK figure of 22%, meaning more than two million Londoners are in poverty (Leeser, 2011). Half of those in poverty are in working households. It is, therefore, a truly hyper-diverse city and one in which policy-makers, planners, politicians, and civil society groups have given significant attention to broader questions of diversity. Any attempt to promote enhanced competitiveness, cohesion, and social mobility is directly confronted with the relatively extreme opportunities and challenges related to diversity that are found in the city.

The term diversity has been used with increasing regularity since the mid-1980s, when it first appeared in American corporate management literatures and writings on the politics of recognition and social justice (see Ahmed and Swan, 2006; Young, 1997). Writers such as Vertovec (2007) now claim that, in the wake of decades of globalisation, processes of diversification have taken on unprecedented levels. So-called *'super-diverse'* cities have emerged in which the co-presence and juxtaposition of different social and cultural groups has created new governance challenges and opportunities. According to official figures 20.7 million people living in EU Member States were born outside of the European Union and a further 13.6 million hold citizenship rights in another country (Eurostat, 2014: p.1). Most of these live in

urban areas, as do the vast majority of illegal migrants. Urban policy-makers, it is claimed, face growing challenges in both catering for the needs of diverse populations and in ensuring that broader policy objectives, such as the promotion of economic growth, social cohesion, and a politics of inclusion continue to be met (see Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013). This book explores, in detail, the ways in which policy-makers at different levels have sought to respond to these challenges and with what effects for people and places.

The research which underpins this study draws on in-depth interviews, policy analysis, surveys, and observations from across London, allied to in-depth work in the specific case of the borough of Haringey. Almost two-thirds of the Borough's population of 254,000, and 70% of its young people, are from ethnic minority backgrounds, and over 100 languages are spoken[4]. Haringey's population is the fifth most ethnically diverse in England. The area grew in the 19th and 20th centuries as London's boundaries expanded. It was formally constituted as a London borough in the city's re-organisation in 1965 and the creation of Greater London. It is a place of exceptional diversity and includes some of London's most affluent neighbourhoods, such as Highgate and Muswell Hill, as well as some of its most deprived, such as Tottenham. Local authority policy narratives have promoted the presence and attraction of migrants as an asset since the 1980s and seen the different cultural attributes of its residents as one of the defining features of the borough (see Cant, 2014). As with much of central London, the last decade has witnessed the growth in significant housing market pressures and the ever-present threat of gentrification and community displacement (see Chapter 2).

In our discussion we will draw on these definitions or core concepts: *Diversity* is defined as the presence or coexistence of a number of specific socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural groups within a certain spatial entity, such as a city or a neighbourhood. We want to pinpoint how diversity relates to the social cohesion and social mobility of residents and the economic performance of entrepreneurs. *Social cohesion* can, in a very general way, be defined as the internal bonding of a social system (Schuyt, 1997). *Social mobility* refers to the possibility of individuals or groups moving upwards or downwards in society, for example, with respect to jobs and income (and status and power) while *economic performance* is concerned with the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs. *Governance* is seen as short-hand for a range of partnerships on different spatial and policy levels, leading to a certain goal. In subsequent chapters we will flesh out these basic descriptions empirically and conceptually.

1.2   THE PURPOSE OF THE BOOK AND SUMMARY OF KEY ARGUMENTS

The purpose of this book is two-fold. First, using the case of London and Haringey we explore the ways in which the term *diversity* has been converted into an object of governance and embedded directly and indirectly into urban and social policy programmes and modes of intervention. We assess the broader 'politics of diversity' that has emerged and the multiple ways in which it has co-opted and given meaning by different institutions and actors across

and within the city. Second, we examine some of the bottom-up uses and understandings of the term through an assessment of: local projects that draw explicitly on different aspects of diversity; the views and perceptions of diversity amongst residents living in diverse neighbourhoods; and the impacts of urban and social policies on the diversity of local economies and entrepreneurialism. In a final section, we also reflect on the policy implications of our work.

Collectively, the book will develop the following arguments:

- Governance arrangements for diversity in London are underpinned by 'radical ambiguities' between competing demands at all scales (see Žižek, 2011). The main axis of ambiguity has been over the broader urban policy objective of fostering divisive internationally-led economic growth on the one hand, which has exacerbated and reinforced social and spatial divisions in the city, and the requirement to meet broader social and policy objectives relating to social order and cohesion, on the other. We show that the primary attempt to resolve these ambiguities is found in the deployment of the term diversity as a consensual construct that is celebrated as a 'good' thing and on which all can agree (see Swan, 2008). This takes place primarily at the city level but is also evident in the agendas of development and planning agencies at all scales. London's diverse population is 'pragmatically embraced', celebrated and commodified in dominant urban and planning policy strategies. It is an approach that is justified as being both morally progressive and grounded in a 'hard-headed' understanding of the needs of a competitive economy in an era of enhanced globalisation.
- Top-down readings of diversity give relatively little recognition to growing economic and political inequalities between citizens and groups in London, whilst also legitimating forms of urban development that enhance segregation and division between different social and cultural groups, and threaten the existing socio-economic diversity of neighbourhoods by pushing out low-income groups or marginal, but essential, economic activities.
- However we also show that it is at the *local* level, in diverse places such as Haringey, that some of the most significant attempts are being made to develop more progressive and purposeful community and social initiatives, as well as policy interventions. In many cases these are having real qualitative and quantitative impacts on people's lives and are helping to overcome some of the fundamental policy ambiguities found at higher policy-making levels. We highlight some of the most significant and influential bottom-up projects in the borough and the lessons that can be learned from their experiences and delivery.
- The dominant perspective amongst interviewed residents is one of positivity towards the presence of diversity. For many, socio-cultural diversity has become an everyday feature associated with living in London (and Haringey) and something that is broadly welcomed and encouraged. At the same time, there are signs of growing social tensions in parts of Haringey and clear processes of 'othering' taking place for which recently arrived migrants were often blamed. Regeneration programmes and growing economic and material divisions within local communities and urban spaces are also adding to the pressures encountered by residents. There was much criticism of a perceived disconnect between top-down policy

narratives and interventions to promote diversity and everyday, bottom-up, activities and lifestyles threatened by changes in the housing markets and built environments of London.

- Finally, our work shows that some of the core features of the urban environment that support ethnic and small business entrepreneurs, such as affordable and available commercial spaces, are disappearing as development programmes seek to attract new forms of global capital, employment, and activity. Attempts to bring about a greater 'diversity' in the economic base of urban areas in London is being equated with major schemes and this, paradoxically, is helping to erase smaller firms and entrepreneurs. As we show in Chapter 5, this is having a disproportionately large impact on ethnic entrepreneurs and the ability of small business entrepreneurs to create jobs and opportunities for social mobility.

1.3 DIVERSITY AND ITS EFFECTS: SOME KEY ARGUMENTS[5]

1.3.1 From super-diversity to hyper-diversity

Coined by Steven Vertovec (2007), super-diversity refers specifically to western cities with increasing ethnic diversity, and to the demographic and socio-economic diversity between and within these ethnic groups. Vertovec (2007, p. 1024) talks about '… the dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade'. As such, Vertovec recognises the enormous diversity within categories of immigrants.

We go one step further, and will use the term *hyper-diversity*. With this term we will make clear that we should not only look at diversity in ethnic, demographic and socioeconomic terms, but also look to the differences that exist with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. We will contend that such differences are important, for example, when explaining social cohesion or social mobility. People belonging to the same social or ethnic group may display quite different attitudes with respect to school, work, family, and towards other groups. They may have very different daily and life routines. Some adolescents and adults may exhibit extensive daily mobility patterns that stretch all over the city and even beyond, while others may remain oriented within their own residential neighbourhood. While the sphere of daily interaction of a White British resident may, in some cases, be restricted to his or her immediate surroundings, their foreign-born immigrant neighbours may be more mobile with respect to social and professional relations and vice versa.

Hyper-diversity thus refers to an intense diversification of the population in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan Kok *et al.*, 2014). The term makes clear that we should look at urban diversity in a very open way. Hyper-diversity refers to a significantly more complex situation than super-diversity, because the concept contains more variables, which leads to more involved interactions between these variables. The term hyper-diversity takes account of the fact that, for example, a group of poor, young

Indian-born men living in a London neighbourhood may at first sight be considered as a very homogeneous group. However, upon closer inspection, the same group may actually be very heterogeneous in terms other characteristics, beliefs or identities, or in terms of practices and lifestyles. For example, some men in this group may like watching sports on television at home; another part of the group's main activity may involve intensive contact with family in India (by email, Skype, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.); and a third group may enjoy hanging around on the neighbourhood square where they mainly interact with native Londoners.

Why should we pay attention to such immense diversification? In our opinion, the implications of the recognition of hyper-diversity force us to look differently at the possibilities to live together in a city or a neighbourhood. Mixing groups within a neighbourhood – for example, in terms of income or ethnic descent – may lead to physical proximity of these groups, but because they have different lifestyles, attitudes and activities, these people may actually never meet. Policies aimed at traditional categories such as 'the' poor or specific ethnic or age groups without taking into account the immense diversity in such groups or categories, are too simplistic and probably doomed to fail. Policies aimed at improving the social cohesion in neighbourhoods will not work when the hyper-diversity of the population is not considered. Traditional policy frames often stick to stable and sharply delineated population categories or to specific neighbourhoods in a city and thus ignore the hyper-diversified social reality.

A *hyper-diversified city* contains increasingly changing forms of diversities. According to the literature, new forms of diversity are resulting from many factors including: increasing net migration and diversification of countries of origin (Vertovec, 2007); increased levels of population mobility (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2007; 2011); the dynamic nature of global migration, new social formations in the city and changing conditions and positions of immigrant and ethnic minority groups in the urban society (Vertovec, 2010); transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants (Vertovec, 2007); new power and political structures, and dynamic identities (Cantle, 2012); and increasing heterogeneity of migration in terms of countries of origin, ethnic and national groups, religions, languages, migratory channels, and legal status (Faist, 2009).

1.3.2   Diversity and urban governance

Broader political processes have also, over the past 30 years, contributed to the increasing complexity and diversity of urban societies, in particular the shift to more *'entrepreneurial'* (Harvey, 1989) or *'neoliberal'* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, 2002b) modes of governance at different scales, which have often led to increasing socio-economic and spatial inequality, polarisation and segregation. Governance can be defined as a process of co-ordinating actors, social groups, and institutions to attain particular goals discussed and defined collectively in fragmented, uncertain environments (Le Galès, 2002). The transformation of urban, regional and national governance and of the role of the state over the past 30 years has been the object of a lot of debates in urban studies and social sciences more generally (see Le Galès, 2002, and Brenner, 2004). In European and North-American cities the implementation of

public policies has become more and more dependent on partnerships between the public and private sector. At the same time, there have been calls for the greater 'empowerment' of individual citizens and communities to take greater responsibility for their own welfare, as part of processes of transformation, retreat or reshaping of the state often described under the label of neoliberalization. This concept refers to two processes: *'the (partial) destruction of extant institutional arrangements and political compromises through market-oriented reform initiatives; and the (tendentious) creation of a new infrastructure for market-oriented economic growth, commodification, and the rule of capital'* (Brenner and Theodore, 2002b: 362). Universal welfare arrangements secured after WWI in many European countries have been questioned, transformed or dismantled.

Ostensibly, during the 2000s there was a convergence in urban policy and planning agendas in cities across the world with a move towards, what Beck (2002) has termed, the individualisation of society, or a *'sub-politics'* characterised by less direct forms of state intervention and greater individual and community autonomy. The adversarial class politics of the post-WWII period has been replaced, it is argued, by a new 'post-politics' founded on consensus-building, collaboration, and a more powerful role for active individuals and communities. For authors such as Beck (2002), Giddens (1994; 2002; 2009) and Held (2010) changes are an inevitable consequence of structural social shifts in which individuals and communities no longer identify themselves through the restrictive prisms of class identities and adversarial left/right politics. This is particularly relevant in cosmopolitan, hyper-diverse EU cities with their outward-looking populations and economies. Questions of governance have become increasingly complex and governments look for possibilities to tackle the growing divisions between shrinking institutional capacities (partly as a consequence of deliberate austerity measures) and a growing diversity of the needs of an increasingly diverse population.

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2011 Euro crisis, governments across the EU have put in place austerity agendas seeking to reduce the size of the state and to make governance arrangements more flexible and diverse. In the UK, for example, terms such as 'Big Society' took centre-stage. For advocates, such as former Prime Minister David Cameron, the shift away from state programmes represent a 'guiding philosophy' of government, in which a smaller state can act as *'a leading force for progress in social responsibility (…) breaking [open] state monopolies, allowing charities, social enterprises, and companies to provide public services, devolving power down to neighbourhoods, making government more accountable'* [6] Similar trends are happening in cities and countries across the EU in which governance is being re-invented as a participatory practice that opens up opportunities for policy-makers and citizens to engage in a process of policy co-production and mutual working (Mulgan, 2009; Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw, 2010).

And yet, little is known about the capacities and motivations of diverse urban communities to take on these new and expanded roles in cities across the EU. It is by no means clear that reducing the role of the state and of government institutions, necessarily improves either the

efficiency or the accountability of governance processes. Devolution to non-state actors can all too easily open the door to new forms of privatisation that may bring more efficiency but at the cost of reduced democratic accountability and increases in socio-economic inequality (see Raco, 2012). Moreover, the extent to which existing institutional structures no longer 'work' and need to be reformed is a claim that authors such as Swyngedouw (2009), Ranciére (2006) and Žižek (2011) have challenged as a political-ideological programme that, in reality, seeks to attack welfare state systems across the EU and marginalise poorer and more diverse communities in cities under the discursive cloak of 'empowerment' and 'devolution' agendas (Mouffe, 2005; Crouch, 2013).

1.3.3   Diversity and social cohesion

In its most general meaning *social cohesion* refers to the glue that holds a society together (Maloutas and Malouta, 2004). The concept of social cohesion is not only applicable to society as a whole, but also to different scale levels (city, neighbourhood, street) or different types of social systems, say a family, an organisation or a university (Schuyt, 1997). Kearns and Forrest (2000) identify five domains of social cohesion: common values and a civic culture; social order and social control; social solidarity and reduction in wealth disparities; place attachment and shared identity; and social networks and social capital (we will return to the concept of social capital in the next section). We will mainly focus on common values, on place attachment and on social networks.

There is fundamental disagreement among social scientists about the association between diversity and social cohesion. The common belief in significant parts of the social sciences is that despite internal differences, diverse, mixed communities can live together in harmony. Finding the balance between diversity and cohesion is not easy, but it is not necessarily an impossible nor undesirable mission (Amin, 2002). However, social scientists working in the communitarian tradition, like Putnam (2007), tend to see diversity and heterogeneity as a challenge or even an obstacle for social cohesion and cultural homogeneity as a fundamental source of social cohesion.

   This distinction between optimists and pessimists is also reflected in the literature on social mix policies (van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). On the one hand, policy-makers in many European countries see the stimulation of greater mixing across income groups and between ethnic communities as a means to create more social cohesion through social interaction (e.g. Graham *et al.*, 2009). On the other hand, many academic researchers tend to emphasise that diversity is often negatively related to cohesion. This conclusion is based on two types of empirical research. First there are studies evaluating social mixing policies, often carried out via tenure and housing mix interventions (either in a quantitative or a qualitative way), which usually focus on a small number of neighbourhoods, and which conclude that social mixing is more likely to weaken than to strengthen social cohesion in a neighbourhood (e.g. Bolt and van Kempen, 2013; Bond *et al.*, 2011). There are hardly any interactions between 'newly juxtaposed' social groups (e.g. Bretherton and Pleace, 2011; Joseph *et al.*, 2007). Secondly, there is a highly quantitative research tradition in which the compositional characteristics of neighbourhoods are related to

social cohesion. Bailey *et al.,* (2012) found that social mix in deprived neighbourhoods does not increase residents' feelings of area attachment. Their findings showed that higher levels of social mix resulted in a decline in area attachment – which is perceived to be one of the components of social cohesion – by the neighbourhood's dominant groups, which in their study were White respondents in professional and managerial occupations. Also, Kearns and Mason (2007) found that a greater diversity of tenure (as proxy for social mix) is negatively related to social cohesion.

Although there are many different types of diversity, most attention has been focused on the effects of ethnic diversity since Putnam's publication *E Pluribus Unum* (2007). There are divergent theories on the association between ethnic concentration and social cohesion (Gijsberts *et al.*, 2011). According to the homogeneity theory, people prefer to associate with others who have similar characteristics. It is therefore expected that people in heterogeneous neighbourhoods tend to have fewer contacts with fellow residents than people in homogeneous neighbourhoods. According to group conflict theory, people feel threatened by the presence of other groups. There is more distrust towards the out-groups when the numerical presence of these groups is stronger.

Putnam's (2007) 'constrict theory' partly overlaps with conflict theory. He found that higher ethnic diversity in the neighbourhood goes hand-in-hand with less trust in local politicians. Ethnic heterogeneity can further negatively affect the number of friends and acquaintances and the willingness to do something for the neighbourhood or to work with voluntary organisations. Diversity does not only lead to less trust in the so-called out-group, but also to distrust in the in-group. Putnam (2007, p. 140) concludes: *'Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation. In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to 'hunker down' – that is, to pull in like a turtle'.* Whilst such readings, are relatively crude and generalise too much from specific urban American experiences, there is a growing body of work in the UK that documents the rise of 'parallel lives' in cities. Authors such as Jackson (2015) and Savage (2015) have shown how people in London may live alongside one another, but this does not necessarily mean that they have meaningful social contacts or take part in joint activities. As Valentine (2008: p.332) notes, *'we need to think more carefully, therefore, about which types of encounters are sought, and by whom, and which are avoided, and by whom'.* Moreover, *'more emphasis needs to be placed not just on immediate contact experiences, but on how people's accrued histories of social experiences and material circumstances may also contribute to their feelings about urban encounters'* (p.333).

Although some of the academic literature tends to be pessimistic about the level of social cohesion in diverse areas, it should be stressed that there is no reason to assume that there is a mechanistic (negative) association between diversity and cohesion. Contextual differences play a large role in the effects of diversity. Delhay and Newton (2005) have shown that good governance at the regional and national level positively affects social cohesion and eliminates the (alleged) negative effects of diversity. The effects of diversity may also differ from society to society based on difference in 'ethnic boundary making'. In the literature on 'ethnic boundary

making' ethnicity is '… *not preconceived as a matter of relations between pre-defined, fixed groups … but rather as a process of constituting and reconfiguring groups by defining boundaries between them*' (Wimmer, 2013, p. 1027). This literature aims to offer a more precise analysis of how and why cultural or ethnic diversity matters in some societies or contexts but not in others, and why it is sometimes associated with inequality and 'thick identities' and in other cases not. This is, among other things, dependent on the specific type of boundary making and the degree of 'social closure' along cultural-ethnic lines (e.g. Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Wimmer, 2013).

1.3.4   Diversity and social mobility

Social mobility refers to the possibility of individuals or groups moving upwards or downwards in society, for example, with respect to jobs and income (status and power). It has been defined in many ways, in narrow as well as in broad senses. In almost all definitions the notion of the labour market career is mentioned. Individuals are socially mobile when they move from one job to another (better) job or from a situation of unemployment to a situation of in employment.

In the context of social mobility it is important to pay some attention to the concept of *social capital*. In its most simple sense, social capital refers to the possible profit of social contacts (Kleinhans, 2005). It thus provides a link between social cohesion and social mobility. To Bourdieu, social capital is a resource or a power relation that agents achieve through social networks and connections: *'Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). This definition focuses on the actual network resources that individuals or groups possess that help them to achieve a given goal, for example, finding a job or a better home. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) draw on Bourdieu's definition of social capital when they specifically talk about immigrants.

The question of how individuals can profit from their social contacts is crucial here. With respect to these contacts we can think of practical knowledge or important information. The literature makes an important distinction between *bonding capital* on the one hand and *bridging capital* on the other hand (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2001). Bonding capital refers to the strong ties within one's social circle (similar others), while bridging capital is about relations outside one's social circle (weak ties). The latter type of connection is much more likely to deliver important information about opportunities, such as jobs (Granovetter, 1973). In this research project we see social capital as a *resource* for social mobility. In other words, this resource can be used as a *means* to reach social mobility. Social capital is therefore not seen as an equivalent of social mobility. The concept of social capital does have some overlap with the concept of social cohesion (see above), but while social cohesion can be seen as an outcome of social processes, social capital should be interpreted as a means to reach a goal, for example, having a good social network can help to find premises to start a small business.

In studies of neighbourhood effects the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and social mobility is central. In many of these studies, the effects of segregation (usually in terms of income or ethnic background) on social mobility have been key rather than the effects of diversity. Typical questions include (Friedrichs, 1998): Does living in a neighbourhood with a specific type of population limit social mobility? Does living in a neighbourhood where a large proportion of its residents are from different ethnic backgrounds limit integration and assimilation? Do impoverished neighbourhoods have fewer job opportunities for their residents?

Concrete results from research into neighbourhood effects can be given. A study on the effects of income mix in neighbourhoods on adult earnings in Sweden (Galster *et al.*, 2008), showed that neighbourhood effects do exist, but that they are small. Urban (2009) finds only a small effect on the neighbourhoods with children in relation to income and unemployment risks in Stockholm. Brännström and Rojas (2012) also found mixed results with respect to the effect of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods on education outcomes in areas with a relatively large minority ethnic population. Gordon and Monastiriotis (2006) found small neighbourhood effects on educational outcomes for disadvantaged groups. At the same time, they found more substantial *positive* effects of segregation for middle-class households. The general outcome of such studies is always that personal characteristics are much more important for social mobility than the characteristics of the neighbourhood, at least in European cities.

Why are neighbourhood effects on various aspects of social mobility so small? This can probably be attributed to the fact that the lives of people do not organise completely around the home and the neighbourhood of residence. With increased mobility, better transport and almost unlimited contact possibilities through the internet and mobile devices, people now take part in multiple networks, visiting several places and meeting many people physically and virtually (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). People may have contacts all over the city, (ethnic) groups may form communities all over the world (Zelinsky and Lee, 1998), in the neighbourhood where they are residents, in their home countries where still large parts of their families may live, and possibly in other regions where family members and friends have migrated (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013).

1.3.5   Diversity and economic performance

When we consider urban studies we mainly find literature that links advantages of urban diversity to the economic competitiveness of the *city*. Fainstein (2005, p. 4), for example, argues that *'… the competitive advantage of cities, and thus the most promising approach to attaining economic success, lies in enhancing diversity within the society, economic base, and built environment'*. From this widely-accepted point of view urban diversity is seen as a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development by many others (Bodaar and Rath, 2005; Eraydin *et al.*, 2010; Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2008). Although some successful entrepreneurs may live in homogenous neighbourhoods, some scholars hold a contrary view even arguing that diversity and economic performance are not positively connected (Angrist and Kugler, 2003; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005). The general opinion

is that diversity has a positive influence on the economic development of cities. Inspired by similar ideas, urban diversity is seen as a characteristic feature of many policy-makers to realise a so-called '*diversity dividend*', which will increase the competitive advantage of the city (Nicholas and Sammartino, 2001; Cully, 2009; Eraydin *et al.*, 2010).

All these perspectives provide a solid understanding of how diverse communities can contribute to the economic performance of cities. What is less clear is the impact of living/working in a hyper-diversified city or neighbourhood where economic performance effects the individuals and groups living in these areas. In our research we focus on the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs as we see the economic performance of people as an essential condition for the economic performance of a city. We aim to underline that diverse forms of entrepreneurship positively affect urban economic performance. Furthermore, increasing the possibilities of building successful businesses (entrepreneurship) also contributes to the chances of social mobility in the city for diverse groups of people.

However, Bellini *et al.*, (2008) argue, research on the urban level indicates the existence of positive correlations between diversity and economic performance and sees cultural diversity as an economic asset (Nathan, 2011). Some of the positive impacts of diversity can be highlighted here:

- *Increasing productivity*: A study by Ottaviano and Peri (2006) shows that average US-born citizens are more productive (on the basis of wages and rents) in a culturally diversified environment. As Bellini *et al.*, (2008) show, diversity is positively correlated with *productivity* as it may increase the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation (Lazear, 1999; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006; Berliant and Fujita, 2004). In the same vein, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) provide an overview of how the urban economy benefits from a diversity of the population.
- *Increasing chances for networking*: Some scholars (Alesina *et al.*, 2004; Demange and Wooders, 2005) point to the emerging literature on club formations, wherein *ethnic networks* grow from within. According to these researchers, a social mix brings about variety in abilities, experiences, and cultures, which may be productive and may lead to innovation and creativity. Saunders' (2011) work on the arrival city concept is of interest. He argues that some city areas with high levels of social mix provide a better (easier) environment for starting small businesses for immigrants, especially to newcomers due to easy access to information through well-developed networks.
- *Increasing competitive advantage:* Emphasising the rising levels of population diversity, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) suggest using population diversity as a source of competitive advantage. Other studies highlight diversity as an instrument for increasing the competitive advantage of cities, regions or places (Bellini *et al.*, 2008; Blumenthal *et al.*, 2009; Eraydin *et al.*, 2010; Nathan, 2011; Sepulveda *et al.*, 2011; Thomas and Darnton, 2006). The common argument of these studies is that areas that are open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of talent (nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, disability and sexual orientation) than those that are relatively closed. As a result, they are more likely to have a dynamic

economy due to their creative, innovative and entrepreneurial capacities compared to more homogenous cities (see also Scott, 2006).

- *Increasing socio-economic well-being:* A number of studies pinpointed the positive contribution of urban diversity to the socio-economic well-being of mixed neighbourhoods (Kloosterman and van der Leun, 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). In fact, proximity to mixed neighbourhoods seems to be a locus for networking and for the fostering of social capital (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). '*Attractive*' and safe living environments, '*good*' and appealing amenities, pleasant dwellings and a '*nice*' population composition can be crucial factors to attract and bind entrepreneurs to a city or neighbourhood (van Kempen *et al.*, 2006).

1.4   THE OUTLINE OF THIS BOOK

The chapters of the book develop our arguments in the following way.

In **Chapter 2** we begin by situating London's recent economic and social histories and the emergence of a 'super-diverse' city. We then focus on the borough of Haringey, located to the north of the city. The chapter provides context for the rest of the book, with information on policies, residents, and the entrepreneurs living and working in this area.

Chapter 3 focuses on *policy* narratives, framings, and understandings of diversity and their influence on urban policy and planning agendas. It systematically addresses the relationships between national policies on diversity and integration and the emergence, and implementation of, policy agendas at the London level. The discussion explores some of the ambiguities, tensions, and impacts of these policy framings and draws out key comparisons and contrasts between agendas in the city and those of national government. Political alliances have been formed between a range of interests, both governmental and non-government, and we discuss the multiple voices and perspectives that exist within the city's policy-making networks. We also describe and analyse some of the most significant local initiatives taking place in Haringey and argue that it is at this local community level that some of the most innovative and influential policy interventions are to be found.

In **Chapter 4** we turn to our findings from interviews with residents in Haringey. We document the factors that explain how and why residents moved to the area and if its diversity influenced their decisions. We discuss what the residents think of diversity and the ways in which they 'use' the resources available in their diversified neighbourhoods to improve their well-being and quality of life. The chapter specifically explores their existing perceptions of diversity and some of the tensions now emerging between different socio-cultural groups in the wake of rapid demographic change and polarising economic and urban development.

In **Chapter 5** we then focus on the findings of interviews with entrepreneurs in the area and examine the extent to which the various forms of diversity of the area have acted as a motivator for new forms of entrepreneurialism and business formation. The discussion highlights some of the key advantages of locating in the area but also some of the difficulties businesses face in the wake of wide-scale, externally-focussed, regeneration programmes. Escalating property/rental prices and shortages of available and affordable workspaces are having a major impact on the sustainability and longer-term resilience of local entrepreneurialism.

We conclude with **Chapter 6**, where we will answer the question of whether urban diversity can be seen as an asset, or whether it should be seen mainly as a liability. We will formulate some suggestions for policy makers, politicians and other stakeholders who deal with diversity and diverse urban areas.

2 LONDON AS A DIVERSE CITY

2.1 LOCATING LONDON

London is the largest city in the UK and the EU. Located in the southeastern part of the country (see Figure 2.1), the city is not only the seat of the UK government but a major financial, educational and tourist centre, with a large number of company global headquarters and a strong art and entertainment industry. With a population of 8,663,300 in 2015, the city has grown every year since 1988 and estimates point towards its population surpassing 9 million in 2018 and 10 million by 2034 (GLA, 2015). London's importance transcends its geographic boundaries. The population of the London Metropolitan Area stood at 14.5 million in 2015 (Savills World Research, 2015). The city receives over one million workers from outside London on a daily basis and, in 2014, it also received over 13.7 million domestic visitors and 18.8 million overnight international visitors, the largest number of any world city (Ibid., 2015).
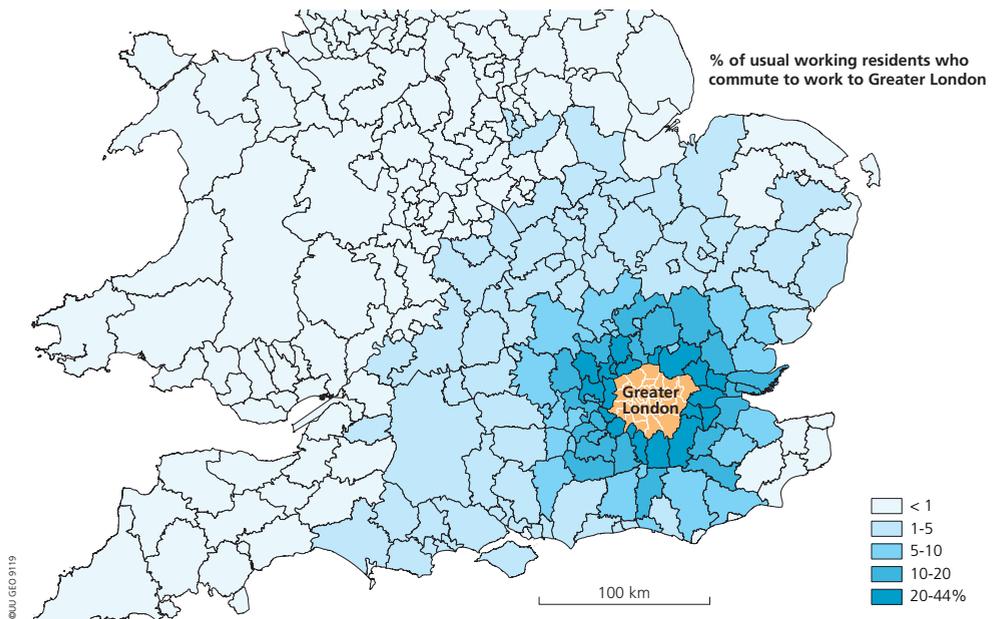
Figure 2.1 Location of London within UK, showing commuting patterns to the capital according to the 2011 Census, and the city with its boundaries and its 33 boroughs. Source: 2011 Census: workplace, population, statistics; Google Earth (2015); ONS, 2011 Census Data.

London was originally a Roman city and for 200 years it was the capital of the British Empire. The city has also played a pivotal role on the world stage as a commercial maritime trade and industrial centre and, as such, it has traditionally been a centre for in-migration. By 1700, London already had nearly half a million inhabitants, with estimates suggesting that one in six adults in England had experienced living in the city sometime in their lives (Wrigley, 1966, in Landers, 1993). By the time of the 1801 Census, the city had a population of 960,000 (Landers, 1993). International migration also contributed to the growth in population. Whilst early in the 17th century, many migrants settling in London came from the British Isles, by the end of the century, the city had already received approximately 50,000 Huguenots fleeing persecution in France and in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it had between 5,000 and 10,000 Black African, Caribbean and North American residents. London also became home to many lascars[7] and sailors from the colonies arriving in ships between the 16th and 20th centuries. By the mid-19th century, approximately 40,000 Indians had settled in Britain (Fisher, 2007), many of them in London. By the first decade of the 20th Century, its population had surpassed the 7 million figure (see Figure 2.2).

Most jobs in the capital were concentrated in the manufacturing sector. According to Hall (1961, p.23), *'[m]anufacturing occupied nearly one in three of all workers in London in 1861 and one in three in 1951'*. The city, however, did not specialise in any specific industrial sector, such as textiles, or any primary sector, such as quarrying or agriculture. Instead, it was home to a diverse range of sectors, which benefitted from easy access to skilled and cheap labour, and from the city's proximity to customers and easy access to national and international markets, via the docks along the River Thames.

The city economy has undergone massive changes since 1945. London underwent decades of declining population, fuelled by the construction of New Towns – aimed to decentralise its population and jobs after World War 2 – and rapid loss of manufacturing jobs after the 1970s as a result of deindustrialisation and mergers and rationalisation of plants – which allowed for rapid capitalisation on the high value of land. Containerisation and changes in the size of
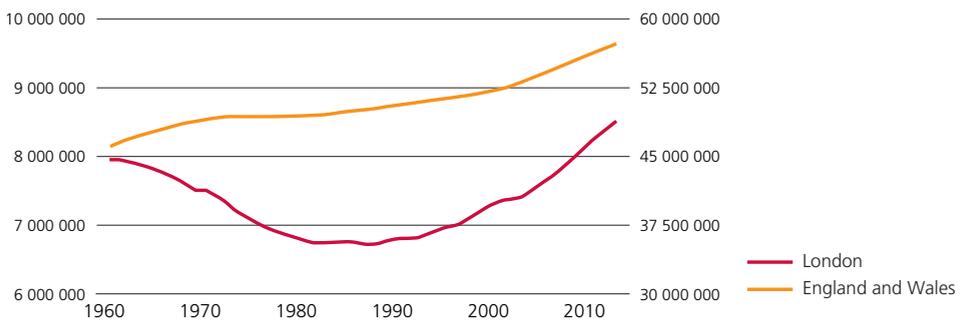
Figure 2.2 Population change in London and in England and Wales (1960-2014). Source: ONS, 2014.

ships also contributed to the disappearance of the industries associated with its once-thriving docks. Nonetheless, since the 1980s, the financial services, IT, and creative industries sectors have expanded relentlessly and London is often portrayed as one of the most economically and culturally dynamic cities in the world. In 2015, there were around 5.6 million jobs in London, 14.6% higher than in the pre-recession peak in 2008. For the UK as a whole, this was a 5.3% increase in relation to the same period the previous year. The majority of jobs in the city are in managerial, professional, scientific and technical activities (totalling 53% of the workforce, (ONS, 2016)), and activities in high value business services – which includes financial and insurance services, information and communication, professional, scientific and technical services, and real estate – accounted for 54% of the capital's economic output in 2014 (Marsden and Hitchins, 2016). Estimates from 2015 show that employment in the capital will grow by an average rate of 0.69% per annum to reach 6.418 million in 2036 (Wickham, 2015).

Regarding the city's population, dominant narratives and representations of London present it as one of the most diverse cities in Europe. It has been described as *'the world within a city'* (Greater London Authority [GLA], 2005) and a place of *'super-diversity'* credited to be the most *'cosmopolitan place on Earth'* (Vertovec, 2007). Out of a population of 8.17 million revealed in the 2011 Census (ONS, 2016), 55% defined themselves as other than White British (including both residents who hold a foreign passport and British citizens from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds) and 2.6 million (31%) declared to have been born outside of the UK. Furthermore, 41% of all non-White British residents of England and Wales reside in the capital and so do 37% of all residents born outside the UK and 24% of all non-UK nationals[8]. Data from 2014 shows that Indians, Polish and Pakistanis form the three largest groups of London residents who were born abroad. The recent increase in Polish residents has to do with the accession of eight Eastern European countries in 2004, followed by Romania and Bulgaria in 2007. Since 2004, the largest influx of migrants to the country has been from Eastern European countries, and in 2014/15, the number of National Insurance Number (NINo) registrations of overseas nationals in 2014/15 for the EU was 46% higher than the previous year. Registrations from Romanian (67,000) and Italian (22,000) citizens topped up the list of country of origin.

Alongside this ethnic and cultural diversity, socio-economic inequalities have also expanded relentlessly, with a growing divergence in life chances, opportunities, and incomes. The richest 10% of London's residents have 273 times the income and assets of the poorest 10%, a figure that is higher than at any time since the nineteenth century (Dorling, 2010). The acute lack of affordable housing further compounds inequalities in London, as poor and middle income households often pay a disproportionate amount of their income on housing. These rising socio-economic inequalities are often translated into new or increasing forms of socio-spatial segregation, as powerful global elites live in exclusive and increasingly gated and gentrified parts of the city (see also Imrie and Lees, 2014). All of this makes planning for diversity a particularly challenging task. Despite London's overall economic vitality, 28% of the population live in households that are in poverty (after housing costs) compared with the UK figure of 22%, covering more than two million Londoners (Leeser, 2011).

2.2 THE CASE STUDY AREA: LONDON BOROUGH OF HARINGEY

Within London the research for this book takes place in the London Borough of Haringey, one of London's 33 Boroughs, located in central London, north of the core commercial centre (Figure 2.3). Haringey is located in the London-Stansted-Cambridge-Peterborough growth area and is well-connected to the City of London, to the West End and to Stansted Airport by public transport (Haringey Council, 2013, p.8). Many of the areas that make up the borough became urbanised during the 19th and 20th centuries as London's boundaries expanded and railway lines, such as the Liverpool Street to Enfield railway line in 1872, were constructed, linking well-established villages, such as Tottenham – which already benefitted from the presence of the old Roman Road that linked London to Hertfordshire and East Anglia – to the city. Small hamlets of farms such as Wood Green grew as a commuter suburb, especially after the development of Green Lanes into a major road and with the subsequent establishment of tram services in the mid-1800s (Protz and Hedgecock, 2003, p.7). Haringey was formally constituted as a London Borough, as a result of the mergers of the then boroughs of Tottenham, Wood Green and Hornsey in the city's re-organisation in 1965 and the creation of Greater London.

As previously mentioned, Haringey is an extraordinarily diverse borough. Its 'usual residents' population totals 263,386, according to the 2013 Office for National Statistics Mid-Year

Figure 2.3 Map showing the location of the London Borough of Haringey.

Table 2.1 Sociodemographic statistics for England and Wales, London and Haringey.
Source: see below table.

	London	Haringey	England & Wales/UK
Area (km^2)	1,572[i]	28[ii]	241,930[iii]
Total Population[iv]	8,173,900	254,900	56,075,900
Highest level of education completed (%)[v]			
No qualifications	17.6	17.8	22.7
Level 1 qualifications (1-4 GCSEs at any grade and equiv.)	10.7	8.7	13.3
Level 2 qualifications (5+ GCSE Grades A*-C and equiv.)	11.8	10.1	15.3
Apprenticeship	1.6	1.0	3.6
Level 3 qualifications (2+ A Levels and equiv.)	10.5	9.6	12.3
Level 4 qualifications and above (Degree and equiv.)	37.7	40.8	27.2
Other qualifications (vocational and foreign)	10.0	12.0	5.7
Average household income (£)	20,238[vi]	31,600[vii]	26,500[viii]
Unemployment (%)[ix]	5.2	6.1	4.4
Receiving job-seekers allowance[x]	3.1	4.3	3.0
Owner-occupied housing (%)	49.6[xi]	38.8[xii]	64.0[xii]
Average house price (£)[xiv]	396,646	407,725	165,411
Ethnicity (%)[xv]			
White (English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish, British, Irish, Gypsy or Irish Traveller, Other White)	59.8	60.5	86.0
Mixed/multiple ethnic groups (White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Other Mixed)	5.0	6.5	2.2
Asian/Asian British (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Other Asian)	18.4	9.5	7.5
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British (African, Caribbean, Other Black)	13.3	18.7	3.3
Other (Arab, Any other ethnic group)	3.4	4.8	1.0
Age (%)[xvi]			
0-14	18.7	19.3	17.6
15-24	13.5	13.0	13.1
25-44	35.5	39.0	27.4
45-64	21.1	20.0	25.4
65+	11.0	8.7	16.6

i.   Encyclopaedia Britannica: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/244011/Greater-London
ii.   London Borough of Haringey: http://www.haringey.gov.uk/about_haringey/fact_file.htm
iii. World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.TOTL.K2
iv.   Figures about Haringey – Population profile of Haringey based on 2011 National Census data, Office of National Statistics: http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/social_care_and_health/health/jsna/jsna-demographic-context.htm#population
v.   2011 Census: Highest Level of qualifications, local authorities in the United Kingdom: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-and-quick-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-the-united-kingdom – -part-2/rft-qs501uk.xls

vi.   Household Disposable Income Across the UK, 2010: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/regional-accounts/regional-household-income/disposable-household-income-across-the-uk-in-2010/rpt-household-disposable-income-across-the-uk.html#tab-Disposable-household-income-over-fifty-per-cent-higher-in-London-than-the-North-East

vii.   Household income and dwelling ownership by Local Authority, April 2007 – May 2008, England and Wales: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/about-ons/business-transparency/freedom-of-information/what-can-i-request/published-ad-hoc-data/econ/february-2013/household-income-and-dwelling-ownership-by-local-authority – england-and-wales.xls

viii. Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE), 2012 Provisional Results, United Kingdom: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/ashe/annual-survey-of-hours-and-earnings/2012-provisional-results/stb-ashe-statistical-bulletin-2012.html#tab-Annual-earnings

ix.   2011 Census: Economic activity, local authorities in the United Kingdom: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-and-quick-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-the-united-kingdom – -part-2/rft-qs601uk.xls

x.   Regional Labour Market: JSA01 – Claimant Count for Local and Unitary Authorities, December 2013: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/subnational-labour/regional-labour-market-statistics/december-2013/rft-lm-table-jsa01-december-2013.xls

xi.   2011 Census Analysis, A Century of Home Ownership and Renting in England and Wales, Released 19 April 2013: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census-analysis/a-century-of-home-ownership-and-renting-in-england-and-wales/short-story-on-housing.html.

xii.   Household income and dwelling ownership by Local Authority, March 2011, England and Wales: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/about-ons/business-transparency/freedom-of-information/what-can-i-request/published-ad-hoc-data/econ/february-2013/household-income-and-dwelling-ownership-by-local-authority – england-and-wales.xls

xiii. 2011 Census, Detailed Characteristics on Housing for Local Authorities in England and Wales, Released 28 June 2013: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/detailed-characteristics-on-housing-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/index.html.

xiv.   Land Registry – House Price Index, November 2013: http://www.landregistry.gov.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/67805/HPIReport20131223_Final.pdf

xv.   Figures about Haringey – Population profile of Haringey based on 2011 National Census data, Office of National Statistics: http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/social_care_and_health/health/jsna/jsna-demographic-context.htm#population

xvi.   Figures about Haringey – Population profile of Haringey based on 2011 National Census data, Office of National Statistics: http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/social_care_and_health/health/jsna/jsna-demographic-context.htm#population

Estimates (ONS, 2013), and the majority (65.3%) defines itself as from a minority background (i.e. not White English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British (ONS, 2014b; see also Table 2.1)). As indicated in our earlier work (see Kesten *et al.* 2014: p. 4), it is *'a microcosm of London's wider demographics and economics'*. Its migrant and ethnic minority communities are not dominated by any one particular group and the borough has a progressive local political tradition that has always embraced migrants and the different cultural attributes of its residents. The borough has a young population relative to London with 24.9% of Haringey's residents under 20 years old; 66.3% of its population aged between 20-64 (within that group, Haringey's 25-39 year old population is significantly higher than the London average), and 8.8% 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 dimensions[9] (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 as in the proportion of ethnic minorities (see Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5). 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). As with much of central London, parts of the Borough experienced significant amounts of gentrification during the 2000s and inequalities have grown. In 2011, Haringey was one of the starting points for the London riots and its community relations have since been a focus of national attention.

There are three factors that make Haringey a particularly interesting case study. First, it is an extraordinarily diverse borough, as illustrated by the statistics mentioned above. Second, parts of the borough have a long history of urban policy interventions funded by central and local
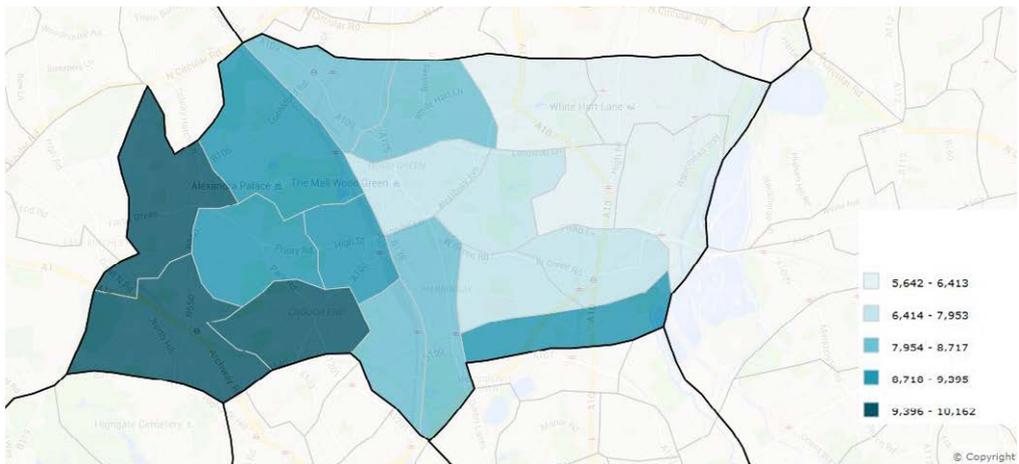
Figure 2.4 Percentage of individuals defining themselves as White. Source: London Datastore, Ward atlas, Census 2011 data, released in Jan. 2013. http://data.london.gov.uk/census.
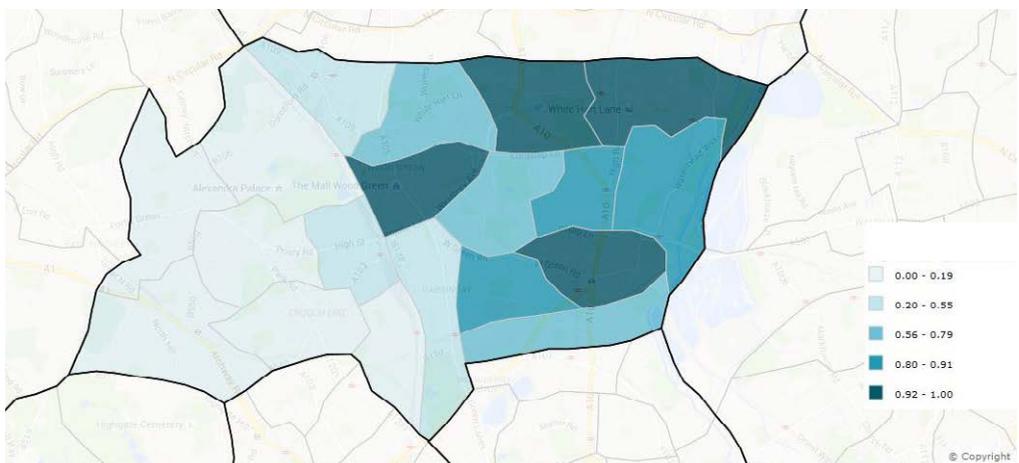
Figure 2.5 Indices of deprivation in Haringey's wards. Source: London Datastore, Ward atlas, Census 2011 data, released in Jan. 2013. http://data.london.gov.uk/census.

Figure 2.5 Graffiti art at Selby Centre depicting 2011 riots in Tottenham.

government. Tottenham, in particular, has often been viewed as a 'problem' neighbourhood by policy-makers for decades and some of London's most serious rioting in the 1980s and in 2011 took place and/or was triggered locally (see Mayor of London, 2012). Third, parts of Haringey are now subject to large-scale regeneration plans accompanied by the threat of mass gentrification. Transport connections to central London are well developed and this is converting some of its neighbourhoods into prime investment spaces for property developers and overseas capital. Some of the initiatives discussed below have arisen in response to these radical development plans and their impacts on existing patterns of diversity and social networks.

2.3 DIVERSITY, ECONOMIC DYNAMICS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN LONDON

If London were a country, its economy would be big enough to occupy the eighth place among European countries. In 2014, 22.5% of the UK's total GVA was attributed to London alone (Douglas, 2016) and the city's economy has been growing at a faster rate than the rest of the UK[10]. Figures from 2015 show that the city and the South East alone are home to one third of the UK's 5.4 million businesses (976,000 are located in the former and 878,000 are in the latter. Such figures illustrate the importance of the capital not only in the nation's overall economic performance, but also internationally. Much of London's GVA is produced in inner London, in sectors such as finance and insurance, professional, scientific and technical activities, information and communication, and real estate. Much of the city's GVA produced in outer London is in the transportation and storage as well as the manufacturing sectors.

London has changed considerably from being a *'city with a large manufacturing base and a large working-class population'* (Hamnett, 2003, p.1) in the 1960s to having an economy primarily based on business, financial, creative and other services. Indeed, as manufacturing jobs in the capital declined, inner London endured a period of high unemployment in its central areas. However, as the city's economic structure changed, leaving part of its physical infrastructure redundant, urban regeneration programmes – such as the one that transformed the Docklands into today's Canary Wharf in East London and investments in areas such as the south side of the river Thames embankment, which culminated in the retrofitting of the Bankside Power

Station into the Tate Modern, one of London's most well-known art galleries – have not only successfully responded to the demand for new spaces but also increased the city's attractiveness to investments. However, London's economic changes in recent years have put growing pressure on commercial and industrial land. According to Kitson and Michie, the UK manufacturing sector has declined *'relative to other sectors of the economy, and relative to the manufacturing sectors in other countries'* because of a failure of investment in the sector. They argue *'there has been a chronic failure to invest in manufacturing, with the UK economy and investment being instead skewed towards short-term returns and the interests of the 'City' [of London]'*. What is seen in London is that part of the pressure is symbolic and related to a view that many of London's industrial sectors, which are dominated by SMEs, have little future. They are relatively invisible in a context of globally-oriented property developments (see Raco and Tunney, 2010 for a discussion of SMEs and the London Olympics 2012 developments). Ferm and Jones (2015) see the Mayor of London's current policy of a 'managed release' of industrial land as a growing problem for SMEs. They quote a report by consultants for the GLA that indicates a similar attitude to manufacturing:

> *The predictions are that there will be an 88% loss of manufacturing jobs from 129,000 in 2011 to just 15,500 in 2050 and substantial loss of other jobs in industry, utilities, transport and warehousing. This is contrasted with the equally dramatic increase in jobs in the Professional, Real Estate, Scientific and Technical sectors a 107% increase from 670,000 in 2011 to nearly 1.4million in 2050. This explains the emphasis we see in the London Plan on growth of central London at the expense of other sectors and alternative economies and on the loss of industrial land to housing.*

Currently, even successful and so-called 'creative' locations, such as an area known as 'Tech City' on the fringes of the City of London are increasingly under threat as land is converted from industrial into high-return residential uses. This could have a particular impact on ethnic businesses. In central London, firms in areas such as Chinatown are facing a growing threat of eviction in the wake of property price increases. As industrial land across London is lost the opportunities for entrepreneurs will be reduced.

Similarly, the predominantly working-class population of London in the 1960s has been transformed into one that is increasingly middle class and far more diverse in terms of the ethnicity and country of origin of its residents. Nonetheless, the city has also become more divided. London's population growth has not been matched by housing construction. As public investments in housing were greatly reduced in the beginning of the 1980s, the need for housing in the capital has never been so pressing. Rising land prices, which in London are also exacerbated by the existence of the green belt and its attractiveness to international investment in property, have contributed to a rise in both residential and commercial property prices. These have risen considerably between 1993 and 2008 with the cost of a hectare of residential land having increased over 300% in real terms. Despite a short period of falling prices after the economic crisis of 2008, prices started to pick up again. Figures from the Office for National

Statistics show that average house prices in the capital rose by 9.4% between 2014 and 2015, standing at £536,000; Mortgages for first time buyers have fallen by 6% and in the 12 month period preceding September 2015 and rents grew by 4.2% in real terms[10]. As property prices and rents grow ahead of the pace of average wage growth, many households are being forced to move out of London and SME businesses are either closing or being displaced, resulting in rapid changes to the social makeup of many areas in the city. Such a scenario has been threatening London's economy and job market. Examples range from more unfilled job vacancies in the public sector due to the city's unaffordability to professional scientific, research, engineering and technology jobs in inner London falling from 6.6% to 5.4% since 2011 (The Economist, 2016).

2.4 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF LONDON AS A DIVERSE CITY

During the 2000s selective visions of diversity have been elided with urban policy orthodoxies at different scales. Writings in the so-called New Economic Geography (NEG) have been particularly influential in this respect with their focus on the importance and power of resurgent urban economies and their populations. As Nathan shows, a diversity of workers and 'tolerant' and open forms of urban politics are presented as necessary ingredients for contemporary forms of urban growth as policy agendas echo the economic orthodoxies set out by authors such as Richard Florida (2002) and Ed Glaeser (2010). The World Economic Forum (2015) and other development agencies even go as far as to highlight the importance of *'diversity dividends'* in cities and places that are more diverse and possess a broader range of creative and entrepreneurial workers (see Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012)[12]. Such proclamations provide a set of clear prescriptions for urban and social policy and see higher levels of in-migration and socio-cultural diversity as a precondition for economic advantage. Despite a range of evidence showing that economic growth is a consequence of a much broader range of dynamics and influences (see Martin, 2015), the political and economic arguments for the promotion of 'more diversity' have become a powerful and influential orthodoxy. Echoes of this new logic pervade economic development thinking and practice in London, at the city level, and also within local authorities such as Haringey. Yet governing super-diverse populations entails major challenges, which are about finding appropriate and legitimate forms of recognition (of difference and diversity), of redistribution (to address inequalities) and of encounter through shared spaces, amenities and facilities (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). There are potential tensions between recognition and redistribution. In a city with a highly transient and changing population, high levels of immigration, demographic growth and strong pressures on the housing markets, managing coexistence and preventing or solving conflicts about the use of space and city resources between highly diverse groups, sometimes with contradictory demands, needs or patterns of use, are challenging tasks. Sustaining a diversity of business and employment opportunities across London in the wake of massive rises in property values, huge demand for residential developments, and threats to commercial/industrial space is also a challenge. For local authorities, maintaining service levels in a context of austerity cuts has been particularly difficult.

3 POLICY DISCOURSES ON DIVERSITY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines contemporary understandings and framings of the term 'diversity' in urban development planning drawing on the example of London as a microcosm of what is happening in cities across the EU and beyond. The term has been used with increasing regularity since the mid-1980s, when it first appeared in American corporate management literatures (see Ahmed and Swan, 2007). Writers such as Vertovec (2007) now claim that in the wake of decades of globalisation some cities have become *'super-diverse'* centres in which there is a co-presence and juxtaposition of 'different' groups. As previously mentioned, official figures show that 20.7 million people living in member states were born outside of the EU and a further 13.6 million hold citizenship rights in another country (Eurostat, 2014: p.1). The vast majority of these people live in urban areas. Policy-makers, it is claimed, face growing challenges in both catering for the needs of diverse populations and in ensuring that broader policy objectives, such as the promotion of economic growth, continue to be met (see Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013).

During the 1990s and early 2000s mainstream policy and academic discussions of diversity saw it as an inevitable part of 'runaway' globalisation and the emergence of a new cosmopolitanism in which nation-states would matter less and less as the material and cultural gains of increased growth and migration flows would be experienced by greater numbers of people (see Beck, 2006; Giddens, 2002; Held, 2010). Multicultural policies in which strangers were embraced and celebrated were in the ascendancy in much of Europe with Ulrich Beck (2000) even claiming that the nation-state had become something of a *'zombie category'*, with little real substance but still haunting the minds of citizens and policy-makers. Governments and populations had little alternative but to accept that globalisation was here to stay and that multiculturalism and diversity were core components of it. In Rancière's (2006) terms a new Millennial thinking dominated imaginations in which the continued existence of racism, prejudice, and conflict in cities became elided with the 'backwardness' of specific interests and groups, mainly from poorer sections of society. They had failed to understand the pervasiveness of the new realities unfolding around them. Such attitudes had no place in a modern, cosmopolitan polity. Attempts to challenge this prevailing consensus were dismissed as *'regressive and archaic behaviour'*, or a relic of out-dated and increasingly irrelevant post-war class politics.

However, since the financial crisis of 2008 many of these quasi-utopian assumptions have been challenged or even undermined. There has been a rising tide of resentment towards diversity

and migration policies with many countries adopting more aggressive integrationist or neo-assimilationist forms of intervention. The European Elections of 2014, and more recently the UK's vote to leave the EU, have demonstrated a widespread shift in popular discontent and a degree of rejection of the openly pluralist, cosmopolitan politics of the 1990s and 2000s (see *The New Statesman*, 2014). Dominant narratives have become less progressive and in some cases even openly hostile to the (co)presence of migrant groups. Urban policy-makers and planners have faced particularly acute dilemmas. On the one hand, the presence of so many migrants within cities has meant that some city leaders and administrations have adopted more pragmatic approaches to policy. They have continued to support more open forms of migration to support labour market-building and perceptions of global competitiveness. On the other hand, urban authorities are also facing growing demands from different populations and political pressure from national governments to implement more assimilationist and less pluralist approaches. Concerns over the potential for urban (dis)order have added further fuel to what are already highly charged political debates. At the same time neo-liberal models of global capitalism and urban development are generating heightened material inequalities between different groups, only some of which are connected to cultural identities and forms of marginalisation.

In this chapter we explore dominant narratives of diversity planning in one of Europe's most diverse and globally-oriented cities, London. Collectively, we argue that there are multiple trends occurring and that forms of, what Žižek (2011) terms, *'radical ambiguities'* between the needs of economic growth and socio-cultural demands now permeate policy thinking. We show that one part of this ambiguity is characterised by an active attempt to use the term diversity as a *'containment strategy'* or a consensual term that is celebrated as a 'good' thing and on which all can agree (see Swan, 2008). London's diverse population is thus to be 'pragmatically embraced', celebrated and commodified. It is an approach that is justified as being both morally progressive and grounded in a hard-headed understanding of the needs of competitive, successful businesses. At the same time more difficult policy questions concerning the impacts of global models of economic growth remain firmly *off* the agenda within London. There is little discussion of class differences and how dominant models of capitalist growth are generating heightened inequality in (and beyond) the city. Diversity is celebrated as something that contributes to London's globally-focussed growth model, with little recognition that this type of development increases inequalities between London's citizens, whilst also propagating forms of urban development that enhance segregation (see Imrie and Lees, 2014). There is a direct ambiguity between the promotion of diversity as an asset that helps power this growth on the one hand and the consequences of this growth on London's ever more polarised social and economic geographies.

However we also show that it is at the *local* level, in diverse places such as Haringey, that some of the most significant attempts are being made to develop more progressive and purposeful bottom-up initiatives, and in some cases policy interventions, that are having real impacts on people's lives and are seeking to overcome some of the fundamental policy ambiguities found at higher policy-making levels. We highlight some of the most significant and influential bottom-up projects in the borough and their broader social and economic impacts.

3.2   METHODOLOGY

The findings of this chapter are based on policy analysis and interviews at various levels of government. Our research involved assessing the policy structure concerning diversity as it relates to London by creating an institutional map and reviewing a wide range of relevant policy documents from EU, UK, and London scales and from both government and independent sources stretching back a number of years in order to be able to evaluate shifts in approach over time. In total we interviewed 17 key actors from bodies such as the European Commission's London office, the UK Department for Communities and Local Government and the UK Government Equalities Office, members of the Greater London Authority (GLA), the London Assembly and London Councils, as well as business and civil society oriented non-governmental organisations. The interviews all took place in the interviewees' offices, generally lasted between 45 minutes to an hour and focused primarily on respondents understanding of, and approaches to, issues of diversity in their work and their views and experiences of how diversity is governed in London.

3.3   NATIONAL POLICY APPROACHES TOWARDS DIVERSITY:
         STRUCTURE AND SHIFTS

3.3.1   Diversity policy structure

National government plays a direct role in many decisions relating to the governance of diversity. London is a democratically vibrant city with NGOs working at all levels to influence and shape policy. In Figure 3.1 (next page) we outline the key institutions involved in the governance of urban policy and diversity at different levels where some of the most significant NGOs are also highlighted. For some commentators, these arrangements are so complex that London remains *'ungovernable'* (Travers, 2006). Whilst this is an exaggeration, it is clear that effective policy-making in such circumstances is difficult to achieve and requires a relatively high degree of co-ordination and integration.

Ministerial Departments and Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs)
In the UK the Prime Minister leads the government with the support of the Cabinet and ministers. Several ministerial departments play a role in shaping urban policy, most notably the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG, 2013a: p. 1) which aims *'to achieve more integrated communities and to create the conditions for everyone to live and work successfully alongside each other'* and is responsible for: community and society, economic growth, housing, local government, planning and building, and public safety (DCLG, 2013b). In addition, a dedicated Centre for Social Action, situated within the Cabinet Office, supports programmes that encourage people to create positive change through social action (Cabinet Office, 2011; 2013). Also directly relevant, the Department for Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS) aims to *'protect cultural and artistic heritage'* and *'freedom and equality'* as well as helping *'businesses and communities to grow by investing in innovation'*. DCMS also hosts the

National NGOs
e.g. Race on the Agenda
Stonewall
Runnymede Trust
Citizenship Foundation
Migrants' Rights Network
Migration Watch UK
Policy Exchange
Demos
COMPAS
IPPR
BITC
Institute of Directors
Confederation of British Industry

Ministerial Departments
e.g. Cabinet Office
Department for Business, Innovation & Skills
Department for Communities and Local Government
Department for Culture, Media & Sport
Department for Education
Department for Work & Pensions
Home Office

Executive NDPBs
e.g. Equalities and
Human Rights Coimmission

Advisory NDPBs
e.g. Migration Advisory Committee,
Social Mobility and Child Poverty
Commission

Advisory APPGs
e.g. on Equalities; Faith and Society;
Migration; Race and Community;
Refugees; Social Mobility

City-wide

City-wide NGOs
e.g. London First
Inclusion for London
London Voluntary Service Council
Just Space

Greater London Authority
consisting of:

London Assembly *Mayor of London*

Diversity Works for London

London Enterprise Panel

London Councils

**London Strategic
Migration Partnership**

**Migrant and Refugee
Advisory Panel**

Local

Local NGOs
e.g. Community Links
Citizens UK (various local branches)
Other Migrant/faith groups, e.g.
Refugee and Migrant Forum
of East London

32 Local Boroughs (+ City of London)
e.g. Haringey

**Local Enterprise/
Strategic Partnerships**
e.g. Haringey Strategic Partnership

Governmental bodies — Mayoral Programme — Formal link — Advice/Research
Non-governmental organisations — Non-departmental public body — Lobbying — Scrutiny powers
Partnership bodies — All-Party Parliamentary Groups — Funding/Exerting influence

Figure 3.1 Map of key institutional and governance structures on diversity in London.
Source: Dr Jamie Kesten, based on internet research

Government Equalities Office (GEO, 2010b; 2012) which is responsible for equality strategy and legislation across government. Other relevant departments include: the Department for Business, Innovation & Skills (BIS); the Department for Education (DfE); the Department for Work & Pensions (DWP); and the Home Office (and within it the UK Border Agency). Working alongside these ministerial departments are executive and advisory non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs) such as the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) which has a statutory remit to *'promote and monitor human rights and to protect, enforce and promote equality'*. Important advisory NDPBs include: Equality 2025 (E2025) which advises the DWP on disability issues; the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) which provides independent, evidence-based advice on migration to the Home Office; and the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission (SMCP) which monitors progress on improving social mobility and reducing child poverty.

Third Sector and Non-Governmental Organisations
Other key organisations seek to influence discourses on issues of diversity and urban policy on a national scale through research, lobbying, and campaigning. These include Race on the Agenda (ROTA); Stonewall; the Runnymede Trust; the Citizenship Foundation; and Migrants' Rights Network (MRN). Other business groups, such as the Institute of Directors and the Confederation of British Industry have also been vocal contributors to policy debates, along with trade unions. Critical organisations and policy think-tanks also influence policy debates. Migration Watch UK, for example, has been highly critical of what it sees as unmanaged and unsustainable migration policies. Others include the Policy Exchange, the New Economics Foundation, and the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR). Third sector and NGO perspectives on the governance of diversity in London will be explored further in Section 3.5.

3.3.2   Diversity policy shifts

The UK has experienced decades of immigration and, as a result of its imperial past, has long possessed an ethnically and culturally diverse population. The pace of immigration quickened in the post-war period with large-scale migration from the then British colonies with the majority of the Black Caribbean and South Asian settlement taking place in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s as a result of post-war economic expansion. Policy approaches to issues of migration, citizenship and diversity since the late 1980s can be framed using three identifiable phases.

Pluralist and Multicultural Approaches: The 1970s, 1980s and 1990s
While earlier approaches to rapid immigration in the 1950s and early 1960s championed the cultural assimilation and civic conformity of ethnic minority immigrant groups, new pluralist approaches sought to acknowledge and celebrate the different cultures which were emerging in the late 1960s. Pluralist policies were adopted by local authorities in the UK from the early 1970s and 1980s onwards but were never adopted as an official national policy. Nevertheless there was a marked shift towards an engagement with multicultural approaches to policy-making (even if the word 'multiculturalism' only appeared in political discourse in the late 1990s), most notably in the field of education, but also other areas such as the health service and in the proliferation of language provision and translation programmes. However, riots in several urban areas in 1981 (principally Brixton in London and the Toxteth area of Liverpool) sparked, in large part, by the persistence of structural inequalities and racial discrimination experienced by immigrant and ethnic minority populations, prompted attempts to develop more proactive approaches to tackling issues of racism both within government and wider society (Scarman 1981). Pluralism and a multicultural politics of recognition pervaded discourses during this period, along with a reductionist neo-liberal faith in the trickle-down benefits of economic growth.

New Labour and the Rise of Integrationist-Community Cohesion Approaches: 1997-2010
After being elected in 1997, the Blair government gradually shifted from its early emphasis on 'multiculturalism' to a focus on 'community cohesion' policies that were principally concerned with minimising disorder and promoting greater responsibility amongst citizens

and communities. This was a response to the intense criticism voiced against multicultural approaches following new inter-ethnic disturbances which took place in the UK's northern towns, principally Bradford, Oldham and Burnley in 2001. A series of reports (Cantle 2001; Clarke 2001; Denham 2001; Ouseley 2001; Ritchie 2001) identified a lack of clear political, community and religious leadership and a climate of ignorance, fear and division between different racial, ethnic and religious groups living in each area (prompting some significant academic responses, see: Amin 2002, 2003; Jahn-Kahn 2003; Kundnani 2001; Phillips 2006). The reports argued that pluralist approaches focusing on respecting and celebrating the differences between self-identified groups or communities had resulted in a lack of emphasis on shared common bonds. They portrayed residential segregation and the so-called *'parallel lives'* of different ethnic groups within each locality as leading to a lack of social and community cohesion deemed ultimately responsible for the rioting which took place (see Cantle 2001). The reports aimed to foster common (national and local) identities and a set of shared values by emphasising commonalities over perceived difference based around the belief that a rise in activities that increased 'bridging' between different ethnic groups would break down perceived barriers, unite people around shared senses of belonging regardless of race, culture or faith and achieve integrated and cohesive communities based on wider geographical areas (Putnam 2003).

Alongside these policy statements, new institutions were set up in the 2000s to establish 'problem-centred' policy approaches and to promote cohesion. A Commission on Integration and Cohesion (COIC) was founded in 2007 with a mandate to reflect on *'how local areas can make the most of the benefits delivered by increasing diversity – [as well as to] consider how they can respond to the tensions it can sometimes cause'*. It was expected to *'develop practical approaches that build communities'* own capacity to prevent problems, including those caused by segregation and the dissemination of extremist ideologies'. The commission recommended avoiding *'one-size-fits-all'* national-level approaches in favour of locally tailored solutions. It valued the specificity of 'place' in generating a sense of cohesion via an acknowledgement of the significance of *'millions of small, everyday actions'* (and interactions) between people (COIC 2007, p.4). The report made recommendations emphasising: what *'binds communities together rather than what differences divide them'*; a new model of rights and responsibilities focused on strengthening a national sense of citizenship via ceremonies and education; a principle of mutual respect and civility recognising that the *'pace of change across the country reconfigures local communities rapidly'*; and the principle of visible social justice in order to tackle myths and build trust in the institutions that arbitrate between groups such as local authorities (COIC 2007, p. 43-44). Community cohesion represented an attempt to combine the 'bridging' or 'coming together' associated with earlier assimilationist expectations with the pluralist 'bonding' and valuing of cultural diversity characteristic of existing multiculturalist approaches. However many of its core proposals were undermined by a combination of factors. Firstly, the terror attacks on London in July 2007 (shortly after the publication of the COIC report in June 2007) had a significant impact on policy discourse, prompting the introduction of the government's national *Preventing Violent Extremism* programme (aiming to undermine extremist ideology), and much maligned for its divisive approach of focusing its efforts and funding solely on Muslim communities at a time

Table 3.1 Some key milestones in national policy relating to migration, citizenship and diversity, 1997-2010

Period	Year	Milestone
1997-2010: New Labour Governments	Sep 2002	Citizenship introduced as a statutory subject in the English National Curriculum
	Feb 2003	ODPM (2003) *Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future*.
	Sep 2005	Widely publicised (and heavily criticised) speech given by Trevor Phillips, whilst Chair of the former Commission for Racial Equality, warning that parts of the UK were 'sleepwalking into segregation' with different ethnic groups living almost entirely separate lives.
	Nov 2005	*'Life in the UK'* test introduced for naturalisation as one of the requirements for anyone seeking Indefinite Leave to Remain in the UK or naturalisation as a British citizen under the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002).
	Oct 2006	DCLG (2006) *Strong and Prosperous Communities*.
	Apr 2007	*'Life in the UK'* test introduced for settlement under the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002).
	Apr 2007	DCLG (2007) *Preventing Violent Extremism – Winning hearts and minds*.
	Apr 2007	Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) *Our Shared Future*.
	Sep 2007	Legal duty on schools to promote community cohesion a legal duty introduced through the Education and Inspections Act 2006 and placed in an equalities context by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, National Curriculum 200 and Every Child Matters 2004
	Jul 2008	DCLG (2008) *Communities in Control: Real People, Real Power*.

when funding for community activities among other groups was being reduced (DCLG 2007). Secondly, economic recession (and a subsequent lack of funds for state programmes). Thirdly, political changes following the defeat of the Labour government in the election of May 2010.

Table 3.1 summarises the key milestones in the rolling out of policy under New Labour. It demonstrates how the discourses of community cohesion, sustainable communities, and integration became the dominant policy narratives of the 1997-2010 period.

The Coalition Government's Integrationist and 'New Localist' Approaches: 2010-2015
The Coalition government of Conservatives and Liberal-Democrats, under the leadership of David Cameron, focussed on integration rather than cohesion claiming more effective policy will result from less central government control and the promotion of 'new localism' in governance arrangements. Under the *Localism Act 2011*, it championed public sector reform through the decentralisation of power from central to local government as well as directly to communities, neighbourhoods and individuals. In place of state agencies, voluntary organisations, faith communities, friendly societies, co-operatives and social enterprises, were encouraged to take greater responsibility. Good policy-making, it is claimed, originates in the 'natural', local communities in which everyday encounters take place. Answers to the problems raised by diversity were said to be found by *'rebalancing activity from centrally-led to locally-led action and from public to the voluntary and private sectors'* (DCLG, 2012: p. 2). This was underpinned by austerity reforms that have seen major cut-backs in public spending (see Section 3.4).

Table 3.2 Some key milestones in national policy relating to migration, citizenship and diversity, 2010-2015

Period	Year	Milestone
2010-2015: Coalition Government	May 2010	Coalition government election pledge to bring down annual net immigration to less than 100,000 by 2015 (APPG Migration 2011)
	Oct 2010	GEO (2010a) *Equality Act 2010*.
	Nov 2010	BIS (2010) *Skills for sustainable growth: strategy document* – Marks cuts in ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) funding and restrictions on eligibility effective from September 2011.
	Dec 2010	GEO (2010b) *The Equality Strategy – Building a Fairer Britain*.
	Apr 2011	Cabinet Office (2011) Opening Doors, Breaking Barriers: A Strategy for Social Mobility.
	Apr 2011	Reforms to international student route (Tier 4) – aimed towards a wider reduction in immigration levels (APPG Migration, 2011)
	Apr 2011	Annual limit on non-EU economic immigration under Tiers 1 and 2 introduced plus New English language requirement for non-EU migrants applying to enter or extend their stay in the UK as spouses and partners of citizens or settled residents (APPG Migration 2011).
	Nov 2011	*'Localism Act 2011'* introduced – aiming to devolve more decision making powers from central government to individuals, communities and councils particularly in areas such as community rights, neighbourhood planning and housing.
	Feb 2012	DCLG (2012) *Creating the conditions for integration*.
	Jul 2013	DCLG (2013a) *Bringing people together in strong, united communities*.
	Jul 2013	DCLG (2013b) *Ethnic Minority Businesses and Access to Finance*.
	Sep 2013	Cabinet Office (2013) *Promoting social action: encouraging and enabling people to play a more active part in society*.

Table 3.2 shows that the dominant national policy discourse towards migration, citizenship and diversity has remained predominantly integrationist in nature, albeit with more of an emphasis on assimilation (see Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012; Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013). However, in keeping with the focus on localism, there is a greater emphasis on individual responsibility and core British values *'underpinned both by opportunities to succeed and a strong sense of personal and social responsibility to the society which has made success possible'* (DCLG, 2012a: p. 4). Rather than seeing integration as something that can be planned for and implemented, the emphasis is on cultural and aspirational changes within, what one interviewee termed, the *"lived places"* of diversity. There is little appetite for in-depth state-funded research or data collection on the characteristics or potential problems associated with diversity. This reflects a broader scepticism within government concerning the ability of experts to determine policy objectives in an effective manner (DCLG, 2012). As will be discussed in Section 3.4, this differs markedly from the arrangements that persist in London.

This new localism, therefore, presented opportunities for local government to create tailored locally-specific solutions to addressing issues of diversity and integration which acknowledge the specificity of local context and experiences. Yet a lack of financial backing for local initiatives because of austerity has been criticised as hugely problematic (CLES, 2011). It also failed to acknowledge the socio-economic (and other) factors that affected the ability of local people

to access existing services, let alone have a stake in delivering them themselves (CLES, 2010: p. 6). Issues of structural inter-territorial disparities between and within English regions and metropolitan areas are also ignored. The anticipation being that it is those in society with the most social capital and with the desire, skills and leadership to take control of the places they live in that are most likely to get involved in running local services while other 'passive' citizens will be left out.

In May 2015 a majority Conservative administration was elected with the promise to reduce levels of immigration to the UK. In 2014-2015 net in-migration reached levels of approximately 300,000/year making immigration policy as a whole one of the most highly contentious areas of government policy (*The Guardian*, 2015). A range of politicians, the media, and new political parties such as the UK Independence Party have made immigration a 'priority issue'. Citizenship remains prescriptively linked to testing and, as mentioned above, there is little overarching guidance on issues of diversity. The implications of this approach for the politics and practices of public policy in London are particularly significant given the city's hyper-diversity and governance complexity and it is to debates in the city that the chapter now turns.

3.4 GOVERNMENTAL DISCOURSES AND THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY IN LONDON

As discussed above, dominant narratives and representations of diversity in London are underpinned by radical ambiguities. In this section we explore the formal definitions and representations of diversity that exist within policy frameworks and some of the core rationalities and understandings that underpin them. We show that on the one hand London is presented in iconic terms as a city whose diversity is unique and a source of cultural and economic vibrancy. On the other hand, this celebratory rhetoric masks some genuine tensions and difficulties associated with the types of growth and development that the city is undergoing. International investment and in-migration are generating major planning challenges and difficulties. Property prices are increasing to such an extent that the city is becoming unaffordable to many. New developments increasingly target the super-rich with little in the way of trickle-down to the majority. As the population expands (see discussion in Chapter 2), so planners and policy-makers are faced with new challenges. There is a requirement to provide jobs, housing, and social services for a growing number of diverse residents. These tensions are becoming acute and, we argue, are reflected in policy narratives and representations of the city. Moreover, we will show that there are significant degrees of difference between policy agendas in London and those of the UK government outlined in Section 3.3. We also show that there are growing areas of convergence, particularly in relation to debates over integration and selective immigration.

First, dominant narratives of diversity at the London scale have taken on a consensual, rather than contested, form and emphasise London's wider 'success' as a leading global city. They have been used to legitimate policies that promote an 'equality of opportunity' for all of London's

citizens, whilst deflecting attention away from more structural forms of inequality that would require radical forms of intervention to resolve. Little attention is, therefore, given to questions concerning the redistribution of economic resources and the increasing, or new, forms of inequality. Second, diversity governance has been characterised by a pragmatic managerialism and an emphasis on legal compliance and individual responsibility which, in some ways, differs markedly from national policy agendas. And third, there are significant variations in policy within London as it is at the sub-metropolitan level where some of the most innovative approaches are to be found. The primary focus of policy narratives at the city level is on fostering recognition. Much less attention is given to tangible interventions that re-design urban spaces to promote diverse encounters or to the redistribution of economic opportunities for different groups. This differs markedly with the practices of the boroughs and other civil society organisations working in neighbourhoods across the city which have become increasingly critical of wider narratives and have sought to develop their own policy initiatives. Efforts to convert diversity and equality into a consensus-based agenda around which all can agree have failed to prevent wide-spread disagreements across the city.

We begin by exploring the governance arrangements and formal definitions and representations of diversity that are found at the metropolitan level. We then move on to discuss key perspectives and understandings of diversity as presented by our interviewees (see Section 3.2 for a broader discussion of our methodology). We divide the discussion into three themes, following Fincher and Iveson's (2008) work on planning for diversity in cities: *selective recognition of diversity*, *the politics of everyday encounters in the city*, and *diversity and redistribution*.

Governing Agencies in London: City-Wide and Local Bodies
London's governance structures are complex and dynamic. Figure 3.1 previously outlined the key institutions involved in the governance of urban policy and diversity, demonstrating that its formal structures are two-tiered, with a Mayor (with strong powers by UK standards), a London Assembly and 33 sub-metropolitan local authorities (32 boroughs and the Corporation of London). The Greater London Authority (GLA) is the top-tier administrative body consisting of the directly elected executive Mayor responsible for the strategic government of Greater London and an elected 25-member London Assembly which scrutinises the activities of the Mayor and holds him publicly accountable. The GLA is a strategic regional authority, with powers over: transport; policing; economic development; and fire and emergency planning. Three functional bodies – Transport for London, the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, and the London Fire and Emergency Planning Authority – are responsible for the delivery of services in these areas. Whilst the Mayor is responsible for setting the overall vision for London, it is the 33 boroughs that are responsible for providing the majority of the day to day services for their local residents in areas such as: education; housing; licensing; local planning; waste collection; as well as the arts and environmental, leisure and social services. The boroughs work with local businesses via Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) and are represented by London Councils, an organisation which lobbies government collectively on behalf of all London boroughs. A vast number of local community organisations are also active in providing services

and lobbying, for which there is no official data. There are relatively few city-wide third sector agencies, with the notable exception of London First, an employer's organisation that lobbies to influence national and local government policies and investment decisions to support London's global competitiveness. Other agencies have London offices (e.g. the London Chamber of Commerce) or are London-focussed in much of their work.

The Mayor's work on migration is co-ordinated by the London Strategic Migration Partnership (LSMP) which is funded by the Home Office and whose members include pan-London organisations such as London Councils, London First and NHS London as well as representatives from the UK Border Agency, the Refugee Council and the Migrant and Refugee Advisory Panel (MRAP). The LSMP published the Mayor's Refugee Integration Strategy (GLA, 2009a; 2009b; 2009c), which was later expanded to apply to all migrants (GLA, 2011a). Its business plan covers key areas of integration for refugees and migrants and also monitors and responds to the impact of national immigration policies. It is not uncommon for the Mayor to oppose central government with regards to issues of migration, housing, citizenship, and diversity. For example, the Mayor has criticised Home Office visa policies restricting non-EU students' right to study in the UK and to remain to work post-completion on the basis that London (and in turn the UK) benefits from attracting talent from overseas and that limiting this will limit economic growth (GLA, 2011b).

Selective Recognition and Diversity Policy in London

The main emphasis of diversity policy in London is a pragmatic concern with *selective recognition*. There has been a strong emphasis on the quantitative changes that have taken place in the city's demographic profile and labour market in recent decades and the qualitative impacts of migration on its cultural and social character. The geography of ethnicity in London shows clear areas of concentration of ethnic minority populations, but with rare exceptions, these areas remain usually very ethnically mixed and are not dominated by one single group. Patterns of clustering and concentration differ between groups, with some (e.g. the Bangladeshi or Indian) displaying stronger patterns of concentration than others which are characterised by more spatial dispersion (e.g. Black Caribbeans and Black Africans) (GLA, 2005). This ethnic geography is explained through a combination of structural-economic factors (income, position in the labour market and characteristics of the housing supply), ethnic-cultural preferences and legacies of ethnic discrimination in labour and housing markets (see Galster, 2007). It has important implications for urban policy interventions given the GLA's recognition that:

> *…areas of most intense poverty and deprivation are often in close geographical proximity to areas of extreme wealth and affluence. BAME[13] [people] are over-represented in the poorest sections of London's population…[and] houses headed by a member of certain ethnic minority communities are more likely to have low incomes (GLA, 2012a: p. 4).*

Mayoral strategies highlight some of the 'realities' created by globalization and argue that policy-makers and citizens have little choice but to adapt to their new circumstances. The (co)

presence of diverse and entrepreneurial citizens from all over the world is something to be celebrated and nurtured. The document *Equal Life Chances for All*, for instance, openly claims that:

> *London is a great world city and its strength continues to be its dynamism and the diversity of its constantly changing population. London has always, and will always, welcome migrants. It is migrants that have made this city great over many decades, and successive generations bring new energy, skills, enterprise, opportunities, prosperity, and a rich and varied culture (GLA, 2012b: p. 3).*

A new discourse of 'talent' is now used to justify policy. This view was supported by a GLA interviewee who noted that it represents a *"positive view of diversity and immigration as being driven by talent, and we need this talent to come in… you can't close the borders and say 'no-one can come in' because we benefit from it, specifically London"*. An emphasis on talent is presented as a discourse that all can agree on. It is difficult to oppose such an agenda without appearing to have an ulterior motive. We will return to this topic directly in Section 3.6.

Diversity is something to be promoted as a commodity, as a factor that gives London a decisive edge in the competition for global investment, the attraction of international events (such as the Olympics), and the image of the city as a creative centre for highly skilled professionals and creative workers. In the words of a GLA representative, policy discourses are *"looking at how to keep London competitive and attractive to international students, or high skilled migrants… as an enabler of jobs and growth"*. This is a very different narrative to that of the current UK government that openly rejects more pluralist views of multiculturalism and emphasises the importance of 'common ground' based on *'a clear sense of shared aspirations and values, which focuses on what we have in common rather than our differences'* (GLA, 2012b: p. 5). National integration policy under the Coalition government is founded on a values-based agenda, with much less interest in evidence-based policy. This means that the Mayor has often stood in contradiction or opposition to the central government agenda, despite being from the same political party (Conservative). He has, for example, voiced public support for an 'earned regularisation scheme' for irregular migrants already living in the UK on the grounds that this would offer significant economic benefits from increased tax revenue (GLA, 2009d). There is also a Mayoral programme, Diversity Works for London (DWfL), which encourages and supports businesses to realise the competitive advantage of London's diversity, an area given more attention on the city-wide than national scale.

On a broader canvass, the Mayor's *London Plan 2011* offers a definition of diversity as:

> *The differences in the values, attitudes, cultural perspective, beliefs, ethnic background, sexuality, skills, knowledge and life experiences of each individual in any group of people constitute the diversity of that group. This term refers to differences between people and is used to highlight individual need (GLA, 2011c: Annex 5, Glossary).*

A series of commitments are made that seek to give recognition to the ways in which public policy can discriminate against different groups, individuals and communities in unintended ways. The *Plan* claims that policy needs to strike a balance between collective needs and the diversity of individuals and citizens. It states, for example, that *'the Mayor is committed to securing a more inclusive London which recognizes shared values as well as the distinct needs of the capital's different groups and communities, particularly the most vulnerable and disadvantaged'* (*Ibid.*, paragraph 3.2), although how this is to be achieved remains under-specified.

Diversity as a form of Pragmatic Politics

Diversity as a narrative has become elided with a *pragmatic politics* that claims to be focused on a non-ideological and problem-based approach to governing the city. This extends to both Mayoral and borough levels. A number of interviewees emphasised this aspect of recognition. As one civil servant noted in interview, *"the difference is that the national [agenda] is driven by values, the London [agenda] is driven by pragmatism … and values as well"*. This pragmatic view of diversity, it was claimed by the same civil servant, emphasises:

> the financial benefits to the city, the fact that it gives the city kudos, the fact that the city's not like any other city, and he [the Mayor] realises equality and diversity is actually something that you can sell the city on…he [the Mayor] knows that his constituency is a diverse community and he will engage with local people.

It is driven by the electoral politics of London. As noted by one interviewee any Mayoral candidate can only gain support through the promotion of *"very different kinds of value[s] that… champion the underdogs and the oppressed"*. It is pragmatically important to be seen to be positive about the make-up of the city's population, as a large part of the Black and Minority Ethnic population of London is of British nationality and therefore potential voters, in addition to all EU migrants who can vote in the London elections.

More significantly, the narrative of diversity has become elided with wider discourses surrounding *equality* and the stated intention to 'mainstream equalities' in the planning of welfare across the city. This recognition is partly pragmatic but is also driven by wider processes of judicialisation that are occurring in governance systems across the EU with the growing importance of legal codes and regulations that stipulate how it is that government agencies should act (see Rios-Figueroa and Taylor, 2006). In the UK this process culminated in the *Equality Act 2010* in which a duty was placed on all public bodies to consider how their practices and policies impact on the equality of different groups. Clause 1 states that:

> An authority to which this section applies must, when making decisions of a strategic nature about how to exercise its functions, have due regard to the desirability of exercising them in a way that is designed to reduce the inequalities of outcome which result from socio-economic disadvantage (GEO, 2010a).

The legal framework requires local authorities and the Mayor to address the specific needs of diverse groups[14]. If they fail to do so they can be taken through costly and prolonged judicial reviews and even sued by community groups, individuals, or other agencies for a lack of due diligence. In the words of one GLA interviewee, the consequence of this is that, *"we never talk about diversity as immigration, or ethnicity, whereas I know a lot of other EU cities seem to…when we talk about diversity we put it in the context of the Equalities Act for us to think about"*.

However, the focus on rights and equalities has ushered in some new tensions in policy thinking. As one GLA interviewee noted, this is reflected in a shift towards a mainstreaming approach in which *"we don't target communities"* but rather think more about how policies treat individual citizens as equals. The longer term objective of policy is becoming integrationist as it seeks to eliminate diversity as a meaningful construct. Thus despite the pragmatic and positive discourse promoted within many policy frameworks, there is also a gradual erosion taking place in the targeting of groups for additional support and the recognition that diversity exists as a specific policy problem to be accounted for, recognised, and acted on.

Mainstreaming in this way is fuelling more technocratic and managerial approaches to governance. Organisations are compelled to report on the quantitative impacts their actions have on wider policy objectives surrounding cohesion, competitiveness, and mobility. In the strategy document *London Enriched* (GLA, 2013b), for example, *'managing migration'* is presented as *'essential to maximising its benefits and supporting integration vital to minimising its costs'*. As the Deputy Mayor notes in its foreword, the strategy *'acknowledged that there are sometimes specific barriers which exist that prevent refugees and migrants making a substantial and valued contribution'*. The need for targeted intervention in a complex *'global city'* is powerfully made. The strategy has been broken down into seven Core Objectives[15], each of which is given targets, budget lines, and management controls. Researchers from the University of Oxford were hired to provide a thorough assessment of the dynamics of migration in London in order *'to inform policy development, communication and marketing activities [and] also highlight significant differences by demographic groups'*. Moreover, references to 'research and media monitoring' will be used to provide a *'robust evidence base for policy-makers'* (GLA, 2012b: p. 31; see COMPAS, 2010). Policy-making therefore combines a compartmentalised approach, in which specific areas of intervention are targeted and acted on, and a more strategic overview of how these different fields interact to create a more coherent form of intervention. Visible targets are set and monitoring procedures put in place to evaluate effectiveness. This stands in sharp contrast with the shift to value-based policy-making and the move away from government-funded policy research within Central Government since 2010 (see Section 3.3.2 on diversity policy shifts).

Other examples of this managerialism include the first *Equal Life Chances for All* (GLA (2009) strategy which fused national requirements under the *Equality Act 2010* (GEO, 2010a) and city-wide objectives incorporated from consultations undertaken with different agencies. In terms of community engagement, the strategy states two objectives:

to engage with London's diverse communities to effectively inform, develop and deliver Mayoral strategies, priorities and programmes; [and]…to use traditional forms of social research and innovative digital engagement and social media monitoring to establish how Londoners see the world around them and respond to policy proposals (GLA, 2012b: pp. 30-31).

Local authorities are required to have baseline data available for planning purposes to both facilitate the effective management of policy and to limit the potential for legal challenges to their decisions. There has been an attempt to make diversity 'visible' and construe it as both a policy problem and an opportunity. In the Mayor's terms, *'we have now developed a more holistic approach to minimising disadvantage, one which brings Londoners together rather than separating and pigeon-holing people as had been done in the past'* (Johnson, 2012: p. 1). It is, in part, a response to some of the difficulties in distinguishing between different groups in London. As one GLA interviewee noted, the EU approach to recognising diversity *"does not fit with the London reality…there are new migrants yet there is no recognition at the European level that these are migrants, they are just people exercising free movement".*

Managerialism has also been used to justify the mainstreaming approach highlighted above that, in theory, should generate increased integration which in the longer term reduces social and economic diversity. The former GLA Director of Equalities and Policing saw this as a way of dealing with the *'unique set of opportunities and challenges'* posed by London's position as *'undoubtedly one of the most diverse cities in the world'* (Jasper, 2007: p. 4). *Supplementary Planning Guidance* for equality and diversity planning was published in 2007 and it still officially remains part of the body of guidance documents which are supposed to shape the implementation of planning and urban policy across the city. The Guidance explicitly aimed to *'promote social inclusion and to help eliminate discrimination by ensuring that the spatial needs of all London's communities are addressed'* (GLA, 2007: p. 5). Local boroughs are required to *'identify the needs of the diverse groups in their area…address the spatial needs of these groups, and ensure that they are not disadvantaged both through general policies for development and specific policies relating to the provision of social infrastructure'* (*Ibid*, p. 7). There has been continuity in the approach of the previous administration that explicitly argued that *'in a city as diverse as London it is essential that an accurate picture of the population involved is created when considering approaches to promote equality and diversity….effective provision for communities cannot be made if their specific needs have not been recognised and understood'* (GLA, 2007: p. 15). Moreover, there is also a requirement *'to encourage developers and planners to consider equality issues at the earliest stages of applications'* (Ibid, p. 7).

To summarise, the politics of diversity in London differs markedly from that found at national level. There is a greater sense of electoral and managerial pragmatism in policy discussions and a more positive interpretation of the economic and cultural value of a diverse population and workforce. It is claimed that selected and identified problems can be managed and tackled in a pragmatic way that becomes removed from the contested arena of political debate and conflict. Moreover, rather than focusing on the structural problems faced by communities,

the emphasis is on *individuals* who are 'enabled' to take on new responsibilities and to take control of their own lives. There is also some evidence that national policies are having some effect on local discourses. The outcome of individualisation and what many respondents term a 'mainstreaming' of intervention is a *de facto* policy of integrationism. This has two implications. First, it shies away from more interventionist forms of collective governance. It is an approach that in Bauman's (2001, p. 88) terms sets *'claims for recognition free from their redistributive content'*. Second, it creates tensions with the more pragmatic, instrumental view of diversity as a 'good thing' and a boost to competitiveness. The logic of mainstreaming is for diversity to disappear and for policy to become immune to the politics of difference.

Diversity and the Politics of Everyday Encounters in London
The politics of encounter plays a much less significant role in London-wide diversity discourses than that of recognition, although it is increasingly significant at the local level. There are three prevailing narratives: the building of mixed and balanced communities which facilitate diverse encounters; the promotion of urban order in public space; and the devolution of governance responsibilities to the neighbourhoods in which 'natural communities' exist and everyday encounters take place. Each of these is now discussed in turn.

First, there has been some continuity with former Mayor Livingstone's[16] emphasis (and that of the previous Labour government, see Colomb, 2007) on the building of mixed and balanced communities at the local level through tenure mix and the affordability, choice, and quality of housing. The *London Plan 2011* explicitly states that:

> *Communities mixed and balanced by tenure and household income should be promoted across London through incremental small scale as well as larger scale developments which foster social diversity, redress social exclusion and strengthen communities' sense of responsibility for, and identity with, their neighbourhoods. They must be supported by effective and attractive design, adequate infrastructure and an enhanced environment (GLA, 2011c: Policy 3.9).*

The rationale of the *London Plan 2011* is familiar. The objective of 'mix' has been perceived as desirable by UK policy-makers since the late 1990s for various reasons. It is based on the sociological notion of 'neighbourhood effects' which hypothesises that a high concentration of poor, or ethnic minority, people in specific areas is bad, as it reinforces and perpetuates poverty and exclusion and reduces opportunities for social mobility (see Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013). The policy implication of this is that by introducing a form of social mix in poor areas (getting higher income groups to live there), poverty will be spatially dispersed and the life chances of the poor will be improved. Mixed and balanced communities, it is argued, encourage co-presence and social encounters, which in turn can also facilitate social mobility and creativity through new interactions and the formation of diverse social networks. There is also specific temporal imagination embedded in these understandings. Many respondents in London and beyond referred to the de-stabilising effects of rapid change on community cohesion. Encounters in the city are, it is claimed, increasingly ephemeral and transient and this

undermines a sense of social cohesion and the prospects for social mobility. Mixed communities are put forward as a way to redress this and facilitate more positive encounters.

More rarely does the policy discourse on mixed communities talk about the necessity to bring lower income residents to rich neighbourhoods, or to 'protect' the existing social composition of urban areas which are mixed but have become rapidly gentrified as in many parts of London. The *London Plan 2011* states that:

> *New social housing development should be encouraged in areas where it is currently under represented. These are essentially local matters for boroughs to address in light of their local circumstances because the key concern is the concentrations of deprivation in individual, or groups of, mono-tenure estates rather than the overall level of social renting in a borough (GLA, 2011c: p. 87).*

At the same time changes in the *Plan* are running directly counter to this discourse. Requirements for affordable housing have been lowered in order to boost construction activity in London and despite the rhetoric of pragmatism, there exists an ideological unwillingness to enable local authorities and others to borrow the necessary capital to invest in the large-scale construction of social housing projects.

It is important to note, in relation to diversity, that the policy discourse on mixed communities in the UK and in London never explicitly targets ethnic mix (Colomb, 2011), as this would be politically too sensitive (see Phillips and Harrison, 2010; Thomas, 2008). There is also much academic work in London that is sceptical about the effectiveness of such tenure mix policies (Arbaci and Rae, 2012; Tunstall and Lupton, 2011). They seem to have had, at best, small positive effects, and more often no effects in terms of improving the life conditions and opportunities of poor urban residents or BME groups. If and when they have had a positive impact, it was most likely caused by the improvements to facilities and services (health, education, training or retail provision) which accompanied interventions for more mixed tenures. The scarce evidence about the positive effects of tenure and social mix policies has led some to question their rationale and necessity, both in the UK (e.g. Cheshire, 2009) and in other European countries (Galster, 2007; Kleinhans, 2004; Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Musterd *et al.*, 2006).

Alongside this there is greater recognition given to the importance of inclusive *urban design* and its impacts on diversity thinking and practice. Existing policies often fail to account for the needs of diverse groups and constitute one of the most significant forms of discrimination. If, for example, certain ethnic minority groups have larger families, then the provision of family housing becomes directly connected to more just forms of diversity planning. Local planning authorities are encouraged to make provision for the needs of different groups when deciding on development plans. This should include the provision of community facilities or other assets such as accessible places of worship. And yet, there is little capacity in policy systems to engineer

the places in which individuals live. Interventions are co-ordinated and organised on the level of individual development projects and their 'viability' for private developers (see GLA, 2011c: Section 3.50). Under Planning Gain agreements permission is granted only if developers agree to various social investments and the provision of affordable[17] housing and/or the provision of specific 'public' spaces. There is little strategic overview of this process with the net result that local authorities in areas of strong demand are able to negotiate better social outcomes, whereas those in regeneration areas are often in a less powerful position to set terms and conditions. Developers have no compulsion to build on land they hold even with planning permission so that land can be 'banked' and this in turn increases its market value.

The provision of public spaces by private investors is also a controversial process with some research arguing that it has created open and inclusive spaces of encounter in London (see Carmona and Wunderlich, 2012; Norwood, 2013), whereas others point to the limited and selective activities that take place within such spaces (Minton, 2012). In many 'mixed' developments there is evidence of physical segregation between housing of different types in order to protect the marketability of more expensive housing (*The Guardian,* 2013; Kilburn, 2013). So whilst there is still a policy insistence on the provision of mixed communities, the reality is that micro-segregation is becoming entrenched in the physical layout of many urban developments. The tensions between the objectives of private developers, for whom mixed developments are seen as a threat to market returns, and public authorities, whose stated aims are to create such developments, are put to one side in city-wide and national discourses. Project outcomes are managed on a project-by-project basis with little strategic overview. Wider planning priorities for diversity, it is claimed, will emerge through local actions and decisions.

A second core strand in the politics of encounter relates to perceptions of *urban order*, in particular in the aftermath of the London riots which took place in August 2011 during five days. The riots were initially sparked by the fatal shooting by the police of a young Mixed Heritage man in Tottenham, North-East London. The riots spread to various parts of inner and outer London and to other cities in England, such as Manchester and Liverpool. More than 5,000 individual riot-related crimes – antipolice violence, looting and vandalism against shops and vehicles – were recorded across England, two-third of which in London. Over 4,000 arrests were made as a result of the riots; many people were injured and four were murdered in London and the West Midlands (Rogers, 2011).

The riots sparked intense media and public debates about their causes. The people arrested for riot-related activities were predominantly young and male; 33% of the adults had no qualification higher than GCSE[18] level and only 5% said they had a degree. Whilst race was mentioned as an issue in the media at the time, 33% of those appearing in the courts on riot-related charges were White, 43% were Black and 7% Asian (Rogers, 2011). Race actually played a limited role in most of the media discussion and policy responses to the riots when compared to earlier riots in 1981, 1985 and 2001 (Solomos, 2011), although the event that sparked the riots in Tottenham clearly had a 'racialized' nature, the geography of the riots

escaped any simplistic correlation with poor areas or commercial centres, and took place instead in ordinary spaces of everyday diversity, socializing and encounter (Till, 2013). The Coalition government did not launch a formal inquiry into the causes of the riots but instead set up a Riots Communities and Victims Panel, whose final report (2012) *'resonates with the Victorian values and underlying notions of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor'* (Bridges, 2012: p. 8). Commentators from the Left, community leaders and many researchers, by contrast, emphasized structural poverty and unemployment, social inequalities, lack of social mobility, the impacts of austerity measures on the poorest and a lack of empowerment of local communities (Dillon and Fanning, 2013; Lewis *et al.*, 2011; Low, 2011; Phillips *et al.*, 2013).

More generally, however, if one moves beyond the discourse surrounding the 2011 riots, the narratives of diversity that exist in London are very different to those of national government and its focus on gangs of young people and 'extremism' among the city's Muslim population. Whilst the discourse of order is always evident, there is a more consensual approach in formal policy discourses in London and one that is less inclined to stereotype particular groups. This is even truer at the local level as boroughs have been keen to stress the inherent cohesiveness of local communities. Policies claim that a more secure public realm, in terms of design and policing, can break down barriers to diversity and promote greater cohesion. There has been a particular focus on tackling hate crimes against vulnerable communities and in making public spaces more secure, and less threatening, for diverse groups (GLA, 2012b). Safer spaces encourage greater social interaction as more vulnerable groups are able to use public spaces in a more open way.

However, the realities in terms of issues such as policing and anti-social behaviour are somewhat less positive. As with other diversity narratives, some of the more difficult questions over who wins and who loses from interventions are put to one side. Security policies target specific citizens, particularly the young, those from BAME groups, and those of particular faiths. The use of 'stop and search powers' by police forces in England and Wales has been shown to disproportionally target (young) Black and Asian people (Eastwood *et al.*, 2013), even if progress to reduce this profiling has been made in recent years (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2013). Such practices have had toxic effects on relations between police and Britain's minorities (Shiner and Delsol, 2013). In London, the GLA (2012a: p. 11) admits that *'[B]lack people are four times more likely to be stopped and searched than [W]hite people'* and that *'the Mayor believes that stop and search can be a useful tactic in the fight against crime, but that it must be applied and be seen to be applied in a fair, reasonable and professional manner at all times'*. The figures for arrests also show stark divisions. In 2010 80% of all police arrests in England and Wales were of 'White' citizens, 8% were of 'Black' origin, and 6% Asian. In London, however, *'[W]hite people accounted for around 50% of arrests, [B]lack people for 27% and Asian people for over 11%'* (GLA 2012a: p. 11). Policing and security continue to act as a lightning rod for wider discontents in communities across the city and have at times undermined local attempts to promote greater cohesion. The policy response has been to implement new forms of mainstreaming, alongside relatively minor programmes. Rather than focussing on policing, new schemes have been launched by the Mayor to promote the mentoring of young people from

BAME communities and an enhanced focus on educational attainment, individual aspirations, and projects that will equip *'young people with tools for the future'* (GLA, 2012a: p. 12).

Third, it is argued that it is at the local level that the day-to-day encounters and interactions of modern cosmopolitanism life take place in a positive and progressive manner (see Bridge, 2005; Neal, 2013; Neal *et al.*, 2013). Decision making structures, it is claimed, should reflect and reproduce these 'realities', particularly in cities such as London where new forms of hyper-diversity have emerged that undermine attempts to simplify and categorise different communities. In that context, the new programme of Neighbourhood Planning currently being developed following the *Localism Act 2011* is offering more challenges than opportunities in the London case, it may be argued. The Act (DCLG, 2011) created a new set of plans (Neighbourhood Plans) which can be prepared by Neighbourhood Forums of at least 21 members. These Forums are supposed to emanate from local communities themselves, which have to apply for recognition to their local authority and can then prepare a plan for their area.

While it is too early to assess the outcome of such new forms of neighbourhood planning, early evidence in London shows that, in certain circumstances, the process could divide rather than unite communities. In some cases, a dominant 'community' with common class, ethnic or religious characteristics can use neighbourhood planning to further its particular interests in ways that could be exclusionary to those of other groups, as is the case in Stamford Hill in North Hackney, where two competing neighbourhood forums submitted an application for the same area (Booth, 2013). One, strongly supported by the Hassidic Jewish community seeking to promote homes for large families, had been resisted by a separate neighbourhood group, with the consequence that Hackney Council had rejected both neighbourhood forum applications (Geoghegan, 2013). However, in other parts of London (e.g. Tottenham), there are a few emerging examples of lower and middle income groups with a diverse ethnic composition forming alliances to defend their neighbourhood against large-scale urban regeneration and property development activities which threaten areas with further gentrification.

Diversity and Redistribution

Whilst the politics of recognition and to some extent encounter have been relatively well developed in London, more challenging political questions over the efficacy and desirability of redistribution between diverse groups have been less clearly articulated. Objectives have tended to remain aspirational and implicit and focussed on the indirect economic dividends associated with diversity policy, rather than the mechanisms through which redistribution takes place. There are no formal narratives that argue that inequality can be tackled by sanctions and taxes on the better off in London and/or on super-wealthy immigrants who are attracted to London's global property and asset markets. Redistribution will be facilitated, instead, by the promotion of individual aspirations, social capital, and responsibility, allied to voluntary legal requirements on businesses and public sector institutions. Whilst diversity is recognised and celebrated in official policy narratives, there is a growing movement within London and across England, towards an integrationist agenda and the language of 'convergence'. In short, equality is elided

with a levelling-up, not with a levelling-down of opportunities. It is a win-win-win policy in which it is imagined that there are no losers or costs to successful policy outcomes.

All policy interventions are being influenced by wider welfare reforms and expenditure cuts and the Coalition government's stated desire to promote growth above all other considerations. The reductions are having a major impact on the ability of local authorities to develop and implement programmes of action in London. A Trust for London report (2013, p. 1) notes that, *'Central government funding for service provision in London's thirty three boroughs, in total, fell by £2.7billion (€3.2billion) in real terms (33%) between 2009/10 and 2013/14, or 37% in per capita terms'*. It also noted that there have been differentiated geographical impacts of these cuts across London so that:

> *…not all London Boroughs have been affected to the same extent. Spending power reductions, per capita, over the period 2010/11 to 2013/4 range from 12% to 26% in real terms. In general more deprived boroughs, which had more income from central government and spent more to start with, have faced the biggest cuts (Trust for London, 2013: p. 1).*

The most deprived Inner London Boroughs of Hackney, Newham, Islington, Southwark, and Tower Hamlets received cuts of between 8-9% in just one year (2011-2012) and these were amongst the biggest changes found anywhere in England (Trust for London, 2011). Between 2012 and 2013, the GLA's revenues also fell by £31million (€37million) (8%), from a total of £403million (€483million) to £372million (€446million) (GLA, 2013a: p. 4).

The changes have created structure problems for local authorities and the Mayor. Many of the responsibilities for the promotion of equality lie with the GLA but as one interviewee noted, *"we are not really a service provider, or the lead policy makers, so we're in that space between the local and the national and we feel that it is hard for us to achieve the goals of our integration policy"*. Cuts to budgets have made this co-ordinating role more challenging and limited the capacity of policy programmes to meet wider objectives. Again as the same interviewee noted, it is:

> *often the local level that has to pick up the pieces of national policy, so if national policy is open borders then…it puts a strain on local infrastructure…they have to pick up the tab with perhaps not much support from central government, so there's that to think about.*

This will become even more acute as the GLA Directorate budget is due to fall further from £103.5million (€124million) in 2012/13 to £91.5million (€109million) in 2014/15 (GLA, 2013a).

In this context some of the discussions surrounding diversity have begun to mirror those at national level. Under Mayor Johnson a new language of 'convergence' emerged in the wake of the London Olympics in 2012 and broader concerns with London's competitiveness, resilience, and long term success. Poorer areas, and communities, particularly those found in

East London in which relatively large numbers of migrants live, were targeted for support so that *'over the next 20 years the residents of the Host Boroughs will come to enjoy the same life chances as other Londoners'* (GLA, 2010b: p. 1). The principle of convergence reflects broader discourses of equality and integration outlined earlier. It is a vision that equates policy success with the levelling out of differences and the creation of more balanced social and economic geographies across the city. The existence of diversity is, therefore, presented as a sign of failure that acts as a brake on social cohesion and economic competitiveness. Such sentiments were highlighted by a GLA member who noted that London's citizens possess a:

> *…commonality in their aspirations…[that] are the same as everybody else. If we all have the aspiration that our children go to schools, that we can get transport around town, that we're safe, so in a way, I don't see diversity as being an important factor in that because we want the best for our families and it doesn't matter what our background is and that premise informs policy the most.*

So whilst formal policies appear to promote positive views of diversity, there is something of a counter-movement emerging amongst politicians that sees equality of treatment and a mainstreaming of identities and aspirations, as a more effective policy starting point.

In recent comments, the Mayor even went as far as to say that inequality represented a 'natural' sorting of differences between individuals with different capacities and that policies to increase social mobility were doomed to failure (*The Guardian*, 2013). There is little recognition that much of the growth taking place in London is sustained by low-paid work and individuals from migrant backgrounds are fundamental to this (see May *et al.*, 2007). London's welfare services also rely on migrants, some of whom undertake the low-paid functions that have been targeted by austerity cuts, with others filling more skilled positions that have also begun to see reductions in numbers. In this policy atmosphere it remains difficult to see how a more directly redistributive welfarist agenda can emerge.

The impacts of the *Localism Act* discussed earlier also have implications for redistribution as a number of 'community rights'[19] have been granted to local groups to take control of local assets or buy community buildings and facilities. These might include pubs, libraries, or community centres (DCLG, 2013c). There are few examples of how these rights have been exercised in London, by whom, and the extent to which they have been utilised to improve access to resources of disadvantaged, deprived or excluded groups, including ethnic minorities or migrants. As pointed out by critics, weaker groups marginalised by the cuts in public services are less likely to benefit from those community rights (see NEF, 2010: p. 3). Localism has not been backed up by transfers of resources, meaning that the likely outcome will be greater inequalities between groups with different capacities.

Some of the most effective forms of redistribution are to be found in legal and regulatory changes and campaigns that push for more *voluntary* forms of action on the part of public and private sector employers. The Mayor, for instance, has championed the widespread adoption

of higher salaries for low paid workers across London through the Living Wage campaign[20]. Employers are encouraged to adopt wages that will enable their workers to live at least a reasonable standard of living. In 2011 the Mayor increased the London minimum wage by 5% to £8.30 (€9.97) per hour for all employees of government bodies and it is estimated that over 10,000 low-paid workers have benefitted from the scheme (GLA, 2012a). An accreditation system has been established to support this and the Mayor has enthusiastically endorsed it and publicly stated that *'Paying the London Living Wage is not only morally right, but makes good business sense too'* (*Ibid.* p. 1). It is exactly the type of policy that is now seen as effective as it encourages self-reliance, reduced welfare costs, and also supports a wider competitiveness agenda by improving the quality and diversity of skills within firms.

As discussed above, one of the main approaches to redistribution in the city is to convert the narrative of diversity into a marketable commodity that can facilitate economic growth. As one respondent noted, it can be used to *"improve the quality of corporate governance, promote Foreign Direct Investments, and enable firms to understand markets better"*. This 'talent agenda' has sparked off a series of voluntary initiatives to promote diversity in corporate ownership and working practices. Partnerships with voluntary organisations, such as Business in the Community, have been established to promote what one interviewee referred to as *"action plans on how they [employers] can diversify"* their senior management teams and workforces. The focus has shifted primarily onto gender diversity, as opposed to ethnic or other types. Voluntarism and the promotion of an agenda of corporate competitiveness through diversity and talent are seen as the most effective way of bringing about social mobility and economic growth. There is no discourse of regulatory compulsion or US-style 'affirmative action' programmes. In its place firms are encouraged to 'benchmark' their activities and to demonstrate to their shareholders and to NGOs that they are working to boost the employment of a diversity of groups, a topic returned to in Section 3.5. Other efforts are being made to change the ways in which public bodies procure the work of sub-contractors and to use other contracts to encourage the employment of a diverse workforce. This reflects a wider set of changes in the public sector in England which is increasingly characterised by a state-led programme of privatisation (see Raco, 2014). A strategy published in 2010 named *Unlocking Public Value: Leading London to Smarter Procurement* (GLA, 2010a) sought to institutionalise this programme, along with a new database service named *CompeteFor* [21] that is designed to help smaller businesses and those with diverse backgrounds access state contracts.

Overall, the benefits of London's rapid economic growth are not being felt by many of its residents. Policies relating to redistribution and the creation of more 'just' diversities remain underdeveloped. Despite the Mayor's stated objective in the *Economic Development Strategy 2010* to *'give all Londoners the opportunity to take part in London's economic success, access sustainable employment and progress in their careers'*, unemployment rates for young Black people were 47% in 2011, compared to 19% for White young people (GLA, 2012b). In fact only 24% of Greater London Authority staff are from BAME backgrounds, despite such groups constituting more than half of London's population.

Having established the ways in which diversity is defined, represented and managed at the metropolitan level in London by the Greater London Authority, we now turn our focus towards the way that diversity is governed at the local level in the London Borough of Haringey.

3.5   THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY IN HARINGEY

In Haringey the local authority's *Economic Development and Growth Strategy* has adopted much of the language and rhetoric associated with those found in the New Economic Geography literature. Its foreword begins by proclaiming that London is a resurgent '*global mega-city*' and its '*success*' is a reflection of '*the increasing importance of cities in securing our future prosperity*' (Haringey Council, 2015). In terms that mimic those of the UK government, the emphasis is on creating '*an innovation economy*' and a '*place where living and working environments combine*'. In order to achieve this outcome there is a major focus on urban planning and the belief that '*creativity and ingenuity is inspired through the urban fabric, where people of different cultures can come together and exchange ideas*'. Local government's role is to move from '*a protectorate and provider to a true promoter of people and place*'. Value-added production and innovation are seen as central components of broader strategy that focuses on three core areas: highly-skilled sectors (such as sustainable technology); digital design; and skilled/craft manufacturing. In statements that reflect those of policy-makers across London, existing activities and SMEs are criticized for relatively low density of employment and under-utilisation of land and resources. As the Strategy states, '*to achieve our goal we need to create opportunities and support enterprise within the borough, and to support Haringey citizens of every age and background to access opportunities across London and beyond*' (Ibid., 2015, p.3). There is no targeted focus on any particular group. Instead the drive of policy is to:

> …*make the most of our available land, using both planning levers and regeneration investment to drive high density employment…this poses a challenge: how to work with the grain of London's mega-economy to grow our own prosperity and carve out our own sense of place and unique role within it.*

Planning should thus be used explicitly to tap into the opportunities opened up by the diversification of London's economy and developing flexible sites that offer '*combinations of facilities, infrastructure, location, and affordability*'. Or as the Strategy goes on to declare, the borough's:

> …*combination of historic urban buildings, development opportunities, and outstanding transport connections means we can create the environment contemporary businesses prefer: a mix of adapted and purpose built facilities – including dedicated incubator space – stitched into a dense and diverse urban fabric (Ibid., 2015, p.9).*

Existing clusters, such as fashion and textiles and craft manufacturing will be protected with the aim to '*create a self-sustaining and growing innovation ecosystem*' (Ibid., 2015, p.11). This vision for an ecosystem leads to a specific vision that regeneration frameworks will move away from a focus on '*soulless business parks*' towards '*a bustling, business borough involves formal and informal social areas, performance spaces, markets, breweries, restaurants, cafes and street food vendors*' (Ibid., 2015, p.13). Later, in Chapter 5, we will examine the extent to which planning policies are fulfilling this vision or whether they are actively working against it.

The strategy makes no direct mention of *ethnic diversity* or the impacts of migrants on the economic vitality of the borough. Where diversity is indirectly discussed, it is principally in relation to *age* and *class*, rather than in direct reference to the skills and markets associated with different ethnic groups. The emphasis is on 'residents', with the expectation that in the wake of socio-economic changes and its regeneration programme the character of residential groups is likely to undergo significant change. Supply-side factors are seen as the basis for future economic growth in, for example, creating a better educated and more mobile workforce. If residents are better skilled, it is argued, then the attraction of high-skilled jobs will benefit locals and lead to forms of gentrification through which locals benefit. The omission of ethnic diversity awareness in the Strategy represents an important lacuna, given that in some parts of the borough ethnic businesses play an important role in supporting employment and entrepreneurialism as well as a sense of place (see Section 5.2; Kesten *et al.*, 2015).

3.6 NON-GOVERNMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY IN LONDON

In this section we consider the responses of non-governmental actors and their reflections on diversity policy and the openness of policy-making processes in London (interviewees listed in Appendix 1). Collectively, we show that there is much scepticism towards central government policy on diversity but also a recognition that some city-wide agendas are working well. Moreover, it is at the local scale where the most innovative interventions are being made.

Civil society and business respondents were generally critical of what they saw as the inconsistent approaches of central government to migration and the tendency of politicians and media at the national level to focus on its negative impacts on public services and social cohesion, despite a lack of substantive evidence. A Trade Union Congress (TUC) representative, for example, pointed to examples at the local level, such as in education, where he observed discussions of a good record of accommodating newly arrived Polish children who were occasionally being identified as strongly motivated and actually improving the performance of local schools, noting that negative opinions were more prevalent, that *"very few [politicians] sing the praises of the local school which is doing well in terms of integrating immigrant kids into a bit of a structure"*. Although he also noted that there were *"huge differences between the capacities of different types of local areas to be able to manage immigration well"*, the national focus had been

too concerned with the creation of negative perceptions that justified wider policies promoting individual obligations.

There was a widely perceived recognition amongst all respondents that London was a 'different' or 'special' case that warranted its own policy narratives and understandings. As a TUC member noted in interview:

> there's a special agenda in London…because 60% of [B]lack and Asian people in the UK are living there…London's just so different to the rest of the UK that it's difficult to think you could write something that looked like a sensible and effective public policy for the whole of the UK and make it optimum for London.

This was reinforced by a migrants' rights campaigner who characterised London as an anomaly and described how *"it's become semi-detached from the rest of the UK and therefore, if London has become a little easier, living with diversity… it can't be taken as a blueprint for the rest of the country"*. Believing the *"issue of the importance of diversity to economic growth"* was widely agreed upon from the London Mayor's office to government departments, *"particularly economic departments"*, the biggest challenge for policy-makers for this interviewee was their ability to *"translate that into a popular message that can be got across to the public"*, to be able to 'sell diversity'. In response to this disconnect between positive local success stories and national fears and concerns the migrants' rights campaigner we interviewed was in favour of a more regional dimension to immigration policy with the advantage of encouraging more *"locally based discussion"* to develop more positive, locally-grounded, messages in response to the feeling that *"everything to do with immigration policy comes from the big, economic departments in Whitehall, everybody else is marginal to the whole process and they just have to make do with whatever central government offers up to them"*.

Other civil society groups were even more strident in their criticisms. One interviewee, for instance, criticised diversity as a term that meant *"everything and nothing"* and was used to present a more positive and consensual set of views in place of more challenging discourses:

> what ought to been seen as an everyday, banal issue that people are different from each other is used as shorthand for a discussion about race, where people are uncomfortable talking about race so diversity is one of those kind of 'weasel words'…[that] avoids talking about discrimination, injustice, power and just suggests that there's an anodyne diversity, which masks White privilege really considerably.

Diversity was dismissed as an attempt to *"avoid some of the more difficult challenges that we have"*. Issues of racism, injustice, and equality of outcomes, it was claimed, are intentionally ignored in dominant policy narratives. The existence of inequalities is put down to a responsibilisation agenda in which it is clearly *"their fault"* with groups such as young Black men *"unemployed because they didn't apply themselves harder at school, so you get into a kind of victim blaming"*.

Rather than fostering recognition, critics claimed that narratives of the term diversity led to a narrowing of understandings and helped to legitimate inequalities, representing a policy of *"benign neglect"*.

There is also evidence that the term is creating intense discussions within civil society groups. The TUC representative we interviewed, for example, argued that, *"some of the people in the trade union movement were a little more cautious because it [diversity] was so soft and ill-defined that it was a deliberate attempt to blur campaigns and struggle for equalities agendas"*. In order to give recognition to the more politicised nature of diversity, it was argued by the same respondent that organisations now *"use the phrase equality agendas…relayed back to our action plans and our demand[s], like equal pay audits and work or community as a happy place"*. Formal policy narratives were too focused on issues that were *"a bit less threatening…a bit like corporate social responsibility rather than making real change"*. Or as another civil society representative argued, the existence of diversity discussions meant that *"we don't get a discussion about the core issues of unemployment, of access to education, to criminal justice"*. In short it:

> *"removes the ability to name the problem, so unless you are prepared to identify patterns of racial injustice and name them as such it gets very difficult to address them because we're not really sure what we're talking about, hence my concern about the slippage of language into diversity"*.

One response was for civil society groups to focus on specific policy areas, or what one termed *"business-oriented things"* such as helping migrant workers obtain their rights, rather than engaging with broader debates about the rights and wrongs of migration policy or broader concerns with gentrification, the costs of living, and rising inequalities in London.

Alongside workers' representatives, employers' groups have been amongst the most vociferous advocates of more open migration policies and diversity. There are three core narratives. First, there is an instrumental view of migration policy and the idea that managed migration is a precondition to the competitiveness of firms and the effectiveness of big employers in private and public sectors. The organisation *London First*[22], for example, argues that a key priority for policy-makers should be a policy that enables *'London's employers to recruit the workforces they need at all levels'*. They believe this should be based on *'maintaining an open migration regime'* that will allow firms to recruit the workers they require from different parts of the world. Direct connections are made between the competitiveness of firms and the availability of a diverse workforce. As one interviewee noted, *"business tends to be pro open economies and in a truly open economy you need to have a premium of people"*. This, it was claimed, was *"a different view from the public on migration"* as it sees migrants as an economic asset, both in terms of the skills they provide and the understandings of markets that they bring to businesses. It is still, however, a selective discourse that emphasises the importance of skilled workers that *"are coming in to work and we should be encouraging that, embracing that and not putting up barriers towards it"*. This instrumental rationale is put forward to challenge the 'irrational' discourses that view diversity as a threat to cultural and social cohesion. In utilitarian terms it is claimed that *"money is a*

great leveller" and that employers' interest in migration is ultimately a rational response to global opportunities and changing economies.

Second, diversity has also been used to promote new corporate governance agendas within the London business community. There has been a gradual shift toward the promotion of 'talent' and business 'intelligence' as discussed in Section 3.4. In the words of one business representative:

> *We would include diversity [in our core objectives for policy-makers] and certainly most of our clients would include that within skills and access to talent. So coming from the point of view that talent is distributed evenly across the population, if you don't have policies in place that actively encourage diversity in the workplace then you're not going to access talent.*

Firms that fail to include diversity thinking in their recruitment and governance practices, it is argued, will be less competitive as they will miss out on the most talented workers and fail to realise their full market potential. A lack of diversity limits business understanding and opportunity. As a charity representative commented in interview, *"we want to work with employers to create action plans on how they can diversify".* This includes the promotion of leaders at the executive board level of companies and encouraging firms to appoint senior managers to take responsibility for implementing diversity strategies. In reality this has primarily led to a focus on the voluntary promotion of gender diversity and programmes such as a *Future Leaders* strategy that is designed to support the mobility of talented individuals. It is also leading to new initiatives to promote a diversity of investors in London, such as Islamic sovereign debt funds that are looking to finance urban projects but are bound by strict rules over profiteering and ethical returns.

Third, and related to both of the above, there has also been an emphasis on diversity as a commodity that can be used to promote London as an attractive investment and visitor space. The London Olympics was put forward by respondents as an example of how images based on London's hyper-diversity could be used to good effect in economic, social, and political terms. By presenting London as a diverse, welcoming city, the possibilities for growth are expanded in ways it is claimed that will lead to an improvement of the quality of life in London, its spaces of encounter, and the distribution of economic rewards across diverse populations.

Business voices in London are of course diverse. Attitudes to policy vary from sector to sector and between different types of businesses. But the approaches outlined above represent a consistent discourse. Issues of diversity are recognised as being of critical importance to economic growth. And whilst there are strong disagreements with central government policy on migration, the overall emphasis on supply-side interventions in national agendas, and within London, is strongly supported. There is no desire to impose top-down forms of redistribution. State investment should be channelled into infrastructure projects that support economic growth. There is little criticism of international flows of money into property markets in the

city that are boosting inequality and undermining the capacities of many groups, particularly poorer migrants, to access affordable housing.

There was a widespread perception amongst respondents that the political system was closing down opportunities for honest and open discussions of diversity, to the detriment of policy effectiveness and feelings of democratic inclusion. One issue which came up regularly was the contrast in approaches to policy-making between the Labour government (1997-2010) and the Liberal-Conservative Coalition (2010-2015). Reflecting on the effects of the coalition government localism agenda, one interviewee involved in campaigning for greater diversity in business commented that the:

> *Labour [government] was very much into national programmes, so [it was] easy to pinpoint and share good practice, easier to co-ordinate – this government is very much devolved… the fact is you can't find any good practice, it's flawed.*

This interviewee echoed the sentiments of DCLG officers presented in Section 3.4 who described the government tendency to prefer to avoid negative narratives, stating that the former Government were:

> *a bit more explicit around race…under their [Coalition Government's] approach at the moment it is very much focused on gender… I think ethnicity's seen as the complicated one that they don't want to discuss at the moment, but we are working on that.*

This view that the government is avoiding addressing issues of inequality around race and ethnicity mirrors earlier comments from another civil society interviewee critical of the use of the concept of 'diversity' as a tool to do just that. Both interviewees point to statistics, such as the *"59% employment rate for ethnic minority people and…71% for the wider White group"*, to support their concern at the lack of attention these issues are being given. The race and gender-based campaigns this interviewee's organisation is responsible for target greater representation of race and gender diversity at board and senior level, reducing disparities in rates of un(der) employment and increased flexibility in the workplace by working with employers using *"benchmarking reports"*, *"good practice awards"*, *"workshops and roundtables"*, *"toolkits and research"* as well as *"mentoring"* and *"diversity advisors"*. They also aim to make addressing issues of race and ethnicity *"non-scary"* for government by convincing them that publishing ethnicity data is *"not a burden on business"* as many businesses are already doing this and by applauding and commending those that do they believe others will be encouraged to follow suit.

It was felt, for example, that cohesion and mobility policies such as those relating to the promotion of the use of the English language had clear limitations because of their failure to think through the wider consequences of policy action. As one of our civil society interviewees highlights below, if the long-term aim is to dissolve the differences between citizens then the benefits of diversity outlined so stridently in city strategies will also be lost:

What we have from government policy is this really bizarre notion that we should focus on what we've got, we should focus on our similarities, rather than our differences and therefore, if you are different, we don't really want to interrogate a sense of what the same is [because] you'll find it's White, male and highly privileged, but if you are different to that, you're told to tone down that difference. For example, language is another classic, you must speak English, you can never translate anything anymore and it's for your own good… If that second generation grows up without those language links, do we lose the benefits of diversity? So, this 'end of multiculturalism' debate doesn't sit very well with the notion of… capitalising on the 'world in one city' concept.

Such examples indicate the impacts of wider shifts in policy resourcing and narratives. Officers from DCLG, among others, reflected critically on what they described as the shift from evidence-based to value-based policy-making under the Coalition government. One migrants' rights campaigner went further by problematizing the notion of evidence-based policy-making itself:

"I think the problem with politics is that basically people hear what they want to hear…and anything which contradicts it is excluded. The whole problem with what they used to call evidence-based policy is that it really only existed in areas where the politicians had no prior commitments to a policy outcome".

He noted serious frustrations with the way that immigration policy is approached by central government in the UK and how this limited the ability of migrant organisations to be involved with and inform policy-making in a meaningful way:

We sit down on numerous occasions for round table discussions with civil servants… and they're already anticipating what the difficulties are going to be, and they are genuinely interested in the conversation results, in order to see how they can tackle them. The problem is that that tends to be about making a policy fit, rather than changing it, sort of chipping away at a few rough edges, but the policy remains.

While he remained open to the potential for the emergent grass-roots movement to reflect a more positive and progressive dialogue around equality and diversity he linked this to an interest in relating to the views of the population:

there is evidence of that happening, you've got these new citizens organising movements, Citizens UK, London Citizens and so on, activism with faith communities, churches, the anti-poverty networks of one sort or another … I think it's strengthening that process. At the moment, it's by no means clear that they have accepted a positive view of diversity, or immigration, they're open to it, if they haven't accepted it at the moment, it's generally 'cos they don't know.

This link between the views of the general public towards contentious issues like immigration and policy approaches to issues of equality and diversity was also made by another of our

participants from a leading race equality organisation in describing what he termed 'electoral logic' as one way to understand the side-lining of equality agendas:

So, the only discretion we get about racial equality and injustice is about whether the Tories can win the next election without getting better relationships with the minority community… so we get kind of a discussion about electoral logic… but we don't get a discussion about the core issues of unemployment, of access to education, to criminal justice none of those seem to really be on government's agenda.

This view reflected our participant's experience of central government reluctance to address issues of inequality, although he noted that some minor concessions had been achieved:

They've been pushed by some good campaigning into doing some work on stop and search… to at least be cognisant of the different levels of employment in different ethnic groups, but there are no real answers coming out of any government department on any of these issues and the refusal to publish any strategy, which would suggest how to address some of these problems.

The reluctance of central government to adopt a more overtly positive stance toward immigration is a major concern for members of the civil society groups. Interviewees highlighted the lack of overarching leadership and accountability at the national level and how this contrasted with examples of local leadership. As one noted:

So, the levels are one in five young White people are unemployed, one in two young Black men are unemployed, that to me is a big problem. It's not clear who has any responsibility for that across government, is it DWP, is it BIS, is it DFE, or is it the Government Equalities Office? Communities and Local Government? Nobody's really sure.

The same interviewee contrasted this with *"local leaders"* who *"are relatively in tune with what's going on, so councillors pretty much know what's going on in their wards, they can see what's going on and what the pattern is"*. This is particularly true of London where boroughs have been particularly innovative.

Overall, then, despite the focus of policy-makers on diversity and equality, there is a general frustration that relatively little is being achieved and that the institutional avenues through which to influence decision-making are becoming increasingly opaque. Each of our respondents, in their own way, has sought to *politicise* discussions and raise fundamental questions about the structural relationships between migration and economic competitiveness and cohesion and between ethnicity/national origin and socio-economic inequality. There is also a perception that it is at the local (*i.e.* sub-metropolitan) level that innovative and more politically engaged forms of practice are taking place in which issues of recognition, redistribution, and encounter are being planned for. It is at this level that the 'everyday

cosmopolitanism' of encounters takes place and at which government bodies have to deal, directly, with citizens and the challenges of implementation.

Given this importance of the local scale, the final section of the chapter now turns to the findings generated by our detailed fieldwork into governance arrangements in Haringey.

3.7   GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS AND INITIATIVES IN HARINGEY

In the discussion here we draw on a balance of project types that reflect the wider situation in London and within English cities. Following the election of the Coalition government in 2010, the funding available for neighbourhood renewal and urban projects relating to diversity almost entirely disappeared. Many local government schemes were cut back or drastically reduced as authorities faced cuts of up to 33%. Remaining projects tended to rely on voluntary and/or private sector contributions and partnerships. One consequence of this was that there were fewer projects that focus primarily on economic performance as such projects tend to be more resource-intensive than community-led schemes for enhanced cohesion and social networking/ mobility. Thus, in the virtual absence of sustainable state funding, projects became more piecemeal and less integrated. At the local level attempts were made to join up initiatives, but as will be shown below this became a more challenging task in the wake of cuts and increasing demands for welfare support. Despite this, we will demonstrate that local projects displayed a remarkably high degree of innovation, local participation, and commitment. There are many positive messages to be taken from the Haringey case and there has been a concentrated local effort to change broader perceptions of the area for the better.

In our research we focussed on some key local initiatives that focussed to a greater or lesser extent on the core priorities of social cohesion, social mobility, and economic performance

Table 3.3 Contribution of the governance arrangements towards the three main objectives

Governance arrangements	Social cohesion	Social mobility	Economic performance
Haringey Play Streets	***		
Vacant Lot	***	*	
Streetlife.com	***		
Our Tottenham Network	***	**	
Highgate Neighbourhood Forum	***		*
Haringey Muslim Network	**	***	
Haringey Young Advisors Integration Programme	**	***	*
Project 2020	**	***	*
Living Under One Sun	***	***	***
Selby Trust/Selby Centre	*	**	***
Opening Doors Network		**	***

* = low contribution; ** = medium contribution; *** = high contribution

(see Kesten *et al.*, 2014). Collectively, they give a powerful insight into the range and scope of contemporary urban policy initiatives in the Borough and represent a good sample of what is taking place in local communities across London. Most projects focused on different forms of social cohesion and, to a lesser extent, social mobility (as demonstrated by Table 3.3 below).

Despite reductions in funding for urban projects, there was still a large degree of area-based activity, particularly in relation to arrangements driven by local community groups and the activities of committed individuals. These were underpinned by the belief that *collective communicative interaction* forms the basis of successful urban community-building. Most of the arrangements were implicitly or explicitly premised on the belief that opportunities for such interaction were becoming more limited in a context of growing hyper-diversity. We observed a shift in policy thinking with a move away from more material objectives (such as the direct provision of social housing or the creation of publicly-funded employment) to more cultural and actor-centred interventions. As the city has become more cosmopolitan and economically dynamic there is a threat that social bonds and interactions are becoming more disconnected, transient, and 'liquid' in form (see Bauman, 2003; Hall, 2007; Savage *et al.*, 2005). A number of schemes, therefore, used collective projects and shared endeavours as a means of building trust and interaction. Policies have evolved that seek to build on the existence of hyper-diversity and use it as a positive asset. Social networks and interactions provide a particularly powerful basis for the mobilisation of projects in a context where a hyper-diversity of skills, experiences, and cross-boundary social networks are co-present.

Other community activities have emerged in response to the acute pressures generated by 'growth' agendas in London and the threats posed by globally-oriented and elite-driven urban projects. They are often concerned with maintaining and/or enhancing existing forms of hyper-diversity and are opposed to gentrification projects that will benefit a relatively small number of investors and selective citizens. Collective political action to contest such projects was generating some intense forms of engagement between citizens and there was evidence that a vibrant local political culture was emerging based on the defence of public services, social housing, and community spaces from private incursions. Urban conflict can, therefore, act as a resource as different interests argue over the meaning of hyper-diversity and quality of life in urban neighbourhoods. Other attempts were being made to reclaim public space for social interaction by, for example, making streets safer for children and families. Alongside these efforts to use physical space to build social cohesion, there were also efforts to boost virtual interactions and to establish place-focussed virtual communities. Moreover, projects that were seen to be achieving tangible outcomes had been amongst the most successful in terms of garnering wider support and building on their stated objectives. The physical environment was treated as a resource for such projects and used to build a sense of place in a context of hyper-diversity.

In more concrete terms, initiatives to promote social mobility mainly focused on the softer skills and characteristics of individuals rather than the direct creation of jobs or work placements/

apprenticeships. Enhanced social mobility, it is claimed, will result from measures that reduce anti-social behaviour and encourage young citizens to develop their individual skills and employability. This is a reflection of broader neo-liberal shifts in thinking about welfare in which responsibility for policy outcomes has been transferred from state bodies to individuals and communities, albeit with some support from enabling local governments (see Crouch, 2013). They also shed light on the often tangled relationships between conceptions of diversity and policy interventions and outcomes. Resource-intensive initiatives that promote diverse forms of economic development are relatively thin on the ground and are becoming more so given the financial constraints of government bodies. This reflects what is happening not only in London but across England (see Raco *et al.*, 2014; Tallon, 2012).

Some community-led efforts were also being made to create spaces for entrepreneurialism which would help to boost the number of jobs and employment opportunities in the area and, it was hoped, boost local skill levels, economic activity, and social mobility. The long term threat of property-led regeneration in the area is being, in part, mitigated by the existence of these incubator spaces for small businesses but their longer-term survival is far from assured. As shown in further detail in our report into local governance arrangements (see Kesten *et al.*, 2014), it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a diversity of opportunities and economic activities in the area. This will have serious longer-term social implications if it is not tackled.

3.8 CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF DIVERSITY AND FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF LOCAL PROJECTS

Most of the projects celebrated, promoted, and/or defended a *pluralist conception of diversity*. They aimed, in their different ways, to encourage greater use of public spaces by different groups and celebrate the existence of hyper-diversity. They are opposed to privatisation or marketization in ways that impact on the use of public spaces and the basic requirements of urban living, such as affordable local housing and access to employment opportunities. Many projects are underpinned by a strong belief in the value of diverse encounters in the city and broader conceptions of what Pilch (2006) terms '*neighbourliness*', or urban living that reconciles the '*prospect of perpetual coexistence* [with] *the art of peaceful and humane cohabitation*' (Latour, 1998: 79; see also Purcell, 2013). In Fincher and Iveson's (2008) terms, groups seek to use projects to attain enhanced *recognition* of their needs and, in some cases, their very existence. If they are able to do this effectively then projects could act as '*a crucial means to challenge injustice by de-naturalising assumptions about proper forms of urban conduct and urban forms which underpin planning and governance, making them open to debate and to political determination by diverse publics*' (Fincher and Iveson, 2008: 120).

Few of the arrangements explicitly targeted 'diversity' in framing their objectives and proposed outcomes. The emphasis instead was on a combination of area-based initiatives to improve

local environments and community-based arrangements in which efforts are made to establish greater social cohesion and new cultures of engagement. Some projects *de facto* targeted specific social groups, particularly the young, but most presented themselves as pluralist, open, and available to all. They were place-focussed and embraced the fact that local populations were diverse in social, economic, and cultural ways. They promoted a form of soft integration built on mutual recognition and collective place-focussed endeavours. These were not designed to eliminate diversity but to support community-building in the wake of major, globally-driven economic and social changes taking place in London.

We are also seeing, what Massey (2005) terms, a *'more progressive sense of place'* emerging in which local actors see their initiatives as the basis for providing positive examples of policy practice that can be used to promote wider benefits to communities outside of their immediate areas. This, once again, reflects the hyper-diversity of those living in the area and their relational networks with those living beyond its boundaries. By re-claiming existing spaces and using these to foster greater social contacts between different groups, it is hoped and expected that new alliances, identities, and ways of working can be established. Some of the organisations discussed above have become part of broader networks with groups across London and elsewhere. Haringey has attracted widespread national attention as a place of conflict in which the London riots of 2011 were initiated (see Mayor of London, 2012). Local groups were determined to forge a different narrative of place, in which the hyper-diversity of local communities is seen as an asset. There has been a conscious effort to break down the negative stigma given to the area by outsiders and to associate Haringey and areas such as Tottenham with progressive examples of contemporary urban policy success.

Local projects are facing some significant challenges, particularly in relation to *funding and finances*. It is not only the scale of financing that matters, but also: its sustainability; the security/insecurity it generates for local actors; the extent to which it is conditional on meeting the quantitative targets and objectives set by funding agencies; and the flexibility in its use. Austerity cut-backs to local authority budgets have put greater onus on alternative forms of funding. Projects that rely on state funding are, and will be, particularly vulnerable to change. Therefore a *diversity* of funding sources is a success factor. So too is the ability of agencies to establish strong forms of partnership working. Charitable Trust models of financing are particularly innovative and successful. They possess the security and flexibility in their funding streams that enables the Board of Trustees to allocate resources in ways that meet locally articulated demands. Charities are also supported directly, and in kind, by the local authority and this type of partnership working has enabled the Trust to expand its range of innovative and successful activities. There was little evidence in our cases that quantitative targets improved the quality and success of projects. In some cases their absence opened up opportunities for greater local innovation and entrepreneurialism.

Alongside funding one of the most significant issues facing local actors was that of *asset ownership*. Where assets are owned and/or managed by local actors, there are enhanced

opportunities to promote initiatives that draw on and develop positive aspects of hyper-diversity. This can take various forms. In some cases they are being delivered through local authority support in which assets are held in trust or on-loan. In other instances they have emerged through innovative forms of local public-private partnership in which private landowners have been happy to use their assets in the pursuit of a wider public good. The difficulty with such schemes is that there is much uncertainty over the use of assets in the longer term. Development pressures and funding cuts mean that assets can be commodified at any time, making it difficult to plan and to invest. Policy interventions that cater for and support hyper-diversity can only be successful if the issue of asset ownership is targeted.

Other more qualitative factors have influenced success and failure. Projects that rely on community resources have been remarkably successful in Haringey, often as a consequence of *local leadership and traditions of community engagement.* The existence of a vibrant local political culture helps to develop this engagement and policy should seek to build on and support these more qualitative aspects of urban policy. The reliance on voluntary action is, however, also a potential vulnerability. As projects expand and become more complex so the need for more voluntary engagement increases. The limited capacities of individuals to undertake such work in the longer term can become a major obstacle to the effectiveness of initiatives. The presence of a hyper-diversity of citizens can help to ameliorate this as it provides a deep pool of skills and expertise from which to draw.

3.9 CONCLUSIONS

In economic and demographic terms London is one of the most diverse cities in Europe. This diversity generates opportunities and challenges for policy-makers. In this chapter we have explored the key governance frameworks that shape urban policy in the city and the narratives and discourses of diversity contained within them. We have argued that London's governance structures are complex and that despite possessing the most powerful elected Mayor in the UK, core decisions over social, welfare, and migration policies are still framed at the national level. There are clear tensions and ambiguities in these relationships. London's approach to diversity differs markedly from the neo-assimilationist and integrationist thinking of the national Coalition government. Within London the Mayor, local authorities, business interests, and civil society groups argue strongly that policies towards migration and diversity should be more open and more pragmatic. There is a clear divergence emerging, a pattern repeated across the EU where, as a European Commission (2010, p. 13) report notes, *'it is cities that have pushed for better policies and demanded greater responsibility and resources'.*

In contrast to national government policy, diversity narratives were framed through an explicit emphasis on pragmatic recognition and policy action. There was an attempt to make visible the types of diversity that exist in the city, the socio-economic characteristics of different population groups, and the way that targets and strategies can be used to generate new forms of equality.

There was a positive view put forward of the ways in which integration and mainstreaming will foster social cohesion, the social mobility of individuals, and, in turn the economic competitiveness of individual businesses and London as whole.

However, despite a willingness to give greater *recognition* to a number of issues and problems surrounding diversity, more structural concerns are given little or no attention or presented as problems that will be tackled through voluntary actions and market-led solutions. Diversity has become synonymous with the term equality but only in the sense of expanding equalities of opportunity for individuals. There was a longer term objective to generate convergence in the life chances of individual citizens. The much more difficult and contested issues surrounding equality of outcomes and the existence of ingrained causes of inequality, such as racism and stigmatisation in the labour market, were not seen as problems that can any longer be directly addressed through urban policy. There was an assumption that they would melt away as the city becomes more diverse and tolerant in the longer term. As discussed above, this tension is also reflected in deep *ambiguities* in policy narratives in which divisive forms of economic growth are being pursued at the city (and national) levels at the same time as the rhetoric of diversity is presented as a positive and inclusive construction. Representations of diversity are curated and commodified in order to meet globally-oriented development agendas (see Raco and Kesten, 2016).

This process of commodification differs markedly from the approaches of previous Mayor Ken Livingstone and the Labour governments of 1997-2010. A paradox is developing in which, on the one hand, positive narratives and discourses surrounding diversity are being promoted in London whilst on the other, an emphasis on mainstreaming hints at greater integrationism and gives less recognition to diversity. Recent pronouncements by the Mayor in which he highlighted the limitations of social mobility policies, owing to the natural differences of ability that exist within the population, point to the emergence of more regressive discourses and ways of thinking (*The Guardian*, 2013). In his *2020* Vision for the future of London he went further in claiming that London would benefit from an immigration policy to *'attract the brightest and the best to London but keep out those who have no intention of making a contribution'* (Johnson, 2012: p.51). The emphasis on 'talent' was short-hand for a particular class of migrant and in this sense policy objectives are falling into line with longer running policy narratives that focus on 'key' or 'essential' workers at the expense of those subjects who fall outside of such categories. It should also be noted that during the last decade positive narratives of diversity have gone hand-in-hand with an aggressive and globally-focussed urban policy in London.

Existing strategies are therefore defined by high levels of voluntarism and the allocation of limited resources and budgets. The role of government is to reduce the role of the state. Indirect legal mechanisms are used to regulate the practices of public bodies and a host of voluntary schemes exist within the private sector. As discussed above some initiatives, such as the London Living Wage campaign, were successful and had a disproportionate (positive) impact on lower paid workers from London's migrant communities. However, in general, policy interventions

were not linked to significant forms of (direct) redistribution or compulsion. The emphasis of policy, instead, was on a responsibilisation agenda through which inequalities would be tackled through the actions of individuals from marginalised communities. Policy was designed to enable them to become active citizens, politically and economically. It was not up to state bodies and planners to intervene directly in shaping the life-chances of citizens. At the same time, London is also facing unprecedented cuts in its welfare budgets from national governance and spiralling costs of living. This combination may lead to less diversity in the socio-economic character of the city as poorer people are forced to move away; a process that has been happening for several decades under the process of gentrification in Inner London but which is now being sped up and fuelled by the welfare and housing benefit reforms implemented by the Coalition government. Whilst there were protests from the Mayor and others in London about the impacts of such policies, they are going ahead and could easily undermine broader efforts to support some of London's poor, many of whom are migrants.

Similarly, the politics of *encounter* is framed in three principal ways. First, there is a focus in the planning system on the building and design of mixed communities. Regulations require that all development proposals should aim to create sustainable communities that are balanced, diverse and relatively harmonious. There is a spatial determinism within such proposals, a belief in the capability of developers and planners to ensure that projects proceed in a balanced way, which is contradicted by evidence of recent developments. Second, there is a growing reliance on private developers to provide 'public' spaces of encounter. To a greater extent than perhaps in any EU city, London's new public spaces are provided, managed, and regulated by major developers. The narrative is one of corporate social responsibility and the power of market mechanisms to deliver social infrastructure that will facilitate positive forms of encounter. At the same time, there has been a growing reliance on harder forms of policing and secure design to establish urban order. Specific groups, particularly the young and those from ethnic minorities, have been targeted for selective action (displacement or control of behaviour) in the name of harmony and community balance. And third, there has been a movement towards localism in city governance, along with neighbourhood planning. This is based on a view that sees local encounters as the basis for political discussion. Whilst there is much potential in such reforms, the lack of a strong co-ordinating framework for policy and the lack of recognition of the structural inequalities which may impede the participation of specific groups and individuals in the process means that localism will inevitably establish fragmented and diverse policy responses and enable coalitions of local interests to dominate local decision-making in ways that may or may not be progressive.

At the same time however, we have also argued that it is at the local level that hyper-diversity is often presented in the policy and academic literature as a significant new policy challenge that threatens to make existing territorially-based modes of governance ineffective, outdated, and irrelevant (see Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013). As outlooks change, it is claimed, so the importance of the 'local' is diminished and urban policy has had to adapt to the new realities. However, in this chapter we have shown that local action still matters and has co-evolved with the growing

hyper-diversity of cities. Far from being a barrier to effective action, hyper-diversity acts as a platform from which initiatives and purposeful actions can emerge. As other EU research has found, it is at the local level in which the day-to-day realities of hyper-diversity are experienced that some of the most innovative, positive, and effective forms of urban policy are to be found (European Commission, 2010). The (co)presence of different outlooks, skills, networks, and ways of viewing urban problems becomes an asset, rather than a problem for policy-making processes. Hyper-diversity does not mean that place-based issues and problems become less relevant. In many instances it encourages citizens and policy-makers to think more creatively about what their urban areas are becoming and how they can be improved for the good of those residing in them. Moreover, the more hyper-diverse a place the more likely it is that local projects will be able to tap into relational knowledge networks and understandings from a variety of places. New ways of thinking and progressive modes of working might also be transferred to other places more easily.

4   RESIDENTS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the views of local residents, many of whom were recent or former migrants to the UK, on their practices of day-to-day living in a diverse city and the relationship between their perceptions of diversity and sense of place. It specifically explored why people moved to, and/or have remained within, Haringey and the extent to which the perceived diversity of the area represented a pull-factor and/or a reason to remain. Residents were asked to think about the characteristics of the areas they lived in and whether or not they saw their neighbourhood's diversity as an asset or a liability. Our questions also explored the extent to which they actively engaged in diversified relations and activities in their neighbourhood and the extent of cohesion and conflict that exists amongst different groups.

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 urban 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.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter we present the findings from 50 interviews conducted with residents located across a number of Haringey's 19 wards which were conducted in cafes, coffee shops, libraries and community centres across Haringey between October 2014 and March 2015. Our research was underpinned by a reflexive approach in which we combined a set of non-probability sampling techniques (Table 4.1) with the day-to-day pragmatics and ethics of doing research in a complex and diverse urban environment characterised by so-called 'hard-to-reach' groups. Four main methods were used to identify respondents:

Table 4.1 Description and reflection upon the sampling methods used and the number of interviews conducted with entrepreneurs.

Sampling method	Reflection	No. of interviews
1. Sampling via residents groups and contacts from other organisations made from earlier stages of the research	Gatekeepers enabled us to engage with service users and others involved with community centres, residents' initiatives, representative groups, associations and networks.	16
2. Snowball/referral sampling and sampling via personal contacts	We were able to access those not actively involved in formal associations and other groups	11
3. Online via Streetlife.com	Put us in touch with voluntary participants via posting online in forums based on locality.	12
4. Haringey Food Bank	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 financial hardship.	9

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 necessary, adjusted our approaches to counter any potential imbalances accordingly. The core characteristics and backgrounds of our interviewees are as follows (Figure 4.1):

In addition to the split of gender, age, country of birth and ethnic background our interviewees also disclosed their religious beliefs (21 no religion, 4 Church of England, 4 Christian, 3 Catholic, 3 Muslim, 2 Hindu, 13 did not answer); sexual orientation (45 heterosexual;
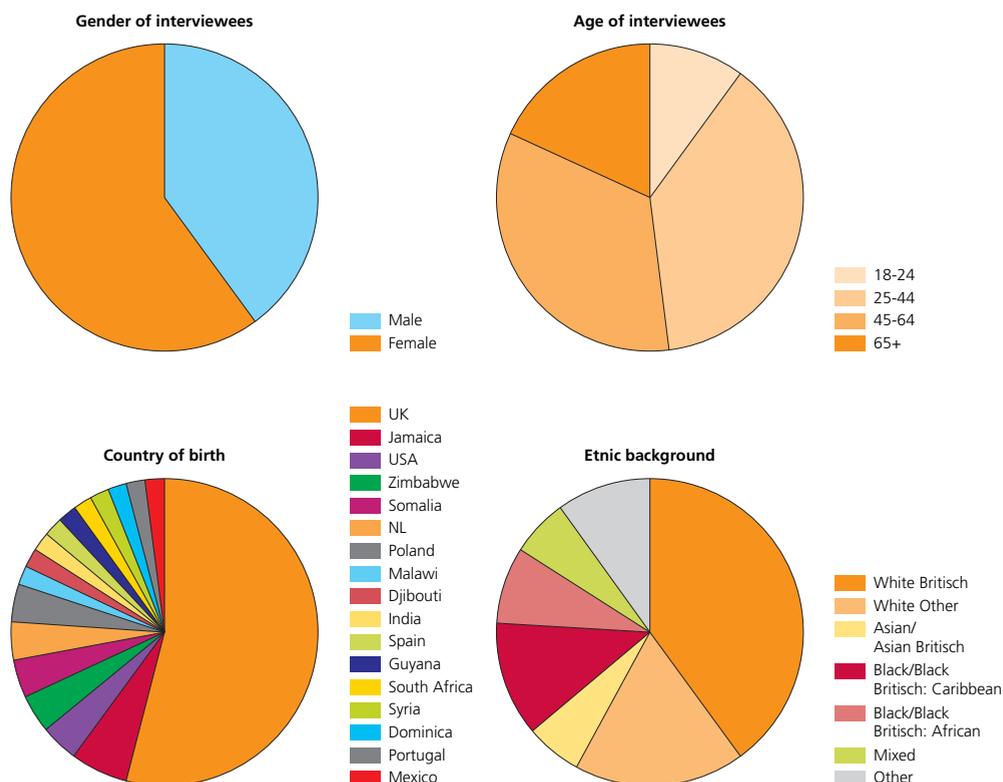
Figure 4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of interviewees.

2 homosexual; 3 did not answer); disability (9 disabled; 35 no disability; 6 did not answer); and education, including both achieved or currently undertaking, (14 postgraduate, 17 undergraduate, 19 secondary, 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 limitations of the sample, we were able to obtain a broad range of respondents indicative of the diversity of the population of Haringey. Appendix 3 shows how our set of respondents compare 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. This chapter has to be read in conjunction with Appendix 2 which provides an overview of the characteristics of our respondents.

4.3 HOUSING CHOICE AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

In this section we outline and assess the varying housing trajectories of our interviewees by addressing two sets of questions. First, why interviewees moved to the (diverse) neighbourhoods in which they now live and whether the diversity of the area acted as a pull-factor. Second, whether our interviewees experienced this move as an improvement from their previous place of residence. This section 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.

4.3.1 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 [h]'appy… I've got to stick it out 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 Haringey. 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. 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, this was particularly prevalent among residents of the eastern parts of the borough.

Housing Availability

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… there's mass poverty around me [in South Tottenham], 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, 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 the appeal of the relative affordability of house prices in south Tottenham. 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. 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 boroughs often lacked larger 'affordable' properties that could be utilised in this way, making the very character of certain neighbourhoods an attractive asset.

The perception of certain parts of Haringey, such as Tottenham, described as the *"last affordable neighbourhood"* close to central London, 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….*

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"*.

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.

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 neighbourhoody"*. 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 (e.g. Saunders, 2011).

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 Saunders' (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]).

4.3.2   Moving to the present neighbourhood: improvement or not?

As noted in the previous sub-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 North London, and were able to explain the reasons for their mobility and reflect about what it had meant for them. 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 two main reasons for doing so: (i) feeling more connected to the area; (ii) and diversity leading to increased excitement, comfort and inter-cultural understanding.

(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 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] 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 life was more anonymous.

(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"*. 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. The diversity of the city enabled them to 'feel at home' and reduced their sense of alienation and isolation as 'others', defined in relation to a 'host' population.

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. Some new residents who had chosen to move to Haringey found the transition from previous places relatively difficult. 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 positive about their residential choice, to feel that some parts of Haringey were becoming overcrowded and 'overwhelming'.

4.3.3 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 multiculture 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 was 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 above, 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.

4.4 PERCEPTIONS OF THE DIVERSITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

In this section we explore our respondents' perceptions of their neighbourhood and their neighbours with a view to describing how they experience different aspects of diversity. We are particularly focussed on the relationships between perceptions of neighbourhood diversity and the lived practices and experiences of diversity manifested in how respondents describe their relations with their neighbours. 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 section 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.

4.4.1 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood

Facilities used and activities undertaken locally
One of the most common reasonings 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. Geoff [R34], for instance, 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!"*

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".* This response 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. 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.

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".* 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"*.

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 sub-section 4.5.3. 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 Street[23] 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. 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'[24] 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 section 4.5).

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.

4.4.2   Perceptions of neighbours

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, 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.

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 sub-section 4.6.2 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 sub-section 4.6.2. 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.

Finally, 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.

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.

4.4.3   Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects
In this sub-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).

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 diverse 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".*

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]*".* 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".

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. 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.

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 section 4.8.

(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*".

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 sub-section 4.5.2 on the use of public space.

4.4.4 Conclusions

This section 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 sub-section 4.6.2).

4.5   ACTIVITIES IN AND OUTSIDE THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

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; Tasan-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 of this section 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.

4.5.1 Core Activities

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 sub-section 4.6.1 – and often take place in the various public spaces described in sub-section 4.5.2.

(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 sub-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 model[25].

(ii) Socializing and going out with friends
In almost all cases interviewees reported socializing with long-established personal friends or with acquaintances established through various channels (see sub-section 4.6.1). This often takes place through consumption and socializing activities in commercial spaces of encounter described in the next sub-section. As mentioned previously in sub-section 4.4.4, 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 sub-section 4.5.2). 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, I also go to Haringey, Green Lanes restaurants"*.

(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 sub-sections 4.5.2 and 4.6.1.

4.5.2   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. We draw on a broad definition of *public spaces* as including the following five categories:

(i) Open and green spaces
Nearly all interviewees mentioned parks, open and green spaces (such as the ones shown in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3) as a central part of their life in Haringey[26] – 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 sub-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 sub-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. Some respondents describe the different uses made of the park by these diverse groups. 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.

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

Figure 4.2 Bruce Castle Park

Figure 4.3 Ducketts Common

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 leathered 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".*

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.

(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 Library[27] (described as a *"fantastic*

Figure 4.4 Bruce Castle Museum

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 (Figure 4.4), and Alexandra Palace) as destinations for local visits. Several respondents with children mentioned the key role played by **schools** and other venues which offer activities for children.

(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 Centre[28] (Figure 4.5) and the Bernie Grant Arts Centre[29] (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, such as the Broadwater Farm Community Centre[30] and the Lordship Hub Co-op[31], 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. In some cases respondent did, however, mention the threats

Figure 4.5 Selby Centre

Figure 4.6 Woman preparing food in a cafe

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.

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. 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. 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. 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 sub-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.

(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.

4.5.3   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 Chapter 3 has 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 built on shared cultural and sports interests, social causes or issues
Such associations may 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. 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.

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.

'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 mobilization); 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.

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.

Other research uncovered similar findings in Haringey. 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, were prominent players 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 retired[32]. A few respondents mentioned mobilising around unwanted planning applications. But it would be unfair to state that NIMBY[33]-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.

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,[34] 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).

4.5.4   Conclusions

The section 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.

4.6   SOCIAL COHESION

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 section 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 Table 4.2: (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.

We begin the section 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:

Table 4.2 The Core Components of Social Capital

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

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

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'.*

4.6.1   Composition of interviewees' personal networks

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) networks 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. 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. 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.

(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 has been developed in section 4.5.

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.

(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. 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. 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. 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]).

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[35], as noted by Reha [R17] and Jade [R25]: "*they tend to keep to themselves*". 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. 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. 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 family origins"*. 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.

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

Positive forms of neighbouring

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.

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. 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

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"*. 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*". Similarly, 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*".

4.6.3 Conclusions

This section 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 section 4.5. The section 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 rapid changes that are potentially disruptive to the area's cohesion.

4.7 SOCIAL MOBILITY

4.7.1 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 Table 4.3 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.

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 section 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'

Table 4.3 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)

person in such contexts is intellectually and empirically challenging as many individuals undergo permanent mobility and combinations of vertical and horizontal mobility.

4.7.2 Current and previous jobs

As discussed in section 4.2 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. As was discussed in section 4.6, 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.

4.7.3 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. 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.

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

Figure 4.7 College of Haringey, Enfield and North East London.

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 (Figure 4.7).

Formal and informal *community advocates* also play a key role in the development of local support networks. 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. 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.

Finally, as discussed in sections 4.3 and 4.4, 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, they 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. Such experiences, it was claimed, were typical and added to the sense of precariousness in the area. 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.

Strong English language skills were not always 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 has less to do with diversity in the area, and is 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 (2010) 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.

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.

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 increasingly 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).

4.7.4 Neighbourhood reputation as an obstacle to 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 4.4). 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.

4.7.5 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.

4.8 PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC POLICIES AND INITIATIVES

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 development 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 chapter 3 has shown, 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 section 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.

4.8.1 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 initiatives that 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]).

Figure 4.8 'Save our market' sign on one building scheduled for redevelopment.

Perceptions of urban regeneration and planning policies
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, 2014b) 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 it[36].

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 regeneration 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 borough[37], 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. 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"*, although this was an extreme view and not the norm.

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 threated 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 redevelopment, 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.

4.9 POLICY PRIORITIES PROPOSED BY INTERVIEWEES: WHAT DO RESIDENTS WANT?

Using the analytical distinction proposed by Fincher and Iveson (2008) and used in chapter 3 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.

4.9.1 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 sub-section 4.4.4, 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 sub-sections 4.4.4 and 4.6.2) 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"*.

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 …'.*

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 above, 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.

4.9.2 Recognition

Real empowerment and genuine consultations with local residents
As mentioned in the previous sub-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 sub-section 4.5.2). 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.

4.9.3 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.

4.10 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter 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. 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 as 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 sub-section 4.5) bring together people from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds that 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 evidence 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 section 4.8, 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.

5 ENTREPRENEURS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

In the global era cities compete for enterprises with high economic performance and talented entrepreneurs by creating conditions necessary for new start-ups. The literature emphasises that cities open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of entrepreneurs than those that are relatively closed (Fainstein, 2005; Florida, 2002; Taşan-Kok and Vranken, 2008; Eraydin *et al.*, 2010). Empirical research on how economic performance is connected to urban diversity, however, is quite limited and provides evidence usually only at macro level. One of the aims of this project is to close this gap with empirical evidence collected at neighbourhood level from 14 diverse cities of Europe.

In this section we focus on the economic performance of enterprises in dynamic and diverse neighbourhoods in London and the conditions that support and sustain their competitiveness and longer term development. We examine and critically assess the relationships between urban diversity and the successes and challenges faced by entrepreneurs. *More specifically, we want to explain and document how neighbourhoods provide conditions for individuals or groups to strengthen their creative forces and enhance their economic performance.*

First, the report examines entrepreneurs who start their businesses in diversified neighbourhoods and the factors that define their economic performance. Factors like the age, gender, ethnic background, education and previous experience of the entrepreneur are considered potentially important variables in determining the performance and longevity of enterprises. These factors play a role in mediating the influence of diversity on the neighbourhood and city level. Second, it explores the main motivations of entrepreneurs and assesses whether neighbourhood diversity influences the decision to start their businesses in their current locations. Third, it evaluates the market conditions that are important for the economic performance of entrepreneurs. Fourth, the report evaluates the role of policies and measures at different levels and the institutionalisation of such policies.

The evidence on these issues can be reached with concrete research questions below, which will constitute the focus in the sections of this chapter:

1. *What are the main characteristics of the entrepreneurs and their business? What are the evolutionary paths and the fields of activity? What are the physical conditions and ownership patterns of their offices/production sites/shops?* (Section 5.3)
2. *What were the main motivations of entrepreneurs for establishing a business? What is the importance of neighbourhood diversity for starting a business in its current location? Why was*

the line of business selected and from whom has the entrepreneur received support, and in which forms, in starting this enterprise? (Section 5.4)

3. *What are the success and failure factors important for the economic performance of enterprises? What is the current level of performance and how did it change? To what extent does the diversity of the neighbourhood play a role in economic performance? What are the long-term plans of entrepreneurs? Do they have any plans to change size, market and business strategies in order to reach higher levels of competitiveness?* (Section 5.5)

4. *Which policies, measures and organisations contribute to the performance of enterprises? What impact does membership of certain organisations or involvement in certain initiatives have on the performance of enterprises? What do the entrepreneurs want from policy makers at different levels?* (Section 5.6)

This report is based on interviews conducted with 40 entrepreneurs in the London Borough of Haringey selected by the researchers from the London team between September 2015 and January 2016.

Preliminary research indicated that SME (small and medium sized enterprise) communities and ethnic businesses play a central role in Haringey Borough Council's *Economic Development and Growth Strategy.* The Strategy has adopted much of the language and rhetoric associated with those found in the so-called New Economic Geography literatures that focus on the importance of creative industries and the creation of competitive SME clusters. Its Foreword begins by proclaiming that London is a resurgent '*global mega-city*' and its '*success*' is a reflection of '*the increasing importance of cities in securing our future prosperity*' (Haringey Council, 2015: p.1). In terms that mimic those of the UK government the emphasis is on creating '*an innovation economy*' and a '*place where living and working environments combine*'. In order to achieve this outcome there is a major focus on urban planning and the belief that '*creativity and ingenuity is inspired through the urban fabric, where people of different cultures can come together and exchange ideas*'. Local government's role is to move from '*a protectorate and provider to a true promoter of people and place*'. Value-added production and innovation are seen as central components of a broader strategy that focuses on three core areas: highly-skilled sectors (such as sustainable technology); digital design; and skilled/craft manufacturing. SMEs are criticized for relatively low density of employment and under-utilisation of land and resources. As the Strategy states, '*to achieve our goal we need to create opportunities and support enterprise within the borough, and to support Haringey citizens of every age and background to access opportunities across London and beyond*' (p.3). There is no targeted focus on any particular group. Instead the drive of policy is to:

> *…make the most of our available land, using both planning levers and regeneration investment to drive high density employment…this poses a challenge: how to work with the grain of London's mega-economy to grow our own prosperity and carve out our own sense of place and unique role within it.*

Planning should thus be used explicitly to tap into the opportunities opened up by the diversification of London's economy and developing flexible sites that offer '*combinations of facilities, infrastructure, location, and affordability*'. Or as the Strategy goes on to declare, the boroughs:

> …*combination of historic urban buildings, development opportunities, and outstanding transport connections means we can create the environment contemporary businesses prefer: a mix of adapted and purpose built facilities – including dedicated incubator space – stitched into a dense and diverse urban fabric (p.9).*

Existing clusters, such as fashion and textiles and craft manufacturing will be protected with the aim to '*create a self-sustaining and growing innovation ecosystem*' (p.11). This vision for an ecosystem leads to a specific vision that regeneration frameworks will move away from a focus on '*soulless business parks*' towards '*a bustling, business borough [that] involves formal and informal social areas, performance spaces, markets, breweries, restaurants, cafes and street food vendors*' (p.13). In later sections we will examine the extent to which planning policies are fulfilling this vision or actively working against it.

The Strategy makes little direct mention of *ethnic diversity* or the impacts of migrants on the economic vitality of the borough. Where diversity is indirectly discussed, it is principally in relation to *age* and *class*, rather than in direct reference to the skills and markets associated with different ethnic groups. The emphasis is on 'residents', with the expectation that in the wake of socio-economic changes and the regeneration programme the character of residential groups is likely to undergo significant change. Supply-side factors are seen as the basis for future economic growth in, for example, creating a better educated and more mobile workforce. If residents are better skilled, it is argued, then the attraction of high-skilled jobs will benefit locals and lead to forms of gentrification through which locals benefit. The omission of ethnic diversity awareness in the Strategy represents an important lacuna, given that in some of the borough ethnic businesses play an important role in supporting employment and entrepreneurialism as well as a sense of place (see Kesten *et al.*, 2015).

5.1   METHODOLOGY

The aim of this section is to define the main characteristics of entrepreneurs and their enterprises in the study area. Our sampling framework involved the purposive identification of SMEs in core locations/clusters in Haringey that were: a) located in specialist incubator premises that were designed to support start-up business; and/or b) sited in community-run units that support a diversity of local entrepreneurs; and/or c) located in areas that were being directly targeted for comprehensive property-led regeneration but in which previous research (see Kesten *et al.*, 2015) had shown that clusters of successful ethnic businesses were thriving. This approach allowed our research to capture the motivations, performance

and support networks of a range of different businesses incorporating the experiences of both long-established and new fledgling businesses in eastern wards of Haringey where regeneration agendas are attempting to radically transform historically deprived areas. Some firms were identified and contacted through their links with local governance arrangements and community projects from earlier stages of the project, some were contacted after being highlighted by the local economic development strategy, while others were approached due to a combination of their location in a small business cluster and a perceived potential connection to diversity-related issues. We also conducted interviews with a senior figure in economic development at the local authority and a manager of two local enterprise centres who provided information on the strategic approach to future plans for local businesses and the experiences of those working with SMEs on the ground. In some cases gatekeepers from earlier stages of the research offered introductions and assistance in contacting entrepreneurs however in most cases contact was made either by email, social media, telephone or in person at the business premises. Our sample provided insights into both the relationships between urban spaces and SME performance and some of the local features of 'diversity' that supported and sustained the activities of entrepreneurs.

5.2 THE ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR BUSINESSES

5.2.1 Characteristics of the entrepreneurs

This section will present the characteristics of the entrepreneurs and their previous experience. We collected a broad range of demographic information from our interviewees including answers to questions on age, gender, country of birth, ethnic background, nationality, education, previous employment experiences and home postcode. We also asked the questions *'How did you happen to become an entrepreneur?'* and *'What is your previous work experience?'*

As demonstrated by Figure 5.1, of the 40 entrepreneurs we spoke to, the majority were aged 39 or younger but a sizable number were aged between 40-59 years old. Our sample is almost an even split in terms of gender as we conducted interviews with 22 male and 18 female entrepreneurs (see appendix 4). Five firms had both male and female co-Directors, therefore the gender balance of our sample is a reflection of the primary interviewee rather than an indication of the gender of the sole company director.
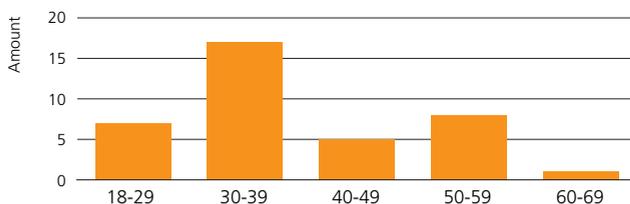
Figure 5.1 Age profile of entrepreneurs

Ethnic background of entrepreneurs

- White Britisch
- Black African
- Other: Kurdish
- Other: Latin American
- Black Britisch
- Black Caribbean
- Mixed Heritage
- White Other
- Other
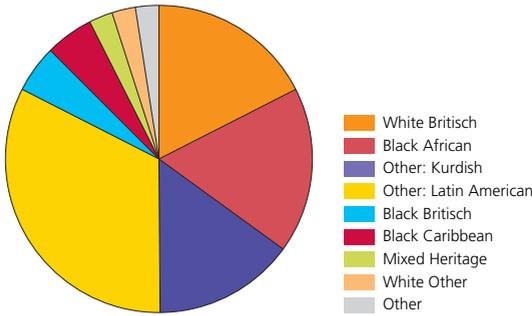
Figure 5.2 Ethnic background of entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs were born in a wide variety of countries and, while the largest number were born in the United Kingdom, a significant majority were born overseas. Expanding on this, Figure 5.2 shows the broad spread of ethnic backgrounds of our entrepreneurs (as defined by themselves as per the UK Census categories). If this analysis is extended further to look at responses given to the question of nationality, the vast majority (21) were solely British Citizens, while 11 held dual citizenship and 8 held a single, non-British, citizenship.

In terms of qualifications, half of the entrepreneurs we spoke to had achieved either an undergraduate (13) or postgraduate degree (7), while 6 had finished their studies at a Post-16 College (or equivalent), 7 had achieved a secondary school education, 5 had gained vocational and professional qualifications and 2 had gained no formal qualifications.

Their employment histories and experiences were, as expected, extremely varied in nature, particularly in terms of prior experience owning a business. Six of the 40 entrepreneurs had experience of owning and running a business prior to their current enterprise. One example of these six is R7 who, while having gained no formal qualifications, had extensive work experience in a variety of different fields and had also owned his own supermarket which he had sold in order to buy his current business, a jewellery store. Another good example is R16 who described himself as a 'serial entrepreneur' having previously run several companies including installing multi-gyms, a delivery company, an online social network for those in the creative industries, a graphic design business, a small property portfolio locally and overseas as well as a blog for sneaker enthusiasts (the last three of which are still active in addition to his current business). The remaining businesses were all being run by individuals with no prior experience of owning a business, many with great success as we will outline later in Section 5.5[38].

Despite the majority of our entrepreneurs having no previous experience owning a business, more than half (22) held prior experience in the same (or a similar) field as their current business. Many had identified an opportunity to open their own business as a result of previous experience working in related business activities. For example, R6 had worked as a cleaner before establishing his cleaning company, R8 as a security guard before establishing his security firm and R9 in film before eventually setting up his film company. Eighteen entrepreneurs

held no previous experience in the sector of their current enterprise prior to establishing their business but many had seized the opportunity to change careers to focus on something they were passionate about. One common thread was that respondents' current business activities corresponded with a pre-existing passion or interest. For R4, a 'first-timer' with minimal prior experience starting her own business in Jamaican desserts and cakes, starting a business was an opportunity to create an employment opportunity after redundancy. Similarly, R13 had gained a relevant undergraduate degree but had found it impossible to gain employment in the media industry so starting her own film business enabled her to pursue her passion where it would have otherwise been impossible. For some entrepreneurs, like R3 and R22, running their own companies was something they initially did in addition to working other jobs (for the Fire Service and a train company respectively), although as they became more successful each quit their jobs to concentrate on their business.

Finally, with regards to where entrepreneurs lived, we found that a slight majority of entrepreneurs (21) lived outside of Haringey, most often in neighbouring London boroughs and others outside London in Oxford (1) and nearby Hertfordshire (2). Eight of our entrepreneurs lived within Haringey but in a different part of the borough to their business premises, while another 4 worked from home or on a freelance basis without a separate business premises. Only 5 entrepreneurs lived and worked in the same part of Haringey.

5.2.2   Characteristics of the business, its evolutionary path and fields of activity

This part will present responses to questions asked about the type of business, the main kinds of products/services of the enterprise, the start-up date, the ownership type and the number and characteristics of its employees. The entrepreneurs came from a range of different sectors from brewers to bakers, film makers to dress-makers and estate agents to modelling agencies. The majority can be categorised into seven main activity sectors:

i.   The 'hospitality' trades (9), e.g. florist, cafés, audio-visual services.
ii. 'Food/beverage production' (4), e.g. brewery, cheese-maker, bakery.
iii. The 'fashion and textiles' industry (5), e.g. dressmaker, foldable shoe company.
iv. The 'creative industries' sector (4), e.g. film, music, social media management.
v.   The 'retail' sector (7), e.g. jewellers, confectionary, chemist, grocery shop.
vi. The 'hair and beauty' sector (3), e.g. hair salon, hair import and distribution.
vii. Finally, 'other services' (8) e.g. estate agents, children's soft play centre, cleaning, removals, security.

In terms of ownership structure, the vast majority (27) were owned solely by one individual[39]. The next most common form was joint ownership (10). Four of these 10 businesses were owned by couples, 2 business were owned by 2 siblings and another was owned by 2 entrepreneurs who met at a networking event and decided to start a business together. Two of the businesses had 3 directors, one of which was owned by a husband, wife and son and the other by a husband, wife and close-friend.

Figure 5.3 639 Enterprise Centre, Tottenham High Road.

The majority (26) of businesses had been running for 4 years or less, reflecting the fact that many were based in enterprise centres (such as the one shown in Figure 5.3) that operated as incubator spaces for start-ups. This meant that as part of their offer of subsidised rent and mentoring support there was an agreement that firms would be limited to 3 year terms in the centre, after which point they were expected to be commercially viable and find an alternative premises. A further 10 businesses had been operating for between 5 and 9 years, two of which had started out in one of the incubator spaces mentioned above, while only 4 (or 10%) had been operating for 10 years or more.

When asked about the distinguishing feature(s) of their business a significant proportion identified explicit links to diversity related issues. For example, R3 notes that her company's marketing of a 'woman and van removals service' as opposed to the traditional 'man and van' has made it very popular. Similarly, R8 felt that the age of he and his co-directors gave the company a younger and more dynamic feel than their competitors and R24 described how his company specialised in multi and mixed cultural weddings[40]. Other respondents noted the relationship between their business and the local area as distinguishing them from others, e.g. both the brewery and the cheese-maker emphasised the fact that theirs was an unusual product for an urban area and that this was a unique selling point. While others such as R10 (record label and media training) and R20 (fashion social enterprise) emphasised their grassroots focus and the connection that their businesses had with the local area and with local people in their aims and objectives.

In terms of employment, 12 businesses had no employees outside of the business owner. In many cases this was due to the unpredictable nature of these businesses, which were contract or events based and as such relied on the support of a varying number of casual and freelance self-employed contractors based on the work they had to fulfil at any given time. Several businesses enlisted the support of volunteers while some spoke of relying on skilled and/or willing family members and friends offering help where needed. In total the majority (19) of businesses had between 1 to 10 employees and only 6 had 10 or more.

It was clear from the interviews that most firms hired employees first and foremost on the basis of skill, aptitude and availability. In many cases this resulted in extremely diverse workforces, such as the West African bakery with employees from a wide range of countries, and the security company whose staff are mainly from Black African and Caribbean backgrounds but also a range of other backgrounds. Others noted that a certain demographic of employee was advantageous or desirable, such as the jeweller [R7] who found it helpful for his employees to share the background of his largely Turkish customer base or the fashion social enterprise [R20] which noted that 95% of its workforce were migrant women from a wide range of backgrounds who had prior experience of the textile industry. While some, like R14 (café and floristry), R15 (hair salon) and R16 (social media brand management) made a concerted effort to offer opportunities to those that would find employment difficult such as single mothers, those with a criminal record or those with minimal experience. A common thread through most enterprises was that the majority of employees either lived within the borough or in neighbouring London boroughs, however due to the ease of connectivity within London via the public transport network in many cases employees travelled from further afield.

5.2.3   The information on the site(s) of the enterprise

Almost half (19) of our sample were renting their premises from a private landlord. In addition, a significant proportion (13) were renting from a third sector organisation such as the Selby Trust, the Bernie Grant Centre Partnership, or the London Youth Support Trust, while 4 were home-based/freelance and did not have a separate business premises, 3 were renting their premises from the local authority and 1 owned the building that their company was based in while also renting another unit from a private landlord.

The majority (19) were located in 'front-facing' retail or hospitality based premises which are typically focused upon serving passing trade from the public such as the jewellers, the soft play centre, the hair salon and the bakery. A significant proportion (12) were based in premises which can be loosely described as office/work spaces, which are typically not open to the public except by appointment, for example the cleaning, security and film-making companies. These are distinguished from larger industrial spaces where 5 businesses were based including the brewery, cheese-maker and large fashion manufacturer. The remaining 4 firms did not have a separate business premises and instead operated from home and in some cases on a 'roaming' basis, for example selling homemade produce at markets. It is also worth noting that a small number of enterprises operated from more than one premises.
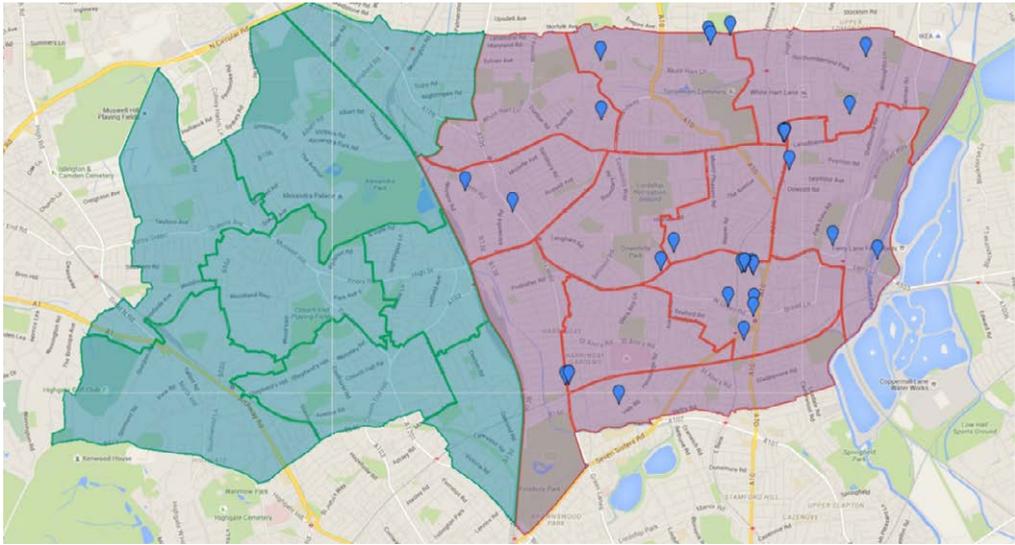
Figure 5.4 Map of Business locations. Source: Google Maps

Finally, in terms of the geographic spread of the sample businesses across borough, all of the firms were based in eastern parts of Haringey (see Figure 5.4: Map of Business locations).

5.2.4 Conclusions

Collectively, our sample is indicative of the economy of Haringey (and outer London) and its SMEs. We covered a wide spectrum of businesses operating in many industrial sectors and located in areas of relatively high deprivation and socio-economic diversity. The entrepreneurs possess a range of backgrounds, knowledge, core skills/competencies, and social characteristics. As noted above, our sample was broad enough to provide insights into both the relationships between urban spaces and SME competitiveness and some of the local features of 'diversity' that supported and sustained the activities of entrepreneurs.

5.3   STARTING AN ENTERPRISE IN A DIVERSE URBAN AREA

The main questions to be addressed in this section are: '*What are the motivations to start an enterprise?*' '*Is the diversity of the neighbourhood an important factor for starting a business or moving the business to the present neighbourhood?*' '*Why are certain business sectors chosen by entrepreneurs?*' '*What help (if any) was received in establishing an enterprise?*' We will draw on evidence that highlights the complex mixture of behavioural characteristics, decisions and structural conditions that influence the processes involved in business start-ups. Our emphasis is also on the specific factors that shape so-called '*ethnic entrepreneurialism*' and how these differ (if at all) from other SMEs.

The motivations, aspirations, and rationalities of entrepreneurs arise from a complex mixture of individual circumstances, market opportunities, macro-economic conditions, and social relations. In Stokes and Wilson's (2010) terms *entrepreneurship* can be defined as *'an emergent process of change in that we rarely (if ever) know what the outcome of change will be until it has taken place'* (p.37). Many studies focus on the *behavioural characteristics* of entrepreneurs and their motivations for starting companies. The emphasis is on the decision-making processes of individuals and the ways in which latent entrepreneurship is converted into concrete actions and the formation of businesses. Alongside this a growing literature is also focused on the broader *structural conditions* that influence entrepreneurship including labour market changes, cultural influences, and the inter-dependencies between social actors.

Many studies on business start-ups focus on the motivations of entrepreneurs or their behavioural choices. The most common categorisations are forged around binary distinctions between what some authors have termed *'push'* and *'pull'* factors. Push factors represent what Stokes and Wilson (2010) term necessity-based or opportunity-based reasons for starting a new firm, usually based on a life-changing factor, such as redundancy, unemployment, or disagreements between a worker and their existing employer. Pull factors represent a set of more positive motivations in which entrepreneurs respond to positive motives and wish to pursue specific ideas that they think have a chance of market success. The reality is that, as with all binaries, motivations tend to represent a combination of both push and pull factors. Attempts to separate out behaviours as either/or choices encourages researchers to make artificial separations between co-existing and evolving motives and behaviours. A more precise framework used in this section will separate-out core motivations into four elements:

(i) *A desire for independence*: One recurring feature in studies of entrepreneurs is that starting a business results from a desire for greater autonomy and sense of individual freedom from the constraints of what are perceived to be restrictive employee-employer relations. In some cases this emerges from a negative workplace experience. It can also result from a desire to improve an individual's social status. Savage (2015), for instance, has shown that as class distinctions and labour-markets have become more complex and fragmented in contemporary societies, so the desire of particular individuals to *'go it alone'* has also expanded. In some instances, however, the desire for independence also results from the pursuit of a specific skill or hobby on the part of an entrepreneur. As job opportunities that offer both structural certainty for employees and opportunities for individual creativity become more difficult to access, some workers feel that setting-up their own business can act as a vehicle for the expression of their own creativity.

(ii) *The pursuit of wealth accumulation and social mobility*: In many instances entrepreneurship represents a perceived vehicle for both the acquisition of wealth and an escalator for social mobility. The motive to work for oneself provides individuals with the opportunity to increase the returns on their own labour and not to 'enrich' others (see Arcs *et al.*, 2014). For those from poorer backgrounds it can also open up new opportunities to increase their socio-economic status and to use their own skills and resources to move into the formal labour market.

(iii) *Entrepreneurialism in response to crisis or unforeseen circumstances*: In many instances individuals set up new businesses in contexts of perceived or real necessity. The motivations here are often a complex mix of economic motivations, such as the loss of income associated with a major life incident such as unemployment or unexpected illness, and socio-cultural expectations of what constitutes a desirable lifestyle. Similar points have been made in recent literatures on precariousness, with Standing (2010) arguing that self-employed business owners represent a specific response to the threat of growing unemployment and recent reductions in full-time positions across the public and private sectors. It is a situation that has been compounded by the job insecurities associated with *'austerity urbanism'* and the privatisation and or shrinkage of welfare services (see Peck, 2014). The aspiration to be entrepreneurial has also been inculcated through public policy discourses, in which individual autonomy has consistently been valued over and above collective forms of mutuality (see Crouch, 2013).

(iv) *Contributions to place-building*: For some entrepreneurs the setting up of a business represents a desire to make a 'contribution' to the places and communities in which they live. Motivations towards places and a sense of social obligation vary from context to context, but may include a feeling that a company is helping people and places by creating new jobs, opening up new opportunities for those with specific skills sets, paying taxes for the common good, and/or providing goods and services that a community or set of communities require. Moreover, writers from the field of the so-called 'new economic geography' claim that individuals can be motivated to become entrepreneurs if they feel that they are contributing to a 'shared collective enterprise' in a place and are part of a bigger agglomeration of innovative activities and shared 'success' (see Martin, 2015).

We will also draw attention in this section to the specific relationships between diversity and entrepreneurial motivations. So-called ethnic minority entrepreneurs are often, in Keith's (2005) terms presented by policy-makers as *'iconic subjects'*, who provide clear examples of the ways in which in-migration can act as an economic stimulus for cities and places. In London historic associations are often made between earlier waves of in-migration and periods of economic innovation and success. The arrival of fleeing French Huguenot weavers and traders during the European religious wars of the 17th Century is seen by some as a trigger for the growth of trades and innovative practices (see Gwynn, 1998). Similarly, the regeneration triggered by south Asian skilled migrants in parts of east London in the Twentieth Century, is increasingly presented as an important moment in the city's recent economic and social development (Saunders, 2010).

For the think-tank the Centre for Entrepreneurs [CfE] (2012) such examples act as a *'counter-weight to anti-immigrant policies'* (p.6). Openness and diversity are presented as the handmaidens of entrepreneurialism. It is a message that has widespread modern resonance. As Stokes and Wilson (2010: p.41) note, *'ethnic minority people are among the most entrepreneurial in society'*, making up 10% of all business start-ups in the UK and contributing €25.6 billion (£20 billion) to UK GDP. The CfE (2012) draw on 2011 census data to show that there are higher rates

of self-employment amongst BME and migrant communities than found in the White British population. Moreover, they claim that there is strong evidence that growth aspirations are higher and that these are reflected in the data over business start-up rates. For example, over a fifth (21.5%) of in-migrants from EU Accession States (excluding Poland) are self-employed, compared to a UK average of 13.7%. They conclude that *'self-employment is not an uncommon activity for many new migrant groups'* (p.12).

The motivations for ethnic minority entrepreneurialism may also reflect a combination of individual, community-based, and structural conditions. Some migrant groups may feel particularly excluded from formal economic opportunities as a result of an under-recognition of their skills and qualifications or negative attitudes and perceptions towards certain ethnic groups amongst employers (see Kloosterman, 2010).

The next section will explore the core motivations for establishing a business. This will be followed by an analysis of the choice of location and the impact of neighbourhood diversity on this choice and upon the operation of the businesses generally, before turning to specific questions over how entrepreneurs selected their core lines of business and how they established streams of capital and other forms of support.

5.3.1   Motivations for establishing a business

Our research found that the motivations of our entrepreneurs broadly fit into four categories, namely: (i) *a desire for independence*; (ii) *the pursuit of wealth accumulation and social mobility*; (iii) *entrepreneurialism in response to crisis*; and (iv) *contributions to place-building*. While inevitably motivations were not clear cut, these four categories offer the opportunity to outline clearly the most important factors motivating our interviewees. These motivations also accounted for the responses of entrepreneurs from diverse backgrounds, although it was also clear that those with pre-existing skills and higher levels of education were more likely to establish more profitable firms and engage in higher skilled activities.

(i)   A desire for independence

The majority (27, 67.5%) of our interviewees stated that their main (or part of their) motivation for establishing their enterprise could be attributed to what we have described as *'a desire for independence'*. Of these interviewees there was an almost even distribution between two types of positively-framed responses, or 'pull factors': The first type of response came from entrepreneurs whose decision to establish their business had been primarily motivated by the **search for a greater level of autonomy**. For some the emphasis was on the control that they could have over their own lives. In the case of R8, a security services company, the *"sense of freedom, comfort and flexibility"* of being his own boss spurred his entrepreneurial spirit and drive, allied to the search for a greater sense of satisfaction and well-being. This was also true for R19, a luxury T-shirt designer for whom becoming an entrepreneur was about *"not wanting to work for someone else"*. Having had negative experiences working in TV for a large corporation where she felt she did not fit into the corporate culture and had limited access to opportunities for advancement

she was *"attracted to the freedom, flexibility and control"* that being an entrepreneur offered. Flexibility also played a major role for other interviewees such as R11 (a children's soft play centre) as the business was established to allow the owner to meet broader family commitments. The second type of response came from entrepreneurs whose primary motivation had been the **pursuit of new and more exciting opportunities and the chance to turn their personal passions or interests into their new career**. A number of entrepreneurs spoke of changing their field of employment completely. This was true for R1 who left his career in banking to turn his home brewing hobby into his new career running a brewery. Similarly for R12, a trained chef who had *"always been passionate about food"*, establishing his Colombian catering business offered what he saw as a *"less stressful life"* than he was experiencing working as a secondary school languages teacher. He was motivated by the opportunity to pursue his passion for food and, in doing so, gain a level of success and satisfaction from his work that he felt was missing in his previous profession. Similarly, for R16 the motivation to start his social media management business centred around the chance to *"explore new ground"* by moving into what was at the time (and arguably still is) a relatively new field as he found that there were very few social media experts or paid bloggers making a living from this skill and he observed that none of them were Black, presenting the opportunity to be a trend-setter.

(ii) The pursuit of wealth accumulation and social mobility
Approximately one third of respondents (13, 32.5%) described how they had been motivated by the opportunity to **improve their income and social mobility**, with just over half (7) of those focusing on the improved financial opportunities and independence. A good example of this comes from R17, a Chinese entrepreneur, whose main motivation to start her natural hair import and distribution business came from research she conducted that identified the potential profits available by developing connections with suppliers in her native China, along with the freedom and sense of achievement that running her own business would give her. Another is R28 who opened her Polish Deli in Seven Sisters because she was seeking to expand her business portfolio to continue to improve her income and opportunities. This was her third business and she originally established the first two (another Polish deli and a Polish restaurant in Walthamstow in the nearby borough of Waltham Forest) in the search for a better income and standard of living as she had originally worked as a cleaner when she first arrived in the UK. R22 believed she *"has always been an entrepreneurial person"* with a hunger to do better for herself, her family and her local area. Having worked for a café chain and a train company she developed her idea for her foldable shoe company and built the business as a *"kitchen table start-up"* in her spare time in the early stages. The business is now highly successful and doing 80% of its business in Asian markets.

Some business owners described how becoming an entrepreneur was about **creating better opportunities within their industry of choice** by building on past experiences working in the sector. R6 had worked as a cleaner previously before realising that he stood to gain greater financial opportunities for himself by establishing his own cleaning business. He also found that it was easier for him to schedule his work around his childcare commitments and family

life and valued the increased responsibility of his opportunities resting on himself. In his previous experience working in the film industry as an employee R9 found that his creativity and opportunities were limited and that by launching his own enterprise he would not only be getting paid for his own work but would be employing and benefiting financially from the work of his employees, thus increasing his own financial opportunities.

For 10% (4) of business owners the drive to start their enterprise came from having identified a *"gap in the market"*. For example, R23 was first motivated to start his West African bakery business as he noticed that at the time there were *"no other producers of African bread products"*. R26 was also influenced, among other things, by the fact that there was *"nothing like"* [their upscale coffee shop] *in the area* [Tottenham] *already"*.

(iii)   Entrepreneurialism in response to crisis or unforeseen circumstances
Some entrepreneurs were motivated to start their business **in response to some kind of 'crisis' (or unforeseen circumstances)**. The most common of which was that their previous position had come to an abrupt end forcing them to seek out other opportunities. A number of the business owners we spoke to had become entrepreneurs after being made redundant from their roles in the public sector. Both R2 (the urban cheese-maker) and R4 (Jamaican sweets, cakes and desserts) had started their businesses following redundancy from careers working in health and social care for the local authority. R2 had used the money he received from his redundancy pay out to start his company with his partner and follow their passion for cheese-making. After being unemployed and in receipt of welfare assistance for some time R4 had enrolled on a third-sector led programme designed to support budding entrepreneurs in the local neighbourhood, which ultimately helped her launch her business. R40 was also made redundant from his public sector position as a youth worker and was supported by his family to buy his internet café business while another interviewee, R15, decided to setup her own salon after the one she was working in closed.

Another factor necessitating entrepreneurship mentioned by a few business owners was a **lack of skills or qualifications which restricted alternative choices**. A Colombian café owner [R30] believed that this was the only opportunity available to him, explaining that it was *"the only way to live economically… the only way to survive… in this country"* noting that he has to support not only his immediate family but also send remittances back to others in Colombia. R7 (a Kurdish Jeweller) and R39 (a Kurdish green grocer) had similar stories of difficult upbringings resulting in limited qualifications. The jeweller [R7] had grown up in a poor family in rural Turkey and once in the UK had not performed well at school. He believed his lack of formal qualifications limited his employment opportunities but drew positively upon his experience of hardship growing-up in highlighting that it had motivated him to want to succeed for himself, his wife and his young son. The green grocer [R39] explained that he *"does not like what he does"* but had arrived in the UK with very little education and so it would be *"difficult to find or do another job"*. He too was driven to provide better opportunities for his children and adamant about not wanting his young son to visit him at work for fear that he would get the impression

that working as a green grocer was a desirable profession. Related to this narrative of a lack of qualifications limiting the options of some migrant entrepreneurs is R27, also of Kurdish origin, who interestingly described how she and her brother were motivated to succeed as entrepreneurs by witnessing the experiences and sacrifices made by their parents on their behalf including *"working very long hours to pay for [their] education"*. It was the combination of the education that they received and the inspirational value of their parents' work ethic that they believed was the formula for their success as entrepreneurs.

Some interviewees were motivated in a highly positive manner by quite extreme circumstances, including, for example, one interviewee [R14] who had been sent to prison and upon her release had struggled with public perceptions of offenders in searching for work but was equally motivated to never return, and another [R10] who had been orphaned at a young age and as a result felt motivated to become an entrepreneur by the *"lack of a safety net"* to support him.

(iv) Contributions to place-building
Just over a quarter of entrepreneurs (11, 27.5%) said they were motivated by the desire to **make a contribution to their local area** and its inhabitants by offering training and employment opportunities. Some spoke generally of wanting to help others and offer employment to local people. For example, R8 described himself as being *"passionate about having an opportunity to help others from disadvantaged backgrounds with economic opportunities"* and noted that he felt a *"sense of responsibility for the local population"*. Also R20, who was passionate about supporting the UK based manufacturing and textiles industry and alongside this, in supporting local young people by offering them training opportunities in the industry. Others were more precise about groups they were motivated to help. As a result of her own personal experience of hardship and crisis after serving a prison sentence R14 was passionate about starting her own business in order to not only create an opportunity for herself but to also be able to offer employment to those who faced similar obstacles including ex-offenders, single mothers and those with limited work experience, almost all of whom were long-standing local residents. Both R3 (the removals company) and R13 (the film company) spoke of how they were passionate about being able to offer opportunities to women in their sectors which were typically male dominated. R13, a film-maker, spoke of how she was motivated by the chance to *"offer women opportunities to gain experience and work in the industry [which is] quite sexist and male-dominated"*. Finally, a few were driven to offer assistance to specific ethnic groups, for example R37 (translation and education business) who explained that she is passionate about supporting the Latin American (and particularly her own Cuban) community, noting that her business was motivated by a desire to *"help children from Latin American backgrounds access education and culture, particularly higher education"*. This motivation stemmed from the fact that she felt like an outsider being from Cuba and growing up in Tottenham.

5.3.2   Choice of business location and the importance of diversity
Here we address the questions *'Why did you choose this location and neighbourhood?'*, *'Is the diversity of the neighbourhood a factor in your choice of location?'*, and *'To what extent does the*

diversity of the neighbourhood impact upon your business?' We are interested in understanding the factors which motivate entrepreneurs to choose the location of their business and understand if the presence of a diverse population plays a role in the location and operation of their business.

Choice of location and neighbourhood

The three most common responses given for the choice of business location were: (i) a familiarity with, strong attachment to, and/or desire to contribute to the area (19, 47.5%); (ii) affordability (and size) of premises (11, 27.5%); and (iii) good transport connections (7, 17.5%).

(i) Familiarity, attachment and desire to contribute to the area

Those who gave this response most often commented that they were first attracted to locate their business in its current location because it was near their home. Many had grown up in the area and described how they were surrounded by their family, friends and broader social networks and that this played a significant factor in choosing the location. A cleaning services company director, originally from Ghana [R6], described how although he no longer lived in London he still chose to start his business in Tottenham as this was the area that he knew best and felt most at ease in running his business. There was a firm expression of emotional connection to the area from many entrepreneurs, such as R10 who felt there was *"something special"* about Northumberland Park and its population, R27 who explained how her brother (co-director) felt very connected to the area having attended the local school and wanted to *"do right for the area and add to the area positively by creating greater economic and social activity locally to help rejuvenate it and reduce crime and anti-social behaviour",* and R16 who said he *"loves Tottenham and the …Enterprise Centre"* and doesn't *"…see why I would spend more money to be elsewhere when I have everything I need where I am!",* also noting that he is *"passionate about the opportunity to grow my business in the area as it starts to improve".* Several other entrepreneurs also made reference to the regeneration taking place following rioting in August 2011 and how they either felt passionate about contributing by using their enterprise to offer local people greater economic opportunities or felt positive about the types of new businesses that would be attracted by the increase in funding that followed. For some their brand identity was tied to their location, i.e. the urban craft brewery [R1] or the urban cheese-maker [R2]. Others, like the Latin American confectioner [R32], jewellery maker [R33] and the hairdresser [R34] in Seven Sisters, mentioned that the proximity to their home was appealing for more practical reasons such as childcare commitments or a desire to avoid a long commute to work.

(ii) Affordability and size of premises available

For a significant proportion of business owners the prime consideration in locating their business was the affordability of the premises. All of the businesses based in large industrial premises in Northumberland Park were drawn to the combination of affordability and size of the premises available. Both the film-maker [R9] and the security company [R8] chose his enterprise centre location as they were focused on keeping overheads down having learnt lessons from previous business ventures. R8 found it affordable to be located in Tottenham in the short

Figure 5.5 Seven Sisters indoor market.

term as he was benefiting from subsidised rent but ultimately wanted to move to an area with more entrepreneurs where he felt his business would benefit economically or closer to central London to be nearer his big clients. This sentiment was echoed by several other businesses who did not rely on the local population for business and desired more opportunities for interaction with other entrepreneurs.

(iii)   Good transport connections
Finally, a sizable number of entrepreneurs noted the quality of transport connections nearby as the main reason for choosing their business location, most often commenting that having an underground station on a reliable and regularly serviced line, a large number of good bus routes with stops nearby, as well as major roads connecting them to the rest of the city (and country) meant that it was easier for them to get from home to work, travel for work purposes, to gain passing trade, and for their customers (who were not always based locally) to reach them. According to one estate agent [R31] based in Seven Sisters, *"there are a lot of customers, transport is 24 hours and the people are really nice to work with"*.

The role of diversity in the choice of business location
Our research revealed that, even without being asked specifically, the diversity of the neighbourhood played a major role in the location choice of a significant proportion (13, 32.5%) of entrepreneurs. These were almost exclusively businesses which targeted their activities to specific ethnic or social groups who lived in the local neighbourhood. For example, a Polish deli owner [R28] explained that she had chosen to base her business in Seven Sisters because she *"knew that a lot of Polish people live in the area"* and for her this was key to its success as she

relied almost exclusively on the business of Polish customers. This response was true of all of the businesses based in Seven Sisters Indoor Market (one of two sites in London known for the presence of Latin American businesses) (Figure 5.5), who all pointed to the *"multicultural"* and *"multilingual"* nature of the market as one of the most important reasons for choosing to base their businesses there. They found the potential benefit in clustering their (primarily Latin American) businesses together in the same indoor market appealing as they were aware that, in the words of R30 that *"if one wants Latin American products in London they either have to come to Seven Sisters or go to Elephant and Castle"*. R37 also noted that their market in Seven Sisters is *"special because it is different to anywhere else in London… it is an important centre for the Latin American community"*.

For R20 the diversity of the neighbourhood was crucial for the location of her business not because her business relied on a specific local target audience but because she relied heavily on the skilled local migrant workforce and was adamant that the only other place her business could be located successfully was East London, but that this would have been far less affordable. In fact she praised the local authority for its *"visionary approach"* in its support for the textile industry, making clear links between the diversity of Haringey's population and its historical reputation as a hub for the textile industry.

Both the children's soft play centre [R11] and the Brazilian hairdresser [R34] had initially chosen the location of their business in relation to the diversity of the neighbourhood but later encountered difficulties. The soft play centre had targeted the local Somali population due to their typically large families in the hopes that they would find the business appealing, although in their view the community was quite isolated and difficult to engage with and they ultimately failed to appeal to this clientele. The Brazilian hairdresser had believed that her new location in Haringey would enable her to expand her clientele outside of her predominantly Brazilian customer base but struggled discovering that *"different groups keep to their own communities"* and ultimately did not gain many new customers.

However the majority of entrepreneurs stated that the diversity of the neighbourhood was not a factor in their decision to be based there (particularly true of businesses which did not focus on one specific group as their target audience but instead focused on having the broadest possible appeal). This could be attributed to the fact that the urban diversity of Haringey's population is not dissimilar from that of other neighbouring inner London boroughs and in fact was described by several businesses as *"an everyday fact of life",* with one entrepreneur commenting *"diversity… we're over that sh*t!"* to highlight the fact that, living and working in an area as diverse as Tottenham, it was not something that they thought (or needed to think) much about (see also Wessendorf, 2014). It is therefore conceivable that diversity is less likely to be a significant factor in the choice of business location. In fact, to further highlight this point, a number of businesses which did not mention diversity as a factor in the location of their business did highlight its importance in the operation of their business. For example, R24 acknowledged that, while he believed his business could be based elsewhere in London,

diversity played a major role in his business (a part of) which specialised in providing services for multicultural and mixed-culture weddings. Many businesses, like the West African bakery [R23], started out focusing on one group as its target audience but later sought to expand their appeal to a broader base and as they did so in many cases the diversity of the area became less important to the operation of the business.

5.3.3 Selection of the business sector

Firms were asked *'Why did you start your business in this sector and not another?'* The majority (28, 70%) gave two similar reasons for selecting their business sector. The first was that they were setting up a business which corresponded with their previous experience in the sector (14, 35%). A typical response was given by R28 who ran a Polish Deli in Seven Sisters. She explained that prior to moving to the UK she had worked in a deli in Poland for some time and so she knew the business well and this knowledge and experience gave her the confidence to open her own business. Although she did not say so specifically, given her earlier response that the diversity of the area (in relation to the presence of a sizable Polish population) played a significant role in her choice of location, it would seem that her choice of sector was also influenced by the fact that she identified a demand for this type of business among her target audience locally. This was also the case for R23 the West African bakery business that was setup having identified a 'gap in the market' for these types of products and a demand for them from a diverse local population which included a substantial number from African and Caribbean backgrounds.

The second was that they were following their passion into a new sector (14, 35%). Again, examples were provided in Section 5.4.2 of how our interviewees were motivated to start their firms to pursue their personal passions as new careers. Another good example comes from R18 who explained that she was struggling to cope with the monotony of her job at a supermarket chain and, having enjoyed making dresses in her spare time ever since she was a child, decided to pursue her passion full-time by setting up her own dress-making business. For R20 her choice of sector was a combination of her experience in (having worked for many years as a fashion buyer for a large multinational retail group), and passion for, the fashion industry itself. As noted in the previous section, this passion for the sector was linked closely to her belief that the diversity of the area played a pivotal role in why her business was performing well due to the presence of migrants with the appropriate skills locally.

In examining the influences behind the choices of sector entrepreneurs made we found that the vast majority (28, 70%) mentioned no external influence at all and instead attributed their choices to those mentioned above, describing themselves as self-motivated. For those who did name others as having been influential in their choice of sector the most common response was that they were influenced by family members. Interestingly, of those who gave this response, the businesses were most often tied to their ethnic background, for example the jeweller of Kurdish origin [R7] whose in-laws already ran a jewellery store, the green grocer [R39] whose father had done the same, the internet café business owner [R40] who purchased his business from (and with the help of) a family member, along with the West African baker [R23] and

West African dressmaker [R18] whose parents and siblings had all worked in the same industry. Another common response was that they had either observed the activities of similar business in areas nearby or had engaged with experts in their field. A good example of the influence of other similar businesses as influencing sector selection comes from the children's soft play centre business [R11] who, having observed the popularity of a similar centre among the typically large Jewish families based locally believed that they could achieve similar success among the large Somali families in their area. This was also true of the restaurant and brasserie business [R27] who were inspired by, and sought to emulate, the success of other Turkish restaurant businesses in the popular Green Lanes area of Haringey.

5.3.4 Information, support and capital formation

Here we look at responses to the question *'Did you receive any help in establishing your current business?'* to explore where and how local entrepreneurs gained the knowledge, skills, support and financial capital necessary to initiate their business.

Financial support

Half (20) of business owners reported that they had received **no outside financial assistance in establishing their current enterprise** and had done so through a variety of means, most commonly relying on personal savings but also via redundancy payments [R2, R37], the sale of previous businesses [R29] and wages from other on-going work [R16, R22]. Some firms stated that this was the result of a conscious choice, for example to *"avoid being let down or betrayed"* [R6]. Some had received external investment previously and were wary of doing so again, this was the case for R9 who had taken out a loan for his previous online music platform business and was still paying this off despite the business no longer operating. Although he had not yet needed to seek external investment R16 stated he would only do so if it was necessary to expand the business and felt one of the biggest reasons why new entrepreneurs fail was *"applying for money without the proper training on how and why to do so"*.

Of those businesses that had benefited from external investment 9 (22.5%) had received it from family members, most often from parents. While some were only small loans (with the majority of the start-up capital drawn from personal savings) in a few cases these investments were more significant. Six (15%) businesses had received financial support from non-governmental organisations such as the New Enterprise Association[41], the Association of Independent Music[42], The Prince's Trust[43] and Enfield Enterprise[44] Four (10%) described receiving some kind of government loan, including two from central government[45], one from local government[46] and one via the EU[47] Two further businesses had received start-up loans from banks[48] and one had received substantial investment from two large fashion retailers[49].

Information, advice and training

A sizable proportion (17, 42.5%) of entrepreneurs reported that they received **no external information, training or other (non-financial) form of support**. Many of these firms were relatively small in scale with very few full-time employees and minimal profits and, as was the

case for financial capital, all of the businesses we spoke to in the Seven Sisters market reported receiving no external information or training. However there were a small number of notable exceptions of those who did not mention any external advice or (non-financial) support but whose businesses were performing very well. In these cases business owners gave a strong impression that they kept themselves well-informed of local opportunities and developments and had gained knowledge and learnt lessons from past experiences. This was the case for R23 who was a member of his local high street trader's association which had received public funding to support regeneration of the high street where his bakery was based, suggesting he was well connected and informed.

For those that did receive other kinds of support **the most common form described was from non-governmental organisations** (7, 17.5%), typically via formal business mentoring programmes or training courses. In most cases these had been arranged by the enterprise centre in which the business was based and had focused on core business skills such as accounting and financing, writing business plans, general day to day running of businesses and also emotional support and were generally highly valued although not taken up by everyone. One firm [R12] mentioned receiving advice from a business mentor he acquired via his bank loan which *"kept [his] spirits up"*. However, he also noted that he had expected far more support from the bank than he received, a large part of why he had taken out the loan from them initially, noting that he believed the bank was only interested in businesses which turned into *"big earners"*.

A number (5, 12.5%) of entrepreneurs mentioned **support received from their social networks**. A good example of this comes from R24 who described how an accountant based in the same enterprise centre as him offered him a lot of support in establishing his business and *"actually put together my first business plan for me!"* Some (4, 10%) received advice and support from family members, such as R21 whose father, a successful entrepreneur himself, had written their first business plan for them. Another four mentioned that they felt well supported by the local authority, notably businesses that all represented a newer and slicker image for the areas they were based in such as the brewery [R1] and cheese-maker [R2] in Northumberland Park, the coffee shop [R26] in Tottenham Hale and the restaurant and brasserie business in West Green Road/Downhills Park [R27]. While a further two (5%) mentioned benefiting from the advice and support available via the 'Business Link'[50] service before it was shut down.

5.3.5 Conclusions

To conclude, this section has provided evidence of the ways in which the motivations of entrepreneurs in Haringey to start-up their own businesses represent a complex set of shifting and evolving perceptions and views. The decision to become an entrepreneur was most commonly the result of a **desire for greater independence** as well as other types of positive 'pull' factors' such as the **pursuit of wealth and social mobility** and **contributions to place-making**. In many cases motivations were a combination of both push and pull factors involving a mix of economic considerations and social and cultural influences with **entrepreneurialism as a response to circumstances** reported by a number of entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs were

often simultaneously motivated by a desire for independence and social mobility, at the same time as seeing themselves as pioneers or contributors to a greater sense of collective 'good' or a shared enterprise. A significant proportion were passionate about **affecting change in their local neighbourhood** by offering employment and training opportunities and this strong attachment and desire to contribute to their neighbourhood also played a significant role in their choice of business location along with other positive factors such as **affordability and suitability of premises** and the availability of **good transport connections**. While an overwhelming majority of entrepreneurs reflected positively on the diversity of the local neighbourhood very few felt it was a major factor affecting their choice of location or sector for their business, or indeed for their decision to become entrepreneurs, with the exception of businesses which relied on targeting a specific ethnic group for whom the presence of such diverse groups in the neighbourhood or surrounding areas was crucial.

5.4 THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF ENTERPRISES AND THE ROLE OF URBAN DIVERSITY

In many countries the rise of SMEs is seen by policy-makers as evidence of a new 'spirit' of entrepreneurialism and individualism in which latent talent is being unlocked to create dynamic and intensive forms of growth and job creation. The reality, however, for most SMEs, including those run by ethnic minorities, is that their sustainability and resilience in the wake of economic pressures is relatively low. As Stokes and Wilson (2010) show, *'while large numbers of new small businesses have been started, only a tiny minority will grow into substantial enterprises'* (p.37).

The relationships between SME performance and social and economic diversity are potentially significant. For urban areas, an influx of migrants may bring a range of new skills and market opportunities. As Syrett and Sepulveda (2012) show, there can be a significant *'diversity dividend'* for areas that receive migrants as this can generate heightened entrepreneurial activity and business creativity. SMEs can act innovatively to fill market niches and to generate employment for groups that are on the margins of the formal labour market (see also, Nathan, 2014). The CfE (2012) shows that migrant businesses continue to thrive and that there are signs that they are expanding beyond traditional sectors. They can provide a buffer against unemployment in cities, can act as vehicles for social inclusion and integration and help migrants to overcome social exclusion and isolation. Moreover, in recent decades the types of migrant arriving in cities like London has been changing. London's 'super-diversity' is related as much to economic capital as it is to ethnic differences. Many migrants, particularly those from the EU, North America, and Australia and New Zealand are highly skilled and technically proficient. These workers constitute what Florida (2002) defines as the *'creative class'*.

Evidence from the UK and beyond indicates a mixed picture. The CfE (2012) indicates that SMEs with migrant owners face particular difficulties in getting access to finance, continued

discrimination, cultural constraints (language barriers for example, or lack of familiarity with UK business and regulatory cultures), and the tendency to serve tight-knit local migrant markets, rather than expanding their outlooks into more productive activities/practices. Similar findings are made by Kloosterman (2010) in his long-term work on migrant businesses in the Netherlands and beyond. Many ethnic minority businesses, he notes, become locked into sectors with low productivity and suffer from the same difficulties faced by all SMEs (in accessing finance, expert advice etc.) but to an intensified degree.

In addition, SMEs in regeneration areas are particularly vulnerable to changes in the built environment. Their performance is often linked to their embeddedness in places and the extent to which they are reliant on their location for their competitiveness. As Ferm and Jones (2015) argue in relation to London, SMEs perform better in environments in which they share inter-dependencies with each other's firms and communities of workers and buyers. Some of these inter-dependencies are formerly traded and some, following Storper (1995) are *'untraded'* and involve strong social ties and support networks. These can take the form of material assistance (including loans and finance), the transfer of product and process innovations and expert advice, and other forms of information-sharing and tacit day-to-day support. In addition, as Cox (1998) argues, SMEs can become *dependent* on their local environments and relatively fixed. Many invest in their premises and tailor them to their specific needs. They are often unable to move to alternative sites or cope with significant changes to existing locations (through, for example, increased rents) in the wake of regeneration programmes.

To summarise, the core literature shows that SME performance is directly connected to the places and contexts in which they are embedded. There is evidence to show that where strong clusters or agglomerations of firms emerge, SMEs can be more successful and resilient. At the same time small firms suffer from major disadvantages in the acquisition of finance and are vulnerable to changes in the urban environment that may threaten their viability. All of these factors are related to diversity. In the following sections we turn to the economic performance of our SME sample, before examining their markets/customers, the relationships and networks that exist between them, and their long-term plans.

5.4.1 Economic performance of the enterprises

Our sample was typical of SME communities in London and most British cities. There were some outstanding examples of profitable and outward-looking businesses that differed markedly from the types of 'enclave' ethnic businesses so prevalent in the academic and policy literature. A local West African bakery [R23] described their performance as *"fantastic"* and had been successful and profitable for over 20 years. Their activities now involved the supply and distribution of specialist products across London and the UK. Others working in buoyant sectors such as real estate [R21] had seen their profitability grow with the growing value of local (and London) property markets. Entrepreneurs working in the creative industries (e.g. R16) had also seen a steady growth in trade and had been particularly successful in adapting to changing client needs as and when new opportunities arose. Similarly, a hairdresser with

Angolan and Congolese heritage [R15] had been able to expand her business by appealing to the broad range of ethnic groups in Tottenham.

And yet, many respondents reported that their **economic performance and profitability were relatively marginal**. The most common response was for entrepreneurs to say that their firms were 'doing well', but gave relatively few financial details. One firm, R3, that did offer data claimed that profits had doubled in a year from approximately €17,960 to €38,480 (£14,000 to £30,000), but such figures are relatively modest and prone to fluctuation. Others (e.g. R1) were losing money but expected to turn a profit in later years following investments. Some, such as R2, the artisan cheese maker, saw themselves *"at capacity"* and facing growing costs in rents and this was particularly true for other businesses that served local minority ethnic markets. One law firm in Seven Sister's [R35] only had a turnover of €19,247 (£15,000) per annum, making it extremely vulnerable to closure.

Problems were compounded for those in areas that a) had concentrations of small ethnic retailers, cafes, and restaurants and/or b) were facing the pressures of blight associated with regeneration plans. Other firms, particularly those in the retail sectors, noted a relatively high degree of **precariousness**. R7, for instance, a jeweller reported that negative changes to the local retail area such as the loss of middle-class department stores and the rise of betting shops, pound shops and *"ghetto phone shops"* had led to a sharp decline in his customer numbers and this was typical of firms in this sector. Other retailers, such as luggage seller R36, had also experienced falling rates of profit, owing to new competitors opening up in the area, whilst specialist food retailers (e.g. R39) were only able to maintain their relatively strong profitability by catering for niche (ethnic) markets that were beyond the reach of powerful supermarkets, whilst noting that these niches were gradually becoming smaller.

Precarious firms are particularly vulnerable to **fluctuations in cash-flow**. Some reported that the slowness of supplier businesses to settle payments threatened their longer term survival, with some entrepreneurs having to subsidise their businesses with their own personal finance (e.g. R19). One White British respondent [R13] claimed that this was a particularly problem for local firms as "*businesses were perceived as* [more] *vulnerable or less substantial as it was based in Tottenham*" and there was a certain negative judgement or stigma about people and companies from the area. The implication (although not stated explicitly) was that the high concentration of ethnic minorities had helped create negative stereotypes about the area in the broader public consciousness. Others involved in exporting and importing, such as the Chinese entrepreneur [R17] mentioned above, found that the depreciation of the pound against foreign currencies had created difficulties and reduced profitability.

For more successful businesses, the 'step-up' to a higher level of productivity and profit was particularly challenging. Expanding firms, such as R26, a coffee business that provides hospitality services and owns a licensed café, had a turnover in excess of €320,786 (£250,000) per annum but faced high costs of labour and recruitment. In a difficult trading month,

labour costs could take up 60% of their turnover. Others simply reported that they lacked the capacities, in terms of time and resources, to develop their businesses further – a finding typical for SMEs in the UK (see Storey, 2011). It was also noted that uncertainty in relation to the longer-term sustainability of government support threatened to undermine future business planning and expansion. Fledgling firms such as R11, were concerned that cuts in local authority support to the enterprise centre in which they were located threatened to de-stabilise their activities as they were increasingly concerned that *"without more certainty over the long-term future of the building"* there was concern that at some stage they would have to *"dismantle and move everything"*. This dissuaded them from investing substantially in their premises in ways that could increase profitability but would make it difficult to move.

The ethnic diversity of the entrepreneurs had a significant impact on the capacity to expand. A Polish entrepreneur [R28], for instance, explained that her lack of English language proficiency acted as an impediment to the firm's expansion into new potential markets and also meant that she was at a disadvantage in dealing with banks, business support agencies, and local authorities. Such firms exemplify both the opportunities available to ethnic businesses, in offering services to captive local markets, but also the difficulties then involved in developing their businesses into new or expanded areas of activity. Other firms, however, noted that stepping-up to a higher level of activity was limited by external perceptions of SME vulnerability. Cleaning firm owner R6, for instance, noted that it was *"difficult to get larger contracts as bigger companies are preferred…the greatest challenge is in promoting and gaining exposure for the company in order to grow the business from a small to a large enterprise"*.

To conclude, our sample is typical of SMEs in the UK. Firms show a **high degree of entrepreneurialism and have taken up opportunities in the local area – an area of significant ethnic diversity**. Some clusters of SMEs, particularly those threatened by regeneration and serving local (ethnic) markets are particularly vulnerable and possess relatively low levels of profitability and longer term resilience.

5.4.2   Market, customers and suppliers

A number of firms noted that the changing social composition of the area and its broader gentrification had widened their base of customers and opened up new opportunities to boost their competitiveness. Companies such as a removals firm [R3] spent much of their time targeting more affluent neighbourhoods, for example, and promoting their gender diversity as a marketable asset. They had been particularly successful in attracting business from women, LGBT communities, and young families. The same was true for firms in other sectors, such as specialist food and drink or real estate. A café and floristry business owner [R14] noted that, *"since the 2011 riots the area and its population have changed a lot and the customer base has changed a lot with more yuppies and city workers"*. This had had a positive effect on business, although she was uneasy about the impact it was having upon the social cohesion of the area as she believed that social bonds were stronger in the area prior to these demographic changes. Real estate entrepreneurs (such as R21), similarly noted that whilst they tried to cater for a wide

range of potential clients, their markets inevitably moved towards middle aged, predominately White British purchasers, many of whom were political left-leaning and/or from LGBT groups. The area's *'commonplace diversity'* (Wessendorf, 2014) acted as a selling-point for property, but only for those groups with the disposable income to buy. Even small scale green grocers (such as Kurdish entrepreneur R39) noted that in recent years their clientele had changed and become more diverse and geared up to "*university students*" and those from a variety of different ethnic groups. In response, he had started stocking products from other countries such as Greece, Lithuania, Poland and Italy to reflect his changing customer base.

Haringey's position within London as an **affordable and diverse business location** also encouraged the presence of dynamic entrepreneurs with a global sense of business opportunities. A successful entrepreneur of Thai and Cypriot heritage [R22] involved in the manufacture of specialist shoes aimed to sell her products nationally and internationally, with Haringey acting as a convenient location. As an export-driven firm, 80% of revenues come from international markets. The same is true for a provider of high-tech audio-visual services [R24], a company that delivers contracts to venues all around the country but has relatively few formal business links to the Haringey/Tottenham area (although he is connected socially with many local entrepreneurs). Such companies tended to have suppliers that were located through the internet and/or nationally or internationally. Whilst their presence in Haringey formed an important part of the broader discourse of creativity and development promoted by the local authority and public policy programmes, their embeddedness in the area was often relatively weak and in many cases there was little evidence that they attracted other similar companies to the area.

At the same time almost all of our respondents claimed that they were seeking to **diversify their markets** as a strategy for increasing the size and profitability of their firms and to prevent them for remaining niche or enclave businesses. A Turkish catering firm [R5], for example, has actively and consistently marketed its services to all of the different ethnic groups present in their neighbourhood and beyond, stating that it looks to "*cater primarily for weddings and other major events of different ethnic communities of the local area*". Examples were given of Somalis on Friday afternoons after Mosque services; Ghanaian/Congolese clients whose social life is often built around parties at weekends; or wedding services for Greek or Turkish families all through the week. A Colombian catering entrepreneur [R12] suggested that his business model was different to other businesses selling similar food in ethnic clusters because it had an "*outward rather than inward focus[ed]*". He was "*not interested in targeting the existing Colombian communities but rather 'foodies' who appreciate quality and are less focussed on quantity…25-35 year olds and those with disposable income*". R19, as noted above, had sought to develop more expensive t-shirts to suit a diverse range of markets. Her original focus had been on Ghanaian products and markets by building on her existing social networks linked to her own cultural background. However she discovered that, as a result, her company "*was perceived in the early stages as a 'Black brand'*" but she "*wanted the company and its audience to have a diverse and broad appeal*".

For some firms this type of strategy had proved to be difficult as they were too strongly associated with a particular ethnic background or seen as being too narrow. A Turkish entrepreneur [R11] running a soft play centre noted that most of his business (approximately 80%) comes from Turkish weddings and that despite leafleting, advertising, and social media activities they were *"finding it difficult to attract new, non-Turkish, customers"*. Similarly, a Polish delicatessen [R28] considered diversifying its markets and faced the problem that they were seen to be *"too Polish"* in character and this could be off-putting to other potential groups of customers. Moreover, a lot of Polish residents, she claimed, were seeking to save money to send back to Poland in the form of remittances to family members and as a result were less willing to spend large amounts of money. Her response was to sell a more diverse range of teas, coffees, and other hot drinks and cakes to appeal to non-Poles.

The presence of different ethnic-cultural groups also **enabled businesses to tap into diverse markets**. A local jeweller [R7], for instance, recalled that the growth in Bulgarian, Polish, Romanian, and Nigerian communities had had a significant positive impact on his business, particularly in relation to gold-based products. A modelling agency [R25] similarly markets itself as a firm that promotes models from groups that are *"under-represented…young [B]lack, Asian and Filipino"*. The company needs to work with major fashion firms in London and its competitiveness and existence is directly related to the diversity of the area in which it is located. A Ugandan real estate agent [R31] in Seven Sisters also noted that the existing mix and diversity of the area provided him with a flourishing market and acts as a business opportunity that *"opens up gates for us and for getting more business as well"*.

Smaller firms that catered primarily for local ethnic markets and who were located in clusters of ethnic businesses tended to have more focussed, local markets and were **less likely to look to diversify or expand**. The presence of a large Latin American community of entrepreneurs and clients in one particular market, for example, meant that in some instances, firms were catering for relatively small, but captive communities. Their suppliers also tended to be (when relevant) other Latin American firms across London, with particularly strong links identified with ethnic communities in south London (Elephant and Castle district).

Collectively, firms were much less clear about their supplier networks. Some acted as suppliers of goods or services and these firms tended to source materials from a much broader range of sources than those who operated locally. Firms working in the food and drink industries were particularly connected to a range of local suppliers and as will be discussed in the next section, there was also some evidence of networks emerging between SMEs in the area. A number reported that they procured supplies from across the world, from countries such as Colombia, China, and the United States, depending on the types of business activity they were involved with. In some cases the presence of ethnically diverse entrepreneurs propagated such relationships and established new connections between global suppliers and local markets. The Chinese entrepreneur discussed above, sources her hair mainly from China. The Polish deli owner [R28] sources her produce online directly from Poland.

5.4.3 Relations among entrepreneurs in the same neighbourhood

Twenty-five entrepreneurs said that they had no direct, traded business relationships with other local firms in their area. This reflects the type of firms and entrepreneurs that exist in the area. As one respondent [R8] noted, most firms *"keep themselves to themselves"* and work in an *"isolated"* manner. Or as a successful Dual Heritage[51] British entrepreneur [R9] acknowledged, *"being an entrepreneur can be a lonely endeavour at times"* consisting of long hours and relatively little social contact with others. As will be discussed in section 5.6.3, there was relatively weak engagement with business associations, even trading associations. As R17, a Chinese entrepreneur, commented *"it is difficult to network with others [businesses] in the enterprise centre because they are all working in such different sectors…it is hard to compare [activities]"*. Or as a Ghanaian businesswoman [R18] commented, local connections with other businesses *"are not necessary"*. In some cases firms noted that even with wide-ranging local social contacts, this had had *"very little impact"* on competitiveness or success [R20].

There were examples of networking inter-relations, some of which were concerned with place promotion schemes and some of which involved strong buyer-supplier relations. The best example of how these approaches came together was found in the relationships between a local brewery [R1], a Colombian food vendor [R12], an artisan cheese-maker [R2] and a coffee shop business [R26] (see Box 1).

The four (and other businesses not involved in the research) have all engaged in the establishment of a strong social media presence and have used this as a tool for the cross-promotion of each other's businesses online with an emphasis on championing the local nature of their businesses, products and materials and promoting their presence at public events such as markets and festivals. In doing so they are able to maximise the exposure of their businesses by utilising each other's online followers as each shares a broadly similar target audience of, among others, 'foodies'. One local estate agent was also involved in this process of 'local boosterism' and reflected on the importance of *"reaching the right audiences",* which in her case included mum's at the school gates, in re-tweeting and supporting local businesses with the right kind of appeal to the right kind of people for their business on social media and even provided a box of 'local produce' for all new customers to reinforce this. Some local firms and entrepreneurs acted as important social (and economic) nodes through which other local companies would come together. A local café owner (R14 – see Box 2) played a particularly important role in cementing local relationships, providing informal advice and encouragement to other entrepreneurs.

There were also some cultural barriers to closer networking. A Kurdish entrepreneur [R7] noted that there was *"little sharing of ideas or support amongst local entrepreneurs"* although he noted that *"among immediate family members who also run businesses"*, particularly if they are in the same economic sectors, there are *"strong networks of support and exchange where necessary"*. These social networks extend to family networks and community gatherings at which knowledge and the sharing of business information takes place on a regular basis. Other ethnic Turks (e.g. R11)

also noted that relationships with other businesses did not constitute a *"significant factor"* in their everyday activities but that they *"had relatives available to offer support if needed"*.

Those involved in business networking were likely to be in sectors such as **social media**, in which interactions with others represented an important part of their business model. A Black British social media entrepreneur [R16] for instance, who also possessed a university level UK degree, noted that he is particularly conscious of the presence of *"a large number of Black (mainly female) entrepreneurs…in Tottenham"* and in touch with many also. He described how *"all refer friends, clients and contacts to each other"* and that this networking not only had both an economic impact, in providing business contacts and support, but also a social impact in making local firms feel a part of a wider collective endeavour. Social media played an important catalytic role in forming relationships between a range of different businesses and enabled firms to develop new types of activity. R24, for instance, a DJ and Audio-Visual event management business, has used social media networks to generate new business and to develop relations with a range of local firms, as diverse as cake-makers, makeup artists and hairdressers.

Within some of the close-knit ethnic communities of several SME clusters, many businesses report the existence of **close social networks and mutual support and advice**. Firms reported that others had helped them to access new premises and had assisted with administrative advice over rents, business rates, and other regulatory requirements, such as Health and Safety. However, there was also evidence that these networks remained relatively under-developed. R35 had been Chair of an organisation supporting neighbouring businesses for 3 years but *"lost interest after noticing that other business owners were not interested in helping each other in the building"*. There was even some reference to a 'macho culture' amongst some of the businesses that reduced the potential for collaboration, although it was difficult to triangulate such perspectives with those of others.

5.4.4   Long-term plans and expectations of entrepreneurs

Respondents were relatively positive about their future prospects, particularly those entrepreneurs who were located in the enterprise centres or other units that they owned and/ or were not under threat from redevelopment. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight firms located outside of areas targeted for regeneration, reported that they had expansion plans. Their main requirement was for tailored and useable **property** and hard infrastructure. There was less concern with more ephemeral factors of production, such as 'knowledge-sharing' or networking, in contrast with local economic development strategies and their focus on 'creativity'. Eleven firms explicitly stated that they planned to combine relocation with an expansion in activities. The loss of such firms from the area would have a significant economic impact, whilst the reduction of industrial spaces would also have the effect of limiting opportunities for future entrepreneurs.

Firms gave a variety of reasons for wanting to **expand**. Business R1, for instance, wanted new premises so that they could hold events in a multi-purpose 'tap room'. R4 wanted a site away

from home in which a serious expansion of her ethnic confectionary business would be more practical. A Ghanaian cleaning firm [R6] wanted to expand so that they could *"give something back to the economy"* and expand their current activities into the broader fields of maintenance, repair, decorating, and DIY – semi-skilled employment that would be particularly valuable in the local labour market. Similar explanations were given by others with firm R8 wanting to expand from security services to incorporate facilities management and R9 hoping to develop a property portfolio. Ambitious ethnic entrepreneurs also sought to expand their markets to a range of different ethnic groups. A Colombian food vendor [R12], for instance, argued that if the right premises were available, he would be able to transform his business and open a production kitchen in which he could then manufacture his own 'Colombian' products using local ingredients. This would also enable him to source a wider range of local ingredients, establish new buyer-supplier relationships with local businesses, and broaden his customer base further.

Other firms saw their future in the development of **innovative new activities that would bring benefit to the area**. A media company, R16, presented a long-term plan in which he might open a new business school and use this to foster local entrepreneurs, particularly amongst ethnic minority groups in the area. R15 planned to establish a 'Hair Academy' that would be focussed on innovative skills and practices that are currently absent in the area, such as the provision of specialist hair treatments for cancer patients and intensive training courses for staff to enable them to service the different expectations and needs of ethnically diverse customers.

Some companies were also looking to draw on their **knowledge of different markets and opportunities across the world** and turn their SMEs into global players. Respondent R19, for instance, saw the future of her t-shirt manufacturing business in global shops and retail outlets having engaged in talks with a chain of airport stores. The lack of suitable locations in Haringey in which to expand had created uncertainty over these plans. Other companies reported that they expected to out-grow their existing premises as they became more successful. It was likely that the foldable shoes company founded by a Thai-born entrepreneur, would eventually move to a more expensive and higher profile part of London's West End, as this would facilitate their expansion plans and be in keeping with their brand image, although they were keen to try to stay in Haringey if possible as they felt a strong association with their neighbourhood. Many respondents also claimed that they planned to use social media and other types of technology to boost their international presence and competitiveness.

Once again, the biggest difference between respondents was between those in areas targeted for 'redevelopment', and those that were not. All but two of the twelve firms interviewed in the area remarked that were the redevelopment to go ahead following the current plans, they would be forced to leave Haringey as a whole and move their businesses to other parts of London or beyond. Our findings echo those of Ferm and Jones (2015) and Raco and Tunney (2010) who have identified some of the negative impacts that regeneration projects in London have on its SME communities and entrepreneurs. For instance, a Ugandan estate agent [R31] claimed that

he had *"invested €96,245 (£75,000) of my own money on the site over the years"* and will *"fight to the end to protect my business"*, as it is currently being blighted by the prospect of redevelopment. Firms with **more ambitious expansion and employment plans were particularly likely to move** and felt that there were few opportunities remaining in the area.

Some migrant businesses also noted that English language proficiency could be a barrier to expansion. The children's soft-play centre business [R11] expressed a tension between the core strengths of the business in servicing mainly Turkish community events and moving in to other types of activity, including the establishment of a day care centre, which would require an engagement with broader social-ethnic groups. This is in turn would require different language skills.

Overall, the responses reported on here are typical of those found in SME communities elsewhere, although it should also be noted that there was a relatively high degree of optimism amongst many and a willingness to think about expansion, new markets, and new employees. The availability of suitable and affordable property is presented as the main barrier to the fulfilment of these plans. A small number of firms reported that access to finance or skilled labour was also a constraint, as was their capacity to expand their workloads. The responses are indicative of a high degree of entrepreneurialism.

5.4.5 Conclusions

There was little or no evidence that entrepreneurs from ethnic minority backgrounds faced particular constraints or had been subject to forms of discrimination by local or national institutions. Our findings on performance and future plans reflect those of SME communities in general. Our research findings also differ markedly from those focussed on so-called 'ethnic enclaves', particularly in the North American context, where ethnic firms have been shown to often experience discrimination. There are some examples in Haringey of firms that have relatively little interest in going beyond their local ethnic markets (*cf.* Kloosterman, 2010), but many of the most successful respondents have already expanded (or have plans to expand) their activities and outlooks beyond the local area and its diverse populations. Many are held back less by cultural factors and more by institutional difficulties, such as access to formal credit or the right types of business premises.

5.5 INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Policy interventions for entrepreneurs can be divided into two distinct policy fields – **direct** and **indirect** forms of support. Direct support consists of public policies that seek to identify and meet SME needs through specific programmes and interventions. This may involve, for example: the provision of subsidised and tailored premises for SMEs at different stages in their life-cycles; the injection of finance into companies through grants and/or tax breaks; and/ or the provision of expert help and advice to SMEs, particularly those with ethnic minority

backgrounds who may lack some of the core knowledge of regulation and cultural practices that shape business activities (see Ram *et al.*, 2012; Turok and Raco, 2000). Indirect support includes policies such as macro-level economic management and regulation and planning policies such as zoning that protect and value spaces for business activities. Regulatory requirements can have a particularly damaging impact on SMEs. Stringent health and safety requirements and/or complex changes to employment and taxation law can create significant costs for SMEs, particularly those in marginal sectors (many of whom are ethnic entrepreneurs) who are least able to adapt (see Levi-Faur and Ziva, 2011).

Changes to policy can be extremely detrimental to the competitiveness of SMEs, particularly those that are located in areas of high deprivation and social diversity. SMEs are often relatively invisible players in the economies of cities, yet undertake important social and economic functions. Raco and Tunney (2010) argue that this invisibility makes it relatively easy for policy-makers and planners to ignore their needs and even introduce policy programmes that systematically seek to eliminate them from urban areas in the name of comprehensive regeneration. They give the example of the regeneration of east London in the wake of the London Olympics 2012 and the ways in which locally embedded businesses were systematically removed from their locations as their presence was seen as not being *'conducive to the needs'* of a global city. In contemporary London similar processes are generating new disruptions. Ferm and Jones (2015) chart the ways in which the growing pressure for housing development in the city, allied to changes in planning legislation from national government that is explicitly pursuing a *'growth first'* agenda, is reducing the available land for SMEs and entrepreneurs.

The introduction of austerity agendas (*cf.* Peck, 2012) has reduced the budgets of local authorities in London (and elsewhere). They are also required to raise extra funds through the transfer of public sector assets to the private or third sector. Incubator units and other SME sites that are supported financially have been particularly vulnerable to cuts and Ferm and Jones (2015) show that in London there is a growing trend for sites to be sold-off for housing schemes, as there is a much greater return for developers from the construction of housing units. The longer term effects on business activities and entrepreneurship in the city are potentially profound. Areas with strong and thriving SME clusters, including those with thriving diversity-related SME such as the China Town area of central London, are now facing the prospect of rapidly increasing rents and eviction in the wake of a residential property boom and a public policy that is focussed on increasing housing supply to the detriment of spaces for entrepreneurs.

The organisations that represent SMEs in the UK tend to be relatively weak, when compared to big business lobbyists and other civil society interests, such as Trade Unions. SMEs have little capacity to engage in political activities and they see business associations primarily as vehicles for business networking, rather than as platforms for the articulation of collective agendas (see Grant, 1998). The identification of core *'business agendas'* amongst SMEs can be particularly difficult and in many instances they act like other civil society groups, only engaging in political action when threatened (see Raco, 1997).

The rest of this section examines the impacts of direct and indirect policy action on entrepreneurship and the activities of companies. It also assesses the broader importance of SME activity to local communities and place economies. The first sub-section explores the awareness (or lack of awareness) amongst entrepreneurs of the types of policy support that exist and the impacts of policy on their activities and competitiveness. This is followed by a discussion of the

Table 5.1 Core SME support programmes noted by respondents

Programme	Scale of intervention	Key aims and objectives
Growth Accelerator for Small Businesses	National level government	To provide funds for external business experts to work with selected high-achieving SMEs. The programme targets 26,000 firms and had a budget of € 257 million (£ 200 million).
The Prince's Trust	National level Charitable Foundation	Programme to support young people to improve their skills and employability, particularly in deprived inner city areas and amongst diverse groups.
Social Business Trust Awards	National level Charitable Foundation	Programme to support entrepreneurs working in the social business sector.
Enterprise Nation	National level SME network	Member-based SME business association that supports companies through networking and information-sharing
Opportunity Investment Fund	Local authority-level (Haringey)	€ 4.5 million (£ 3.5 million) fund that targets support for successful and innovative businesses in the Tottenham neighbourhood. Its objectives offer direct support to firms and an indirect attempt to curate a new image for the area's business community. Open to start-ups and established firms.
Made in Tottenham	Local charity initiative	Aims to showcase some of the most significant entrepreneurs and their activities through promotional marketing and networking.
London Youth Support Trust	London-wide charity initiative but with largest of 5 SME enterprise centres in Haringey (Tottenham), the 639 Centre.	Aims to support young people to become entrepreneurs. Direct provision of affordable sites and indirect expert help and mentoring support. The 639 Centre provides office space, shared workspace, conference and board rooms, and Tottenham's Living Room: a free-to-hire space for charities and third sector organisations. The LYST has helped to lever in financial support from the Mayor and the local authority and it receives finance from the collective fund of € 52.6 million (£ 41 million) that has been set up to support regeneration in the Tottenham area
Selby Trust	Haringey-focussed charity organisation	Aims to support entrepreneurs from ethnic minority backgrounds. Provides direct support and indirect networking and mentoring to SMEs.
Opening Doors Network	Department of Communities and Local Government and Trust for London	The Opening Doors Network is a partnership of organisations and individuals who promote enterprise, social mobility and the economic transformation of diverse communities. It carries out networking-focused activities to support entrepreneurs through mentoring.

contribution that membership of business associations makes to the performance of enterprises. The analysis then moves on to the types of intervention that business respondents would like to see implemented.

5.5.1 Views on the effectiveness of business support provided by local and central governments

Our sample in Haringey had a **partial understanding** of the availability of grants and support initiatives on offer. In total, 14 respondents stated that they knew of initiatives that supported businesses and 7 out of these benefited from loans or awards. Table 5.1 outlines the core support policies discussed by respondents, their purpose and origin. It indicates the presence of a range of support activities, some of which are state-funded (one by national and one by local government), but many of which are provided by charitable trusts, with indirect state funding coming in the form of rent reductions and planning policies that are bringing about changes to the built environment.

Despite the wide range of programmes on offer, many respondents were highly critical of their (in)effectiveness. Some highlighted the lack of **co-ordination** between different programmes and the absence of a clear SME support policy. Access to different funds was dependent on sporadic knowledge networks and anecdotal stories. Policies were also seen to be overly restrictive and **too targeted at certain groups**. Many businesses were critical of the lack of support available to entrepreneurs over the age of 30, for instance, or the relevance of public policy programmes for their particular sectors. With government funds dwindling in an era of austerity, there was a greater reliance on charity funding to support entrepreneurs. This has meant that assistance is targeted on those who are facing specific difficulties or identifiable forms of marginalisation, rather than local entrepreneurs in general.

There was also a perception, particularly in areas identified for regeneration that 'local' businesses, many of them with ethnic minority backgrounds, were **missing out** vis-à-vis large companies and property developers/investors. It was common for businesses to feel under pressure to increase their short-term profitability to cope with the rising costs of doing business. Property price increases and upward pressure on wages and general living costs, such as transport, were just some of the factors highlighted by interviewees. As elsewhere, SMEs facing eviction had particular challenges and were unsure as to their future and what public policy provision would be made to support them.

Perhaps most significantly, it was also reported that local authority support to business centres that provided spaces for new entrepreneurs, faced the threat of cuts and that this would have a drastic longer term **impact on the availability of affordable spaces for SMEs and start-up entrepreneurs**, particularly those from ethnic minority backgrounds. Part of this support comes from the *Opportunity Investment Fund*[50], a €4.68million (£3.65million) programme, jointly funded by Haringey Council and the Greater London Authority, which invests in programmes that facilitate job creation and an increase in workspace in Tottenham.

There were some notable exceptions with some businesses taking on the role of 'iconic' entrepreneurs (*cf.* Keith, 2005) for the area and for broader public policy objectives. For instance, R22 (British-Thai entrepreneur), has benefited directly from the governments Growth Accelerator programme and also through involvement with UKTI which involved visiting Milan with Prime Minister David Cameron. Government support has been an important source of competitiveness and has enabled them to expand their business into international markets. R4 (Black-British entrepreneur), for instance, praised the support she had received from the Opening Doors Network (ODN) Enterprise Programme[51] in giving her the necessary training in core business skills as well as the advice and support she needed to develop and action a business plan for her Jamaican sweets and desserts business. She saw this support as playing a fundamental role in helping her to gain knowledge on the *"basics of how to run"* her business. Others were particularly supportive towards Haringey council's mentoring programmes and Opportunity Investment Funding.

One recurring policy challenge with area-based support for SMEs is that of the so-called **'escalator effect'**, or out-migration of businesses and individuals from an area once they become more economically successful and have greater mobility. Some mature SMEs in our sample noted that their embeddedness in the Tottenham area and their dependence on local conditions had gradually declined as they had become more established. In contrast to the findings of Kloosterman (2010) and others, some of our ethnic minority entrepreneurs reported that because of their success, they had become less involved in local planning discussions and issues. R24 (Black-British entrepreneur), for instance, who has featured prominently in the high-profile promotion initiatives for entrepreneurs in the borough, increasingly felt that his markets had expanded beyond the local and he was now looking for major clients. Tottenham had become primarily a base from which to grow.

5.5.2 Wider awareness of organisations, programmes, and initiatives to support entrepreneurs

Membership of business associations amongst our respondents was patchy. Only 15 (37.5%) firms were members of business associations. Eight (20%) were members of accreditation schemes. Only 2 (5%) stated that they were involved in local traders' associations to support local business and campaign over planning issues. Table 5.2 outlines the formal business associations with members amongst our survey sample, along with a brief outline of their core aims and objectives.

Respondents saw membership of associations as important in 4 principal ways: (i) they acted as **conduits for networking opportunities with other SMEs**. Many of these were sectoral in nature, with firms taking up membership of trade associations or other representative bodies, usually at national level; (ii) they provided what one respondent termed a *"badge of authenticity"* for SMEs and gave them broader external credibility with suppliers, customers, (actual and potential) employees, other SMEs, and investors. R22, for instance, had obtained Living Wage Accreditation from the Living Wage Foundation charity *"to promote the business…*

Table 5.2 Membership of formal business associations

Name	Scale of activity	Core aims and objectives
British Stainless Steel Association (BSSA)	National: Sectoral Association	Promote and develop the manufacture and use of stainless steel and firms working in this sector across the UK
British Footwear Association	National: Sectoral Association	Provide resource, support, guidance and training to industry members.
Federation of Small Businesses	National	Provides economic advice to SMEs and plays important national policy lobbying function.
Which? Trusted Traders	National: Consumer Organisation	Gives information on SMEs and their practices.
Association of Independent Music	National: Sectoral Association	Helping start-ups and established businesses in the music industry.
Ghana UK-based Achievement Awards (GUBA)	Charity	Support diversity awareness across the UK. Award that is targeted at how a Ghanaian entrepreneur has made a 'significant' contribution to UK
Tottenham Traders' Trust and Haringay4Shops	Local authority and traders in the Green Lanes area	Website devoted to networking between entrepreneurs and promotional activities
Institute of Directors	National	Supports business owners, encourages entrepreneurial activity and promotes responsible business practice.

and help in applying for licences and council contracts". Similar views were put forward by other firms serving local markets. A cleaning firm [R6], for example, was a member of various cleaning organisations as this *"offers clients confidence in the standard of service being offered and the respectability of the company…a badge of assessment that opens doors to bigger companies".* Others saw membership of respected national bodies as playing a similar role. In one case [R25] a local entrepreneur had even become a member of the nationally-important Institute of Directors; (iii) **as sources of expert help**. Some SMEs saw associations as important sources of information on running their business and policy/regulatory changes; and (iv) **as platforms for influencing policy agendas**. Local business associations play an important role in feeding SME needs into local planning debates. The Harringay4Shops network, for instance, represents shops, restaurants, cafes and pubs stretching along the main Harringay Green Lanes trunk road between Manor House and Turnpike Lane stations[54] and exists to *'play an active role in promoting the area, cleaning up the image, increase safety in the community and most importantly representing the needs of the local businesses'*[55]. Activities include the initiation of a successful annual Food Festival and success in bidding for external money to pay for environmental improvements from the Mayor of London's *Outer London Fund*. The network is typical of SME groups that are galvanised into taking action if they feel threatened by changes and/or see the need to fight for greater expenditure from government agencies. Firms located in enterprise centres also noted that they had informal exchanges with others and that these were beneficial in social, rather than economic terms.

However, what is most striking about our sample is the **lack of engagement** in collective associations and the widespread feeling, even amongst active members, that associations did little to support entrepreneurs, reflecting the findings of other studies noted above. Many respondents could see little potential benefit in becoming an active member of an association, even when there ostensibly appeared to be strong economic and/or social reasons for doing so. For instance R26, a coffee shop owner, could see no reason to join the Speciality Coffee Association. Others (e.g. R2) saw their membership of an association as a *"formality"* or *"something that businesses have to do"* but from which they gain little benefit. There was surprisingly little engagement in local political associations, despite growing concerns about the changes being brought by regeneration. There was some evidence that the diversity of the entrepreneurs had encouraged fragmentation and reduced the potential for cohesion between the SME owners. Respondents in specialist shops that cater for specific ethnic markets in some locations saw relatively little need to develop networks with others. They saw themselves as isolated entrepreneurs, who were flexible enough to move with changing demands if their customer base moved.

5.5.3   Policy priorities proposed by interviewees

Respondents' views on the types of policy intervention that would be most effective displayed a high degree of commonality and covered a relatively wide range of factors. The most significant were: (i) the maintenance of a local built environment that supported their needs; (ii) the broader provision of 'expert help' to guide entrepreneurs; (iii) greater consultation and engagement with the SME community. Each will now be discussed in turn.

(i) The built environment and future competitiveness

As noted earlier, SMEs are particularly vulnerable to changes to the built environment. In some cases, firms become dependent on local factors that are subject to fluctuations and significant change, such as the availability of suitable premises or the presence of consumers. The **affordability** of Haringey as a destination for SMEs and as an incubator for start-ups was recognized by many, as were the potential threats that were emerging through the twin processes of cuts in local authority (and national government) support and rapid property-led regeneration. Some called openly for direct intervention. R2, for instance, wanted to see *"the local authority offer empty commercial units to small businesses for free (or subsidised) for a year to encourage small business growth"*. Others were frustrated by what they saw as a lack of local authority action in supporting the presence of major retailers in the area or in preventing the proliferation of betting shops and other activities that could push out local entrepreneurs. There were several calls, particularly from ethnic restaurants, cafes, and shops for greater protection for and investment in quality public spaces, with innovative arrangements suggested such as the ring-fencing of local taxes/parking fees to fund projects that would directly and indirectly benefit local businesses.

There was praise from some firms on how local authority-led action in Tottenham had helped to boost their competitiveness. Business owners in the Green Lanes and West Green Road

Figure 5.6 West Green Road regeneration map.

(Figure 5.6) areas, for instance, noted how shop-front refurbishment programmes over a period of ten years had improved the quality of the built environment and encouraged local consumers to patronize ethnic restaurants and businesses. Earlier rounds of change had seen the rise of poor quality businesses and associated problems of disorder and criminality. The **upgrading of the urban environment had played a key role in boosting competitiveness and trade** and more of such action was called for. Similar types of schemes could be very beneficial to local businesses and especially those from ethnic minority backgrounds who benefit directly from greater footfall in the neighbourhood and rising demand for their services and the goods they sell.

Others called for more **direct provision of incubator spaces**. It was argued, by a number of firms, that spaces for new entrepreneurs could play both an economic role, in boosting the competitiveness of the local economy, whilst also supporting a diversity of local people to establish their own firms. There were clear relationships between the presence of specialist centres to support new firms (such as the 639 Enterprise Centre) and the entrepreneurial activities of local residents. The construction of a more conducive environment for start-ups would, it was claimed, represent an important step in boosting local social cohesion and mobility. This was particularly significant given the availability of charity and other sources of support for those from diverse backgrounds.

(ii) The provision of 'expert help' to small businesses
A common response was the call (in R4's terms) for greater *"practical help… [and] stage-by-stage guidance on how to grow businesses"*. A number of firms called for greater assistance for dealing with what was termed *"red tape"*, particularly in relation to legal obligations and planning matters. It was felt that help was **over-targeted at vulnerable groups** (particularly the young) as much of it was delivered by charities with the express aim of supporting those in the most marginal social positions. Whilst this was seen as a laudable social objective, it was also seen as

an unfair barrier to the availability of expert support. One firm [R24] for instance, noted that they would like to expand by taking on *"more staff directly rather than on a self-employed basis"* but that this expansion was being held back by limitations in their administrative capacities and expertise. As with SMEs elsewhere, access to sources of finance proved to be a significant barrier to expansion, with firms such as R6 calling for more assistance in accessing financial resources and citing the *"inaccessibility of bank loans"* as a core problem that needed expert help to redress. One respondent [R14] noted that there needed to be *"more support for entrepreneurs and young people in general to learn about tax and VAT issues and how they relate to running your own business as a well as knowledge of what loans are available from government and how to apply for them"*. Dealing with such financial matter was a real challenge for many and expert advice was imperative to future competitiveness.

Another area for policy development was that of encouraging more **networking opportunities**. Whilst business associations were playing a helpful role in enabling meetings to take place between entrepreneurs, it was felt by some respondents that more co-ordination by state bodies, particularly Haringey Council, would have been more helpful in establishing new commercial opportunities and in fostering a sense of collective endeavour. Networking could also be associated with forms of *mentoring*. R16 (a young entrepreneur from a Ghanaian background), for instance, felt that he and other similar businesspeople, should be *"able to learn lessons from other more experienced entrepreneurs"* or as R17 (a Chinese female entrepreneur) noted it was imperative *"to learn more about the experiences of other entrepreneurs who have grown their businesses to understand the techniques and knowledge needed and challenges faced"*.

The provision of clearly-identifiable **expert advice centres** was also seen as an important to SMEs. For decades public policy measures to support SMEs in the UK have highlighted the importance of *'one-stop-shops'* or centres where advice on all forms of support are concentrated (see Turok and Raco, 2000). The absence of a clearly defined centre in Haringey was seen as a problem by some businesses. This went beyond business advice and extended to the perceived need to provide information on how the planning system operates and how firms can influence local decisions (see also sub-heading (iii) below). R18 (a Ghanaian-born entrepreneur) argued that she needed clearer advice on mundane matters such as *"how to go about gaining a shop-front premises"* for her business or how to *"apply for empty units"* in the area.

Some more successful entrepreneurs wanted the provision of expert help to go beyond local advice on business matters. One Thai-born female business owner [R22] was concerned that the considerable support that her business had received from national government programmes would no longer be available to similar companies owing to state funding cuts. Others called for more focussed and targeted forms of training provision and the expansion of apprenticeship programmes and even the setting up of collective skills provision. This could be particularly focussed on diverse groups and those who have struggled to access formal employment.

(iii)   Consultation and engagement

One recurring complaint from SMEs is **a lack of clarity and transparency over policy changes** and decisions over business support. This was particularly a problem in areas subject to major regeneration programmes in which marketing and place boosterism had complicated local political debates and discussions. In the Seven Sisters ward firms were especially concerned as to the direction of change. One typical respondent noted that confusion had led to *blight* for many firms with the question being repeatedly asked *"what are they going to do with the businesses here?"* The lack of what one firm [R4] termed a *"clear resolution"* to planning discussions had led to considerable uncertainty and was beginning to undermine her ability to expand her business or even to think about its longer term sustainability. Firm R10 is a good example, arguing for a *"more balanced approach to gentrification in Haringey…potentially by championing and empowering local characters/businesses and tradespeople under threat of losing their businesses and offering them some support to understand how the system works around regeneration to enable them to get involved in the process"*. There was criticism that there had not been enough consultation over the use of the large Opportunities Investment Fund in the area and that more engagement with businesses over the direction of future planning was particularly important if the area's economic base and its opportunities for (diverse) entrepreneurs were to be expanded/maintained.

Others repeated the charge, found in research on SMEs elsewhere (see Raco and Tunney, 2010), that their position as businesses, rather than residents, meant that **their needs were often ignored by local politicians**. There were calls for direct engagement and consultation over local spending priorities, particularly in the wake of austerity cut-backs. One respondent (R7 of Kurdish ethnicity) commented that *"when they take my business rates, they have to support my shop…it's not, you just take the business rates and you don't give any service"*. There seemed to be a lack of clarity over the best way to try and influence local authority priorities and practices. This was perceived by many firms to be in contrast to the ways in which big developers were treated. It was compounded by other planning restrictions that seemed to count against SMEs, such as parking charges. There were also calls for the creation and improved maintenance of public spaces in the area and meeting places for entrepreneurs. Concerns were expressed by many that the local authority was facing significant cuts and that these might have an impact on its ability to maintain a quality urban environment that would be attractive to potential customers, for service sector SMEs such as cafes and restaurants, and support business productivity.

There were also calls for **clearer spaces of engagement between businesses and government agencies**. R25 (Black British-Caribbean entrepreneur), for instance, noted that she would *"like to see more platforms available for conversations to take place between entrepreneurs and policy-makers"* in order to *"offer the potential for mutual inspiration"*. Others called for greater transparency over spending decisions and dedicated local authority-SME liaison officers.

5.5.4 Conclusions

There are many parallels between the findings from Haringey and broader writings on SMEs, entrepreneurialism, diversity and public policy. There are three core conclusions:

i. **Feelings of marginalisation** from policy-making processes and public policy decisions: Our respondents felt that public organisations did not fully appreciate the factors that lead to successful entrepreneurialism and, with some notable exceptions, did not have effective policy programmes in place to support local firms. Moreover, the growth in development pressures in the area, in the name of regeneration, and the emphasis on creativity and the creation of new clusters of sectoral competitiveness, threatened to undermine those characteristics of the area that some entrepreneurs felt were most advantageous or on which they were locally dependent. The affordability of the area was becoming prohibitive to many, particularly to those located in sites earmarked for property-led development local premises. There were concerns amongst those in enterprise centres that public sector austerity cuts might threaten their longer-term survival and that the benefits that some had received would not be available to future generations of entrepreneurs. Where public policy had been most effective was where it had provided the most focussed forms of direct support, in providing subsidised spaces to SMEs or specific forms of expert help, and in levering-in finance from public policy programmes. There was some evidence that ethnic minority entrepreneurs have more tailored needs in terms of advice and support but the overall picture was one of a commonality of experiences and relatively little differentiation between different ethnic groups. Location and type of business activity were more significant influences on perspectives and needs.

ii. **A lack of collective co-ordination** on the part of diverse SMEs: As with SMEs elsewhere, there was relatively little collective engagement between our respondents and widespread criticism of the value and role of business associations. The diversity of entrepreneurs in the area was a not major factor in influencing such attitudes.

iii. The existence of a **local business agenda**: There were significant commonalities in responses and the emergence of a relatively clear local agenda that called for: intervention in the built environment to support entrepreneurs and SME activity; the establishment of expert help and assistance programmes; and the need for greater consultation and direct engagement between SMEs and government agencies, particularly in relation to the planning of the built environment.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This report has drawn on interviews with 40 diverse SMEs in Haringey, London to explore: some of the core characteristics of local entrepreneurs and entrepreneurialism; the motivations of those starting their businesses; the success and fail factors that influence their economic performance; the role of place and public policy in shaping their activities and supporting or limiting their broader competitiveness; and the influence that collective forms of formal and informal types of cooperation have on their day to day activities. The area's economy is far from being self-contained and our respondents saw their businesses as part of a wider, thriving, and diverse London economy. Many resided outside of the borough and/or had extensive networks of employees, markets, and suppliers within and beyond Haringey.

The findings show that, as with small businesses across London (cf. Ferm and Jones, 2015), issues surrounding **affordability** and **easy access to labour** are critically important factors for the economic performance of businesses. It was clear that for many SMEs regeneration programmes were having an adverse impact on these factors of production, with housing and business costs rising increasingly rapidly. Without some protection there is a significant threat to the area's economic and social diversity. For businesses that catered for specific ethnic groups, location and the clustering was particularly important, as they increased footfall and contributed to exchanges of information among business owners.

Overall, respondents shared very little detail about their firms' financial situations, generally stating that they were 'doing well'. Responses revealed that a large number of businesses maintained relatively **low levels of profitability** and were vulnerable to fluctuations in cash-flow, especially those serving local ethnic markets and in clusters threatened by regeneration. However, there were ambivalent responses towards processes of gentrification as a number of entrepreneurs also reported that their firms had **benefited from an increase in their customer base** as a consequence of wider gentrification processes in the borough. There were examples of firms having either specifically targeted new markets or diversified their services in order to better accommodate these demographic changes and take advantage of emerging opportunities. Local firms that had managed to adapt to changes were, therefore, unsurprisingly more positive about their economic performance and their future; however, some migrant entrepreneurs reported facing difficulties in expanding their activities, particularly due to limited language skills or to being located in areas that were perceived as serving tight-knit local migrant communities.

Our findings reveal a substantial degree of **optimism** amongst many entrepreneurs. Those located in formal enterprise centres and those that owned their premises were particularly positive about their future and had plans for expansion. High-tech and other companies that had managed to expand their markets also reported that they intended to combine relocation and expansion.

However, since some firms were weakly embedded in the area, relocation did not necessarily involve long-term plans for staying in the borough. There was a perception that public policy was becoming increasingly hostile towards small firms, particularly in a context where local regeneration funds, that expanded markedly following riots in the area in 2011, are being wound down as a part of wider austerity cuts. This will encourage firms to move away and act as a major disincentive for future entrepreneurs who might wish to start a business in the area. Conversely, those based in locations scheduled for redevelopment were concerned about their future and this uncertainty bred a reluctance to invest in their premises or to plan for expansion. Those firms trading in clusters of marginal activities were especially vulnerable to changes in market conditions, trading costs, and public policy and many of these firms were run by ethnic entrepreneurs.

In terms of public policy and the **role of business associations and support groups**, we uncovered a situation that is very common in other British cities. Only a few businesses were

aware of, and benefited from, the range of support initiatives and grants on offer. Formal support programmes for SMEs were not widely advertised and initiatives were too targeted at certain groups. Scepticism regarding the local authority's plans for existing businesses was also commonplace among many of the entrepreneurs with ethnic minority backgrounds and those firms who had been blighted by regeneration. The role of charities and civil society groups in providing tailored support to firms was particularly significant and given public sector cuts, it is likely that their importance will expand in the future.

Where support had been most beneficial was through the presence of incubator sites and the provision of **specialist premises**. Marketing campaigns and national government programmes were also influential in helping higher-skilled and more ambitious entrepreneurs to broaden and deepen their activities. Other forms of direct support have also been beneficial. Direct grants, subsidised rents, bespoke premises and targeted expert help and mentoring were all presented as public policy successes. However, the research also found relatively little evidence of agglomeration-building. There were some weak ties in evidence amongst entrepreneurs with shared ethnicities and/or whose firms were operating in similar sectors. But the overall picture was one of few untraded interdependencies (cf. Storper, 1995), with the area's social diversity having relatively little impact upon firm performance or longevity.

There were also limited forms of political activism in places where regeneration programmes were having a bigger impact. Overall, however, the firms were relatively disorganised in political terms. Membership of business associations was relativity passive, a finding that reflects those of similar studies in London and the rest of the UK. The overall possibility remains that the diversity of the area's business community will be threatened by market changes and a limited and poorly focussed set of public policy interventions.

6 CONCLUSIONS: DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

6.1 BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE BOOK

This book has focused on the findings of a major research project on the governance of urban diversity in London that consisted of four principal elements: (i) an analysis of the governance arrangements, narratives, and policies concerning urban diversity, urban development, and planning in England and the London government scale; (ii) an assessment of the qualitative and quantitative impacts of local community, NGO, and state managed projects that exist in diverse neighbourhoods; (iii) an exploration of the broader theme of 'living with diversity' amongst local residents, some of whom were themselves migrants; and (iv) an examination of the factors that shape processes of entrepreneurialism and small business competitiveness. Drawing on the London Borough of Haringey as a detailed case study, the book showed that those living (and working) in diverse urban areas see advantages in doing so, especially when it comes to aspects of social cohesion and social mobility and in terms of day-to-day activities near their homes. The analysis also showed that changes in the built environment, involving processes of urban redevelopment, regeneration, densification and gentrification, are negatively affecting residents and businesses alike.

In **Chapter 2** we gave an overview of London's recent history and its socio-spatial dynamics, focusing on issues of diversity and entrepreneurship. We also introduced the London Borough of Haringey, the area chosen as a case study. **Chapter 3** focused on contemporary national and London-wide policy discourses and how the term 'diversity' was framed within them. Top-down policy discourses and bottom-up initiatives were principally discussed using Fincher and Iveson's (2008) definition of planning for 'redistribution, recognition and encounter' as a framework. Differences were found between national policies and those produced by the GLA. Whilst the former are more limited in their approach, they exert a significant influence upon the latter. Nonetheless, the GLA takes a more pragmatic approach towards governance and we explore what this means in terms of the conceptualisations and practices of diversity that exist

In **Chapter 4** we looked at the residents of our case study area and their everyday experiences of living with diversity. We found that diversity is generally taken for granted, as the backdrop to living in both Haringey and London. There was also strong evidence of social networks, relationships, and friendships across ethnic/cultural boundaries. As such, although Haringey's diverse populations were positively perceived and appreciated for their various forms of difference and new experiences, diversity in itself was not a major pull factor for its residents. Instead, factors such as housing affordability, good transport connections, feelings of safety

and proximity to family and friends influenced their decisions. Residents' social networks went beyond local boundaries and identities, with many respondents reporting long-standing links of kinship and friendship that were not necessarily attached to place. Publicly accessible and safe open spaces were found to be important settings for encounters. We found evidence of positive recognition in such spaces with respondents reporting that encounters with different groups led them to reflect upon their own sense of identity. Children were important facilitators of social interaction and our evidence also suggests that the sharing of interests and other communal activities provided a platform from which social connections could be forged. We also found, however, that there were axes of tension in the area, many of which had to do with the rapidity of demographic change, the polarisation of labour market opportunities, and the reduced availability of affordable housing. Recently arrived 'eastern European' migrants acted as a focus for anxiety and perceptions of othering (as has been the case in other parts of England, which is one of the factors which fed into part of the English population voting for Brexit in the referendum on EU membership of June 2016), and there were widespread concerns that regeneration agendas were becoming too focussed on the attraction of external investors and wealthy purchasers of property and less concerned with local needs.

In **Chapter 5** we focused on the economic performance of enterprises in the eastern part of Haringey with the objective to identify the conditions that support their development and their longer-term competitiveness. We examined the relationship between urban diversity and the successes and challenges faced by entrepreneurs. We found that the social networks of many business owners went beyond the borough boundaries and that many saw their businesses as part of a thriving London economy. Nonetheless, despite the fact that entrepreneurs saw diversity positively, it did not feature as a major motivating factor to their choice of business location or sector, with the exception of businesses that focused on specific groups and therefore, had a narrower market. These businesses were highly reliant on their geographic location and therefore, were highly susceptible to changes in the socio-demographic makeup of the areas studied. Furthermore, the findings suggested businesses that had one very narrow market lacked understanding of regulations and language skills, which greatly constrained their chances of expansion. Overall, notwithstanding the fact that there was little evidence of discrimination by local or national institutions, many entrepreneurs stated that they were held back due to institutional difficulties, especially those related to finding premises and accessing formal credit. Finally, rapid gentrification threatened the long-term survival and expansion plans of many of the businesses studied.

The discussion has established some key insights into the contemporary politics and practices of diversity planning and urban policy in London. It has argued that:

- Governance arrangements for diversity in the city are underpinned by 'radical ambiguities' between competing demands at all scales. The main axis of ambiguity has been over the broader urban policy objective of fostering internationally-led economic growth on the one hand, despite its divisive impacts on social cohesion and spatial encounters, and the

requirement to meet broader social and policy objectives, to boost social cohesion and order on the other. We show that one attempt to resolve these ambiguities is found in the deployment of the term diversity as a consensual construct that is openly celebrated and commodified in dominant urban and planning policy strategies and marketing materials for the city. It is an approach that is justified as being both morally progressive and grounded in a hard-headed understanding of the needs of a competitive economy in an era of enhanced globalisation. However, at the same time, as we have shown repeatedly, these top-down readings of diversity give relatively little recognition to growing economic and political inequalities between citizens and groups in London, whilst also legitimating forms of urban development that enhance segregation and division. They are also often disconnected from local understandings and narratives of diversity in neighbourhoods and communities within the city. The ambiguities between these top-down and bottom-up framings of diversity are reflecting and reproducing wider political tensions over development trajectories and social policy objectives in the city, particularly in areas undergoing comprehensive regeneration. Our research has also revealed strong anxieties, discontents and protests around dominant practices of urban redevelopment and regeneration projects driven by large developers seeking to maximise profit from high density residential developments catering for a middle to high income audience. Interviewees expressed concerns at the attendant demolition of social housing estates, the loss of independent shops, small businesses or industrial (employment) land, the closure or demolition of community facilities (e.g. youth centres) and community assets (e.g. pubs or post offices), and the loss of green and open spaces to new development. Very often, regeneration means the partial or total destruction of the existing social, income, ethnic and functional diversity of a particular area, as several cases in the East of Haringey, our case-study borough, have shown. There is thus a stark contradiction between a celebration of diversity and the reality of actual urban regeneration and planning policy decisions which more often than not threaten it.

- We also show that it is at the local level, in diverse places such as Haringey, that some of the most significant attempts are being made to develop more progressive and purposeful bottom-up initiatives and policy interventions. In many cases these are having real qualitative and quantitative impacts on people's lives and are helping to overcome some of the fundamental policy ambiguities found at higher policy-making levels. Notwithstanding recent tensions over new waves of migration and the impacts of migrants on already overcrowded housing markets.

- The dominant perspective amongst interviewed residents is one of positivity towards the presence of diversity. For many, socio-cultural diversity has become an everyday feature associated with living in London (and Haringey) and something that is broadly welcomed and encouraged. At the same time, there were signs of growing social tensions in some neighbourhoods and clear processes of 'othering' taking place with recently arrived migrants, or newcomers, sometimes including 'middle-class' households or even 'super-rich' foreigners investing in real estate, seen as 'problem' neighbours.. Regeneration programmes and growing economic and material diversity within local communities are also adding to the pressures encountered by residents and there was much criticism of the perceived

disconnection between top-down policy interventions to promote regeneration and everyday needs, realities, experiences and aspirations.

- Finally, our work also showed that some of the core features of the urban environment that enable ethnic and small business entrepreneurs to flourish, such as affordable and available commercial spaces, are disappearing as major development programmes seek to attract new forms of global capital, employment, and activity. Attempts to bring 'diversity' to the economic base of urban areas in London are being equated with such schemes and this, paradoxically, is helping to erase smaller firms and entrepreneurs. As we show in Chapter 5, this is having a disproportionately large impact on ethnic entrepreneurs, especially those that depend on clustering with similar others and cater for local ethnic markets.

6.2   SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY: HOW TO USE THE RESULTS?

This section sets out some of the most significant policy relevant findings from the research. It is based on both the responses from the multiplicity of actors we interviewed and on our own assessment of the successes, failures, and ambiguities of public policies and other initiatives for 'diversity' in London over the past decade.

The research took place in a context in which London's population is expanding, socio-economic inequalities are growing, along with social and cultural diversity. Local authorities across the city face a number of challenges in overcoming the ambiguities associated with the governance of social, cultural, and economic diversity. They have been significantly affected by the austerity politics and public expenditure cuts led by the Conservative governments since 2010, with some estimates indicating budget reductions of between 30-40% (Trust for London, 2014). These are having a major impact on the ability of state institutions to develop and implement programmes of action and by extension on that of many third sector organisations partly relying on public subsidies. Moreover, local policy interventions are being influenced by wider welfare reforms and national policy changes. The Treasury's Plan for boosting the UK's economic competitiveness, *Fixing the Foundations*, of 2015 and the recent implementation of the *Housing and Planning Act 2016* both prioritise economic growth and urban development above other considerations. They explicitly target growth and job creation as the basis of future welfare settlements and see a minimal role for the state, other than as a facilitator for business interests. This further restricts the room for manoeuvre of local authorities and others to adopt more innovative local policies.

While UK governments have, since 2010, presented public expenditure cuts as inevitable, there is political disagreement between the UK parties and among economists about the necessity, extent, and impacts of such cuts. In light of their adverse and divisive social impacts, and of the evidence pointing to a rise in socio-economic inequalities and social exclusion, any policy recommendations need to take account of the broader political economic environment within which 'local' policies are developed and implemented. The extent of austerity, state

restructuring and welfare dismantling policies which have been carried out over the past decade has been remarkable by post-war standards and this is helping to fuel economic, social, and political divisions (see Penny, 2016). Alternative political choices are possible, and a move away from the mainstream 'post-political consensus' on the virtues of neo-liberalism and privatisation is, we argue, a precondition for the opening up meaningful debates over how the living conditions, social cohesion, and economic productivity of our 'hyper-diverse cities' could be improved. Similar arguments are now being made by a range of economists for whom neo-liberal retrenchment is generating inequalities of such magnitude that they are undermining the life chances and economic opportunities of large parts of the population (see Dorling, 2015; Piketty, 2014; Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009).

Since the fieldwork for this project was completed, the political debates on diversity have taken on a new intensity in the UK and across the EU. The refugee crisis in Europe, increased threats of terrorism related to ISIS, and the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU, have fuelled relatively polarised public, media, political, and social debates about openness and closeness to the world, the acceptance of diversity and difference, questions of integration and of national security. As discussed in Chapter 4, whilst many aspects of diversity, particularly its socio-cultural dimensions, were celebrated by our respondents in London, there was also recognition that tensions between certain groups were emerging or continuing, based on the greater turnover and transience of residents, language barriers, particular behaviour within particular groups, and conflicts for scarce resources (housing, jobs, welfare entitlements, public services). This generated a growth in anxiety, feelings of insecurity, and of the partial breakdown of a sense of local order.

The Brexit Referendum has also had impacts on the politics of diversity in London and the UK more generally. Many of the 'certainties' associated with what Tony Giddens in 2002 labelled 'runaway globalisation' have been disrupted and could even unravel. Referendum voting patterns show that Leave votes were highest in areas within and outside of London in which there has been proportionately larger and more recent *relative* increases in in-migration (see *The Economist*, 2016a). Approximately 60% of London's overall votes were for Remain, a marked contrast to the rest of the English regions in which the majority voted clearly to Leave. In the aftermath of the vote, London's perceived 'exceptionalism' in social, economic, and political terms is increasingly presented as a problem and evidence of a fiercely divided national polity. *The Economist* (2016b) newspaper has even termed the city *Londonia* or a nation within an increasingly divided nation. Within the city it has also generated new tensions and urgent discussions over future development trajectories and the rhetorical 'celebration' of diversity. Whilst it is important not to exaggerate the extent of these changes and what they mean for the future politics of London and the UK, it is clear that policy-makers and citizens face a period of disruption to perceived 'certainties' and taken-for-granted assumptions. This will inevitably have impacts on political debates on socio-cultural diversity and attitudes towards it.

In May 2016 Sadiq Khan was elected Mayor, the first Muslim mayor of a major British city and only the second in Western Europe[56]. For some, this has been presented as evidence of the London electorate's progressive views on diversity and the presence of a positive general attitude towards the tolerance and embracing of socio-cultural difference (see Haque, 2016; Khan, 2016). The new Mayor's Manifesto continues to (re)present socio-cultural diversity as an asset with the stated ambition that 'London should be a global beacon of tolerance, acceptance, and respect' (The Labour Party, 2016: p.56). However, there are also explicit contrasts with the previous mayor. Khan was elected on an agenda that was much more critical of London's globally oriented development projects. The use of the term 'diversity' has been explicitly connected to a more critical political agenda with an emphasis on creating 'a fairer and more equal city', in marked contrast to the trickle-down policies of the previous regime. There is also a greater willingness to use terms such as 'discrimination' to explain the growth of inequalities across the city. The Mayor, for instance, labels himself a 'proud feminist' (p.55) and whilst it is too early to make any assessment of practice, the appointment of more women to key Executive positions in the Mayor's Office indicates an awareness of equality issues and desire to bring about change (see The Guardian, 2016).

In this section we return to the three analytical categories used in Chapter 3 to structure our analysis of urban policy discourses and initiatives in London: recognition, redistribution and spaces of encounter (Fincher and Iveson, 2008), while recognising they are porous categories and that policy interventions may simultaneously contribute to one or more of them. In section 6.2.4 we also highlight some of the implications of our findings for the diversity of local economic development policies. Collectively, the discussion shows that **public policies play a key role in shaping urban environments** and in facilitating (or reducing) forms of recognition, redistribution, and encounter, for resident populations and businesses. Both at London-wide and at Borough levels, **much of the focus of recent policies has been on recognition**, allied to a secondary concern with the promotion of diverse encounters. Questions of redistribution are often left to the vagaries of market mechanisms and individual action, within the context of a 'responsibilisation agenda' that sees the role of the state as one of an enabler rather than a direct manager of social change.

6.2.1 Governing/planning for recognition: policy suggestions

As discussed in Chapter 3 the London Mayor, the GLA, and other London-wide development agencies have combined a broad discourse celebrating London's ethnic and cultural diversity with a pragmatic concern with the selective recognition of talents and 'good' migrants. However, there should be greater recognition given to the fact that **much of the growth taking place in London is sustained by low-paid work and individuals from migrant backgrounds are fundamental to this** (see May et al., 2007). The functioning of London's welfare services (e.g. transport and healthcare) is also heavily reliant on migrants and any attempt to restrict flows of in-migration in the wake of Brexit or anti-immigration policies, will significantly damage the city's economic and social well-being in the longer term.

Turning to the recognition of particular 'minority' groups or individuals, not just migrants, the progress towards anti-discrimination objectives and the duty placed on all public bodies to consider how their practices and policies impact on equality between different groups have been positively highlighted by many interviewees. The *Equality Act 2010* has been particularly influential. While major improvements in equality and recognition for, in particular, 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 (e.g. young Black males). There is a clear **need to maintain and increase support services for particular categories of vulnerable people**: young people, women, or those from an ethnic minority background.

A difficult question, however, is how to find the right balance between supporting spaces, venues and associations catering for a particular social group defined according to ethnic, cultural or religious characteristics, without falling into a potentially isolating or divisive 'communitarian' approach. This is related to the complex questions and issues surrounding the 'politics of recognition', discussed earlier. Some respondents argued that in Haringey, a certain tradition of supporting 'ethnic' or 'religion' based community centres, while providing strong and important support networks for particular groups, had sometimes maintained separation and isolation between groups, and/or negated the existing diversity within a particular group. **Particular emphasis should thus be put on the creation, or continuous support, to spaces of encounters that are known to cut across ethnicity, culture, gender, and class**, e.g. those that revolve around wide-ranging mobilizing activities such as sports, music, food, or gardening.

This recommendation is particularly important in a policy context that explicitly promotes 'equality of opportunity' for all of London's citizens. There has been a tendency towards the implementation of bureaucratic and/or tick-boxing exercises such as ensuring that a group supposedly representing a 'minority' corresponding to one of the nine protected characteristics under the *Equality Act* is consulted. This is often done with little reflection on whether or not a group is truly representative of the 'community' it claims to represent, or of its internal diversity. This reflects and can help reproduce a wider frustration that relatively little is being 'achieved', and that consultation and participation exercises are tokenistic. It is imperative that policy-makers are aware that **the institutional avenues through which to influence decision-making are becoming increasingly opaque and complex to many**. It was also pointed out that equal opportunity policies may be based on rigid and 'essentialising' categories which pigeonhole people and groups whose individual and collective identifies are complex, ambiguous, multi-layered (see the whole debate on cross-sectionality in social sciences, in particular in feminist, gender and post-colonial studies). An emphasis on those spaces of encounter that cut across such divisions would help to mitigate some of the potential problems associated with community and citizen engagement.

There are also broader critiques of the politics of recognition/diversity as a smokescreen for the continued absence of a politics of material redistribution across class groups, i.e. using diversity

narratives to deflect attention away from more structural forms of inequality that would require radical forms of intervention to resolve (see Valentine, 2008). Issues of racism, injustice, and equality of outcomes, it was claimed, are intentionally ignored in dominant policy narratives. Overall, the benefits of London's rapid economic growth are not being felt by many of its residents. **Policies relating to redistribution and the creation of more 'just' diversities remain underdeveloped**. Unemployment rates for young black people were 47% in 2011, compared to 19% for young whites (GLA, 2012b). In London and in the UK more generally, little attention is given to questions concerning the redistribution of economic resources and the increasing, or new, forms of inequality. For example, formal narratives that argue that inequality can be tackled by sanctions and taxes on the better off in London (and the UK) and/or on super-wealthy immigrants who are attracted to London's global property and asset markets are few and far between in the mainstream media and political discourse. Redistribution is supposed to be facilitated, instead, by the promotion of individual aspirations, social capital, and responsibility, allied to voluntary legal requirements on businesses and public sector institutions.

6.2.2 Governing/planning for redistribution: policy suggestions

The UK Conservative government has, since 2010, put particular emphasis on the 'Big Society' and new Localism, *i.e.* the empowerment of civic society, third sector organisations and citizen's groups in the process of deciding about, and managing, local spaces, resources and services. Critics have stressed that this can only work if a wide range of groups are given the support and means to seize the opportunities offered by this agenda. Besides, such a move cannot, in many areas, compensate for the withdrawal of the welfare state from its basic functions of guaranteeing fundamental rights which need to be performed at a scale higher than that of local authorities.

The existence of a vibrant local political culture helps to develop this engagement and policy should seek to build on and support these more qualitative aspects of urban policy. **Projects that rely on community resources have been remarkably successful in Haringey, often as a consequence of local leadership and traditions of community engagement.** The reliance on voluntary action is, however, also a potential vulnerability. As projects expand and become more complex so the need for more voluntary engagement increases. The limited capacities of individuals to undertake such work in the longer term can become a major obstacle to the effectiveness of initiatives.

But the main lesson from our research is that **regeneration policies have to pay stronger attention to the existing diversity of residents and businesses in urban areas.** In many parts of London this is under threat as the built environment is being subjected to large scale changes and renewal. New development should not take place at the expense of the existing urban fabric and/or lead to wholesale gentrification that will benefit a relatively small number of investors and selective citizens.

Alongside this, the **preservation and successful coexistence of a diversity of people is only possible if basic 'rights to the city' are secured**. In London this means, above all: the right to

decent and affordable housing; the right to a job or working space; and the right to basic public services which include health and education. All of this is under threat in the current political and economic context. There is no space here to enter into a detailed discussion of the acute and extreme housing crisis in London, and of the possible policy solutions and remedies to it (see Savage, 2015).

As noted above, this was a central theme in the London Mayoral Elections campaigns of the spring of 2016, and a key issue in the Manifesto of the new Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan. Necessary interventions include a **bolder use of the planning system** to extract community benefits (including social and affordable housing) from private developers, **new ways of funding truly social housing** (including a lifting of the restrictions on borrowing applied to local authorities), the **regulation of the investment practices** of the private sector and of private rent levels, a reconsideration of the priority given so far to home ownership, real debates on **urban density and desirable urban forms**, and new forms of **regional planning** for the South-East and the whole of England.

6.2.3 Governing/planning for spaces and networks of encounter: policy suggestions

The form and character of urban spaces have a significant impact on the types of encounter that take place and attitudes towards diversity as a 'positive' or 'negative' feature of urban living. Chapter 4 has demonstrated the importance of spaces of encounter in highly diverse neighbourhoods. In this category, we included different types of spaces, which call for different types of policy interventions or support measures, depending on their nature:

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

These spaces are crucial in bringing together very diverse individuals and groups, who learn how to live with difference, and in some cases have the opportunity to bridge across difference through the interactions that are made possible in such spaces.

The **protection and propagation of these spaces**, in particular community facilities and assets, which have increasingly been under threat in London due to a combination of funding cuts and redevelopment pressures, has also led to social mobilization between diverse individuals and groups. In Chapter 4 we showed that place- and amenity-based associations and campaigns bring together people from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds who care about 'place' and 'neighbourhood', although certain groups are more active than others. Collective political action to defend spaces of encounters (which are also, at the same time, spaces

of recognition and redistribution, such as the Selby Centre in Haringey) is generating some intense forms of engagement between citizens.

Public policies that protect such spaces when they exist are absolutely key, as well the use of instruments provided by the UK planning system to increase the provision of such spaces in new developments. The **implementation of effective and enforceable planning gain agreements**, notably the recently introduced Community Infrastructure Levy and Section 106 legal contracts, will be crucial to the longer term spreading of benefits to a diverse range of communities. Attempts to gate off public spaces and other forms of exclusive design should be restricted. At the same time, support should be given to the various, successful efforts to **reclaim public space for social interaction** by, for example, making streets safer for children and families, or turning open spaces into communal food-growing gardens. Children acted as a focus for encounters for diverse groups and were much more likely to establish networks with others. There are wider implications here for the planning of social and education policy programmes. The presence of schools and sites for children's activities in an area plays an important part in its cohesion and in the bringing together of diverse groups and communities.

Many of the spaces of encounter mentioned above are used, maintained or run by community, non-profit organisations of all kinds which play a crucial role in a borough like Haringey. Many successful community-based initiatives (e.g. community centres in Haringey) have suffered from significant cuts in subsidies or from evictions from their premises. They should be supported through public policy such as the provision, where appropriate, of **grants and other types of support in kind**. Project funding and finances are key factors in supporting local initiatives. It is not only the scale of financing that matters, but also its sustainability; the security/insecurity it generates for local actors; the extent to which it is conditional on meeting the quantitative targets and objectives set by funding agencies; and the flexibility in its use. A diversity of funding sources is a success factor as is the ability of agencies to establish strong forms of partnership working. Charitable Trust models of financing are particularly innovative and successful.

Alongside funding one of the most significant issues facing local actors is that of **asset ownership**. Where assets are owned and/or managed by local actors, there are enhanced opportunities to promote initiatives that draw on and develop positive aspects of hyper-diversity. This can take various forms. In some cases they are being delivered through local authority support in which assets are held in trust or on-loan. In other instances they have emerged through innovative forms of local public-private partnership in which private landowners have been happy to use their assets in the pursuit of a wider public good. The difficulty with such schemes is that there is much uncertainty over the use of assets in the longer term. Development pressures and funding cuts mean that assets can be commodified at any time, making it difficult to plan and to invest. Policy interventions that cater for and support hyper-diversity can only be successful if the issue of asset ownership is targeted. Local authorities can play a critical role in providing the spaces in which community and citizen

activities can flourish. This may not necessarily involve the direct provision of land or money but could involve in-kind support, or granting the use of fixed assets (buildings), or ensuring the right to their continuous use.

6.2.4 Governing/planning for diverse local economies: policy suggestions

Our research also examined the diversity of local economies, much of which was discussed in Chapter 5. With regards to entrepreneurs in highly diverse neighbourhoods, we can identify two types of policy support that would be particularly beneficial to diverse entrepreneurs and their businesses: (i) investments in places; and (ii) investments to support entrepreneurs. Each is discussed in turn.

(i) Investments in places

Firms and entrepreneurs require the **availability of key urban assets** if they are to emerge and prosper. These include: affordable workspaces; room to expand; available and appropriately skilled labour; access to markets; and in some cases agglomeration benefits and untraded interdependencies. It is imperative that planning policies and arrangements target these local factors of production and allow diverse firms to flourish. This includes specific interventions such as the **provision of new, or the maintenance of existing, commercial properties** for businesses to allow entrepreneurs to develop their businesses from the start-up phase through to maturity. Public resources should be given to the creation of 'incubator spaces' for start-up businesses, offering reduced rents, and using planning policy instruments to guarantee the availability of affordable and appropriate premises for firm expansion as required.

The availability of **collective spaces and trading parks** in which entrepreneurs can develop mutually supportive economic and social networks is also an important policy concern. Entrepreneurs are more successful in contexts where they are part of a wider **ecology of businesses**, operating through networks and relations with each other (see Ferm and Jones, 2015; Storey, 2011). It is, therefore, imperative that effective zoning and planning policy measures are put in place to both foster and protect such networks. Efforts should also be made to **reduce planning blight** on firms and neighbourhoods where urban development agendas are being rolled out. Planning agendas should pay greater attention to the **identification of value** amongst diverse businesses and entrepreneurs, rather than actively (or passively) seeking their elimination in the drive to create places of regeneration and renewal. Alongside this, innovative forms of **place-marketing**, particularly in relation to an area's diversity and creativity, can play an important role in both encouraging diverse individuals to start new firms and/or attracting inward investment and the inward movement of successful businesses.

*(ii) Investments to support entrepreneurs*For many entrepreneurs, particularly those from diverse backgrounds, **the provision of high quality, targeted, and bespoke direct support** is of enormous value and measures to provide targeted assistance should represent a core component for any local economic and social development strategy. Specific forms of direct intervention should include the provision of **expert help**, such as training and mentoring for

entrepreneurs, to assist them with general business advice on finance, the planning system, taxes and regulations, becoming an employer, and business growth models. This requires funded programmes that ensure that the right types of training and advice are available, particularly for entrepreneurs from ethnically diverse backgrounds (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion). Start-ups, in particular, also require direct **financial support**, such as soft loans and grants to move to higher levels of productivity and output. Those from diverse backgrounds often face difficulties in accessing finance from the private sector and this can act as a major barrier to their development plans and projects. But financial support can also be important to those firms looking to expand and take on new employees or move into new markets. For entrepreneurs with diverse backgrounds accessing finance for expansion can be particularly challenging and there may be additional benefits for public policy to be found in targeting those firms most in need.

Public policy should also provide support for **networking activities between entrepreneurs** and should encourage businesses to become more actively involved in the formation of local business associations. These could act as conduits through which local business agendas and perspectives could be aired. All too frequently respondents in Haringey felt they had little chance to air their views or influence local planning and public policy debates. Likewise, planning agencies should also consider what r**ole charities and third sector bodies could** and should play in supporting local entrepreneurs. Trusts and other forms of charitable organisation can play a particularly targeted and effective role in providing the services and even the premises that can help businesses to start and grow. Too much reliance on such funds can restrict the amount of support available. But there is little doubt that in many instances, non-state actors can act as a valuable addition to the support available.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEWEES FROM GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

EU Level
1. Representative – European Commission, London Office
2. Representative – European Commission, London Office

Central Government
1. Research Representative – Department for Communities and Local Government
2. Policy Representative – Department for Communities and Local Government
3. Representative – Government Equalities Office

City/Metropolitan Government
1. Policy Representative (Diversity and Social Policy Team) – Greater London Authority
2. Policy Representative (Diversity and Social Policy Team) – Greater London Authority
3. Conservative Party London Assembly Member – Greater London Assembly
4. Policy Representative – London Councils
5. Policy Representative – London Councils

Non-governmental organisations
1. Policy Representative – London First
2. Policy Representative – Business in the Community (*Race for Opportunity* and *Opportunity Now* – race and gender-based equality campaigns)
3. Policy Representative – Business in the Community (*Race for Opportunity*)
4. Research (Race) Representative – Business in the Community (*Race for Opportunity*)
5. Representative – Trade Union Congress (TUC)
6. Representative – Migrants' Rights Network
7. Representative – Runnymede Trust

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF HARINGEY RESIDENTS INTERVIEWED

	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

	Name	Age	M/F	Occupation/ Position in household	Income (per calendar month)	Ethnic background	Country of Birth
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

	Name	Age	M/F	Occupation/ Position in household	Income (per calendar month)	Ethnic background	Country of Birth
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 3: COMPARING INTERVIEWEES' 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
	Religion not stated	13	26.0	8.9	8.5	7.2
Household Tenure	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
	Living rent free	0	0	1.5	1.3	1.4
Level of education	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: LIST OF HARINGEY ENTREPRENEURS INTERVIEWED

	Age	Gender	Type of entrepreneur (Ethnic Background, Nationality, Education)	Type of enterprise (main activities, number of employees)
R1	42	Male	White British, British, Master's Degree	Brewery – 9 employees
R2	54	Male	White British, British, PG Diploma	Cheese-maker – 7 employees
R3	32	Female	White British, British, Undergraduate Degree	Van company – 20 employees
R4	54	Female	Black British, British, O Level, HND, NVQ	Jamaican desserts & sweets – 0 employees
R5	44	Male	Other: Kurdish, Turkish, Secondary Education	Wedding venue, floristry, decoration – Employees vary based on occasion (casual workers)
R6	26	Male	Black African, Ghanaian, Professional Qualifications	Cleaning company – 0 employees
R7	31	Male	Other: Kurdish, British, None	Jewellers – 4 employees
R8	27	Male	Black African, British, A Levels	Security company – 20 registered employees
R9	25	Male	Dual Heritage (White British & Black Caribbean), British, Undergraduate Degree	Film company (TV ads & social media campaign videos)
R10	25	Male	Black British, British, Master's Degree	Record label (plus media training, talent management, community work) – 6 employees
R11	40	Male	Other: Turkish, British & Turkish, Undergraduate Degree	Children's Soft Play Centre – 1 employee (plus casual staff)
R12	42	Male	Other: Latin American, British & Colombian, Master's Degree	Colombian Catering – 0 employees (plus 2 casual staff)
R13	26	Female	White British, British, Undergraduate	Video Production – 3 employees
R14	38	Female	Black British, British, GCSEs & Professional qualifications	Café, Floristry, Hospitality and Events Company – 8 employees (plus 15 casual staff)
R15	32	Female	Black British, British, NVQ	Hair Salon – 0 (plus family support and interns)
R16	36	Male	Black African, British, Undergraduate Degree	Social Media Management Company – 0 employees (plus freelance support)
R17	45	Female	Chinese, Chinese, Post 16 College	Natural hair import & distribution – 1 employee
R18	51	Female	Black African, British & Ghanaian, Vocational qualifications	Dressmaker – 0 employees
R19	36	Female	Black African, British, Master's Degree	Diamante T-shirt & Jewellery Designer – 0 employees (plus variable number of interns from France via university scheme)
R20	53	Female	White British, British, Undergraduate Degree	Fashion Social Enterprise (Factory Production & Training Academy) – 47 employees (plus 60 freelance and contractors)
R21	39	Female	White British, British, Master's Degree	Estate Agents – 3 employees
R22	35	Female	Dual Heritage: Thai & Cypriot, British & Thai, Undergraduate Degree	Foldable women's shoe designer – 4 employees

	Age	Gender	Type of entrepreneur (Ethnic Background, Nationality, Education)	Type of enterprise (main activities, number of employees)
R23	61	Male	Black African, British, Secondary Education	West African Bakery – 15 employees
R24	29	Male	Black Caribbean, British, Undergraduate Degree	Audio Visual Services – 12 employees (plus variable casual staff)
R25	35	Female	Black Caribbean, British, Undergraduate Degree	Modelling Agency – 0 employees (plus 5 freelance staff supporters)
R26	38	Female	White British, British & Australian, Diploma	Café and Mobile Events – 15 employees
R27	23	Female	Other: Kurdish, British, Undergraduate Degree	Restaurant and Brasserie – 20 employees
R28	38	Female	White Other, Polish, College	Polish Deli – 3 employees
R29	47	Male	White Other, Romanian, College	Romanian Restaurant – 5 employees (plus variable part-time staff)
R30	39	Male	Other: Latin American, Spanish and Colombian, None	Colombian Café and Restaurant – 4 employees
R31	35	Male	Black African, Ugandan, Post 16 College	Estate Agent – 5 employees
R32	50	Male	Other: Latin American, British & Colombian, Secondary Education	Latin American Confectionary – 0 employees
R33	41	Female	Black African, Portuguese, Secondary Education	Jewellery maker and seller – 0 employees
R34	38	Female	Other: Latin American, Portuguese, Secondary Education	Hairdressers – 0 employees
R35	45-64	Male	Other: Latin American, British & Colombian, Undergraduate Degree	Legal services – 0 employees
R36	45-64	Male	Other: Middle Eastern, British, Post 16 College	Luggage store – 1 employee
R37	38	Female	Other: Latin American, British, Postgraduate Degree	Translation & Education – 2 employees
R38	50	Male	Other: Kurdish, British & Turkish, Undergraduate Degree	Pharmacy – 12 employees
R39	44	Male	Other: Kurdish, British & Kurdish, Secondary Education	Turkish Supermarket – 10 employees
R40	30	Male	Other: Kurdish, British & Kurdish, Undergraduate Degree	Internet Café – 2 employees

NOTES

1   This chapter is for a large part based on Tasan-Kok, T., R. van Kempen, M. Raco and G. Bolt (2013), Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review. Utrecht: Utrecht University.

2   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.

3   In the UK the poverty threshold for a household is defined as an income after tax which is below 60% of the average (median) household income for that year. It can be measured before or after housing costs.

4   http://www.haringey.gov.uk/social-care-and-health/health/joint-strategic-needs-assessment/figures-about-haringey

5   Large parts of this text have been published earlier in Tasan Kok *et al.*, (2014).

6   http://conservative-speeches.sayit.mysociety.org/speech/601492

7   Lascars were sailors or militiamen from South Asia and the Middle East employed under special agreements.

8   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.

9   '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).

10   Between 2008 and 2013, the city's economy has grown at a rate of 3.4% annually, much higher than the UK as a whole, which has grown at a rate of 2.2%

11   http://data.london.gov.uk/housingmarket/#regprice

12   World business leaders in Davos in 2015 lauded the 'diversity dividends' that accrue from diverse labour markets and the wider pool of skills and talent that they bring (see Peston, 2015).

13   BAME or BME are terms commonly used to refer to Black and Minority Ethnic groups.

14   The so-called 'protected characteristics' included in the Act are age, disability, gender reassignment, race, religion or belief, sex, sexual orientation, marriage and civil partnership, and pregnancy and maternity.

15 These are: English Language; Housing; Employment, Skills and Enterprise; Health; Community Safety and Cohesion; Children and Young People; and Community Development.

16 Ken Livingstone was Mayor of London 2000-2008. He was an Independent, then a Labour Party candidate. He was succeeded by Conservative Party candidate Boris Johnson in 2008 and by Labour Party candidate Sadiq Khan in 2016.

17 Affordable housing in London is defined as housing of 80% of market value, either to buy or rent.

18 General Certificate of Secondary Education

19 http://mycommunityrights.org.uk/

20 http://www.livingwage.org.uk

21 https://www.competefor.com

22 Londonfirst.co.uk

23 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.

24 http://content.met.police.uk/Article/About-Safer-Neighbourhoods/1400006213008/1400006213008

25 http://lordshiprec.org.uk/

26 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.

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

28 http://www.selbytrust.co.uk/

29 http://www.berniegrantcentre.co.uk/index.php/about-us/our-vision

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

31 https://lordshiphub.org.uk/

32 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".*

33 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

34 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.

35 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.

36 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'"*.

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

38 Two exceptions being R13 whose business had closed and been re-named after a split between business partners and R5 who was the manager rather than the owner of the business and so some information was inaccessible

39 The ownership structure of one of the businesses (R5) was unclear as the interview was conducted with the manager of the business who did not have this information.

40 Weddings where one or both of those getting married have an ethnic background that is not White British.

41 R4 received €83 (£65) per week for 3 months.

42 R10 received a €32,106 (£25,000) start-up loan from AIM, a trade body representing the 800 member companies of the UK's independent music industry – http://www.musicindie.com/about

43 R14 received a €6,421 (£5,000) start-up loan and R13 and R15 both received a €5,137 (£4,000) start-up loan from The Prince's Trust, a Charity governed by Royal Charter supporting young people founded by HRH The Prince of Wales – https://www.princes-trust.org.uk/about-the-trust

44 R24 received a small loan from Enfield Enterprise, an independent, not for profit enterprise agency approved by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) – http://www.enterpriseenfield.org/#!about/c20r9

45 R13 and R24 both received €6,421 (£5,000).

46 R21 received €6,421 (£5,000).

47 R26 received €25,693 (£20,000).

48 R12 and R38 both received €6,421 (£5,000).

49 R20 received €346,858 (£270,000) and €128,466 (£100,000) respectively.

50 A now defunct non-profit central government initiative offering support to businesses – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Business_Link

51 White British and Black Caribbean

52 The Opportunity Investment Fund is one of the many projects initiated by the London Borough of Haringey after it was awarded approximately €36million (£28milllion) funding from the Mayor's Regeneration Fund (https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/regeneration/funding-opportunities/funds-being-delivered)

53 Operated in Haringey by the Tottenham Hotspur Foundation and funded by the Department for Communities and Local Government and Trust for London

54 Harringay Green Lanes is an area within the borough distinguished from the name of the local authority area Haringey – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_Lanes_(London)

55 http://www.harringay4shops.com/traders.htm, page 1.

56 Ahmed Aboutaleb has served as Mayor of Rotterdam since 5th January 2009.

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