

# Southwark's Community Issues and Needs: Our Environment

In this paper we will explore issues related to the environment we live in including: environment and green space, arts and culture, the local economy and employment, housing and homelessness, gentrification and safety. Throughout the acronym H.U.E is used to represent the term 'Hidden, Unmet and Emerging need' for issues that are seen to lie beneath the surface of our communities.

## The environment (e.g. green spaces, cleanliness)

In our survey to the Voluntary and Community Sector we asked, 'How are things going in Southwark in terms of:

environment (e.g. green spaces, cleanliness)?'

A majority of people surveyed felt that things are 'about average' or better in Southwark with regards to the environment (e.g. green spaces, cleanliness); with one quarter (25%) feeling that things are going 'well' and just over 1 in 10 people feeling things were going 'really well' in this area. And while a majority (70%) also felt that the things had 'stayed the same', one quarter (23%) felt that things had 'improved' over the last 12 months <sup>1</sup>.

Southwark is one of the greenest boroughs in London with 24.9% green space coverage (compared to an inner London average

of 21.7%) <sup>2</sup>, and comprises 12% of London's overall greenspace <sup>3</sup>. It has 130 parks and open spaces <sup>4</sup> and as of 2016 boasts 25 Green flag awards for green spaces in the borough <sup>5</sup>. Southwark has 516 hectares of natural green space, 5 nature reserves and over 57,000 trees in the public realm <sup>6</sup>.



1. It should be noted here and throughout that when surveyed, people may be thinking of their own local area rather than the whole of Southwark, and that things in some area in Southwark may not conform to this pattern (since some people judge that things are going 'badly' or 'really badly' with regards to the issue in hand).
2. <http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/land-use-ward>, 2005.
3. <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadKeyFigures.do?a=7&b=6275253&c=southwark&d=13&e=8&g=6337047&i=1001x1003x1004&m=0&r=1&s=1466242781605&enc=1>
4. [http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200073/parks\\_and\\_open\\_spaces](http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200073/parks_and_open_spaces)
5. [http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200073/parks\\_and\\_open\\_spaces/599/green\\_flag\\_awards](http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200073/parks_and_open_spaces/599/green_flag_awards)
6. John Best, Ecology Officer, Meeting of Camberwell Community Council, Wednesday 18 November 2015 7.00 pm (Item 10.) Theme Item - Green Spaces.

Green open spaces are important as they are likely to result in higher 'neighbourhood satisfaction' and better health, since 'the provision of high quality, local and accessible green space helps to address a number of agendas at local authority level including health, crime and safety', (particularly rising UK obesity levels). This can be particularly important in areas with a diverse ethnic population who are more likely to report bad or very bad health compared to the general population, but who are also likely to be underserved with good quality green space<sup>9</sup>.

Green spaces are under threat from the planning system and the funding crisis<sup>10</sup>, and UK's leading environmental groups warn there may be "little or no money" left for the upkeep of Britain's green spaces and parks by 2020 due to

funding cuts. Green, open spaces in Southwark clearly need to be preserved in order to maintain good health and wellbeing. Arts, culture, sports and heritage.

In our survey to the sector people were asked, 'How are things going in Southwark in terms of: arts, culture, sports and heritage (e.g. museums, galleries, exhibitions, sports facilities and cultural events)?'

A majority of people surveyed felt that things are about average or above in Southwark around arts, culture, sports and heritage (e.g. museums, galleries, exhibitions, sports facilities and cultural events). Nearly one third (31%) of respondents feeling that things are going 'well' and 1 in 10 people feeling things were going 'really well' in this area; and while a majority (56%) also felt that things had 'stayed the

**Provision of high quality green space is worse in deprived areas than in affluent areas. People in more deprived areas may live close to green spaces but they are infrequently used due to concerns about crime and safety.**

Public Health England (PHE)

Figure 17: How are things going in Southwark in terms of: Environment (e.g. green spaces, cleanliness)?



same', one quarter (27%) felt that things had 'improved' over the last 12 months.

**Southwark boasts some of London's and indeed the world's most renowned arts and cultural institutions**, for example the Tate Modern Art Museum and Shakespeare's Globe Theatre. It is also home to The Clink Museum, Dulwich Picture Gallery, Bankside Gallery, Borough Market, Southwark Cathedral, Hay's Galleria, The Golden Hinde, HMS Belfast, Tower Bridge, Nunhead Cemetery, The Fashion and Textile Museum, The South London Gallery and White Cube Bermondsey to name but some.

Arts funding has been squeezed during the global recession, and like green spaces, the arts play an important part in a healthy rounded life.

The Local Economy (work, unemployment, salaries, local businesses), when surveyed, nearly half



Figure 19: How are things going in Southwark in terms of: The local economy (e.g. health of local businesses, range of shops and other amenities)?

(45%) of local voluntary and community organisations felt that the local economy in Southwark was doing 'about average', with one quarter (26%) feeling that things were more negative (doing 'not so well' to 'really badly'), and one fifth (20%) feeling that things were more positive (doing 'well' or 'really well'); but while a majority (63%) also felt that the local economy had 'stayed the same', one quarter (23%) felt that things had 'worsened' over the last 12 months.

### Local businesses

**Southwark has a thriving business sector. It boasts the fifth largest number of large businesses located in London (85) behind Islington (95), Camden (180), Westminster (225) and City of London (380); the fourth largest number of medium businesses (310), behind Camden (585), the City (610) and Westminster (1,165); the fifth largest number of small businesses (1,490); and the twelfth largest number of micro businesses. Much of this is concentrated in the Riverside and London Bridge area, however, meaning that not all of Southwark feels the benefit.**

9. The Urban Green Nation report revealed that in areas where more than 40 per cent of residents are black or minority ethnic, there is 11 times less green space than in areas where residents are largely white. And the spaces they do have are likely to be of a poorer quality (Urban Green Nation: building the evidence base, CABI, 2010 caburl.com/cf)

10. The Telegraph: 'Green spaces under threat from planning system and funding crisis' Emily Gosden, 01 Sep 2014.









Figure 29: Homelessness acceptances per 1,000 households in Southwark, 2010/11–2014/15<sup>50</sup>

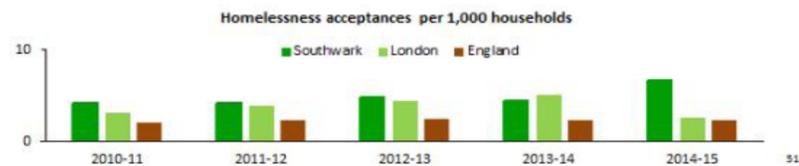


Figure 29: Homelessness acceptances per 1,000 households in Southwark, 2010/11–2014/15

### H.U.E. NEED: Gentrification – regeneration or ‘social cleansing’?

The term ‘gentrification’ was coined by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe the replacement of working or lower class people by middle class individuals in London. Displacement happens when long-time or original neighbourhood residents move from a gentrified area because of higher rents, mortgages, and property taxes. Following the suburbanisation of previous decades, gentrification is seen to mark the most recent major trend in the history of cities in industrialised countries.

Gentrification can happen slowly over time as new people with new ideas move into an area, as happens naturally in most places; but it can also happen

very quickly when major new redevelopments are specifically targeted at attracting ‘new kinds’ of individuals into an area (usually those with more disposable income). This latter kind of gentrification can cause shock waves in a community who may find themselves rapidly uprooted, or their neighbourhood changed seemingly overnight. This can cause anxiety, stress, and loss of a feeling of ‘home’ or ‘neighbourhood’. In turn, this can cause frustration and anger at gentrification plans, planners and at new residents.

It is felt by many that it is the latter scenario which is happening currently in Southwark.

Many feel that luxury and unaffordable (to local residents) housing is

being built in some lower-income neighbourhoods in Southwark which will inevitably lead to displacement of long-term lower-income residents. Not only this, but previously social housing is being redeveloped into these new ‘higher-spec’ homes. It is believed or feared by many local residents that they are at risk of being pushed out or prevented from moving into certain geographic areas because of the prohibitive costs and limited household earnings. It is this geographic component, along with restricted economic opportunities, that makes gentrification-related displacement a problem.

**Local charities said:**  
*“The number of homeless people is increasing steadily across London but Southwark may end up with more people who become homeless because there is more social deprivation in some areas in the borough.”*

Gentrification is a very controversial topic. It polarises debate, with those on one side thinking of it as ‘progressive regeneration’ ultimately beneficial to the area and a panacea for ‘white flight’ and urban decay, and those on the other side thinking of it as ‘social cleansing’, and ‘social apartheid’, leading ultimately to the ruin of the ‘community’ and displacement of long-term residents. It has been referred to as a modern “battleground in urban geography”.

What’s driving urban gentrification in the UK? The Economist suggests that it’s the bounce-back from urban decline, and the reversal of suburbanisation. Most cities in the Western world have become cleaner, less criminal and better managed than they were 30 years ago. Careers are being prioritised over families, while deindustrialisation and the rise of new industries such as finance, technology and business services, which depend on firms, their competitors and their

clients being closely packed together, have all led to re-urbanisation. For example, in London, the number of jobs in inner-city Canary Wharf has quadrupled over the past decade while in outer-suburban Reading and Croydon, it has dropped.

The map of London below shows which areas have ‘Moved Upmarket’ and which have ‘Moved Downmarket’ according to estate agents – essentially mapping gentrification.

As old housing stock and available land is used up the only thing left to sell to property developers is previously-protected social housing stock.

As The Economist noted in 2013: ‘That, roughly, is what is happening in Elephant and Castle, where the dilapidated 1970s Heygate Estate is being rebuilt as flats to house affluent professionals. Though some of the Heygate’s original residents will eventually be able to move back to some of the new flats, most will probably end up settling further out’.

London is turning inside out .... Just as affluent young professionals seem to be staying in the inner-city longer, turning places such as Dalston (in Hackney) and Peckham (in Southwark) into hipster enclaves, so too are the outer suburbs getting poorer, as people who cannot afford inner-London rents are pushed further out.

### The Economist: Mapping Gentrification

48. ONS: Neighbourhood statistics, 2015.

49. Meaning that they ‘left accommodation that they could have stayed in’. Reasons for being intentionally homeless include: failure to pay rent, ignoring professional advice (e.g. by a housing officer), or turning down a final offer of ‘suitable accommodation’ from the council.

50. DCLG: Local Authority Homelessness Statistics (England).

51. Ibid.

52. Quote from: Daniel Brett: Class War Against London’s Housing Elite. (<http://www.classwarparty.org.uk/poor-doors/>)

53. Urban Institute: IN THE FACE OF GENTRIFICATION: Case Studies of Local Efforts to Mitigate Displacement. Diane K. Levy, Jennifer Comey & Sandra Padilla, 2006.

This has provoked much debate, anger and frustration in Southwark. As The Economist predicted: 'if the future involves the redevelopment of London's long-protected social housing, then the politics of gentrification in London could eventually become quite tetchy'. After 'Right-to-Buy', gentrification is seen to be the largest threat to the remaining social housing stock in London.

In the Heygate redevelopment in Elephant and Castle alone, more than 1,200 primarily social-rented homes are being replaced with 'luxury' housing, while the regeneration of the Aylesbury estate in Walworth is due to almost double the number of units but is likely to see a fall in the number of social housing units available. Recent analysis of London estate regenerations over the past decade, by the

**Local charities said:**  
*"There is a real division between people who have lived there a long time and new people moving in. It has become unaffordable which is pushing prices of services up and people out."*



Figure 30: 'Upmarket' and 'Downmarket' moving areas in London (2001–2011)

London Assembly, found that the total number of homes on the 50 estates studied almost doubled – from 34,213 to 67,601. Although units built for private sale increased more than tenfold – from 3,186 to 36,163 – the number of social homes fell, from 30,431 to 22,135. Research has shown that of the Heygate's more than 3,000 original residents, the majority were re-housed mainly in the eastern suburbs of greater London, although some were housed further out as far as Kent.

A number of needs and issues around 'gentrification' were identified by local VCS organisations working in this area. Their perceptions were the following:

- Planning & regeneration. The 'unintelligibility' of the council's pronouncements on planning and regeneration was felt to lead to people feeling alienated, frustrated, powerless, and unable to make contributions.

**Local charities said:**  
*"The increase in building flats and homes seems focused on actually removing people from the Borough (as in the Aylesbury Estates area) and flooding it with high income residents excluding those on low income or experiencing unemployment."*

61. The Economist: Mapping Gentrification: The great inversion, 2013.

62. Ibid.

63. The Financial Times. 'Will £3bn regeneration revitalise London's Elephant and Castle?'. April 17, 2015. Caroline Thorpe.

64. Staying Put: An Anti-Gentrification Handbook for Council Estates in London. 2013.

- Luxury homes being built leading to "social apartheid" and a displacement of long-term residents. Having witnessed what's happened to Aylesbury and Heygate estates, many council residents have a sense of fear about their own future. Research has now shown that significant displacement of low income renters is a proven outcome of gentrification in the UK. Southwark VCS representatives spoke of service users being 'shipped off', and some being offered homes as far away as Stoke on Trent by the council. This also means an influx of new users with different needs which is hard to deal with for existing services.
- 'Affordable housing' replacing 'social housing'. Research has found that: the bulk of 'affordable housing' in new developments in London is 'part rent/part buy intermediate housing' that requires on average an income of £33,000 p.a. or is what's called 'affordable rent' which means rents up to 80% of the price of private rented homes in

the area. Over 30% of Southwark households earn less than 60% of national median income after housing costs, while two-thirds of current council tenants are not economically active and 70% have incomes below £20,000. In 2012 the London Tenants Federation exposed what they called London's 'affordable housing con'. They found that half of all newly built homes that were supposed to be 'affordable' were not affordable for Londoners as a whole, let alone low income, ex-council tenants.

- Overcrowding and loss of green spaces. Some of the new developments are set to contain double the original number of units meaning greater overcrowding for Southwark. Some VCS organisations felt that

**Local charities said:**  
*"The major issue in Southwark is the lack of social rent housing and displacement of generations of 'Southwark' people away from their family and friends."*

**Local charities said:**  
*"The council is locked into toxic relationships with corporate developers to the detriment of local social housing residents."*

they are in the middle of a concrete jungle, and are holding onto the green space 'like grim death'. If offered to be re-housed in the new-build, most residents find that it's much smaller than they're used to.

- Isolation. Tower blocks are seen to increase isolation. Many don't have communal space, and if they do then it will probably be restricted to residents of a particular floor, or the whole building but not for other people in the community. It was also felt that the new developments can hide already socially isolated people e.g. older people.

65. Waights, 2014. The data used in this study come from two sources; the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the UK Census (1991, 2001 and 2011).

66. Staying Put: An Anti-Gentrification Handbook for Council Estates in London. 2013.

67. Ibid.

- 'Poor doors'. The issue of some new housing developments having separate doors for the social housing tenants has been raised by local residents and in the media, and has fuelled the 'social apartheid' debate. New London Mayor Sadiq Khan said in 2015 that he would ban so-called "poor doors" if elected Mayor of London. It remains to be seen if he will.
- Building pollution. All the building work in an urban setting means lots of dust, dirt and pollution during the redevelopment (which is set to go on for 20 years in some cases). There can be noise pollution 7 days a week, which can be very disruptive for residents.
- Small traders. Many small traders are being driven out by redevelopment. The Southwark Association of Street Traders, said that in the past 12 years, the number of stalls in East Street market had been reduced from 850 to 130 . This is seen as a particular issue for BME traders whose customers are being displaced and who have fewer options for setting up elsewhere. Small entrepreneurs

**Local charities said:**  
*"Southwark is losing its 'Southwarkness' - new rich people moving in to the area existing with poorer established communities in social housing and poor migrants but no sense of solidarity between these communities."*

(particularly from BME communities) face similar difficulties, for example, people who would just put out a chair and cut people's hair. Pitches are being de-designated and traders moved towards where their business may not thrive.

- Loss of community and 'Southwarkness'. It's felt that it's very difficult to retain 'Southwark' when so much redevelopment/regeneration is going on. (See next section).
- Changing communities and changing needs. The social setup in Southwark has been seen by some to have changed quite a lot, with new people moving in bringing different needs. Some local residents see new redevelopments as 'for trendy new people not for local residents'. The redevelopments are seen as insensitive to the

- existing local community and its needs. For example, the local library at Artworks Elephant has been housed upstairs in a port-a-cabin with no mobility access.
- Lack of integration of different communities. For example, the 'Latin American Quarter' in Elephant and Castle is seen as another trendy development with no thought for the integration of this community with long-standing local residents. The opening of 'Latin American' shops and cafes can be seen as a desire to preserve one culture rather than integrate with another. It's seen as an issue that people don't tend to mix in new developments and 'old locals' can resent 'new locals' coming in.

**Local charities said:**  
*"Because of the regeneration and communities changing, it all has an opportunity to improve but time will tell that. At the moment we're in a state of facing the unknown, which is both scary but also exciting and opens possibilities for creativity."*

- Not all bad. The 'gentrification' of Southwark is not seen as a bad thing by all, as it can enhance the local area and provide new amenities, etc, but it remains contentious for many.

### H.U.E. NEED: Loss/Lack of Community

Currently (2016) in the last 12 months.

Opinion was very much divided amongst VCS respondents to the online survey, with 36% feeling that things around a sense of community in Southwark are going 'not so well' or 'really badly', and 31% feeling that things are going 'well' or 'really well'. This may reflect different interpretations of what 'community' means to them, or it may reflect different areas within Southwark (see Figure 23 below).

Research has shown that many people's attitudes towards 'community', which usually change very slowly over time, have changed rapidly and generally for the worse in the UK since the economic downturn.

There is speculation that some of the issues around diversity and loss of feeling of community are around a different kind of 'diversity': 'The UK has been a diverse nation for decades, but recent years have seen changes to the nature of this diversity, with less immigration from 'traditional' sources (i.e. Commonwealth nations) and more from other parts of the world, especially Eastern Europe. Levels of immigration have increased more markedly in recent years, causing more tensions and anti-immigration sentiment.

After peaking at the beginning of the global recession the proportion of people who believe that there is more racial prejudice in Britain now than 5 years ago fell to

2010, but is now on the rise again, experiencing a 45% increase in the most recently available data.

The debate around immigration is very polarised, but overall the balance of opinion is slightly more negative, with studies showing that 42% of people agree that Britain's culture is undermined by immigration (14% strongly agree), compared to 39% who agree that immigrants improve British society (4% strongly agree) . While there is no correlation by number of migrants, those most likely to agree with the statement are in those areas that have seen the biggest increases in immigration in recent years.

Research has shown that difficult economic conditions (including austerity and higher unemployment)



Figure 31: How are things going in Southwark in terms of: A sense of community?

68. <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/sadiq-khan-ban-poor-doors-6126979>

69. Evening Standard: East Street market traders claim gentrification of Southwark is 'driving customers away'. Sian Boyle, 3 Feb 2014.

70. Only 25 respondents filled in this information regarding where they operate, making this only a partial picture.

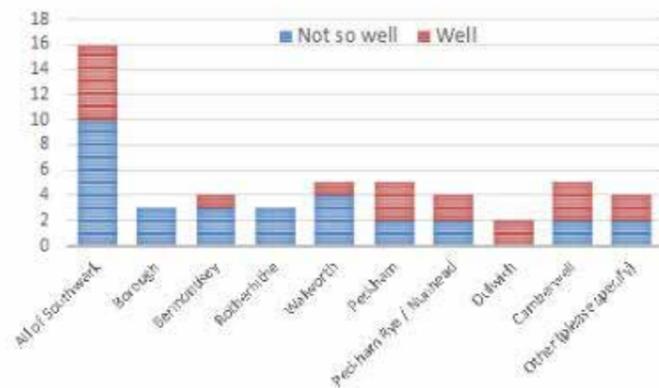


Figure 32: How things are going with regard to 'a sense of community' in different wards in Southwark

decrease tolerance in communities generally, and combined with increasing anti-immigration feeling, inclusion and neighbourliness may be more difficult to foster and maintain – resulting in a general decline in community cohesion, and, in some cases, more prejudice.

Figures show that race and religious hate crime are up across London and in Southwark (an 18% from May 2015 to May 2016).

A joint study by Demos and Birkbeck University following the 2011 riots found that racial segregation is increasing in the UK: many local areas are not diverse or integrated – but either white or non-white.

As noted in the previous section, many Southwark residents do feel that

there is racial segregation happening in Southwark, and a lack of integration of communities. Rather, there is a sense of old communities being broken up to accommodate new ones.

In some areas it is enough to see groups of 'others' (people who look different, who speak a different language, especially young people) to make people feel uneasy and frightened. Tenants and Residents Associations talk of: 'Young people hanging round in groups outside old ladies' doors', 'foreign kids who don't speak our language'. They may just be 'drinking and smoking', but it causes fear and other residents feel frightened of going outside. And when there are muggings and other crimes happening locally it naturally gets pinned on 'those

foreigners', and in turn, 'local lads' become territorial and fights break out.

But it's not just 'foreigners' who are changing the community landscape. Southwark has a large population of students who move in and out of different areas; and new, mainly younger, city workers are also moving in. This changes the 'community' and the sense of who is 'a local'. And 'unbinding' this all together is a lack of integration.

There are many local Southwark VCS organisations which attempt to support the better integration of different local communities in Southwark.

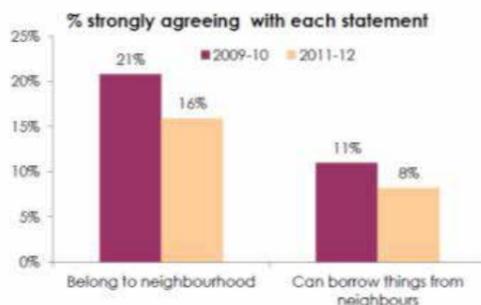


Figure 33: 'Community cohesion' in Britain during the global downturn

But they face a multitude of issues, outlined above.

Some VCS organisations find it 'really hard to get people to engage', while others have people 'knocking on their doors to get in'. Managing this can be difficult in both scenarios.

### H.U.E. NEED: Lack of safe / relevant places to go

Linked to the loss/lack of community is the lack of community spaces. Local VCS organisations say that they need more space for community venues but that housing is more of a priority for the council. Some organisations felt that the area needs a variety of different spaces for groups with different needs.

**Local charities said:** "The council, its private and public sector 'partners' and politicians have been, for a very long time, systematically destroying communities, both literally (through demolishing council estates and people's homes) as well as ensuring that all 'community organising' is strictly prescribed/conforming to prevailing ideology."

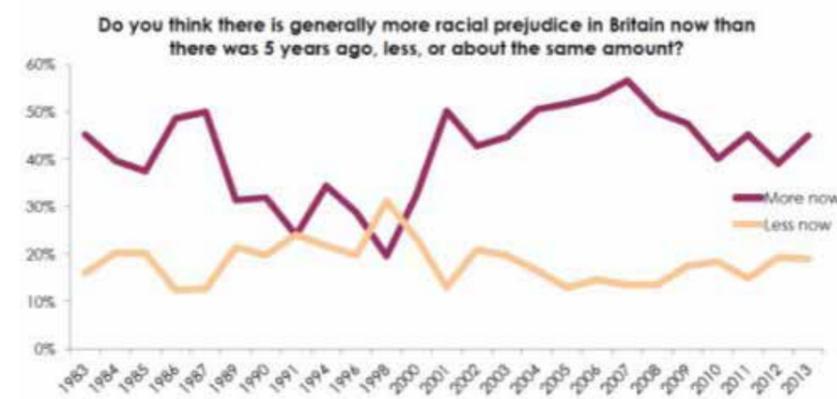


Figure 34: Proportion of people in the UK who believe there is more racial prejudice in the UK than previously

Local organisations also spoke of Southwark council selling off many community properties which currently house VCS organisations and services, and organisations having to move (often more than once) to find cheaper premises. This is disruptive for clients and users of the services many of which rely on word-of-mouth recommendations to reach their client base.

The local VCS organisations consulted as part of this research also spoke of the council 'changing all peppercorn rents overnight to full rates' as part of austerity measures. They wanted to know if there

**Local charities said:** "New communities arriving in borough but need to find a place to be included in community cohesion."

71. Trajectory, The Futures Partnership: Trends and Foresight Report 6 Community Cohesion Prepared for Big Lottery Fund April 2015.

72. Ibid. (Data Source: British Social Attitudes 2008/Understanding society 2009-2012).

73. Trajectory, The Futures Partnership: Trends and Foresight Report 6 Community Cohesion Prepared for Big Lottery Fund April 2015.

74. British Social Attitudes, 2013. IN Trajectory, The Futures Partnership: Trends and Foresight Report 6 Community Cohesion Prepared for Big Lottery Fund April 2015.

75. Ibid.

76. Trajectory, The Futures Partnership: Trends and Foresight Report 6 Community Cohesion Prepared for Big Lottery Fund April 2015.

77. Ibid.

78. Met Police: Crime Figures. Latest Crime Figures for Southwark, May 15-16.

be any space in the new developments? It was felt that lots of small charity groups wouldn't know how to go about finding out or negotiating this.

In 2015, in response to a survey by Community Southwark, 42% of organisations said that premises were 'a significant problem' or 'somewhat a problem'.

**Local charities said:**  
*"In my opinion there is not enough being done that proactively promotes the value of a strong community, there are not enough avenues for people to buy into the idea of a strong community and not enough support to make it easier for people to do so. This is the bedrock for all eviating many other issues such as crime, homelessness and poverty, in my opinion."*

## H.U.E. ISSUE: Transportation

There was felt to be an issue around general transportation links in Southwark and also a need for better transportation for needs groups. Despite having one of the South East's major train hubs (London Bridge) located in the borough, some areas are much less well served. For example, Bermondsey and Old Southwark, despite their proximity to the Thames, are perceived to have relatively poor commuter links, and Southwark lacks a decent cycle infrastructure.

Poor transportation also adds to social isolation. Groups with particular needs, especially those with mobility issues such as the elderly and disabled, need special transport to access services.

**Local charities said:**  
*"A borough wide centre like ours needs a number of neighbourhood hubs. It's important to get a clear sense of locality and neighbourhood."*

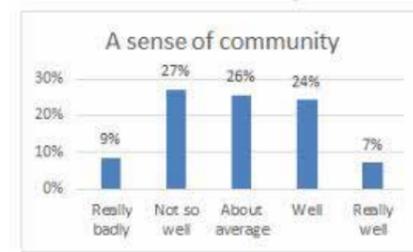


Figure 35: A sense of community

## Safety & Community

Nearly half (48%) of respondents felt that issues around safety in Southwark are 'about average', with one third (33%) feeling that things are going 'not so well' or 'really badly'; and while a majority (71%) felt that things had 'stayed the same', one fifth (21%) felt that things had 'worsened' over the last 12 months.

Although a relatively small number (145), Southwark had a higher rate than the England average of young people entering the youth justice system for the first time in 2014 (scoring in the lowest (worst) 25% of local authorities in the country), although the level of NEETs (those Not in Education, Employment or Training) is lower than the England average. While crime is on a downward trend, violent crime and sexual offences are increasing. In 2014-15:

- Sexual offences increased by 26.4%
- Violence against the person increased by 21%

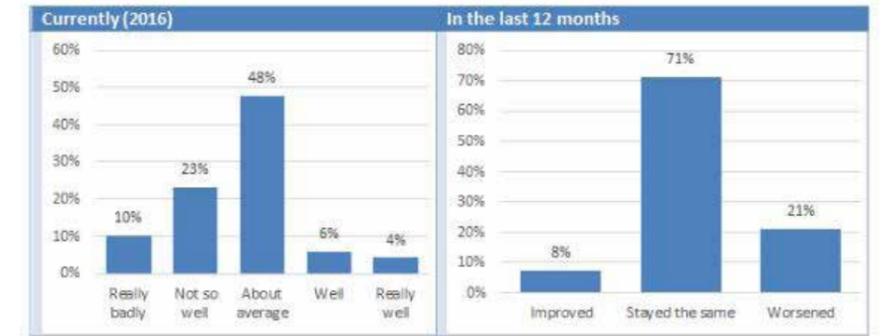


Figure 36: How are things going in Southwark in terms of: Safety (e.g. crime levels, feeling safe in your neighbourhood)?

- Burglary decreased by 18.5%
- Robbery decreased by 28.7%

Men, young people and black ethnic groups are disproportionately overrepresented as both victims and offenders. (See section on 'Dispossessed youth').

**Local charities said:**  
*"Very hard to experience 'community' now that the community councils have been squeezed into three, and the Agenda becomes fairly complicated."*

79. Demos: Changing places: Are we becoming a segregated nation? 'Mapping the white British response to ethnic change...'; Eric Kaufmann & Gareth Harris, 2014.

80. Community Southwark: Southwark's Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS) in 2015: Value and Challenges.

81. <http://southwarkcyclists.org.uk/better-cycle-infrastructure-in-southwark/>

82. Iwarsson S, Wahl H-W, Nygren C, et al. Importance of the Home Environment for Healthy Aging: Conceptual and Methodological Background of the European ENABLE-AGE Project. *The Gerontologist* 2007;47(1):78-84.; Ancaes P, Jones P, Mindell JS. Quantifying community severance - A literature review, Street Mobility and Network Accessibility Series Working Paper 02 November 2014.