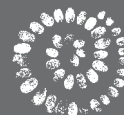# Creating Connections

REGENERATION & CONSULTATION ON A MULTI-ETHNIC COUNCIL ESTATE

A RUNNYMEDE COMMUNITY STUDY
BY KJARTAN PÁLL SVEINSSON

RUNNYMEDE

About Runnymede Community Studies

In reflecting on the changing nature of ethnic diversity in Britain, it becomes increasingly clear that we have to move beyond binary notions of white and non-white to explain the ways in which racisms operate, identities are formed and people live out their lives. The societies in which we live are becoming more diverse and will continue to diversify as migration patterns change, and the impacts of globalisation are reflected in labour markets as well as in transnational movement of capital.

This series of community studies aims to promote understanding of the diversity within and between different ethnic groups. Our intention is to build up a collection of studies which focus on communities; their demography, links to civil society, and key political and social issues. We hope that over time this will provide a rich resource for understanding how diversity is lived and experienced away from the necessarily crude ethnic monitoring form, in a vital and dynamic multi-ethnic society.

Creating Connections

Regeneration & Consultation on a Multi-Ethnic Council Estate

KJARTAN PÁLL SVEINSSON

Crossfield at a Glance

Population and Demographics

- According to the 2001 census, there were 1,426 people living in Lower Layer Super Output Area Lewisham 004E, which mostly consists of Crossfield estate.
- Of these, the largest ethnic groups were White British (36%), Black African (23%), Black Caribbean (12%) and White Other (8%) .
- Crossfield residents are younger than the Lewisham average, and households are more likely to consist of families.
- The estate is amongst the UK's most deprived Super Output Areas according to most indices of deprivation, such as income, crime, and barriers to housing and services. The only exception is the Education, Skills and Training score, which is around average.

Education

- There are fewer people aged 16-74 with no qualifications on Crossfield (23%) than Lewisham (24%), London (24%), and England (29%), and more people with highest qualification attained level 4/5 (Crossfield: 34%; Lewisham: 29%; London: 31%; England: 20%).
- During the 1970s, largely as a reaction to the acute teacher shortage in Deptford's schools, a large number of teachers and teaching students were offered residencies at Crossfield, many of whom stayed.

Housing and Regeneration

- The majority of housing units are rented from the Council (58%) which is considerably higher than for Lewisham (27%), London (17%) and England and Wales (13%). Only 14% are owner occupier, compared with 33% in Lewisham, 34% in London, and 39% in England and Wales.
- Deptford is in the Thames Gateway zone of change, which places it in the midst of a major urban regeneration initiative. A number of housing developments have already been completed, and many are in the pipeline, some of which have been highly controversial and sparked local resistance.
- Lewisham Council's commitment to mixed tenure policies have mostly manifested in affordable, rather than social, housing. The council's general policy has been to resist development of more social housing in Deptford, due to its already high concentration. This policy has reduced social housing in the area, as estates are demolished and replaced by private housing.

Employment and Economic Deprivation

- There are more people of working age claiming a key benefit, job seekers allowance, or incapacity benefits in Crossfield (25%, 6% and 9%, respectively) than Lewisham (18%, 4% and 7%), London (15%, 3% and 6%), and England (14%, 2% and 7%).
- Unemployment is higher in Crossfield (11%), than in Lewisham (6%), London (4%) and England (3%).

Introduction

Housing in Britain is a highly contended topic, but also one where the terms of debate are constantly shifting. Most people have in one way or another strong views on the state of British housing market, views that are often accompanied and informed by anxiety. Whether it be first-time buyers worrying about rising house prices, home-owners who closely follow the market rate of their properties, council tenants waiting for a transfer to a better home, or retirees considering equity release to help their children onto the property ladder, the life of the average Briton is likely to be profoundly influenced by the state of the housing market. But concerns about housing extend beyond the individual's immediate circumstances to embrace wider social issues. If newspaper headlines are not reporting yet another increase in house prices, and the effect this has on first-time buyers, they are likely to portray a gloomy situation of a housing shortage which, in turn, is creating and reinforcing a social and economic underclass. Furthermore, the public debate on housing is increasingly merging with panics about the hyper-diversification of Britain, both in terms of the perceived pressures new migrants pose on the housing market[1] as well as alarmist projections of racially segregated neighbourhoods where people live and socialise with people of the same ethnic group.[2]

In this fifth report in Runnymede's series of Community Studies, we wanted to explore a community of place; in this case, a council estate and its residents' notions of community, cohesion and diversity. The multi-ethnic council estate of Crossfield – in Deptford, Borough of Lewisham, south east London – was chosen for this task. While our first three studies focused on communities of ethnic identity – namely, the Vietnamese, Bolivians, and Francophone Cameroonians – this report aims to expand on the latest study in the series, on a university student community, by exploring how this diversity is lived and thought about in the context of place. The reasons for this shift from community of identity to community of place are twofold. Firstly, places – in this study, the area in which people live – can be important not only to individuals' identity and sense of self, but also as social venues where identities mix and mingle and thereby influence one another. Secondly, we wanted to contextualise our previous studies on identities by exploring how they come together and interact within the framework of a particular place.

At the outset, the study was meant to investigate diversity and ethnic relations on the estate. However, it quickly became clear that these issues could not be discussed in isolation from a number of other – Deptford and Lewisham wide – factors. Residents generally stated that Crossfield is an ethnically inclusive community, and that race relations are relatively harmonious. On the other hand, many stated that whatever segregation there is tends to be drawn along the lines of socio-economic status. Indeed, a prominent theme in interviews was the current regeneration efforts in Deptford. This raises the question of the consultation practices of Lewisham, as well as Crossfield's relationship with the rest of Deptford. Thus, while this report will strive to retain a focus on Crossfield estate and its inhabitants, the discussion below will inevitably need to be widened to include these factors.

Council estates are often considered to be characterised by 'inner-city misery'[3] in the public imagination, blighted by deprivation and dysfunctional social dynamics, a situation for which estate residents are often themselves blamed.[4] On a multi-ethnic council estate, the situation becomes even more grim, desperate and dangerous, where different ethnic groups living 'parallel lives' present the state and wider society with a potential time-bomb of ethnic tensions. As will become clear, Crossfield poses a serious challenge to both assumptions.

1 Telegraph (2006)

2 Phillips (2005)

3 Baeten (2004)

4 Bauder (2002)

Methodology

The aim of this study was to explore residents' experiences of living in a multi-ethnic council estate, their perception of diversity, how they interact with each other, and how they think about their environment generally. For this reason, the methodology used was primarily qualitative, which is particularly apt in providing insight into the complex, subtle, and often contradictory views, experiences, motivations and attitudes of individuals. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews with 13 individuals,[5] eight of whom were Crossfield residents and five were non-resident individuals who were in one way or another involved with community development in Deptford, representing both local authorities and the voluntary sector. Access to interviewees was achieved through snowballing, where residents would introduce the researcher to their neighbours. Interviews were conducted in interviewees' homes or workplaces. Furthermore, the researcher spent time on the estate itself, communicating with residents and observing interaction between them.

   The small sample size means that the results should not be read as statistically representative of all residents on Crossfield, nor as a comprehensive account of race relations on the estate. However, a purposive sampling technique – where interviewees are selected specifically a) for their specific experiences or knowledge, and b) to capture the diversity and breadth of views within the sample group – was adopted in order to get as broad a perspective as possible. In this way, every effort was made to have a broad sampling range in terms of ethnicity, gender, age, length of residence on Crossfield, etc. to ensure that the sample was as representative as possible. However, as the estate is relatively small, demographic breakdown of interviewees in terms of ethnicity, age, marital status etc. is not possible, as this would compromise their identities.

   This report does not purport to represent a conclusive ethnographic account of race relations on the Crossfield estate. While the purpose of the study is to map out the main issues identified by the participants of the research, the small sample size means that this only amounts to a selection of narratives of personal experience and opinion. For this reason, the great diversity on Crossfield could not adequately be captured, and many voices are thereby neglected. Thus, not every issue of importance can be identified or discussed in the report, which should be kept in mind throughout this report. However, this report is intended to raise issues of how regeneration effect people of different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, issues that are often forgotten or ignored in discussion on urban policy. Thus, the topics identified and discussed below can be seen as a point of departure for further much needed research and debate.

---

5 The names of interviewees used throughout this report are not actual. They have been changed to maintain anonymity of the participants of this study.

Housing & Diversity – Empirical & Theoretical Considerations

Diversity and Community of Place

As Allan Cochrane has commented, urban policy "can be understood as the attempt to shape the places in which our lives are lived."[6] In this policy discourse, a certain understanding of 'community' provides policy-makers with a tool to drive home the New Labour maxim of the 'rights and responsibilities' of each and every citizen. While 'community' can be taken to mean a number of things where policy is concerned – often depending on the desired outcome of the policies in question – urban policy-makers tend to mean one of two things: "a territorially delimited neighbourhood, within which there is deemed to be some sort of shared identity or set of interests, or some identifiable ethnic group that is also understood to have its own 'community' leaders."[7] This particular understanding and usage of 'community' invariably fails to appreciate the complexity of identities and their relationship with communities. This kind of thinking is problematic in policy terms, as Khan points out, because it assumes a one-to-one correlation between identity and community and thereby presumes "that our choices flow clearly and consistently from identities defined in this way."[8] Any community is bound to comprise a complex matrix of interactions and associations, which in turn bring different communities in contact with each other resulting in overlapping and blurred boundaries. While this is true for even the most homogenous of communities, in light of the ongoing diversification of British cities, it is becoming increasingly important that urban policies are designed with this complexity in mind.

The double meaning of community as place based and identity based, and the overlapping of the two in real life, is evident in much writing on council housing and ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Rogaly and Taylor, for example, frame their analysis of council estates in Norwich within an understanding of places as "open, porous and the products of other places,"[9] which implies that a particular place must be understood in the context of its particular topography and relationships with its surrounding environment. Furthermore, they demonstrate how a number of factors – such as migratory history, interaction with 'outsiders', socio-economic status, ethnicity, and extent of civic activation – play together to shape individual and group identities. As a result, "[f]eelings of belonging to a 'community' in the NDC [New Deal for Communities] area vary from being intense for some to being non-existent for others."[10]

While Rogaly and Taylor's study investigates council estates with relatively few visible ethnic minorities, Hudson et al. have demonstrated how ethnic diversity complicates notions and dynamics of community – in this case, within the context of Moss Side in Manchester and North Tottenham in London – without necessarily decreasing residents' affiliation with area of residence.[11] Again, a number of factors influence an individual's understanding of and value placed on community. Older residents, for example, placed great importance on relations with neighbours and family, but tended to engage in a 'golden age' discourse characterised by notions of neighbourhood decline and dissolution of local social interactions. Younger people, on the other hand, emphasised their ethnically mixed social groups, and the value they placed on this, facilitated by the diverse nature of their neighbourhood. Furthermore, different ethnic groups tended to have different expectations from, and understandings of, their community. Thus, while the vast majority of their respondents, in both localities, held positive views on community – morally, emotionally and practically – they also differed in the extent and nature of the meaning community had in their everyday lives and interactions.

Another major influencing factor in shaping community relations, as illustrated by the residents of Moss Side and North Tottenham, is crime and anti-social behaviour, which both constrained people's use of local space as well as affecting social relationships. Again, opinions on crime and anti-social behaviour, and its

---

6 Cochrane (2003: 223)

7 Ibid.: 227

8 Khan (2007: 41)

9 Rogaly and Taylor (2007: 63)

10 Ibid.: 73

11 Hudson et al. (2007)

impact on people's sense of community, depended to a certain degree on age, ethnicity, and socio-economic status. However, Hudson et al. make it clear that crime was an important topic for all their respondents.[12] Indeed, discussions about council estates seldom leave crime and anti-social behaviour out of the analysis; the two are generally seen to go hand in hand.

Deprivation and Community Safety

Council estates are often perceived, both in public and policy discourses, to be uniformly crime ridden and deprived, and their inhabitants are equally homogenised as an unruly underclass. Youth, of course, fair particularly badly in the discussion of crime and social housing, where the 'youth culture' of teenagers living on council estates has almost become synonymous with anti-social behaviour. Paradoxically, however, policies and practices aimed at developing community safety often exclude the participation of youth, even when crime and anti-social behaviour is largely seen as a youth problem.[13] While it would be unwise to ignore many of the social problems youth growing up on council estates may face, it is worth putting these problems in a wider perspective.

It is possible, as Baeten and others have argued, that the depiction of council estates as slums represents a hegemony of middle-class values, which resist and ignore the values as well as the agency of council tenants.[14] In this sense, Baeten warns against analysing urban deprivation through a middle-class lens, tainted by ideas about 'proper' physical constructions and social structures. He argues that this would lead to:

> an unacceptable view of the inner city where in fact people, despite their

poverty, set up a wide array of social, cultural and economic networks of real meaning, which enable them to enter the labour market, to develop mutual support and to participate in cultural activities of all kinds, just like anybody else.[15]

The inner city works not only as a space of social exclusion; it equally functions as a space of inclusion for those societal groups not accepted by mainstream society.[16] To assume *a priori* that lives on council estates are all grim and desperate is unhelpful, both in analysis and in policy. What is missing in the dystopic analyses of inner-city council estates is both the effect of discrimination and the agency of those discriminated against in responding to disadvantage. This is close to Khan's argument that "those who seek social ties among their fellow group members do so because they feel unable to participate in institutions of power, and discriminated against by those who claim to include them."[17] Contrary to this view, however, urban policy and planning responses to deprivation tend to operate on the assumption that middle-class values are the norm, while inner-city, minority values and lifestyles are uniform and pathological,[18] which simultaneously stigmatises and marginalises the voices of those who urban policy makers should be listening to and taking seriously.

Against this backdrop of a particular understanding of poverty and deprivation, a range of renewal and redevelopment schemes are and have been devised and implemented. As with other aspects of urban policy, many of these apply specific notions of 'community' to justify both the aims of the projects as well as their particular implementation. Indeed, many urban regeneration projects are ideologically backed by the myth of inner-city dystopia, which provides the legitimising argument for a range of redevelopment schemes, many of which actually bring little relief to the poor segments of society[19] but can have quite the opposite effect to the stated goals of tackling deprivation. Widening inequalities in Britain's cities are literally embodied in the upmarket redevelopment and gentrification of 'rough' inner city areas at one extreme, and further concentration of deprivation and stigmatisation at the other.[20]

---

12 Ibid.: 25

13 Hill and Wright (2003)

14 Baeten (2004). See also Bauder (2002) for a critique of the idea of 'neighbourhood effect', where dysfunctional norms, values and behaviours are assumed to cause marginality.

15 Baeten (2004: 235)

16 Ibid.: 240

17 Khan (2007: 47). Although Khan is critiquing the idea that ethnic groups willingly choose to self-segregate, his argument can be extended to inner city residents.

18 Bauder (2002: 89)

19 Baeten (2004: 240)

20 Watt (2006: 776)

Mixed Communities and Urban Regeneration

A key urban policy development in recent years has been the promotion of 'mixed communities' in a variety of shapes and forms.[21] While 'mixed community' can refer to a range of things, it is most widely used to mean mixed tenure and mixed income, and to a far lesser extent mixed ethnicity. Within housing policy circles, great hope is attached to the promotion of mixed communities, which figure prominently in a number of policy strands, where the notion of 'mixed communities' often appears in conjunction with positive terms such as sustainable, inclusive and cohesive.[22] Indeed, the mixing of communities is part and parcel of the 'community cohesion' agenda; the rationale being that mixed housing will encourage social mixing, thus tackling spatial segregation and parallel lives.[23]

This policy predisposition has generated a wealth of policy research. While different authors may draw diverging conclusions, there is a general consensus that findings are still tentative and that significant gaps in knowledge need to be filled. For this reason, Atkinson and Kintrea have suggested that there is a discrepancy between policy and the empirical evidence about how local communities work in relation to mixed tenure. In particular, there is little evidence that mixed tenure[24] actually leads to social mixing. For example, in their research on three different sub-regional housing markets, Allen et al. report that "owners and renters were found to occupy *distinctive social worlds*. This meant that the opportunities for *social interaction between the two groups were limited*."[25] In other words, the 'bridging social capital' principle, central to the government's effort to promote community cohesion, does not automatically follow a mixed tenure policy. On the other hand, they do identify a number of positive effects of tenure diversification for local residents, most notably increased satisfaction with the physical environment and enhanced local services. Thus, while owner-occupiers tended to work and socialise further afield from their home, the study found "many examples of owners and renters sharing a common interest in the local provision, notably schools but also shops and leisure facilities."[26]

In principle, then, tenure diversification of deprived neighbourhoods can actually have a range of positive effects for its residents. In practice, however, the outcomes of many redevelopment schemes in the inner cities vary depending on the nature of the scheme in question. In this regard, a number of commentators have voiced their concerns about the increase in gated and faux-gated[27] communities in Britain.[28] In spite of the rapid spread of gated communities,[29] its effect on surrounding communities has not been researched in great depth, and is therefore poorly understood and often anecdotal. Discussion on this topic tends to portray gated communities in a negative light, as bastions of social and economic segregation. A notable exception is Manzi and Smith-Bowers' study on two such communities, one in west London, and the other in Deptford.[30]

Presenting their data on gated communities through a 'club goods' analysis, Manzi and Smith-Bowers raise the question whether the discussion on this phenomenon is based on a received wisdom rather than a careful and balanced examination of facts. Rather than representing the self-segregation of the rich, based on an over-reaction to real levels of crime, they state that gated communities could also be seen as a highly social enterprise. They are not entirely private goods (such as a private flat would be) nor public goods (such as a public park), but could be "analysed in economic terms as a form of holding property rights developed through collective action of individuals for individual and mutual benefits"[31] much like a shopping mall or a golf club. Their point is that residents are not selfish individualists but individuals who club together for increased individual benefit,[32] and that they are as able to

21 While the idea of mixed communities is not new to policy, its development and adoption in several related policy strands has significantly intensified over the last decade, and is now central to the government's housing and urban planning policies.

22 See, for example, Communities and Local Government's *Planning Policy Statement 3* (PPS3), which repeatedly refers to "sustainable, mixed and inclusive communities" (Communities and Local Government, 2006) where housing is concerned, as if the three automatically go hand in hand.

23 Communities and Local Government (2006)

24 Atkinson and Kintrea (2000)

25 Allen et al. (2005: 8). Original emphasis.

26 Ibid.: 9

27 'Faux-gated' communities refer to developments that give off the impression of being gated, but are in fact open to the public.

28 See, for example, Clover (2002), Bearn (2004), Hensher (2006), and Vallely (2007).

29 In a survey conducted in 2002-2003, Atkinson et al. (2003) identified 935 gated communities in England, the majority of which had been developed after 1995.

30 Manzi and Smith-Bowers (2005)

31 Ibid.: 347

32 Ibid.: 357

form and maintain social links and networks as anybody else. The rising phenomenon should therefore not be written off as the antithesis of social cohesion.

However, a contrasting interpretation of Manzi and Smith-Bowers' interview data is possible, where gates represents a degree of prejudice that a certain segment of the general population is safe ('us') while another is threatening and dangerous ('them'). This is closer to the interpretation of gated communities suggested by Atkinson and Flint, who argue that gated communities do indeed represent the self-segregation of the better off. Importantly, however, they suggest that this phenomenon should be viewed more holistically than merely "a withdrawal of certain groups into spatially fixed enclaves"[33] to include wider policy implications such as impacts on public service providers. They argue that the self-segregation of residents of gated communities extends beyond the mere physical space inside the gates to encompass sites of social services which residents make use of. In this way, Atkinson and Flint conceptualise the social world of residents as a network of protected 'nodes' – or havens of safety such as shopping centres, work places and private schools – "that create a counterpart city with flows of affluent residents moving while cloaked from the observations of the majority of residents."[34] Linking these spaces are 'corridors' or "[m]odes of travel which suggest the attempt to shield or to immunise against casual or dangerous encounters,"[35] namely sport utility vehicles (SUVs).

What Atkinson and Flint bring to the discussion on gated communities in Britain is a focus extending beyond the 'safe from harm' argument to include status. For the respondents of their study, "distinction and a sense of exclusivity were equally, if not more important, than safety concerns in explaining the attraction of GCs [gated communities]."[36] Thus, it is not only perceived crime residents wish to exclude themselves from, but a whole host of cultural influences. Indeed, some commentators have pointed out that the 'gates' are often highly

inefficient in crime prevention and do little to reduce the risk of victimisation within them.[37] In any case, fear of crime did not appear to decrease on some of the gated developments Atkinson and Flint studied, and in some cases they observed "an increased sensitivity to problems, or at least their changing relativity."[38] The important point is that self-segregation extends beyond the confines of the home to include a range of social services, where residents of gated communities would avoid doing their shopping in the same shops as those outside the gates, socialise in the same pubs and clubs, or sending their children to the same schools. The policy implication of this is that inserting a gated community into an economically deprived area does not necessarily lead to improved services for all.

Social Housing and Ethnic Diversity in Lewisham

The Inner London borough of Lewisham, situated at the south east of central London, is one of Britain's most ethnically diverse local authority areas. According to the 2001 census, Lewisham's population of just under 250,000 comprised 66% White, 12% Black Caribbean, 9% of Black African, 4% South Asian and 1.4% Chinese and 'other'. The population is youthful both in relation to London as well as the rest of England, with 19.9% of the population under the age of 16 compared with 19% of Greater London, and only 14.5% of the population over the age of 60, compared with 16.5% London-wide. This relates to the diversity of the borough, as 50% of ethnic minority groups are under the age of 30.

Geographically, Lewisham is no less diverse. Its 13.4 square miles reach from a small stretch of filled-in marshland along the Thames in the north to the undulating hills in the south east. The north of the borough is typically inner city, dense and urban, while many of the southern parts have a more suburban feel to them. This is reflected in the ethnic minority population, the majority of who live in the urban parts of the north, although pockets of diversity are scattered throughout the borough. Tellingly, the Super Output Areas (SOAs) with the highest levels of multiple deprivation largely overlap with the

---

33 Atkinson and Flint (2004: 4)

34 Ibid.: 24

35 Ibid.: 26

36 Ibid.: 10

37 Low (2003)

38 Atkinson and Flint (2004: 12)

areas with a high concentration of ethnic minorities.[39] In terms of housing, 47.7% of homes in Lewisham were for owner-occupation in 2001, 17.5% were for private rental, 7.5% rented by registered social landlords and 27.4% were rented by the council.[40] Again, the areas of high density of social housing, high levels of multiple deprivation and high concentration of ethnic minorities overlap to a great extent.

Lewisham's history of social housing and housing allocation policies in respect to ethnic minorities is a complex one. The period from the 1960s to the 1980s saw a significant demographic shift in the borough, with a substantial increase in the black population during this period. At the same time, the amount of social housing more than doubled.[41] This was not simply due to increased demand of and pressure on social housing as a result of immigration. During this period, the age and condition of the existing housing stock, along with growth in the general population, propelled a major redevelopment initiative across London, even in parts with low immigration. Furthermore, many of the black population faced severe racial discrimination in rental housing.[42] However, the two shifts did affect each other in more subtle ways.

As has been well documented, the housing allocation practices of the Greater London Council (GLC) and Lewisham Council during this period were heavily informed by racial and racist attitudes and ideas, which in turn became a major influence in the demographic development in the borough. The more desirable of the older council estates were retained for white residents, and allocation to some of the

newer developments were biased towards white working-class applicants.[43] Homes in less desirable estates, most notably in Deptford but also in other parts of the borough, were on the other hand allocated on a more open basis, resulting in the development of so-called 'black estates.'[44] It was not until the 1970s that Lewisham Council began monitoring these practices and was forced to recognise that: "The results of the lettings analysis appear to show a broad pattern of disadvantage in lettings to black people."[45]

Social Housing and Ethnic Diversity in Deptford

Deptford, the northernmost tip of Lewisham, was as affected by the racialised housing allocation policies of Lewisham Council as other parts of the borough. So when the council re-examined their allocation practices and attempted to redress their inherent racism, this sparked intense resentment amongst the white population. So-called 'problem-families' of ethnic minority backgrounds were blamed for the 'death of the community.' On many estates, this resentment translated into overt racial harassment. When, for example, the council agreed to house a number of Vietnamese refugees in the early 80s, many local residents felt that the newcomers were fast-tracked through the system and thereby given preferential treatment.[46] This perceived injustice, coupled with general resentment over the insecure living condition of the working class in Thatcher's Britain, "fuelled a scapegoating of the most visible carriers of change."[47] Racial harassment became part of the everyday reality of Vietnamese refugees living in Deptford's council estates, with much of the violence being both demoralising and malignant: "Burning torches were pushed through their letter boxes, and on one occasion a vicious Rotweiler dog was dropped into an enclosed area where Vietnamese children were playing."[48]

The council's racialised housing allocation practices did have unintended consequences for race relations in Deptford. Les Back, in his in-depth study of two council estates in the area, presents a vivid description of the difference between two estates, one of which was primarily composed of white working-class residents ('Riverview'), the other far more multi-ethnic in character ('Southgate'). He demonstrates how the

---

39 London Borough of Lewisham (2007: 13–14)

40 Stone (2003: 33)

41 Ibid.: 41–42

42 Ibid.: 42

43 Worryingly, this discourse has by no means disappeared. Earlier this year, for instance, Margaret Hodge MP argued that need should not be the only, nor indeed the decisive, factor determining allocation of social housing (Hodge, 2007). In her view – but without backing her claim with any statistics or facts – new migrants have priority because their need is more severe, a development which she thinks is frustrating and angering British citizens. She asks a rhetorical question: "If you choose to come to Britain, should you resume the right to access social housing?" (ibid.). Her answer is 'no'; a 'native' family should take priority by virtue of being British. It is wrong, she argues, that "a recently arrived family with four or five children living in a damp and overcrowded, privately rented flat with the children suffering from asthma will usually get priority over a family with less housing need who have lived in the area for three generations and are stuck at home with the grandparents" (ibid.). The similarities and continuities with the creeds and unfounded assumptions of the past are astonishing.

44 Stone (2003). Stone also points out that this was something of a misnomer, as many of the 'black estates' did in fact have a majority of lower-income whites.

45 Quoted in Stone (2003: 42)

46 Back (1996: 43)

47 Steele (1993: 213)

48 Back (1996: 44)

negation of racism takes distinctly different forms in the two localities, in spite of being a mere stone's throw from each other.

On the Riverview estate, a particular anti-racist discourse developed alongside racist ideas of community. On the one hand, we have the 'white flight' semantic system which is composed of three related discursive strands: 1) the 'golden age' discourse, which draws on images of a pre-war working-class docklands community, where community relations flourished amongst the relatively affluent, white working-class population; 2) the 'death of the community' discourse, where black and Vietnamese 'problem families' – and the introduction of crime and drug problems that are perceived to inevitably follow – signalled the end of the 'golden era' of the community; and 3) the 'white flight' discourse relating to respectable white residents leaving the area due to the decline of the community.[49] In direct competition to these discourses, and mostly the domain of young people, is the 'neighbourhood nationalism' characterised by a notion of inclusive harmony. Within this discourse, racial terms of reference are actively denied and racism is considered to be 'out of order.' In its place is an inclusive notion of shared territory. However, Back makes it clear that this inclusivity has its limits. It is still the white population which decides the criteria for inclusion, or who are the insiders and outsiders. In the case of African Caribbean youth, white youth hold two contradictory images; "one is of the black insiders who become partially included within the concept of neighbourhood nationalism and the other is of black outsiders, a view that relies on a new racist ethos that defines black youth as culturally 'foreign'".[50] More importantly, perhaps, is the fact that Vietnamese youth are totally excluded from the

'neighbourhood nationalism' discourse and remain culturally Other. The effect of this paradox is that, despite proscriptive anti-racist rules and de-racialised common sense, "[t]here is always a potential for racist materials to be utilized strategically by whites as a means of gaining an advantage or hurting black peers. As a result, the location of black peers as 'insiders' is always contingent upon the absence of racist talk and practice."[51] In other words, racism is still available by white youth to fall back on in situations of conflict.

On the more multi-ethnic Southgate estate, on the other hand, a distinctively different semantic system developed, which Back calls the 'our area' system. This is composed of two identifiable discourses: 1) the 'harmony' discourse, offered by both black and white people in the area, which claims that the 'community' is free from racial tension and stresses harmonious relations amongst ethnic groups; and 2) the 'black community' discourse which stresses black agency in creating a space representative of black struggles and institutions, and affirms the legitimate existence and presence of a black identity. While Back makes it clear that the 'white flight' semantic system is also identifiable in Southgate, and that the notion of 'community' is still informed by racial distinctions, the important point is that the 'our area' semantic system "allows the rejection of 'race' as a product of racist discourse, and at the same time allows the construction of a community based on racial metaphors (i.e. blackness) free of racism."[52]

The fact remains that in spite of the development of these forms of anti-racist discourses, racism has been a common feature of the everyday life for many of Deptford's ethnic minority communities. As Stone notes, in 1985 the council responded by establishing official procedures to deal with racial harassment and the various forms of racism. However, these were criticised for being largely inadequate, and racial harassment persisted.

Today, Deptford is heralded as a beacon of diversity.[53] It is hardly a coincidence that Lewisham Council chose Deptford as a case study for its 'Intercultural City' project.[54] Indeed, its diverse population is frequently employed in marketing campaigns to attract new businesses, residents and visitors to the area, with diversity a common conceptual feature in festivals such as

---

49 Ibid.: chapter 2

50 Ibid.: 57

51 Ibid.: 62

52 Ibid.: 115

53 In 2005 Deptford High Street topped the 'diversity' and the 'best for mix' charts in a Yellow Pages survey of London's high streets, which provided a welcome and well used publicity opportunity for shopkeepers and other interested parties. The Yell Group website contains a press release which states: "According to a unique mathematical formula devised for *Yellow Pages*, Deptford in South East London has the capital's most diverse and vibrant high street, beating more traditional shopping destinations such as Kensington High Street, Oxford Street and Marylebone High Street with its ability to service shoppers' needs" (Yell Group, 2005).

54 London Borough of Lewisham (2007). The 'Intercultural City' project is an international project launched by urban policy think tank Comedia, in which Lewisham has taken part. The intercultural city concept, as outlined in the Knowing Lewisham report, is "based on the premise that in the multicultural city we acknowledge and ideally celebrate our differing cultures. In the intercultural city we move one step beyond multiculturalism and focus on what we can do together as diverse cultures in shared space to create greater wellbeing and prosperity" (Lewisham, 2007: 5).

Deptford X and Made in Deptford. The promotion of Deptford as a creative hub has further advanced the area's reputation and desirability. However, this new 'in vogue' status, along with a spiralling demand for riverfront housing, has presented Deptford with a new, yet familiar, set of challenges: regeneration and the introduction of gated communities.

The Challenge of Regeneration

Situated in the Thames Gateway zone of change, Deptford is in the midst of a major urban regeneration initiative. A number of housing developments have already been completed, and several more are in the pipeline. In spite of Lewisham Council's stated commitment to mixed tenure policies, in line with Communities and Local Government's *Planning Policy Statement 3*,[55] this has taken the form of affordable, rather than social, housing. Indeed, the council's general policy has been to resist development of more social housing in Deptford, due to its already high concentration. This policy has reduced social housing in the area, as estates are demolished and replaced by private housing, which is resulting in existing communities facing "not just short-term relocation, but possibly permanent disruption and displacement."[56] Hardly surprisingly, then, many of the regeneration initiatives are highly controversial, and are seen by many local residents to be closer to gentrification. At the time of writing, the future plans for the site of Convoys Wharf was subject to a bitter dispute between developers and community activists, and the BBC was screening a damning documentary on the redevelopment of the Aragon Tower, formerly part of the Pepys estate. The concern of many local residents and community groups has not only revolved around the relocation of long term residents, but also whether the promise of mixed tenure benefits will actually be realised.

Perhaps rather predictably, many of the redevelopment projects have been packaged and promoted in the spirit of 'community.' The promotional video for the OneSE8 development next to the Deptford Bridge DLR station states that "St James homes have combined innovative architecture and contemporary design to create the ultimate in urban chic lifestyle. At OneSE8, it's all about living life in a young and dynamic community."[57] Furthermore, the website promoting the development of Creekside Village touts the developers' wish to create "a sustainable community using high-quality architecture and design [which] is an essential part of the vision for Creekside Village," where "public spaces and amenities will make Creekside Village a focal point for the community."[58] This brings to mind Cochrane's warning that the notion of 'community' is both elusive and slippery, lending itself to ideological manipulation "as if it were an aerosol can, to be sprayed on to any social programme, giving it a more progressive and sympathetic cachet."[59] Upmarket regeneration projects seldom include Deptford in their promotional advertising or vision of 'community' and tend to stress proximity to Greenwich and Canary Wharf rather than Deptford itself. The faux-gated OneSE8 project, for example, emphasises the convenient transport links to Canary Wharf and the city as well as Greenwich, which is "only a couple of minutes away, with its famous sites, the open spaces of the park, and a vibrant café culture."[60] Whatever services residents would need more closely to home, such as a gym or swimming pool, is provided on site. Bearing this in mind, local residents and activists may be forgiven in wondering whether the more affluent newcomers will actually bring a better standard of living for all.

Crossfield Estate

The Crossfield council estate is situated in the old Creekside area, a five minute walk east of Deptford High Street, and a mere 500m from the Thames. It has a dual carriageway, Deptford Church Street, running along its western border, the Deptford Creek flows along to its east, separating it from Greenwich, and a railway line linking London and the south east of England runs straight through it, cutting the estate in half. These physical features are not insignificant; they form tangible and effective boundaries which circumscribe the estate physically, and in many ways socially as well. Indeed, when the decision was made to turn Deptford Church Street into a

---

55 Lewisham (2005)

56 Stone (2003: 50)

57 OneSE8 (not dated)

58 Creekside Village (not dated)

59 Cochrane (2003: 228)

60 OneSE8 (not dated)

Table 1. Ethnic groups in Crossfield, Lewisham, London and England. (Source: Office of National Statistics)				
	Lewisham 004E Super Output Area Lower Layer	Lewisham London Borough	London Region	England Country
All People	1426	248922	7172091	49138831
White; British	36.26	56.97	59.79	86.99
White; Irish	2.45	2.81	3.07	1.27
White; Other White	7.99	6.14	8.29	2.66
Mixed; White and Black Caribbean	1.82	1.91	0.99	0.47
Mixed; White and Black African	1.26	0.64	0.48	0.16
Mixed; White and Asian	0.56	0.63	0.84	0.37
Mixed; Other Mixed	0.77	0.99	0.85	0.31
Asian or Asian British; Indian	0.56	1.4	6.09	2.09
Asian or Asian British; Pakistani	0.21	0.44	1.99	1.44
Asian or Asian British; Bangladeshi	1.19	0.49	2.15	0.56
Asian or Asian British; Other Asian	1.89	1.46	1.86	0.48
Black or Black British; Caribbean	11.92	12.27	4.79	1.14
Black or Black British; African	23.42	9.07	5.28	0.97
Black or Black British; Other Black	2.1	2.07	0.84	0.19
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group; Chinese	3.23	1.38	1.12	0.45
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group; Other Ethnic Group	4.35	1.32	1.58	0.44

dual carriageway in the early 1970s, many residents voiced fears that this would result in isolation from the rest of Deptford.[61]

Built by the London County Council (LCC) in the late 1930s, Crossfield remained under the LCC's – and later the Greater London Council's (GLC) – control until Lewisham Council took over its management in 1971. Housing conditions under the GLC were notoriously appalling, as many of the long-term residents interviewed for this study attested to. Flats were in a general state of decline with vermin infestation, damp and fungus on the walls, and precious little in the way of modern facilities,[62] and the estate had a reputation as a 'dumping ground' for families who did not pay their rent to the council. However, in the early 1970s the council offered a large amount of residencies to teachers and teaching students at the Inner London Education Authority, Goldsmiths College and Thames Polytechnic, largely as a reaction to the acute teacher shortage in Deptford's schools. This move brought significant changes to the

Crossfield community, and led to a flourishing arts and music scene, the legacy of which is still evident today. It also provided an early example of a successful mixed tenure experiment: "The estate brought a new middle class segment to Deptford without the gentrification or widespread displacement of working class communities that we have seen in the rest of docklands."[63]

During the 1980s and 1990s, the estate saw further demographic changes as ethnic minorities began to move in in greater numbers. By the time of the 2001 census, they accounted for over half of all residents. As can be seen from table 1, no single ethnic group is dominant, which reflects the great ethnic diversity on the estate. The population is younger, consists of more families than Lewisham, London and England as a whole, and a 58% majority of residents still rent from the council.[64]

Sense of Community
Crossfield was described by the interviewees as a little village, where neighbours look out for each others' interests and community spirit rules supreme. The village metaphor is perhaps particularly apt given the geographical boundaries of the estate, as described above, but

61 Steele (1993: 202)

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.: 203

64 Information retrieved from neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk. Although this refers to Lower Layer Super Output Area Lewisham 004E, which extends beyond Crossfield, the mainstay is situated on Crossfield, and will therefore be used as representative.

the meaning ascribed to it was essentially in terms of social relations. Residents gave a vast amount of examples of how this manifests in daily life on the estate, ranging from carrying your neighbour's shopping up the stairs or alerting them to headlights left on their cars, to keeping a watchful eye out for potential burglars. In short, all interviewees said that people are inclined to look out for each other. Furthermore, festivals and community events, such as barbecues and children's birthdays, where everyone would chip in for food and drink, were said to foster good neighbourly relations. While the strength of social bonds varied, interviewees said that residents' concerted efforts to acknowledge familiar faces was as important for the community spirit as enduring friendships: "Even if the only thing you ever say to them is 'Alright, how's it going?' and they say the same to you, and you never really go into their houses and things like that, but you *know* them. And I think that's … that's a nice thing" (Sam, resident).

Many people, most notably the former Goldsmiths teaching students, have lived on the estate for a long period of time. While some tended to talk about a declining community spirit – which they felt was stronger in the past – this did not amount to the racially charged 'golden age' or 'death of community' discourses described by Back.[65] Quite the contrary, they welcomed new arrivals into the community, irrespective of ethnicity. The more recently arrived confirmed this by describing the warmth of older residents upon arrival. Furthermore, some older residents spoke about the importance of welcoming new faces to the tenants and residents' association meetings, whether this be new residents or young people who had grown up on the estate.

Crime, anti-social behaviour and safety was discussed with all interviewees, and emerged as a topic of great importance. Interestingly, these issues were often talked about in conjunction with community relations, and were in many ways seen to crystallise the Crossfield community spirit. The crime and anti-social behaviour issues which concerned residents the most were similar to concerns elsewhere. Drugs, burglaries,

muggings, loitering youth groups, vandalism etc. were cited as issues of unease. Some residents described their own victimisation of various kinds, and its emotional and psychological consequences. Importantly, however, and in line with Hill and Wright's findings,[66] crime and anti-social behaviour were considered to be social issues external to Crossfield. Although most acknowledged that problems did indeed occur within the estate, particularly around drug use, these were perceived as issues which the community itself could handle and deal with and the perpetrators were largely seen more as a nuisance than a serious threat. The serious threats were said to come from surrounding estates, and interviewees gave various examples of different problems associated with different estates. The important point is the residents' response to these external threats. When asked about how community relations manifest on the estate, many felt that one of the most important aspects of this was residents looking out for each other, and the sense of safety resulting from the strong sense of community. People are constantly on the lookout for suspicious behaviour, and foreign born interviewees stated that they could visit their home countries for extended periods of time without worrying about burglaries: "It's good, because you can go to every place you want, you can leave your house. I can go to [home country], nobody can break in. You can go for one year, if you want, nobody can break in" (Martina, resident).

This strong expression of cohesion was also evident in residents' views on youth. Although most anti-social behaviour was attributed to young people, this did not amount to demonisation of teenagers. These views ran contrary to Hill and Wright's argument that "the processes of developing community safety operate to exclude youth."[67] Quite the contrary, interviewees were generally reluctant to demonise the youth on the estate. As already mentioned, Crossfield has a lower average age than Lewisham as a whole, with a large number of families and young people, and the presence of youth is evident on the estates' streets and communal spaces. This was not seen as problematic or perceived as threatening by the residents. Indeed, some residents actively defended the youth in minor clashes with law enforcement agencies in situations they felt were unfair or unnecessarily rigid on the part of the

---

65 Back (1996: chapter 2)

66 Hill and Wright (2003) studied two different council estates with differing levels of criminal and anti-social activity. On the estate with lower levels of crime, problems were perceived to be external to the indigenous population, largely due to a pride in and strong sense of belonging to their area.

67 Hill and Wright (2003: 282)

police and community service officers:

> A policeman came, some years ago, asking about crime and things like that. And he was on about kids playing with motorbikes, going round with unlicensed motorbikes. You do hear them now and again, you see them whizzing around, zooming across that waste ground over there. And this doesn't worry me. I said – he was a bit upset, this copper – I said: "While they're playing with motorbikes, they're not thieving and robbing people, are they? They're not taking heroin, or anything like that. They're not terrible, they're just making a bit of noise." I even know where they hide their motorbikes. I wouldn't tell the police, I wouldn't even dream of it. (Robert, resident)

The secret to good relations between youth and adults was given by Melanie in the following formula: "If you respect the kids, they respect you back. Simple as that, really." The bottom line is that the interviewees were concerned about crime and anti-social behaviour in their area – one interviewee felt strongly about entry phones, which he had been pressuring the council to provide for some time to no avail – but in no way saw the estate as blighted with drugs, crime and anti-social behaviour. Whatever problems there were, residents had collectively developed strategies and methods to minimise their impact on individuals as well as the community as a whole.

In short, residents spoke passionately about the value of Crossfield as a community, both in terms of physical neighbourliness and in providing a sense of belonging,[68] and took great pride in their estate and interest in developments in the area. Indeed, some long-term residents mentioned people they had known for years on the estate but had moved away to more affluent areas, and regretted doing so: "The people I know who've moved away, they say, 'Well, we miss the companionship,' because it's almost like a village life" (Jim, resident). One interviewee gave an example of an ex-neighbour who moved to an affluent area close by:

---

68 Cf. Rogaly and Taylor (2007)

He said to me it was like a different mentality, because they're in their home, their house, there's a demarcation, you can't park your car outside: "This is my space, and it belongs to *me*. And that's *yours*, if you stay there, I stay here." And he said, on Crossfield it wasn't like that. You parked where you found a space. No one complained, no one knocked on your door and said 'Oi, you parked outside my house,' you know? If you see someone struggling up the stairs with their shopping, you give them a hand, or a pushchair, or whatever like that. Whereas those who've moved away will say, like, "You know, it's not the same. No one wants to know you."

Race Relations and Community Cohesion

> On the estate, there's a pretty good mix, I think sometimes that white people on the estate are in a minority. But we all seem to muddle by, one way or another. And as far as I can tell, there's not a lot of racism, as such, on the estate. I think everybody's learnt to live together.

In these words, white long-term resident Ben describes the multi-ethnic character of Crossfield. He is, of course, right in his assumption of the ethnic ratio, but his casual yet matter-of-fact way of stating this reality is illustrative of the interviewees' general disposition towards ethnic diversity on the estate. Generally speaking, and irrespective of their ethnicity, interviewees were of the opinion that overt racism is not part of everyday life on the estate. In this way, the evident multiculturalism of Crossfield was both acknowledged and celebrated. While some attributed this to a pragmatic response to changing demographics, older residents pointed out that anti-racism had long been part of the Crossfield ethos. Indeed, one recounted with pride his and his neighbours' part in the historical 1977 confrontation with the National Front, known as the Battle of Lewisham. He went on to explain that this ethos, along with an ever stronger presence of ethnic minorities, had quite literally driven racist ideologies and practices out of Crossfield. Racism had been outlawed and was now more or less "a thing of the past" (Sam, resident).

The way in which residents spoke about diversity is close to what Back describes as the 'our area' semantic system.[69] In this sense, the meaning of community, described in the previous section, is a racially inclusive notion. Again, the harmonious race relations on Crossfield were contrasted to neighbouring areas – both other council estates as well as more affluent areas – in which some interviewees said racism flourished. On Crossfield, however, racial tensions were said to have been minimised. To emphasise their point, many interviewees offered children as evidence: "On the grounds here, you see the kids playing football, every colour, faith and size you can think of. Black and white, Chinese, Albanians, god knows what, and they get on very, very well" (Sam, resident). This did not amount to a denial of ethnic differences, but the diverse and multi-ethnic character of the estate was pronounced to be a good thing. During a social encounter witnessed by the researcher on the estate, where two individuals of different ethnicity offered distinct interpretations on a particular topic, one resident turned to the researcher and said: "See? We're all different. It's good, innit?" In this way, difference and diversity were not only seen as part of everyday reality of the estate, but a positive force in its own right. Indeed, diversity was considered one of Crossfield's great appeals: "I've neighbours from all over, it's not a problem. And I like that. Some people visit me from other parts of England, and they're quite impressed by that" (Jim, resident). Another resident related a story of his former neighbours, a mixed race couple, who had acquired money and moved to a more affluent part of south east London: "And they've had a lot of trouble there because he's black. He's not that black, but you know, black enough to have trouble with their neighbours, they don't speak to him, because all around [that area] and there, it's a million pound houses, so it's frowned upon." All in all, then, the multicultural essence of Crossfield was perceived as both positive and providing a unique living experience. One interviewee spoke at length about how the multi-ethnic quality of the estate had proved an asset to his children in adulthood:

That's what my kids learnt, cause initially their junior schools was [name of infant school] on the other side of Deptford Church Street, and then [name of junior school]. So even now, they can just modify the way they talk to people. And they're so good with people, but it's only because they talk to them on their level. And because they went to a posh school as well, they can talk to them in the same way. And I think that's quite an asset. (Ben, resident)

At the same time, however, race and ethnicity was often used in interviews to explain the behaviour of neighbours, which indicates the continued relevance of race as a classificatory tool. While stereotypes figured in these accounts, they did not necessarily amount to racism. Rather, they are indicative of what Hirschfeld calls a 'folk theory of society,' where race is a strong "endogenous module for identifying and reasoning about human aggregates."[70] Thus, the residents on Crossfield may use race as a descriptive category which explains certain behaviours without necessarily being prescriptive. Indeed, in some instances interviewees acknowledged but simultaneously challenged racist ideas about groups. For example, one white interviewee related a story of being mugged by two black young men, making him wary of large groups of young black men. At the same time, however, he recognised that this did not limit delinquency to black youth: "You know, with these gangs, they're kind of homing in on the estate, hanging out by the bicycle court, but that's all colours. It's more about generations, my children grew up on the estate. And they sort of get to the teenage stage, and the play becomes pretty riotous, things happen, and then they grow up and go away. And then the next lot comes along." However, a number of interviewees also gave examples of situations where white individuals would resort to racist comments in conflicts, which suggests that even in this harmonious environment, "racist constructs are used as strategic resources."[71]

The main point is that, on the whole, race relations on Crossfield were described as harmonious, where racism is not a large part of everyday life. Although racist comments would occasionally flair up in confrontational situations, this was generally frowned upon. While race and

69 Back (1996: chapter 5)

70 Hirschfeld (2001: 107)

71 Back (1996: 96)

ethnicity were to a certain extent employed to explain behaviour, this did not include a clear-cut racial hierarchy or social demarcations. Much like on Back's Southgate estate, race is able to exist as a social construct without strong racist connotations, enabling different ethnic groups to forge a space of legitimate existence and presence. In short, then, diversity was not seen as an obstacle to community cohesion. What some (but not all) residents *did* consider problematic in terms of cohesion was socio-economic status. An ever greater number of flats have entered the private housing market through the 'right to buy' and other privatising schemes. This has led to an increase in both buy-to-let and owner/occupier tenancies, resulting in an increasingly mixed tenure on the estate. Interviewees did not present a unified perspective on the merits of this; while some predicted that the introduction of more affluent people in the area would lead to enhanced services available to all, others were on the contrary concerned that services would be exclusive to 'people with money,' whose existence would lead to polarisation along the lines of wealth. This discussion was extended to recent regeneration developments in the immediate vicinity to Crossfield, an issue to which we shall now turn.

Regeneration and the Process of Consultation

As already mentioned, Deptford is in the midst of major regeneration initiative, with a number of new developments either recently completed or in advanced stages of planning. The Crossfield residents interviewed for this study were generally both interested in and concerned about any developments in the surrounding area. Interviewees weighed up both positive and negative potentials of these, particularly the prospect of the introduction of a more affluent – or 'posh' – group of people into the historically poor area of Creekside and Deptford more generally.

For some interviewees, regeneration was not a cause of anxiety and unease. Rather, they could identify several benefits of upmarket developments. These benefits mostly revolved around public services. The argument put forward in this respect was that society is demand-led, so a new category of service users

would introduce demands for new and improved services, thereby both enhancing existing services as well as establishing new ones – ranging from goods available on the high street to experienced governors getting involved in local schools. Furthermore, some stated that the physical environment might improve as well. In principle, these interviewees did not see the presence of 'posh' people as a threat to either themselves or to community cohesion, but very much doubted that there would be much social mixing. As Linda commented in relation to the inhabitants of a nearby faux-gated community:

> I think a lot of those people, who live down there – and there's some more being built around here – I think they're the kind of people who maybe walk down Deptford High Street once or twice, just to get to know the area. But I don't think they live much of their social life around here. But it's not one of my problems.

Ascertaining the validity of this statement is beyond the scope of this study, but it does suggest that there is little social mixing between Crossfield residents and those living on the nearby faux-gated projects. This echoes Allen et al.'s findings that mixed tenure may improve resident satisfaction with the physical environment and service provision, but is unlikely to lead to 'bridging' social capital between different socio-economic groups.[72]

A number of other residents, however, were more ambivalent towards the effects of regeneration. The crux of their argument was scepticism towards the intentions of the council's planning department and, particularly, property developers. Many voiced suspicions of ulterior motives, where the needs and views of council tenants would largely fall by the wayside. Planners and developers might expressly state that regeneration projects are inclusive, some argued, but ultimately they are for the benefit of the 'posh' newcomers or indeed the property developers themselves. When asked about his thoughts on regeneration, long-term resident Ben said quite unambiguously:

> It's not so much for the council tenants, it's the rich people, isn't it? I mean, the whole of this Creekside is supposed to

72 Allen et al. (2005)

be redeveloped, isn't it, new places to live, and they're sticking up apartments. It's like that Millennium Quay, they're kind of half way to turning that into a gated estate … And they do the usual thing, they build a block, and they say, 'We'll have a few shops at the bottom and a few workshops here.' And then they can't let them because the prices are so high, so they convert them into flats. That's what happened to Millennium Quay. Originally, there were whole units over there that were supposed to be workspaces, shops and everything, and they're all flats now. And they were built and designed like that, they were left open, so that they can come along later and say, 'Well, we can't let these, so we'll turn them into flats instead.' And you just think to yourself, 'Ah yes, that was a clever plot!'

The anxiety expressed by these residents was that the needs of the 'posh' newcomers would annex the needs of those in social housing. In this instance, they did not share the views of those who thought affluent people would bring enhanced services, or at least felt that any enhanced services would be out of their reach. This, some argued, could create a divide between the haves and have-nots. Melanie, for example, said:

> Since I've been here, more things have come up, for the kids and that, like that Laban.[73] And they're a good thing … if you've got money. But if you're on the social, and you've got a couple of kids, you don't send them there cause you haven't got the money. So in a way, it is good, and it ain't. If you know what I mean. It's good for people who've got money, and it's not good for people who ain't got money.

The suggestion that exclusive service provision would be out of council tenants' reach was linked to wider concerns about gentrification. As previously mentioned, a number of residents felt

that it was exactly the ethnically diverse mix of people which made Crossfield, and Deptford as a whole, an exciting and interesting place to live. In this sense, one long-term resident was anxious that Deptford should not suffer the same fate as other parts of London where their reputation for diversity would ultimately drive local residents away, replaced by a more homogenous population: "People talk about places like Brixton, where it becomes trendy to move to Brixton, and then they turn Brixton, instead of being what it always was, it becomes like some trendy place, like Clapham."

These sentiments were amplified in discussion around the gated and faux-gated communities which have recently emerged around Crossfield. Many residents found it difficult to imagine what kind of circumstances would lead individuals to choose what they perceived as a self-segregating lifestyle. Ben, who had been attacked and seriously injured by a group of young people himself, could understand the need for security, but not at any cost: "But you think, what do those people feel like, that they have to fight their way into their place every night? With all the double locks and security and this, that and the other. I don't think I'd like to live like that, in a gated place." Others took a deeper resentment towards what they perceived as 'posh' individuals protecting themselves from the working classes: "So what are we then, that they're so scared of? I think it's a bit of an insult, to tell you the truth" (Lucy, resident). Furthermore, although the projects in question are not gated in the sense that there is still a public right of way running through them, many felt that they transmit the message that outsiders are not welcome, which some residents said added insult to injury.

Overall, residents were passionate and caring for their area, and took interest in any developments that might affect it. Interestingly, however, few of the interviewees knew much about the proposed 'Creekside Village' developments, literally on the other side of the Creekside road. Indeed, according to Lewisham Council, not a single resident from Crossfield responded to a public consultation on these developments, a point that begs explanation. One reason for this is residents' antagonistic relations with the council, which on the whole appeared to be characterised by a feeling of neglect and voicelessness. Similarly to the respondents of Hudson et al.'s study,[74] there was

---

73 The Laban is a world renowned contemporary dance academy. The award-winning building, which is situated adjacently to Crossfield on Deptford Creek, will be linked to the proposed Creekside Village.

74 Hudson et al. (2007:78)

a general tone of resignation. When discussing the lack of facilities for her own and other residents' children, Melanie described her efforts to alert the council to this: "I've talked to them, a lot of people have, but they've done nothing about it. We've signed petitions and things, but they ain't done nothing about it. Since I've been here they ain't done nothing for the kids, except for that dance centre. But like I said to you, you need money for that."

However, while relations with the council may go some way in explaining the Crossfield residents' absence in the Creekside Village consultation process, the council's consultation practices also undoubtedly play a large part. A number of non-resident individuals who were in one way or another involved with community development in Deptford were interviewed for this study, and their views on consultation practices were sought. There was a general consensus amongst these that certain groups of people naturally float to the surface during public consultations, and that these tend to be white, male and middle aged. While it was acknowledged that these groups are certainly part of the Deptford community, it was also stated that they do not represent the views of the whole community. Many other groups, however, are less likely to be vocal on regeneration issues, and consequently their voices and views are not always heard. In this respect, refugees and recently arrived migrants, such as the Vietnamese and Somalis, were mentioned in particular.

The council is certainly aware of this situation, and is developing mechanisms to counter this trend. For example, a central concern of the Intercultural City project, mentioned above, was "to develop a new intercultural sense of place in which a greater understanding of under-engaged or disengaged people will provide revealing and practical narratives that will be of enormous assistance to future processes of consultation and planning."[75] However, some interviewees were sceptical of the sincerity of political will within the council, and one referred to consultation practices as dictated by 'ticking boxes,' by which she meant that there is little serious effort to level the playing field: "They could bring you a room full of documents to demonstrate their intent and commitment to ensure that every resident in Lewisham is looked after and listened to. The

reality of the practice is something very different, there is no strenuous effort to go *into* these communities." The point these interviewees were making was that, where consultations are concerned, one size does not fit all. Many people feel intimidated by public meetings, and surveys would not gauge the whole spectrum of Lewisham's diversity: "People won't respond to questionnaires, predominantly, whether it's the English language issue, or whether it's just 'cause that's not the way they deal with things." In order to reach marginalised groups, consultation practices would need to be innovative and interactive.

A number of projects and experiments were cited as successes, and it is worth mentioning two in particular. The first one relates to experiments in consultation conducted by the charity Magpie Resources Centre, whose aim was to enable more active involvement of local people in regeneration initatives. Magpie hosted a series of free social events, such as setting up a mobile burger bar within estates and on Deptford High Street, combining a barbecue and consultation. Through these event, creative ways of engaging local residents were explored, and Magpie was referred to as a prime case for best practice.

The other project was the upgrading and refurbishment of Wavelengths Leisure Centre and Library, which is on the other side of Deptford Church Street from Crossfield. As the whole point of Wavelengths was to benefit Deptford as a community, the council and other interested parties decided to set up working groups to consult with a range of different groups, such as the Vietnamese and Somali communities, market traders and shopkeepers, as well as representatives from the creative industries. One of the things that emerged was that many children on Deptford's council estates rely on the library for homework, leading the council to develop the library as a safe and welcoming environment for those children to work in. As the upgrading of Wavelengths was still underway at the time of writing, it was not possible to say whether this was a success or not. However, a number of Crossfield residents confirmed they and their children regularly use the facilities for a number of different reasons – such as swimming and exercise, access to computers and internet, using the library for homework etc. – and were enthusiastic about the changes.

---

75 London Borough of Lewisham (2007: 8–9)

Conclusion

It is clear from the discussion above that Crossfield is far from the usual stereotype of the council estate blighted by deprivation, drugs, crime and anti-social behaviour. Although these factors are present and have a very real impact on residents' lives, they have by no means led to dysfunctional social dynamics or a breakdown of a sense of community. Furthermore, the relatively harmonious nature of race relations calls into question much of the recent critique of multiculturalism.[76] On Crossfield, distinct ethnic identities are not only part of everyday reality; they are cherished as an indispensable part of the meaning of Crossfield as a cohesive community. What unites the residents is a commitment to 'our area,' manifested in a range of different ways, such as everyday courtesies, practical help, and strong and lasting friendships. Thus, the strong ethos of multiculturalism has not led the ethnically diverse inhabitants of Crossfield to live 'parallel lives' or to self-segregate. Crossfield residents do not need the state to tell them what unifies them; they have found this out themselves. Perhaps it would be more fitting for the government to listen to and learn from the residents of Crossfield.

This is not to say that the estate is free from tension. However, this tension was said to exist between different socio-economic groups, rather than racial groups. Although interviewees were not uniform in their opinions about the implications of this, all had the impression that there is little social mixing between themselves and the more affluent inhabitants of Deptford. Lewisham Council, of course, does have specific policies in place to tackle this and promote mixed housing. However, this relates to affordable housing, and in reality the social housing stock in Deptford has decreased significantly in recent years which has led to displacement of often vulnerable individuals and groups. What the views of the Crossfield residents indicate is that mixed tenure policies do not automatically lead to 'sustainable, mixed

and inclusive' communities. The success or failure of mixed tenure relies to a great extent on the specifics of these policies. In particular, the promotion of affluent pockets within the historically poor Deptford is questionable, particularly when these pockets shut themselves off from the rest of the community, whether by means of physical or metaphorical boundaries.

It is clear that community cohesion is just as much about socio-economic status as it is about race. While this is acknowledged in mixed tenure policies, it is perhaps less visible in practice. Tunstall has argued that 'mixed tenure' has long been a mere euphemism for privatisation,[77] and we may add that this euphemism is spray-painted in the colours of 'community' with Cochrane's aerosol spray can to give it "a more progressive and sympathetic cachet."[78] This appears to be the case with recent and ongoing developments in Deptford, where demolished or converted social housing units are not replaced by new ones. As Lewisham Council states itself: "The Council believes that it should not be obliged to require additional social housing in locations where there is already an 'over-provision' of that tenure."[79] Apart from the dangers of disruption and displacement, the extent to which mixed tenure in new housing developments manages to generate "a more viable and sustainable mix of households in areas of residualised social housing"[80] largely depends on how this policy is realised in practice. Unless the recognition and acknowledgement of diverse needs becomes the guiding principle of urban planning in Deptford, there is a real risk that the gap between the poor and the affluent will remain intact, allowing resentment to flourish and further marginalising already disadvantaged communities.

At the same time, ethnicity should not be excluded from discussions on community cohesion on council estates, and mixed tenure policies should consider the significance of ethnic mixing as much as economic mixing, a consideration which currently is lacking. Community cohesion is a desirable aim in itself, and much can be learned from places like Crossfield. The voices and views of the Crossfield residents throw into question the bleak and pessimistic depictions of the state of ethnic relations in the UK,[81] and especially the role multiculturalism has played in that.[82] Further and more detailed research is needed into why some

76 Phillips (2005)

77 Tunstall (2003)

78 Cochrane (2003: 228)

79 Lewisham (2005: 4)

80 Ibid.

81 Home Office (2001), Hodge (2007)

82 Phillips (2005)

areas – even those, like Crossfield, who on paper seem most unlikely – manage to develop relatively harmonious and cohesive race relations. Darra Singh, Chair of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion, has recently complained that the excessive coverage and focus on the problems of residential segregation distorts the reality and complexity of race relations in Britain, and leaves us 'sleepwalking into simplicity.'[83] Although crises and race riots should be investigated and lessons learnt from them, an excessive fixation with them to the exclusion of what actually works is unhelpful.

In his call for better understanding of the development of Britain's hyperdiversity, Rob Berkeley has argued that "our policy discourses and frameworks concerning ethnic diversity are not yet facing up to this reality."[84] In the case of Crossfield, Deptford and Lewisham, this is distinctly discernable in the council's consultation practices. The significance of Crossfield inhabitants' lack of participation in consultations is hard to over-emphasise, particularly seeing they were generally interested in and concerned about developments in the surrounding area and the introduction of 'posh' people into their neighbourhood. We can therefore only assume that there is something wrong in the way in which consultations are designed and executed. As many of the interviewees from the council or the voluntary sector noted, the same types of people tend to voice their opinions in consultations, and these would be reflective of the ethnic and socio-economic makeup of neither Crossfield nor Deptford as a whole. The hyperdiversity of Deptford, complicated by class structures, is perhaps acknowledged in policy discourses, but has not formed part of the mainstream policy frameworks in urban planning. To amend this situation, the council would need to adjust their consultation practices to become more inclusive. These could build on best practice examples, of which there are a number in Deptford and Lewisham. Another way to insert diversity into the mainstream of urban policy and regeneration is to engage property developers in discussion about diversity, and highlighting what it has to offer. In this way, diversity could become an asset which developers could capitalise on.

Rather than excluding Deptford in the promotion of new projects, or indeed marketing these developments as safe and gated havens in the midst of its dangerous ethnic diversity, heterogeneity and multiculturalism could be advanced as selling points. As one interviewee stated: "Most people would love it if they weren't frightened."

The development of the Creekside Village, adjacent to Crossfield, presents a number of challenges to planners, developers and the inhabitants of Crossfield alike. The proposals, at the time of writing, stress inclusive open spaces and the promotion of 'community' relations. Indeed, the project website states that "[p]ublic spaces and amenities will make Creekside Village a focal point for the community. Covering about half of the site, they are a mix of new streets, covered areas, squares and gardens that will bring the community together."[85] However, it is important to remember that there already is a thriving community in the area. The fact that none of the Crossfield residents – in spite of their interest in their area, particularly where public spaces are concerned – responded to the consultation on Creekside Village is in itself telling, and poses serious questions about the council's current consultation policies and practices. Whether the new development will be ethnically and socio-economically inclusive, or merely represent another upmarket development secluded from the rest of Deptford, remains to be seen.

---

83 Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007)

84 Berkeley (2005)

85 Creekside Village (not dated)

Bibliography

Allen, Chris, Margaret Camina, Rionach Casey, Sarah Coward and Martin Wood (2005) *Mixed Tenure, Twenty Years On: Nothing Out of the Ordinary.* Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Atkinson, Rowland and Keith Kintrea (2000) 'Owner-Occupation, Social Mix and Neighbourhood Impacts', *Policy and Politics*, 28(1): 93-108.

Atkinson, Rowland, John Flint, Sarah Blandy and Diane Lister (2003) *Gated Communities in England – Final report of the Gated Communities in England 'New Horizons' project.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available at: http://www.communities. gov.uk/pub/514/C050GatedCommunitiesinEngland_id1161514.pdf

Atkinson, Rowland and John Flint (2004) *The Fortress UK? Gated Communities, The Spatial Revolt of the Elites and Time- Space Trajectories of Segregation.* ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research, CNR paper 17. Available at: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/ sps/cnrpaperspdf/cnr17pap.pdf

Bauder, Harald (2002) 'Neighbourhood Effects and Cultural Exclusion', *Urban Studies*, 39(1): 85-93.

Baeten (2004) 'Inner-city Misery, Real and Imagined', *City*, 8(2): 235-241.

Bearn, Emily (2004) 'The Country Closes its Gates', *The Telegraph*, 7 July. Available at: http://www. telegraph.co.uk/property/main.jhtml?xml=/property/2004/07/07/pgate07.xml

Berkeley, Rob (2005) 'From Black and White to Glorious Technicolor', *Runnymede's Quarterly Bulletin*, no. 344: 16.

Cochrane, Allan (2003) The New Urban Policy: Towards Empowerment or Incorporation? The Practice of Urban Policy. In Rob Imrie and Mike Raco (eds.), *Urban Renaissance? New Labour, Community and Urban Policy.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) *Our Shared Future – Final Report.* Whetherby: Commission on Integration and Cohesion.

Communities and Local Government (2006) *Planning Policy Statement 3 (PPS3): Housing.* London: Communities and Local Government.

Clover, Charles (2002) 'Gates and Ghettos: Britain's New Divide', *The Telegraph*, 27 November. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/global /main.jhtml?xml=/global/2002/11/27/brgate27.xml

Creekside Village (not dated) *Creekside Village.* Available at: http://thecreeksidevillage.co.uk/

Hensher, Philip (2007) 'Gated Communities are Promoting Irrational Fears', *The Independent*, 22 June. Available at: http://comment.independent.co. uk/columnists_a_l/philip_hensher/article1757240.ece

Hill, Jane and Graham Wright (2003) 'Youth, Community Safety and the Paradox of Inclusion', *The Howard Journal*, 42(3): 282-297.

Hirschfeld, Lawrence (2001) 'On a Folk Theory of Society: Children, Evolution, and Mental Representations of Social Groups', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5(2): 107-117.

Hodge, Margaret (2007) 'A Message to my Fellow Immigrants', *The Guardian*, 20 May. Available at: http://observer.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,2083763,00.html

Home Office (2001) *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team* (chaired by Ted Cantle). London: HMSO.

Hudson, Maria, Joan Phillips, Kathryn Ray and Helen Barnes (2007) *Social Cohesion in Diverse Communities.* London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Khan, Omar (2007) Policy, Identity and Community Cohesion: How Race Equality Fits. In Margaret Wetherell, Michelynn Laflèche and Rob Berkeley (eds.), *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion.* London: Sage.

Lewisham (2005) *Policy on Affordable Housing.* Available at: http://www.lewisham.gov.uk/ NR/rdonlyres/17F6DC2B-291F-44AC-8202-212BA82CF358/0/affordable_housing.pdf

London Borough of Lewisham (2007) *Knowing Lewisham: Intercultural City – Making the Most of Diversity.* London: London Borough of Lewisham. Available at: http://www.interculturalcity.com/ Knowing%20Lewisham.pdf

Low, Setha (2003) *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America.* New York: Routledge.

Manzi, Tony, and Bill Smith-Bowers (2005) 'Gated Communities as Club Goods: Segregation or Social Cohesion?', *Housing Studies*, 20(2): 345-359.

OneSE8 (not dated) *Video – OneSE8.* Available at: http://www.onese8.co.uk/video.cfm

Phillips, Trevor (2005) *After 7/7: Sleepwalking to segregation.* Speech given at the Manchester Council for Community Relations, 22 September 2005. Available at: http://www.cre.gov.uk/ Default.aspx.LocID-0hgnew07s.RefLocID-0hg00900c002.Lang-EN.htm

Rogaly, Ben and Becky Taylor (2007) Welcome to 'Monkey Island': Identity and Community in Three Norwich Estates. In Margaret Wetherell, Michelynn Laflèche and Rob Berkeley (eds.), *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion.* London: Sage.

Steele, Jess (1993) *Turning the Tide: The History of Everyday Deptford.* London: Deptford Forum Publishing Ltd.

Stone, Michael E. (2003) *Social Housing in the UK and US: Evolution, Issues and Prospects.* London: Centre for Urban and Community Research, Goldsmiths College. Available at: http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/cucr/pdf/Stonefinal.pdf

Telegraph (2006) *Two million homes needed to cope with immigration.* Available at: http://www.tele graph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2006/11/12/nimmi12.xml

Tunstall, Rebecca (2003) "Mixed Tenure' Policy in the UK: Privatisation, Pluralism or Euphemism?', *Housing, Theory and Society,* 20(3): 153-159.

Vallely, Paul (2007) 'Welcome to Gated Britain', *The Independant*, 3 February. Available at: http://comment.independant.co.uk/columnists_a_l/philip_hensher/article1757240.exe

Watt, Paul (2006) 'Respectability, Roughness and 'Race': Neighbourhood Place and the Making of Working-Class Social Distinctions in London', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(4): 776-797

Yell Group (2005) *Yell Group – Media – Press releases – Deptford is Tops of the Shops.* Available at: http://www.yellgroup.com/english/media-pressrelease-2005-deptfordistopoftheshops

Selected Runnymede Publications

The State of the Nation:
Respect as a Justification for Policy
A Runnymede Thematic Review by Omar Khan (2007)

School Choice and Ethnic Segregation — Educational Decision-making among Black and Minority Ethnic Parents A Runnymede Report by Debbie Weekes-Bernard (2007)

Not Enough Understanding? – Student Experiences of Diversity in UK Universities
A Runnymede Community Study by Jessica Sims (2007)

Bienvenue? – Narratives of Francophone Cameroonians A Runnymede Community Study by Kjartan Páll Sveinsson (2007)

Distant Neighbours – Understanding How the French Deal with Ethnic and Religious Diversity Runnymede Perspectives by Christophe Bertossi (2007)

Bolivians in London – Challenges and Achievements of a London Community A Runnymede Community Study by Kjartan Páll Sveinsson (2007)

The Vietnamese Community in Great Britain – Thirty Years On A Runnymede Community Study by Jessica Sims (2007)

Equal Respect – ASBOs and Race Equality
A Runnymede Report by Sarah Isal (2006)

Why Preferential Polices Can Be Fair – Achieving Equality for Members of Disadvantaged Groups
Runnymede Perspectives by Omar Khan (2006)

What's New about New Immigrants in Twenty-First Century Britain? Rob Berkeley, Omar Khan and Mohan Ambikaipaker (2006, Joseph Rowntree Foundation)

Preventing Racist Violence: Work with Actual and Potential Perpetrators – Learning from Practice to Policy Change A Runnymede Report by Sarah Isal (2005)

The Space Between: From Rhetoric to Reality on Race Equality in the Workplace A Runnymede Trust Report by Sandra Sanglin-Grant (April 2005)

Civil Renewal, Diversity and Social Capital in a Multi-Ethnic Britain Runnymede Perspectives by David Faulkner (2004)

Social Capital, Civil Renewal & Ethnic Diversity
Proceedings of a Runnymede Conference (2004)

Preventing Racist Violence: Interim Findings
Sarah Isal (Working Paper June 2004)

Realising the Vision: Progress and Further Challenges The Report of the CFMEB (2000) revisited in 2004
Runnymede Trust Briefing Paper (April 2004)

Guardians of Race Equality Perspectives on Inspection and Regulation Rob Berkeley (ed.) (2003)

Developing Community Cohesion: Understanding The Issues, Delivering Solutions Proceedings of a Runnymede Conference (2003)

Complementing Teachers: A Practical Guide to Promoting Race Equality in Schools Granada Learning and Runnymede (2003)

Divided by the Same Language? Equal Opportunities and Diversity Translated A Runnymede Trust Briefing Paper (March 2003)

Cohesion, Community and Citizenship: Proceedings of a Runnymede Conference (2002)

Perpetrators of Racist Violence and Harassment A Runnymede Research Report by Omar Khan (2002)

Mentoring: Business and Schools Working Together (2001)

The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (2000, Profile Books)

Moving On Up? Race Equality and the Corporate Agenda: a study of FTSE 100 companies Sandra Sanglin-Grant and Robin Schneider (2000)

Improving Practice. A whole school approach to raising the achievement of African Caribbean youth, Dr Debbie Weekes and Dr Cecile Wright (1998 with Nottingham Trent University)

Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All A Report of the Runnymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (1997)

This is Where I Live: Stories and Pressures from Brixton (1996)

The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Agenda for Action (1995)

A Very Light Sleeper: The Persistence and Dangers of Anti-Semitism Review by the Runnymede Commission on Antisemitism (January 1994)

For information on how to order Runnymede and jointly published titles contact us at:
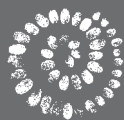**The Runnymede Trust, 7 Plough Yard, Shoreditch, London EC2A 3LP**
T: 020 7377 9222 F: 020 7377 6622 E: info@runnymedetrust.org W: www.runnymedetrust.org

About Runnymede

The Runnymede Trust is an independent policy research organisation focusing on equality and justice through the promotion of a successful multi-ethnic society. Founded as a Charitable Educational Trust, Runnymede has a long track record in policy research, working in close collaboration with eminent thinkers and policymakers in the public, private and voluntary sectors. We believe that the way ahead lies in building effective partnerships, and we are continually developing these with the voluntary sector, the government, local authorities and companies in the UK and Europe. We stimulate debate and suggest forward-looking strategies in areas of public policy such as education, the criminal justice system, employment and citizenship.

Since 1968, the date of Runnymede's foundation, we have worked to establish and maintain a positive image of what it means to live affirmatively within a society that is both multi-ethnic and culturally diverse. Runnymede continues to speak with a thoughtful and independent public voice on these issues today.

RUNNYMEDE

Communities
and Local Government

The Runnymede Trust
7 Plough Yard, London EC2A 3LP
T: 020 7377 9222
F: 020 7377 6622
E: info@runnymedetrust.org
W: www.runnymedetrust.org