

# Families and Hardship

in New and Established  
Communities in Southwark



I:

## Summary Report

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## Key Findings

### The Census

- Census response was low (46%); the lowest response was for Francophone Africans (33%), the highest was Sierra Leoneans (47%).
- 20% of respondents did not know whether a census had been completed for their household.
- The young (18-24), poorly educated, non-native or poor English speakers, those living in private rented accommodation, those without formal legal status, those without children, those paid cash-in-hand and those who had arrived in the UK more recently were all less likely to have responded to the census.
- 59% of those who said they did not respond or who didn't know were documented migrants.
- The average household size for the population sampled was 3.97 – much higher than the Southwark average.
- Among certain populations, average household size for those who did not fill in the census was higher than those who did.
- Fear of being tracked by UKBA, poor awareness and a tendency to ignore letters delivered to addresses housing large numbers of people were reasons commonly given for non-response.
- Imputing Southwark's missing population is likely to be difficult, due to the large scale of the 'hidden' migrant population.

### Housing

- The availability of low-cost housing (principally privately rented) is a key driver for migrants to come to Southwark.
- Almost one in five lived in households containing 6 or more people.
- Overcrowding in both houses and rooms was commonplace.
- Highest household sizes were found amongst Bangladeshi and Arabic speakers. The study also identified 'dormitory' style accommodation being offered by employers in the borough.
- Migrant households are made up of different types of people. It was common for undocumented migrants to be living with documented migrants; for migrant families to be living with other migrant families; and for people to be sharing with people to whom they are not related, and whom they rarely see.
- 47% said they lived in property owned by the council; however, it is not clear whether all of these are genuine council properties, as opposed to privately rented flats in 'council blocks', or sub-let council flats.
- Sub-letting of council flats was felt to be very common.
- The longer migrants have been in the UK, the more likely they are to turn to the council for housing advice.

## **Children, Young People and Families**

- 37% of respondents said they had children under 18 living in the UK.
- Approximately 1 in 10 of the children identified in the study was being cared for by at least one undocumented parent.
- Bangladeshi and Arabic speaking respondents were more likely to have children, reflecting the fact that they were also more likely to be married.
- Many African respondents (about 1/3) had children, under 18, living overseas.
- One in ten respondents were looking after somebody else's children. The figure was higher amongst African populations. 13% of undocumented respondents were caring for somebody else's children.
- Migrant families were more likely to be living in property 'owned by the council' than respondents without children.
- African migrant families were more likely to be sharing their home with other people who are not their own family than Bangladeshis and Arabic speakers.
- 90% of Nigerian and Francophone African mothers were in work, but very few Arabic speaking and Bangladeshi mothers were working.
- Between 20% and 30% of working parents in all populations studied were being paid cash-in-hand, suggesting informal, insecure employment.

## **Health**

- The incidence of reported health concerns was remarkably similar across the populations (around 20% of respondents) – somewhat higher than the figures suggested in the Census itself.
- Men, younger migrants, migrants without children and undocumented migrants were the least likely to be accessing treatment for these problems.
- There appeared to be issues regarding GP access for undocumented migrants. This may cause people to seek treatment directly from hospitals.
- There was anecdotal evidence of the use of alternative, cultural forms of treatment and of self-medication for some illnesses.

## **Employment**

- The overall employment rate across the 5 populations was 67%.
- There were high rates of part-time employment.
- Arabic speaking and Bangladeshi women were significantly less likely to be employed than other groups in the sample.
- 28% of respondents were working 'cash in hand' (representing 42% of those who said that they were 'employed').
- Undocumented migrants were particularly vulnerable to employer exploitation.
- Migrants complained that overseas qualifications were not recognised by British employers.
- Migrants face unique barriers to finding work.
- Young migrants were much more likely to be in part-time work and less likely to be employed at all than other groups.
- Undocumented migrants were especially likely to be in employment

- Our data suggests that rates of employment / economic activity are **higher** than official census release figures show. This appears to be because our data includes large numbers of employed undocumented individuals and individuals working cash-in-hand/informally, who may be absent from the Census figures.

### **Community Cohesion**

- Use of community specific and 3<sup>rd</sup> sector services was very low.
- Churches, mosques and kin networks are strong sources of support.

## 1.0 A new kind of community research method

### 1.1 The five populations

In early 2011, ESRO was commissioned by The London Borough of Southwark to explore five different ‘new populations’ within the borough. Each had been identified as being poorly understood, either due to the fact that the growth of the population in the borough had been relatively recent, or because it was suspected that a large proportion of the population might be ‘hidden’ from official statistics and/or administrative data sources. The five new populations were:

- French-speaking, sub-Saharan Africans
- Bangladeshis
- Arabic speakers (mostly identifying as Arab)
- Nigerians
- Sierra Leoneans

### 1.2 ESRO’s “Community webbing” research model

The “community webbing” research methodology had five clear phases: 1) examination of existing knowledge and data, 2) ethnographic exploration and observation, 3) focus groups and training workshops, 4) community survey, and 5) feedback workshops with community researchers. Each phase was repeated across each of the five populations.

**Ethnographic community mapping and ‘day in the life’ studies:** Researchers spent 25 days in the field, exploring and investigating the infrastructure and institutions of the five different populations in Southwark. Researchers mapped the physical centres of community life, but also made connections, chatted informally and generally gained a feel for the day-to-day rhythms of migrant life in Southwark. There were two goals: 1) to understand the landscape of the populations we were investigating, and 2) to identify ten people from each population whom we considered to be ‘community nodes’ (key figures in migrant communities). These nodes were then invited to take part in the latter stages of our research as *community researchers*. The time was also used to recruit three people from each community to take part in a ‘day in the life’ study, which we used to explore themes emerging from latter research stages and to gain an understanding of day-to-day life for different individuals.

**Focus groups and community surveys:** The ethnographic immersion was followed by focus groups attended by the ‘nodes’ found during field research. They included business owners, landlords, mothers, fathers, undocumented migrants, multi-linguists, students, community group leaders and more; they came from different parts of the borough, and had access to different parts of the different migrant populations in Southwark.

The focus groups aimed to probe in more detail the themes and issues that were to be covered in the surveys. We also used these groups to train participants to carry out research for us within their own communities. They were asked to collect between 10 and 30 survey responses from friends, family, acquaintances and people they met in shopping-centres, cafes etc. This method allowed us to collect surveys from deep inside the two populations. In this way we moved our survey reach beyond the usual pool of respondents who will respond to formal research surveys, to those who might speak only to those they already know and trust.

Finally, our community researchers returned for follow-up focus groups to explore specific issue of engagement, their experiences of data-collection and the things they had found out.

### 1.3 Research questions

The research had a broad remit. Its primary purpose was to uncover emerging issues among 'hidden' populations and to obtain statistics pertaining to living patterns and demography. Questions addressed in the survey and the groups focussed on three areas: needs (health, housing, employment etc.), living patterns (geography, living conditions, movements etc.) and engagement (council services, social capital, census etc.). As such, many of the issues that were explored and which emerged through the research were relevant to different local government departments, though not all were covered in equal depth. To some extent the research findings should be treated as indicators and flags for further research, as well as providing a solid baseline understanding of the character of the five populations in Southwark.

### 1.4 Survey sample

One of the problems when administering a survey like this is that reliable baseline population figures do not exist. This makes random sampling impossible. Instead, we aimed to capture responses from all parts of the five populations by using community researchers from a diverse range of backgrounds and living in the different parts of the borough identified as centres for each population. The community researchers were also each given the same basic instructions for identifying survey respondents:

- All respondents had to be currently living in Southwark
- All respondents had to self-identify as belonging to one of the five populations
- All respondents had to be over 18
- All respondents had to be born overseas
- Each respondent had to come from a separate and distinct household<sup>1</sup>
- Respondents could be either documented or undocumented

Surveys were carried out face-to-face in shopping centres, streets, restaurants, bars, homes, churches and mosques, lecture halls and offices. In total 988 surveys were collected, of which 981 were submitted for analysis. The number of responses broke down as follows:

Population	No. of survey responses
French-speaking Africans	256
Bangladeshis	166
Arabic speakers	163
Nigerians	208
Sierra Leoneans	174
Chose not to state	14
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>981</b>

*A more detailed account of the research methods used can be found in the appendices.*

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<sup>1</sup> To eliminate the possibility of double counting when looking at household data



## 2.0 Census and hidden populations

The research explored many issues relevant to the question of the existence of ‘hidden populations’ living in Southwark. When we use the term ‘hidden’, we do not confine ourselves to those recently arrived residents who are literally obscured from public view, working in windowless kitchens, sleeping in informal dormitories with strangers, and having few interactions with others – though these people certainly exist. Our definition of ‘hidden’ is broader, and includes those who might be missing from government and administrative data-sets. It includes migrants who may not fill in forms, access services through few formal channels, or who share documentation with others. We were exploring new populations that contained people who were ‘hidden’ from the gaze of the state.

The Census 2011 is supposed to provide the most accurate picture of the population in England and Wales, a near exhaustive survey of literally everyone that is in the country at a particular moment in time. As the ONS website boasts: “The Census is an unparalleled source of information...” However, the Census never quite captures everyone. During every Census exercise, a small minority of forms are never returned. And the size of this minority varies from place to place, region to region. In Southwark, it has been announced that in 2011, 13% of Census survey forms were not returned.

This figure begs two important questions: 1) Who are the people that do not return Census forms? and 2) If we can’t collect information about those who do not return Census forms, how can we be sure how many of them there are? In fact, how can we even be sure that the expected number of returns (from which the 13% figure is derived) was right in the first place?

There are of course, formal answers to these questions. ONS census statisticians have sophisticated ways of estimating the size of the population that the 13% of missing returns represents. And a great deal of work goes into establishing comprehensive address lists, so that Census forms are sent (as far as is possible) to every household in England and Wales. This should ensure that everyone had at least the opportunity to fill in, or be represented on, Census survey forms.

Our research, however, suggests that methods used to estimate the size of the population that is ‘hidden’ from the Census may not be adequately taking account of the fact that certain *kinds* of people and populations, especially migrant populations, are more likely to be among the ‘hidden’ than others. We would argue further that the living patterns of these migrant populations, missing from Census data, cannot easily be deduced from the data in the Census forms that were returned. Finally, we would argue, the unconventional lifestyles of many migrants and migrant families mean that it is no longer safe to assume that sending a Census form to every registered address gave every household an opportunity to fill in a form.

The problem here is that when planning services in Southwark, Census data is often the first port of call for information about the local population. If this data is inaccurate, or in some way misrepresents the true nature of the local population, it makes the job of service planners and policy makers all the more difficult and/or subject to greater uncertainty.

*“Until today I was not part of that counting, that Census. Till now, I am still not part of it. Do people think ‘If I fill in the census, then they will come after me?’ Yes. Filling in this thing, even if they don’t put their name anywhere, they still believe they can be found.” – Nigerian respondent*

## 2.1 “Positive responses”

Our survey contained a key question relating to the Census:

“Did you (or anyone else in your house) fill in a Census form?”

The question came last in a series of questions about the Census 2011. Respondents could choose to answer: “Yes”, “No” or “Don’t know”. For the purposes of this document, we have referred to the proportion of the sample that answered “Yes” to this question as the “positive response rate”.

The positive Census response rate across our whole sample was only **46%**. This compares poorly with the overall Southwark response rate, given by the ONS, of 87%. 20% did not know whether a Census form had been filled in for their household or not, and 33% were certain that no form had been filled in.

Response rates across the different populations varied, but were uniformly low:

- Arabic speakers **33%**
- Francophone Africans **35%**
- Bangladeshis **50%**
- Nigerians **51%**
- Sierra Leoneans **57%**

The positive Census response rate across our whole sample of migrant populations was only **46%**. This compares poorly with the overall Southwark response rate, given by the ONS, of 87%.

## 2.2 Census awareness

61% of our sample recognised the Census logo, though only 56% said they had been aware of the Census itself.

These figures varied significantly across the different populations. So, for example, awareness of the census amongst Sierra Leoneans was high (81%) whereas awareness amongst Arabic speakers was low (36%). In all cases, awareness of the Census was greater than the positive response rate, indicating that **people were actively choosing not to participate in the Census**.

## 2.3 Breaking down poor positive Census response rates

Very low positive response rates were noted amongst certain segments of the sample population, leading to the conclusion that those migrants least likely to have taken part in the 2011 Census would share some or all of the following features (positive response rates have been included where available):

- Young (18-24 years old: 39%)
- Poorly educated (junior school or less: 28%)
- Non-native or poor English speaker (26%)
- Undocumented (27%)

- Living in private rented accommodation (37%)
- Living in a large household, with other, similar migrants (8 or more people, 37%)
- Stayed in the UK for longer than originally intended (38%)
- Been in the UK for less than 6 years (33%)
- Without children (39%)

## 2.4 The “Don’t Know”s

20% of those migrants that took part in our survey answered that they ‘didn’t know’ whether or not a Census 2011 form had been filled in for their household.

Analysis showed that these answers came mostly from migrants who lived in private rented accommodation, and who were much more likely to be young and/or undocumented.

Qualitative evidence and anecdotes suggest that these responses likely came from migrants living in housing situations in which all household administration was taken care of by someone else, such as a landlord who does not live at the property. There were also strong suggestions that for these types of household, even if a Census form had been filled in, the information may not be accurate due to landlords (or others) concealing overcrowding and/or undocumented migrants.

## 2.5 Average household sizes

Average household size is a key figure used to ‘impute’ the number of people living in households, and at addresses, for which no Census form (or Census coverage survey form) was received. Our data suggests that migrant households are significantly larger (average household size 3.97) than the national (2.35) or Southwark (2.3) averages. This is significant because if migrant households, as shown by our data on Census responses, are under-represented in the Census, then it will prove difficult to estimate the true number of migrants living in Southwark.

Among certain populations that we studied, there were also significant differences in average household size between those that gave a positive response to the census and those that did not.

Responded to the Census	Bangladeshi average household size	Arabic speakers average household size
“Yes”	4.6	3.7
“No” / “Don’t know”	5.2	4.3

It will be important for Southwark to know which average household size figures were used to impute the ‘missing’ population during the Census 2011 process. If the missing population was calculated using average household sizes that are too low, the implication for Southwark could be an estimated population which is several thousand lower than the true figure.

Our data suggests that those living in the largest households were the least likely to have responded to the Census 2011. These households were also the most likely to contain populations that remain perpetually hidden from administrative data-sets. Furthermore, ethnographic fieldwork suggested that the location of these large households was not predictable; many were identified in otherwise ‘normal’ streets of typical urban terraced houses.

## 2.6 “Short Term Migrants”

Our data suggests that those residents from these ‘new populations’ who had been in the UK for less than one year were actually more likely to have responded to the Census than those who had been here for between 1 and 2 years, though the number of respondents in our sample who had been in the UK for less than one year was relatively small (31). This finding strongly rebuts the idea that short-term migrants are responsible for the low positive Census response rates observed in our data.

## 2.7 Documented and undocumented migrants

Undoubtedly, undocumented migrants were less likely to have responded to the Census (27%) than were documented migrants (54%), but again they are not solely responsible for low Census response rates in our sample. In fact, 59% (304 respondents) of those who said that either their household had not provided a response to the Census or they didn’t know if a response had been provided were documented migrants.

## 2.8 Why might migrants have not responded to the Census?

During our qualitative research, a number of reasons emerged for why the migrants we studied might not have filled in Census forms – or in fact respond to any kind of official data collection exercise:

- **Fear of being tracked:** Respondents spoke of their own fears, and the fears of those they knew, of their Census responses being used to ‘find’ them. In the case of undocumented migrants, fears were based mainly on the idea that they might be found and sent home. For others, there were fears about being found to live in housing situations (such as overcrowded houses, illegal sub-letting arrangements etc.) and being forced to move, or of informal work situations and the sharing of documents and NI numbers being found out. These fears applied as much to all attempts at official data collection as to the Census itself. It is worth noting that our data clearly shows that documented and undocumented migrants often shared living spaces. In these cases, there was a clear disincentive even for documented migrants to complete administrative forms.
- **Landlords take care of administrative tasks:** Those who lived in complex housing arrangements, often sharing space with strangers, left all manner of administrative tasks to landlords. All official communications, such as Census forms, would be passed on.
- **Impersonal communications are ignored:** Many of our respondents stressed that letters without specific names on that came to houses in which there was no clear ‘head’ or ‘representative’ would most likely be ignored.
- **Complex living arrangements:** A single address can sometimes play host to a number of different migrant households behind the front door. Flats, for example, are sub-divided, with internal doorways acting as new front doors for which no formal address exists. In situations like this, it is not clear that any person in the house would know fully who lived behind the other doors, even if they did decide to complete a Census form.
- **Language barriers:** Our data shows quite clearly that those with poor English were much less likely to fill in Census forms.
- **“Not for me”:** Several respondents made it clear that they had not realised that recently arrived migrants were even meant to fill in Census forms.

- **Cultural interpretations of the use of the Census:** Some respondents indicated that they felt that Census collection exercises were tools for governments to monitor populations. They strongly felt that Census data would be shared amongst government departments and agencies – despite assurances to the contrary. Often these beliefs were driven by anecdotes and experiences from other countries.

## 2.9 Imputation

Given that our data shows that migrant populations are likely to have been over-represented amongst the population of Census non-responders, it seems clear that any imputation method used to calculate Southwark's true population from collected Census responses needs to take careful account of the characteristics of migrant populations and weight the estimations accordingly.

Imputation methods that relied primarily on average household sizes derived from returned Census forms, or that attempted to use street-by-street average household sizes to calculate the number of people likely to be living in an isolated non-responding house, would be highly likely to underestimate the missing population.

All of our data suggests that Southwark is likely to have experienced an undercount during the Census 2011, due to migrant non-response rates, and missed migrant households. None of our data suggests that there may have been over-counting or over-estimation.

*“I said to her ‘how many live in the whole flat?’ And she said ‘to be honest, I don’t know, I just know about my room’”. – Sierra Leonean ‘node’*

## 3.0 Housing

Housing, along with employment, lies at the nexus of many migrant aspirations and goals. This does not simply mean that migrants, like many others, aspire to property ownership and a comfortable living space, but also that the search for adequate or suitable housing and living conditions drives and determines both the *choices* that migrants make and their *experiences* of living in the UK, and Southwark in particular. Importantly, this has very little to do with foreign nationals coming to the UK in order to find publicly subsidised housing: very few aspire to a 'life on benefits', most are paying rent to a private landlord and in employment.

### 3.1 Living conditions

As in any population, migrant living conditions vary. Some of those we spoke to lived comfortably and harboured aspirations of home ownership. Others lived more modestly in Southwark, but were saving or investing in order to build bigger houses overseas either for their own future return or for families. Many, however, lived in conditions that were cramped, overcrowded, unsanitary or unsafe. It was clear that the worst conditions were reserved for undocumented migrants, who were at times forced to take whatever was offered by exploitative employers. We found one undocumented Bangladeshi migrant living in a shop storage room that had been crudely converted into a living space by the shop owner. It contained little more than a mattress and a cupboard. The space was too small to comfortably accommodate even a single bed.

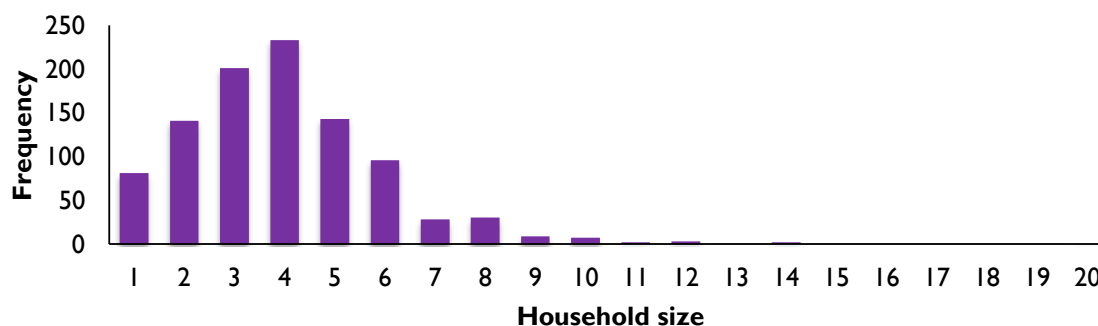
Perhaps the most common experience for recently arrived residents living in the private rented sector was living with relative strangers in flats in which every room was used as a bedroom. This kind of living was designed to keep individual rents as low as possible. Often migrants lived with other people from within the same 'population' (in terms of country of origin), though living with people who spoke different languages and came from different parts of the world was also common.

For those who had just arrived, temporary accommodation might be found in churches, mosques, or in the houses of friends and relatives. Several of our nodes spoke of housing new arrivals for short periods of time as they found their feet in London.

### 3.2 Overcrowding and household sizes

The following chart shows the distribution of household sizes across our sample:

Chart I: Distribution of household sizes across the sample



The significant thing to note here is the 'long tail' on the chart. In all (one survey described a household of 20 people) , 18% of our respondents lived in households that contained 6 or more people. The number of people who lived with other families, or who said that they lived in housing in which the people changed all the time, was similar (20%). And more than 50% of respondents said that they lived with people other than their family.

The highest average household sizes were found in the Bangladeshi- and Arabic-speaking populations. This can be explained with reference to our qualitative and observational data. For the Bangladeshis, dormitory style housing was often provided by employers in the ethnic retail and catering industries. These dormitories could house many young male migrants, often in the same room. For the Arabic speakers the high average household size is explained by the fact that they were much more likely than the other populations to have more than one child living with them.

We also collected data on the number of people living in the same room as the respondent. The question was carefully worded to ask for the number of people INCLUDING THE RESPONDENT. Nonetheless, we received several surveys in which the respondent had answered 0 (when the lowest possible answer is 1). 0s were changed to 1s for the purpose of analysis, but there is still likely to be some DOWNWARD pressure on our results.

Across the whole sample, however, the average number of people living in a room was 1.7. Perhaps more shockingly, after isolating just those respondents who were unmarried and without children living in the UK, the average number of people living in a single room was 1.5. In fact, at least 35% of unmarried respondents living without children nonetheless slept in rooms with other people.

All of this evidence suggests that overcrowding is common among the new populations we studied. Qualitative data also suggested a high prevalence of households made up of different types of people, rather than just families, and that undocumented and documented migrants often shared the same living space. **This could cause problems for housing officers trying to locate HMOs (licensed or otherwise) and in trying to gain access to houses to assess safety and overcrowding, since many migrants will feel that they must conceal the true number of people living in their household.**

Housing officers may have difficulty gaining access to houses that contain undocumented migrants. Migrant households may also seek to conceal overcrowding and landlords may seek to hide unlicensed HMOs.

*“In houses there is a mix of documented and undocumented people: trust is important in keeping a housing situation in Southwark” – Arabic speaking ‘node’*

### **3.3 Who do residents in new populations share their homes with?**

The make-up of households varied greatly across the five populations. We asked a simple question: “Who lives in the house that you live in?” and asked respondents to ‘tick all that apply’. The results of that question are tabulated below.

The table shows that, overall, living with people who are not family was common among the populations we studied (31%). And it is not as simple as saying that this is to be expected

given that many new migrants are likely to be young and therefore living in shared housing much as their British-born counterparts would. The figures show that the proportion of migrants living with ‘other people’ who are not family members remains roughly the same across all age groups. Even among those aged between 40 and 59 – the figure is still 27%.

**Across all age groups and lengths of time living in the UK, migrants living with people who are not family was commonplace.**

10% of respondents also reported living with ‘other families’ who are not their own, again pointing to a trend of overcrowding, and the fact that to bring housing costs down, migrants will live in unconventional households.

9% of respondents reported living in households in which ‘the people change all the time’. The majority of these respondents were also single and living without children in the UK. These kinds of households present perhaps the most difficult challenge in terms of tracking. It is possible that the exact number of people living in these kinds of households varies month by month and even week by week.

<b>Who else lives in the house that you live in?</b>						
	<b>Overall</b>	<b>Francophone Africans</b>	<b>Nigerian</b>	<b>Sierra Leonean</b>	<b>Bangladeshi</b>	<b>Arabic speakers</b>
<b>My family / Just me</b>	52%	31%	40%	63%	72%	69%
<b>Other people</b>	31%	51%	41%	16%	17%	13%
<b>Other families</b>	10%	9%	13%	19%	10%	2%
<b>The people change all the time</b>	9%	16%	10%	5%	8%	7%

The figures also show that household make-up varies greatly between the different populations. Bangladeshis, Arabs and Sierra Leoneans, for example, were less likely to be living with people other than their own family members. This tallies strongly with the fact that these three populations were also far more likely to have children living in the UK than the others. Having said this, single Sierra Leoneans were much more likely to have found accommodation with families than single migrants in other populations.

Nigerians and Francophone Africans were more likely to be living in households in which people changed all the time and again this may be accounted for by the fact that undocumented migrants in these two populations often find themselves in this kind of living arrangement.



### 3.4 Tenure

The table below shows the breakdown of different tenure types among the populations we studied.

Tenure	Percent of overall population
Council / Housing association	47%
Private rented	29%
Owner occupied	2%
Staying with a friend	11%

**WARNING ABOUT FIGURES:** We know from anecdotal evidence that many respondents said that they lived in Council housing, when in fact they were living in ‘former’ council properties. In these cases, the respondents were actually private renters. We also know that in many cases, respondents who were living in council housing, were in fact illegally subletting from other council residents. As one of our Nigerian focus group attendees said: *“With all this recession, the government is saying that anyone who is renting out their rooms in their council flat is going to prison... well... the whole of London is going to prison then. That’s the only way to make money now.”*

*“With all this recession, the government is saying that anyone who is renting out their rooms in their council flat is going to prison... well... the whole of London is going to prison then. That’s the only way to make money now.”*

In reality then, it is highly likely that many more of our respondents were in fact private renters than is suggested by our figures. This is backed up by the fact that **only 34% of our sample had had any contact whatsoever with council housing services** (giving the lie to the 47% figure suggested above) – and that many described that even if they had been in touch with council housing services, in many cases, they were told they were not entitled. Of those that had been in touch with council housing services, more than two-thirds were part of families with children.

**Only 5 of the respondents who had indicated that they were undocumented, professed to having had any contact at all with council housing services.**

### 3.5 Seeking housing advice

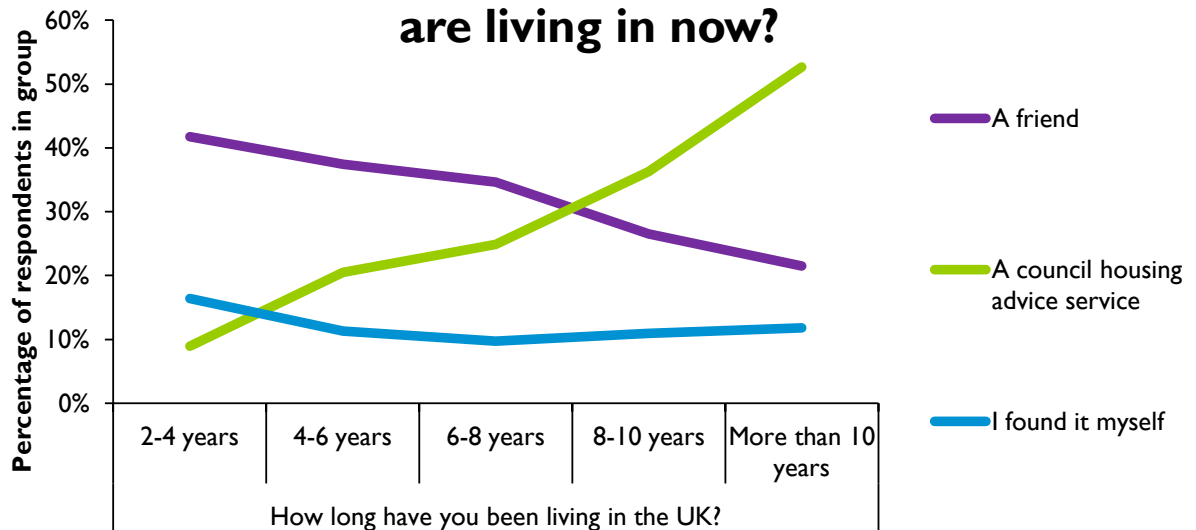
Finding housing is a top priority for migrants coming to live in Southwark. Many arrive without knowledge of how to go about finding housing and must seek advice from friends, other migrants and even formal housing advice services.

Excluding those who had lived in the UK for less than 2 years (because the sample size is small) the graphs below show interesting trends emerging from the answers to our question *“Who helped you to find the house that you live in now?”*

*“Last time I came I was saying that a lot of people in Southwark hasn’t got a clue about what housing advice is. People that have got their status in this country [...] have a right to go for housing advice, but they just believe like, OK, the council will chuck me away. It’s like this habitual residency thing, a lot of people don’t understand what it means, they just feel like, you know what, let’s*

*just continue renting privately, stick our kids in one room. [...] I think Southwark needs to do a bigger job in terms of housing advice.” - Nigerian respondent*

## Who helped you to find the house that you are living in now?



The graph shows the three most common answers to the question. Other answers included “estate agent”, “internet ad”, “ad in a shop window” etc. but the number of respondents answering with those responses were too few to include here.

The data showed two clear, and complimentary trends. First, those who had been the UK for the shortest length of time, were much more likely to have found housing informally, through friends (and most likely ‘nodes’). Just over 40% of those who had been in the UK for between 2 and 4 years gave this answer. This percentage declined as respondents had been in the UK for longer. On the other hand use of the local authority’s housing advice services seems to rise the longer that migrants have been living in the UK. Among those who had been in the UK for more than 10 years, more than 50% had used some form of council housing advice to find housing. This may or may not mean that they now lived in council housing.

All of this may suggest that as migrants become more established in the UK, they are more likely to turn to the council for housing support. This also points toward a lag time (noted elsewhere in this report) between migrant arrival and demand for council services.

It is also interesting to note that for those migrants who have been in the UK for only a short time, there is a heavy reliance on social networks, and informal housing advice. This may leave newly arrived migrants without access to strong social networks vulnerable to bad advice and with fewer housing options.

In terms of which migrants were more likely to turn to the council for housing advice:

- Those who were unemployed were twice as likely as those who were employed to have found their house with the help a council advice service (40% as against 20%)
- Women were more likely to have come to a council housing advice service (35%) than men (20%)

- Those with children living in the UK were the most likely of all to have sought council advice on their current housing (50%)
- The populations that showed the highest use of council housing advice services were the Sierra Leonean and Arabic Speaking populations (45% and 41%). This may reflect the fact that these populations play host to a greater number of asylum seekers and refugees who are more likely to be entitled to state support with housing.
- Only a tiny number of undocumented migrants had turned to council housing advice services (only 5 respondents across the whole sample).

### 3.6 Movement

Across the sample as a whole, 36% of respondents said that they intended to move house within the next 12 months. This is slightly higher than the national average for private renters. Of these 44% (the largest proportion) said that they would simply be moving to another house in Southwark, 27% said that they would move to another part of London and 13% that they would be moving overseas.

Those with children living in the UK were less likely to feel that they would move house in the next 12 months (30%) – and of those, a greater proportion said that they would stay in Southwark (57%). In this sense, having children seems to have been a reason to stay within Southwark.

These figures were roughly similar across each of the different populations, with one exception. Far fewer Bangladeshi said that they were likely to move house in the next 12 months (25%), but of those that did, a far smaller proportion thought they would stay in Southwark (24%).

It is worth remembering however that for many in new populations, housing can be precarious. For undocumented migrants, sudden moves may be necessary, with little time to plan, especially if they (or their landlord) fear that they are likely to be caught by authorities. Poor living conditions can also mean that if better opportunities arise, people will move on quickly. Both of these factors might lead to a greater churn in migrant housing than might be predicted from the numbers given here.

One good indication of the difficulty in using migration intentions as a guide to future behaviour is given in the following table:

Have you stayed in the UK for longer than you originally intended?						
	Overall	Francophone African	Nigerian	Sierra Leonean	Bangladeshi	Arabic speakers
Yes	34%	48%	50%	25%	21%	17%
No	63%	49%	47%	74%	75%	82%

These figures show that there can be great uncertainty to migrant trajectories. There are no greater uncertainties than for those who are undocumented. **63%** of undocumented respondents indicated that they had been living in the UK for longer than originally intended (often explaining why they had no legal status – many of them had overstayed their original visas and now feel ‘trapped’ in the UK).

### 3.7 Southwark as a destination

Respondents from across all five of the populations we studied agreed that Southwark has for a long time been regarded as a hub for new populations. For Africans, the community strongholds and infrastructure in places like Peckham and Walworth provide an obvious draw, but there are also emerging Bangladeshi and Arabic speaking community focal points. For the Bangladeshis in particular, shops and services are appearing beyond the range of the traditional community stronghold in Elephant and Castle; a string of Arabic-speaking businesses and cafés is emerging at the northern end of Old Kent Road.

During our workshops we were also struck by the continuous references to the fact that Southwark's relatively flexible and free housing market also made the borough an attractive destination for new populations. Subdivided flats, landlords willing to let to newly arrived individuals and relatively low rents (for central London) all combined to make Southwark something of a focus for new populations. This point was brought home strongly during our Francophone African workshops, in which comparisons were made with France (where many had made their first step into Europe). The UK, and Southwark in particular, they said, was a much better place to find housing, with little racial prejudice and a large, largely unregulated private rented sector. They felt that they were less likely to be asked for documents, and more likely to have a range of low-cost options than they would in, say, Paris. Most importantly, the key point of attractiveness for new populations for central South East London is the abundance of **privately rented accommodation**, not **social housing or council housing** – even if some or much of the privately rented accommodation is 'illegally-sublet' council housing or private lets in former council housing stock (purchased by landlords).

*“What really works well for Francophone Africans here in England, is housing. There is a room for everybody in a house, you see that a lot. Even if you haven't got your papers, you won't have too much difficulty finding a place to live. You'll find a way. It works. Private landlords have always got rooms. It's so much easier than in France. You can't even compare it.” – Francophone African 'node'*

With a strong infrastructure of migrant housing, it is safe to assume that even when migrants move away from the borough, there is always a strong 'pull factor' – and that Southwark's stock population of migrants is unlikely to decrease in the near term.

## 4.0 Children, Young People and Families

The story of migration to Southwark is not just one of individuals leaving their native countries to seek safety or economic betterment in this particular part of the British capital. More often than not, the individual's migration is related to a wider migrant narrative relating to an (extended) family unit.

On the one hand, the migrant may be coming to the UK in order to support relatives back home who are living in hardship, struggling to pay for food, medical treatment or education. On the other hand, and of particular interest to children's services departments, is the fact that migrants may bring with them their children, or settle in the UK with the intention that their spouse and children will join them here in the UK in the short to medium term. Further, migrants to Southwark - both those with formal entitlement to reside here and those without - may marry here and/or choose to start a family.

### 4.1 Families in Southwark's new populations

Of the 981 respondents in our survey, 365 (37%) said that they had children of their own living here in the UK aged under 18. We will refer to these as '**migrant families**'. Between them, these 365 respondents had 711 children. Extrapolated across the whole borough, we can therefore assume that Southwark is home to many thousands of children who are themselves recent migrants, or being raised by parents who have been living in the UK for less than ten years: many thousands of children who have themselves lived through the trauma that migration can entail, or grown up in households struggling with the challenges commonly experienced by migrants.

Respondents in the 25-59 age bracket were the most likely to have children (44%), although 22.7% of 18-24 year old respondents were also raising families. More significant were the differences identified between the between the populations studied in the research, as the table below demonstrates:

Population	Proportion of respondents married	Proportion of respondents who have children of their own under 18 in the UK	Of which, average number of children
Francophone African	32.4%	22.7%	1.7
Nigerian	45.7%	26.0%	2.0
Sierra Leonean	36.2%	42.5%	1.7
Bangladeshi	59.0%	41.0%	2.0
Arabic speakers	65.6%	60.7%	2.3

Arabic speakers responding to the survey were almost three times as likely to have children than Francophone Africans. They also had the largest families on average. This is likely to be related to the fact that a far greater proportion of Francophone African respondents were not married. In general, it is evident that the larger proportion of respondents in each population that were married, the more likely they were to have children. For planning purposes, it is worth considering that the longer an individual stays in the UK, the more likely they are to marry and establish a family. This means that the effects of migration in terms of demand for services, can have a lag time of several years.

The anomaly, though, were the Sierra Leoneans, amongst whom marriage rates were lower, while proportions of respondents with children relatively high. This was reflected in

qualitative findings, which identified a belief – or myth – in the population that being single and having children is beneficial in terms of access to services. **Importantly, this was seen to be influencing decisions of whether to marry, not whether to have children.**

*“Even people that are married don’t want to say that they’re married, because if they find out you’re married, married couples don’t get help. But so many people say they’re a single parent so they can get help, even though they keep having babies by the same man. [...] It’s wrong, and it’s hurting the children” - Sierra Leonean node*

Of the 711 children identified in the survey, the majority (75%) were said to be in Southwark schools; others were at school elsewhere or were too young for school. The proportion of respondents with very young children (‘too young for school’) was highest amongst Arabic speakers (26%) and lowest amongst Francophone Africans (14%) and Nigerians (8%).

#### 4.2 Residents in new populations with children overseas

Population	Proportion of respondents with children of their own under 18 living overseas	Of these, average number of children living overseas
Francophone African	18%	1.4
Nigerian	22%	1.5
Sierra Leonean	16%	1.3
Bangladeshi	4%	1.9
Arabic speakers	9%	2.1

In addition to those raising their own children in Southwark, the research also identified residents of new populations living in the borough with children still living overseas, most commonly in their country of origin. This is an interesting figure as it may be an indicator of future migration movements as families regroup and settle in the UK. Overall, almost one in five (19.5%) respondents said they had children living overseas; the figure was particularly high for Nigerians (33%), and lower amongst the Bangladeshi (5%) and Arabic speaking respondents (12%).

#### 4.3 “Kinship care”

The survey included a question which asked respondents whether they were looking after any children who were not their own. The survey asked no further questions about whether the respondents were in some way related to the children (e.g. their sibling, uncle/aunt, grandparent etc) so we cannot identify children being cared for in ‘private fostering’<sup>2</sup> arrangements, nor can we identify whether the care arrangement is formal (i.e. known to / authorised by the local authority) or informal. Here, we use the term ‘kinship care’ to denote children being brought up by relatives or friends.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Private fostering’ describes a situation whereby the carer is not a step-parent, grandparent, sibling, uncle or aunt (full, half, or by a civil partnership) and the child is under 16 years of age (or 18 years if disabled) AND the placement lasts longer than 28 days,

Population	Proportion of respondents looking after children that are not their own	Average number of children
Francophone African	12%	2.0
Nigerian	15%	2.0
Sierra Leonean	12%	2.4
Bangladeshi	5%	1.9
Arabic speakers	6%	2.1

Overall, just over one in ten respondents (10.2%) said they were looking after children that were not their own; this was significantly more common among African respondents (11.7% of Francophone Africans, 14.9% of Nigerians, 11.5% of Sierra Leoneans) than amongst Bangladeshis and Arabic speakers (5.4% and 6.1% respectively), reflecting cultural norms in West and Sub-Saharan Africa. Interestingly, the 60+ and 18-24 age groups were more likely to be looking after somebody else's children than those aged 25-59. Undocumented respondents were also more likely to be looking after somebody else's children than documented respondents. In total, 101 children were identified as living in kinship care arrangements across the whole sample; of these, 44 were being cared for by a respondent who had no clear legal status in the UK.

#### 4.4 The Housing of Families in New Populations

Overall, respondents *with* children under 18 were more likely to say they lived in housing owned by the council than those without: 64% of families in the survey said they were in housing owned by the council, compared to 36% of those without children. Some respondents may have mistakenly said that they lived in council housing when they actually live in private rented housing (for example, if they live in a building with Southwark's logo on it, or in sublet council housing).

To control for this, the survey additionally asks respondents who helped them find their housing: 50% of respondents with children said they used the council housing service, versus only 13% of those without children. We can safely assume, therefore, that the data is correct in showing that migrants *with* children are more likely to be living in council housing than those without. This would reflect entitlement criteria for social housing. However, the picture is very varied between communities.

Community	Proportion of families living in accommodation 'owned by the council / government'	Proportion of families living in accommodation owned by 'a landlord' [i.e. private rented]
Overall	64%	23%
Francophone African	48%	28%
Nigerian	32%	48%
Sierra Leonean	66%	23%
Bangladeshi	88%	4%
Arabic speakers	71%	19%

Only 32% of Nigerian and 48% of Francophone African families said they lived in property owned by the council<sup>3</sup>, compared to 66% of Sierra Leonean families, 88% of Bangladeshi families and 71% of Arabic speaking families. Interestingly, the ‘myth’ identified by the Sierra Leonean community researcher which associates being a *single* mother with children appears to be somewhat reflected in the housing tenure of families identified in the survey.

The implication of this is that African families identified in the survey, in particular Nigerians, were more likely to be living in privately rented accommodation. 48% of Nigerian parents were living in accommodation they knew to be owned by a private landlord; several more were living in property owned by a friend, or didn’t know who owned their home. Undocumented respondents with children were also more likely to live in private rented accommodation (50%) than property they believed to be owned by the council (27%). Only 4.4% of Bangladeshi families believed they were living in accommodation owned by a private landlord.

*“You see, in the African community, we help each other out, we sub-let to each other, friends, by word-of-mouth, a room here and there, sometimes illegal, sometimes not.” – Francophone African node*

Overall, respondents with children were considerably less likely to be sharing their accommodation with non-relatives than those without children: only 12% of families were sharing with non-relatives compared with 42% of those who did not have children. Though both figures are perhaps high. Families were also much less likely to be living in households where the residents change frequently. Respondents who said that they were living with other adults (not members of their own family) therefore tended to be unmarried individuals, or couples with no children. However, more than half of undocumented respondents with children were sharing accommodation with people not related to them – and almost one in seven ‘undocumented families’ were living in households where people ‘come and go all the time’.

Between communities, significant differences also emerge in terms of household composition. Only 3% of Arabic speaking and 10% of Bangladeshi families were sharing housing with non-relatives, compared with 20% of Sierra Leonean, 34% of Francophone African and 37% of Nigerian families.

The largest average household size amongst those respondents with children, though, was found to be amongst the Bangladeshi population (5.5), followed by Arabic speakers and Francophone Africans (4.4). Nigerian and Sierra Leonean families had an average household size of 3.9. Further, analysis of average household sizes and average number of children per family showed that in the Francophone African, Sierra Leonean and Bangladeshi families, it was common for other adults to be living in the household. It would appear that amongst Bangladeshis, these other adults tended to be family members, whereas in the African communities, these other adults are perhaps more likely to be non-relatives.

**Migrant families are living in large households. African migrant families, and undocumented migrant families, are more likely to be living in private rented accommodation and more likely to be sharing with other people who are not members of their own family.**

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<sup>3</sup> The low figure for Nigerian respondents may be explained by the fact that this is a longer-established community, with perhaps greater awareness of the distinction between council tenancies and private tenancies in ex-council properties



#### 4.5 Migrant families in Southwark and employment

Across the five populations, 63% of respondents with children were in employment (compared to 68% of those without children). However, these figures mask dramatic variation between the populations studied.

Amongst Francophone Africans, Nigerians and Sierra Leonean families, levels of employment were actually higher for those with children than those without. This included women with children: almost 90% of women with children in the Francophone African and Nigerian communities were working. Employment levels were similarly high amongst ‘undocumented’ families in these populations.

Employment levels amongst Bangladeshi and Arabic speaking respondents with children were dramatically lower – at 35% and 53% respectively. Further analysis of the figures show that this is explained by the fact that Bangladeshi and Arabic speaking mothers were far less likely to be in employment than their African counterparts.

It should be noted, too, that ‘cash-in-hand’ employment was not uncommon among migrant families identified in the survey. Overall, one third of working parents were being paid cash in hand. In certain communities, this figure was even more striking: amongst Arabic speaking parents in work, 44% were being paid in cash; amongst Bangladeshi parents in work, 46% were being paid in cash. Sierra Leonean working parents were least likely to be paid in cash – although even here, the figure was 23% - almost 1 in 4.

The survey illustrates high employment amongst African migrant families – albeit with a considerable proportion of cash-in-hand labour. Employment levels are much lower in Arabic speaking and Bangladeshi families, where mothers are much less likely to be in work.

#### 4.6 Families in new populations in Southwark and immigration status

Respondents with children under 18 in UK (i.e. ‘families’)		
	Regular / documented	Irregular / undocumented
Overall	81%	13%
Francophone African	82%	15%
Nigerian	54%	46%
Sierra Leonean	85%	14%
Bangladeshi	96%	0%
Arabic speakers	86%	2%

While across the whole sample, 24.4% of respondents said they were undocumented, the figure for respondents with children is lower, at 13.2%<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, this still means that more than 1 in 10 recent migrants with children in the survey had no clear legal status in the UK. A total of 86 children were identified as living with an undocumented parent<sup>5</sup>. 50 of these children were in the Nigerian community, 18 amongst Francophone Africans, 12 amongst Sierra Leoneans and 3 amongst Arabic speaking respondents. No Bangladeshi children were identified as living with (an) undocumented

<sup>4</sup> These were principally visa overstayers, or people using false documentation.

<sup>5</sup> The questionnaire did not seek to ascertain the migration status of the other parent, where present

parent(s), although 3 Bangladeshi respondents with children did not disclose their migration status.

The figure of 86 children with (an) undocumented parent(s) represents 12% of the total number of children identified in the survey. It was clear from the research that undocumented migrants with children face great challenges: working long hours in low-paid, cash-in-hand, manual occupations and living in crowded, sub-standard and precarious housing. They have no recourse to public funds, even avoiding essential services such as healthcare, in fear of deportation. It is not surprising that Southwark children's services report that such families are turning to the council, destitute and desperate, in increasing numbers.

Almost half (46%) of Nigerian families identified in the survey were undocumented – far higher than the equivalent figure amongst the other populations (15% for Francophone Africans, 14% for Sierra Leoneans, 2% for Arabic speakers and nil for Bangladeshis). The phenomenon of children growing up in families with at least one undocumented parent appears, therefore, to be particularly acute amongst Nigerians. This is perhaps counter-intuitive given that the Nigerian community is relatively long-established in the borough compared to the other populations studied. Qualitative data from the community ethnographies suggests, though, that migration to London becomes easier and easier, the larger and more established the receiving 'established' community is. For example, there will be more 'nodes' able to help with private rented housing, more jobs in community businesses.

The low numbers of undocumented migrants with children in the Bangladeshi and Arabic speaking populations raises another question – namely that of welfare reform. It was noted above that these families were more likely to have at least one parent out of work; if these families also have legal status, it is possible that they are claiming benefits and will therefore be affected by welfare reform.

## 5.0 Health

Much of this report focuses on migrants that are hidden from view. Their lives are often characterised by overcrowded housing, manual labour and anti-social working patterns and challenges often overlooked by the majority of London's population. From Algerian sweet shops to Ahwazi ESOL classes, from west African witchcraft to Sierra Leonean mosques, these populations sustain subcultures and traditions with which the capital's mainstream seldom come into any contact.

Healthcare is perhaps the single domain where these hidden populations come into clear view, for when it comes to giving birth or accessing treatment for serious conditions, migrants have few alternatives to the healthcare offered by the state and its various local agencies.

### 5.1 The health of migrants in Southwark

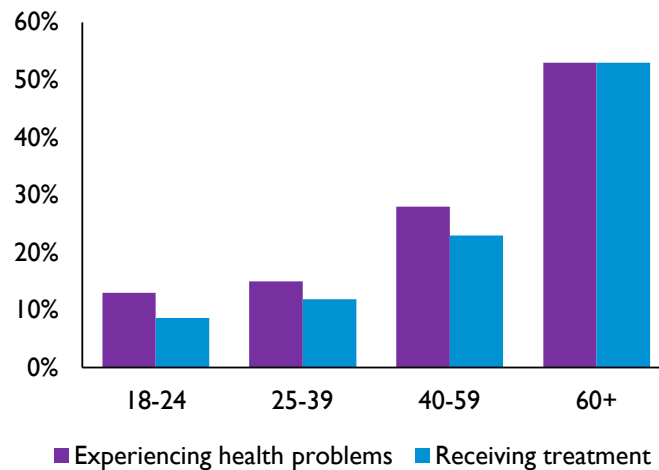
<b>Do you currently suffer any problems with your health?</b>			
	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Of which, % receiving treatment</b>
Overall	80%	19%	80%
Francophone African	79%	21%	77%
Nigerian	80%	19%	76%
Sierra Leonean	78%	22%	77%
Bangladeshi	87%	13%	76%
Arabic speakers	79%	20%	94%
Male	82%	18%	70%
Female	79%	21%	90%
18-24	86%	13%	66%
25-39	85%	15%	79%
40-59	72%	28%	82%
60+	47%	53%	100%
Have children U18 in UK	83%	17%	89%
No children U18 in UK	79%	20%	76%
Documented	81%	19%	88%
Undocumented	81%	19%	64%

Across the sample, 19% of respondents said that they were suffering health problems. This figure was remarkably similar across communities. The Bangladeshis were an exception, with notably fewer reporting health problems. Of course this could reflect low incidence of or lower recognition of ill-health.

Arabic speakers were significantly more likely to be accessing treatment than those in other communities (94%). Though 90% of women suffering health problems were accessing treatment, this figure compared to only 70% of men. Respondents with children were also more likely to access treatment than those without children.

A further key variation emerged between documented and undocumented migrants. While both reported similar incidence of health problems, only 64% of undocumented respondents said they were accessing treatment, compared to 88% of documented respondents.

As is perhaps to be expected, ill health was more widespread amongst older respondents. The graph to the right illustrates the variation in access to treatment across different age groups. Only 66% of 18-24 year olds suffering health problems at the time of fieldwork were receiving treatment.



Crucially, our dataset suggests much more widespread ill-health than equivalent data coming out of the census. For example, in the Census, only 9% of those describing their ethnicity as “African” said they were in “bad, very bad, or fair health”. In our survey of new populations, by contrast, 20% of black African respondents said they were suffering health problems. This was despite our survey having a slightly younger age profile than the West/Central African-born population as a whole (if we take census estimates as a benchmark).

It is clear from the qualitative data that ‘treatment’ did not always mean traditional or formal care provided by the NHS. It included the use of private hospitals (such as *Le Dispensaire Français*, the French Clinic in Hammersmith) and the use of traditional medicines, including witchcraft, which appeared to community researchers and nodes as unremarkable, if not necessarily commonplace.

## 5.2 Access to NHS services

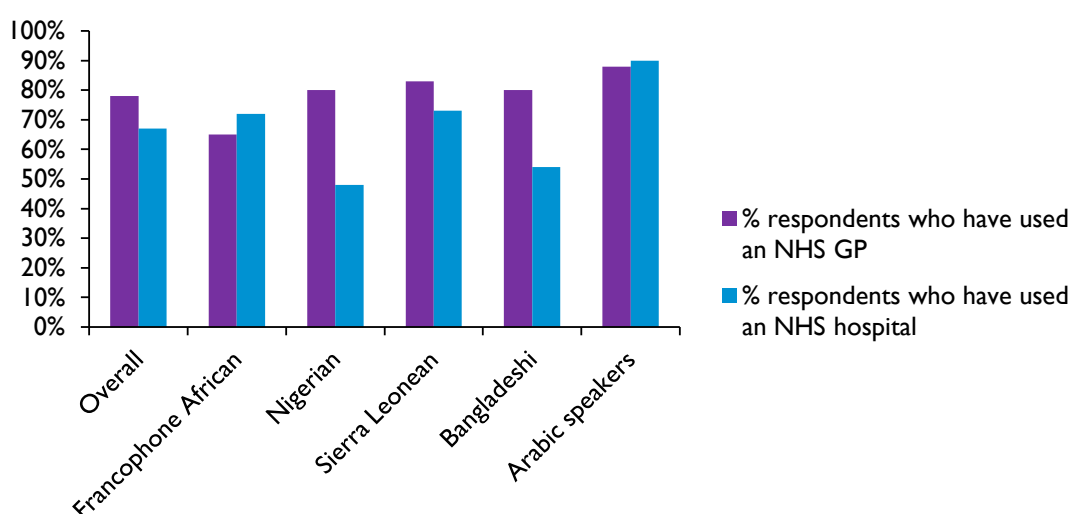
The survey asked further questions about access to health services in terms of the use of GPs and the use of NHS hospitals. The results demonstrate significant variation across the communities studied.

	% respondents who have used an NHS GP	% respondents who have used an NHS hospital
Overall	78%	67%
Francophone African	65%	72%
Nigerian	80%	48%
Sierra Leonean	83%	73%
Bangladeshi	80%	54%
Arabic speakers	88%	90%
Male	74%	61%
Female	83%	74%
18-24	73%	61%
25-39	77%	67%
40-59	84%	71%
60+	87%	85%
Have children U18 in UK	88%	83%
No children U18 in UK	72%	58%
Documented	85%	78%
Undocumented	64%	39%

Respondents without children, undocumented respondents and male respondents were all significantly less likely to have used an NHS GP or hospital

Across the whole sample, more respondents had used a GP than had used a hospital. This is not the case, though, for Francophone Africans, more of whom had used a hospital than a GP. This is potentially indicative of migrants turning to hospitals for treatment as first recourse rather than their GPs.

This variation in use of health services in the form of GPs and hospitals is interesting given that there were such small differences in terms of the incidence of health problems. Low GP use is evident amongst Francophone Africans; and use of hospitals varies considerably between 54% of Nigerian respondents to 90% of Arabic-speaking respondents, as shown in the following bar chart.



There was agreement amongst community nodes in several of the communities studied that undocumented individuals in their population found it particularly difficult to access GP services.

*“I met one person, he was ill and he had been to the GP to get treatment. They asked him to show his papers; he said he didn’t have them, and they refused to see him. He was told to go to Kings College Hospital” – Francophone African node*

Some respondents without formal paperwork appear to be actively avoiding state health services, fearing that engagement with the NHS may lead to hefty treatment bills or expose their presence in the UK to immigration authorities. In particular, community nodes reported that some undocumented mothers of newborn babies were avoiding antenatal services in the fear that they would be presented with the “£13,000” bill for having had a baby.

## 6.0 Employment

The term ‘economic migrant’ is a misleading one, despite its prevalence in mainstream media and political rhetoric. The term seems to imply that there are other types of migrant who might not be concerned with making money in the country they have moved to. In reality, all migration has an element of economic concern. Migrants need to find a way to make a living. In all of our focus groups, workshops and interviews ‘work’ emerged as a primary topic: the need to find it, the barriers to it and the nature of it. Along with housing, employment is a major factor in determining the experiences of migrants living in Southwark and the UK. As a rule, we observed that migrants come to the UK to *work* and increase their wellbeing – and do not expect to do so by relying on state benefits.

Looking at migrant employment in a survey that specifically aims to include those migrants who seek to remain ‘hidden’ however, is difficult. Many migrants are engaged in informal employment, others may have no entitlement to work in the UK, but do so anyway, and others may have formal employment, but are using false National Insurance numbers. All of this means that the data we collected in relation to migrant employment may be problematic. In this report we have tried as far as is possible to account for any anomalies in the data.

### 6.1 Employment rates

The table below illustrates the basic employment rates in each of the populations we looked at. Respondents were asked first to indicate whether they were employed or unemployed, and then record whether full-time or part-time, students, carers etc.

Population	Employment rate
Overall	67%
Francophone African	79%
Nigerian	75%
Sierra Leonean	67%
Bangladeshi	52%
Arabic speakers	52%

The table immediately shows that employment rates in the Bangladeshi, and Arabic speaking populations were significantly lower. The cause of these lower numbers appears to be that women in the Bangladeshi and Arabic speaking populations were far less likely to be employed than other groups in the sample (19% and 33% respectively). Sierra Leonian women were also slightly less likely to work than their male counterparts (61%). But female respondents in the Nigerian and Francophone African populations were just as likely to be employed as the men.

*Women in the Bangladeshi and Arabic speaking populations were far less likely to be employed.*

## 6.2 Types of employment

**Full or part time?** 56% of those who were employed, indicated that their employment was full-time and 44% part-time. Across the populations, and perhaps surprisingly, the greater proportion of those working part time were male.

As became clear in our qualitative data-collection, part-time work is not the most desirable kind of work. Respondents indicated that they would much rather be working full time than part time; mainly due to the fact that it meant more wages. Interestingly, documented migrants were no more likely to have found full-time employment than undocumented migrants.

The group with the highest rate of part-time employment was, perhaps worryingly, the youngest age-group (18-24 year olds), and especially those that have been in the UK for the shortest length of time. In the 18-24 group, 56% of those who were employed were employed only part-time, yet this is the group that is most likely to have been seeking full-time employment.

*Those in the 18-24 age range, the youngest in our sample, were the most likely to have found only part-time employment (56% of those employed). They were also slightly less likely to have found any employment at all, than other age groups.*

**Cash in hand?** 28% of our sample indicated that they worked for 'cash in hand'. This is perhaps the best proxy for understanding how many people in the sample worked informally. The response rate for this question was actually far higher (881 of 981 surveys) than a later question that asked for specific details about current employment.

Unsurprisingly, those parts of the population who were more likely to be working for cash were the following:

- Those with little or no education 64%
- Undocumented migrants 58% (of those employed)
- Visa-overstayers 53%

*28% of our sample indicated that they worked 'cash in hand'.*

**Sectors:** Where answers were specified, the most common sectors of employment for the migrants in our sample were catering and retail (by some considerable distance). But the sample also contained teachers, care workers, builders, plumbers, managers, and those who were self-employed.

It is fair to say that while traditional 'ethnic industries' (shops and services, such as restaurants, that wear a particular ethnic 'badge') are still very important for migrants coming to Southwark, there is also a wide array of other kinds of employment open to migrants.

### 6.3 Tax and exploitation

**NI numbers:** The proportion of our sample who claimed to have a National Insurance (NI) number was similar to the proportion who said that they were employed, around 66%. However, this did not mean that all of those with NI numbers were employed, nor that everyone who was employed held a national insurance number.

200 people in our sample were employed, but did not have a NI number. Furthermore, some 28% of undocumented migrants claimed to have NI numbers. These figures highlight how difficult it is to use NI numbers and registrations as a guide to understanding migrant employment (or migrants and migration more generally).

Migrants spoke of complicated arrangements whereby NI numbers were shared, manipulated and invented so as not to be a barrier to employment.

*“I know one person [...]. He took my NI number and just changed one digit. He works with that. I know because I saw his payslip one day. I said “what’s that?”. He pays his taxes with my name. He works under my name.” – Francophone African node*

**Tax:** It is worth noting, counter to certain prevailing discourses, that a very high proportion of migrants pay tax. They pay through income taxes, National Insurance contributions (even when fake NI numbers are used) and council taxes.

**Exploitation:** Undocumented migrants can be very vulnerable to employer exploitation. We encountered many stories of people being forced to work for long hours on low pay (well below minimum wage) under the threat of deportation. This kind of employer exploitation is going on in businesses located in Southwark. Migrants in these situations often feel that they have very little recourse to complain.

More complicated situations can arise in relation to sharing NI numbers, identity documents and even bank accounts. Focus group respondents described labyrinthine relationships whereby one person may be collecting wages for several people in his bank account. In this situation, complex negotiations over fees and commission can take place and create rifts between people. Again, those without their own documents and bank accounts are the more vulnerable.

*“Let me be honest here. They maybe pay them £3 for one hour.” – Arabic speaking employer*

### 6.4 The unemployed

Not all of those migrants in our sample who indicated that they were unemployed were actively seeking work. Approximately one third were students and one quarter said that they were looking after family members. Smaller numbers were volunteering or disabled and unable to work.

Women with children under 18 were also less likely to be working.



Unemployment was a worry for most of those we spoke to, but inadequate employment was as much of a concern. Ultimately, migrants coming to the UK have a strong desire to work, and in many cases, simply must. To this end, they will often 'find a way' either in unattractive employment, or by doing odd-jobs to make ends meet.

*“A lot of my people are doing businesses here and there... hairdressers, toenail cutters, whatever ... to get on. Barbers. Tailors. People are doing on-hand jobs to keep their body afloat, together. In case they have to stop the work or whatever” – Nigerian ‘node’*

## 6.5 Barriers to employment

**Qualifications:** A common complaint across the different migrant populations was that employers did not recognise qualifications from overseas. They did not know how to interpret them and ultimately did not respect them. This often meant that migrants had to retrain and re-qualify once in the UK – or seek work at lower pay that demanded fewer qualifications.

Stories of migrant workers being over-qualified to be doing the kinds of work they were doing in the UK were, again, common.

**Language:** A lack of proficiency with English means that some migrants can only find work in certain types of industry and with certain types of employer.

In the 'fact sheets' attached to this document, we have included figures for proficiency with English in each population. It is quite clear that, even in established migrant populations in which a large number of people are fluent with English, there can be more hidden sub-populations who do not speak English well at all.

It is worth remembering that not being able to speak English can leave migrants more vulnerable to exploitation in the workplace due to having to rely solely on employers to interpret regulations for them.

**Gender:** Although our research cannot demonstrate that being female is a specific barrier to work within certain cultures or populations, we are able to demonstrate that in the Arabic-speaking and Bangladeshi populations, women were less likely to be working. This phenomenon may reflect cultural traditions and values and the age of respondents' children (for example,

**Documentation:** Undocumented migrants are obviously not entitled to work in the UK, and as such lack of documentation is a significant barrier to finding work. However, analysis shows that undocumented individuals were in fact *more* likely to be employed than documented migrants (74% compared to 66%). The explanation for this is that all individuals – migrant or not – need some source of income in order to live. Undocumented migrants have no access to any form of services or support, and are often unmarried with no immediate family – so work informally or are paid in cash.

Respondents were clear that one of the primary motivations for obtaining legal rights to remain in the UK, was to be able to find work and to seek employment and employment conditions that were currently unavailable to them.

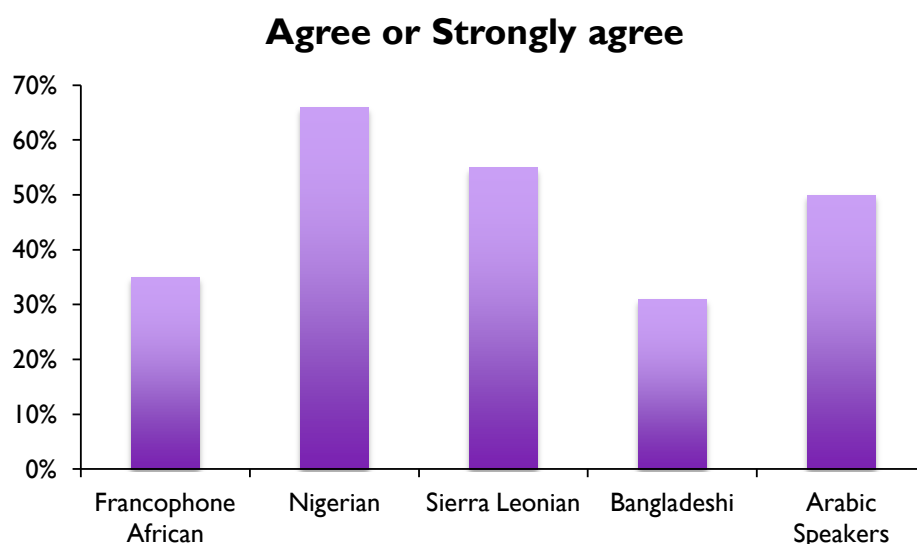
## 7.0 Community Cohesion

We have titled this section of the report ‘community cohesion’, but it is intended to cover a range of issues, from community cohesion to engagement, integration and the specific cultural issues that are prescient to understanding different migrant populations.

### 7.1 Cohesion across and within communities

Our survey specifically asked respondents to say whether they felt that Southwark was a place in which people from different backgrounds get along well together. The bar chart below outlines the responses to this question by population.

**“To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where people of different backgrounds get on well together?”**



These findings seem to suggest that Nigerians were the most likely to agree that Southwark was a place in which people of different backgrounds get along well together, the Bangladeshis being the least likely to agree. However, when taken in the context of our qualitative findings, we would suggest that there are perhaps different explanations for these results.

In our ethnographic research and community node workshops, few concerns were raised about tensions between communities in Southwark. However, Bangladeshis (especially those who did not speak English and were new to the UK) felt somewhat marginalised in general. On occasion this was attributed to background, though in reality it may be more down to the structural exclusions of language and documentation. Our African respondents also spoke positively about the ‘African’ infrastructure of places like Peckham – in which all Africans could ‘feel at home’ – but the Francophone Africans who were both newer and spoke a different language felt that they may be in some sense excluded from that infrastructure.

In terms of criticism of community, our respondents were, in fact, far more likely to speak negatively about their own ‘community’ than they were about others. Respondents in all of the workshops spoke about the fact that there were people within their own community who were ‘only out for themselves’ and did not support others. Ironically, several

respondents indicated that the other communities we were studying were more likely to help others from the same background than their own community was.

## 7.2 Community divisions

More prevalent than talk about cohesion *between* ‘races’ or ‘ethnicities’, was talk about division *within* ‘communities’. For example, the Nigerians talked about differences between the Hausa and the Yoruba; Sierra Leoneans about the difference between the Krios and the rest; Francophones about those from Ivory Coast and others, and so on. This reminds us that often talk of ‘a community’ is more to do with Western understandings of ‘communities’ rather than the ways in which migrant populations divide themselves up and identify themselves.

Of key importance here is to understand that when reaching out to ‘communities’ it is often not enough to talk to only one (or even two) representatives of ‘a community’. A deeper and more nuanced understanding of migrants from different background within countries, regions and faiths is required.

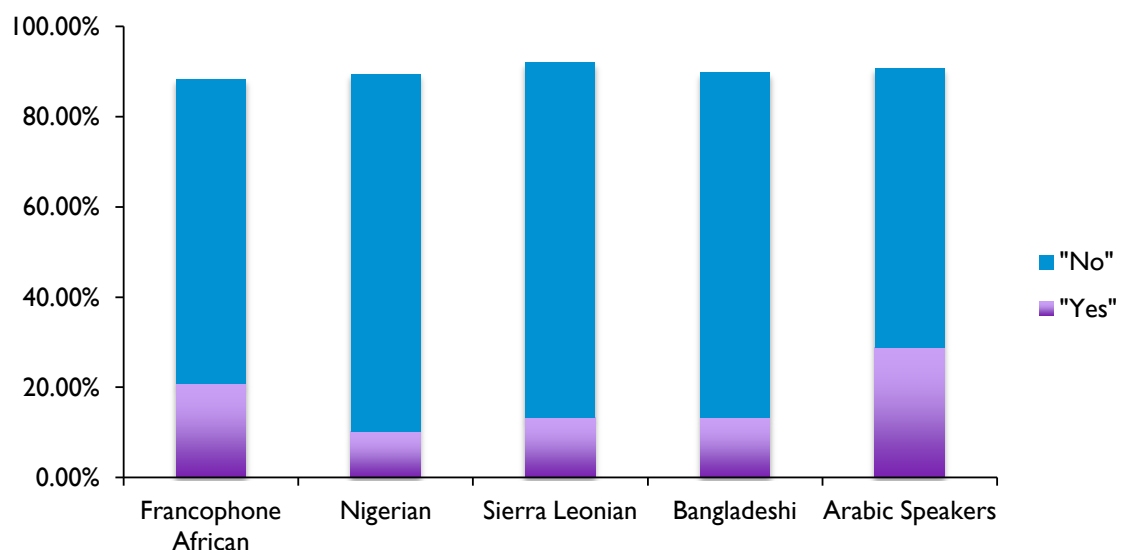
*“The problem is, with Arabs, each community is by itself. They never come together” – Arabic speaking ‘node’*

## 7.3 Community engagement

ESRO has developed a reputation for being able to conduct research with hard-to-reach groups and specifically with migrant populations. To some extent, our research methods are in themselves methods of community engagement – albeit resource-intensive ones.

Traditionally, community engagement and efforts at communication with marginalised populations is done through third-sector channels. It is thus interesting to note the figures we collected from our survey relating to the levels of use of ‘community specific’ third sector services.

**“Do you use or contact services that are provided specifically for people in your community?”**



These figures immediately reveal how few migrants access services that have been set up specifically for people within their community. In fact, further analysis of the data showed that where people had answered 'yes' to this question, many had cited universal services such as shops and children's centres that weren't in fact specifically for those communities. In other words, use of the third sector is virtually unknown among migrants.

Given the divisions within communities described above, the chances of third sector organisations being able to reach or adequately represent migrant populations, seem very low.

This should not be taken as meaning that migrants do not want such organisations to exist however. Respondents in our focus groups were very clear that they wanted more community specific advice resources. The main barriers to success for such organisations however seemed to be a lack of money, and that such organisations, where they did exist, were actually unable to address the most pressing problems within the community: **employment, housing and legal advice.**

*"If I had money, I would make a place, a permanent place, where Nigerians can go, for free advice. Like the Citizens Advice Bureau, I found a lot of our people don't go in there, because they don't trust the people themselves, .. they think they're working for the Government"*

#### **7.4 Stronger bonds and community support**

In this context of need, two institutions stand out in particular as being the main providers of support to migrant populations: churches/mosques and extended kin networks.

**Churches and mosques:** Respondents across the research were clear that churches and mosques were significant sources of community cohesion, of advice and of practical help to migrants. As one Nigerian respondent put it: *"If you do have a problem, if you need help, if you don't have your family around you, that's why a lot of churches are booming, because if you don't have anyone that can help you out, if you belong to a church, your needs will be met."*

However, it should be borne in mind that different churches and mosques serve different populations. In Southwark there are churches and mosques that serve only one particular part of one particular community. And because they can create strong congregations, they can be exclusionary as well as inclusive. Furthermore, respondents also described some churches and mosques that they felt were exploitative, existing only to siphon money from those who already had little.

**Kinship:** The strongest community bonds of all were those created by ties of kinship. Family members provided support and help to other family members and being part of a kinship network often implied duty and obligation to help others. These kinship networks could extend widely and be based on clan membership overseas. And of course there were often obligations on migrants to provide money and support to kin networks elsewhere in the world.

Kinship networks then provided a source of both support and obligation.

## 8.0 Appendix A: Research methods

### 8.1 The five populations

In early 2011, ESRO was commissioned by Southwark Borough Council to explore five different new populations. Each had been identified as being poorly understood, either due to the fact that the growth of the population in the borough had been relatively recent, or because it was suspected that a large proportion of the population might be 'hidden' from official statistics and/or administrative data sources.

The populations included three defined by specific countries of origin and two defined by a common geo-linguistic background. They included:

- French-speaking, sub-Saharan Africans
- Bangladeshis
- Arabic speakers (mostly identifying as Arab)
- Nigerians
- Sierra Leoneans

### 8.2 Traditional community research

Traditionally, community engagement and community research has taken place in two ways: 1) Local authority community engagement teams liaising and working with third sector organisations that can represent different parts of the population, and 2) longer-term, in-depth, academic research within communities. Both approaches have their problems.

**Engagement through the third sector:** Community engagement activities carried out within local authorities can tend to valorise the third sector, seeing community organisations as the best means to engage with hard-to-reach communities. This assumption may be misplaced. 'Community organisations' vary in their ability to adequately reach out to different groups of people. And, through no fault of their own, they are often asked to represent large swathes of people with whom they have little or no relation or contact.

**Deep academic exploration:** In contrast, academic research does often go further into communities and population groups, exploring deeply the different kinds of lives that people lead and going beyond the traditional 'community gatekeepers'. However, academic research is not always easy for local policy-makers and administrators to use. Discussions of, for example, *trans-national identity* and *postcolonial perspectives on citizenship* are without doubt interesting, but may also confuse and over-complicate what is already a challenging environment of policy and administration.

Research for *this* project aimed to combine the best of both of these types of community engagement research. The aim was to go beyond the 'usual suspects' but also to keep the research focused on issues and outcomes that would be useful to local decision makers.

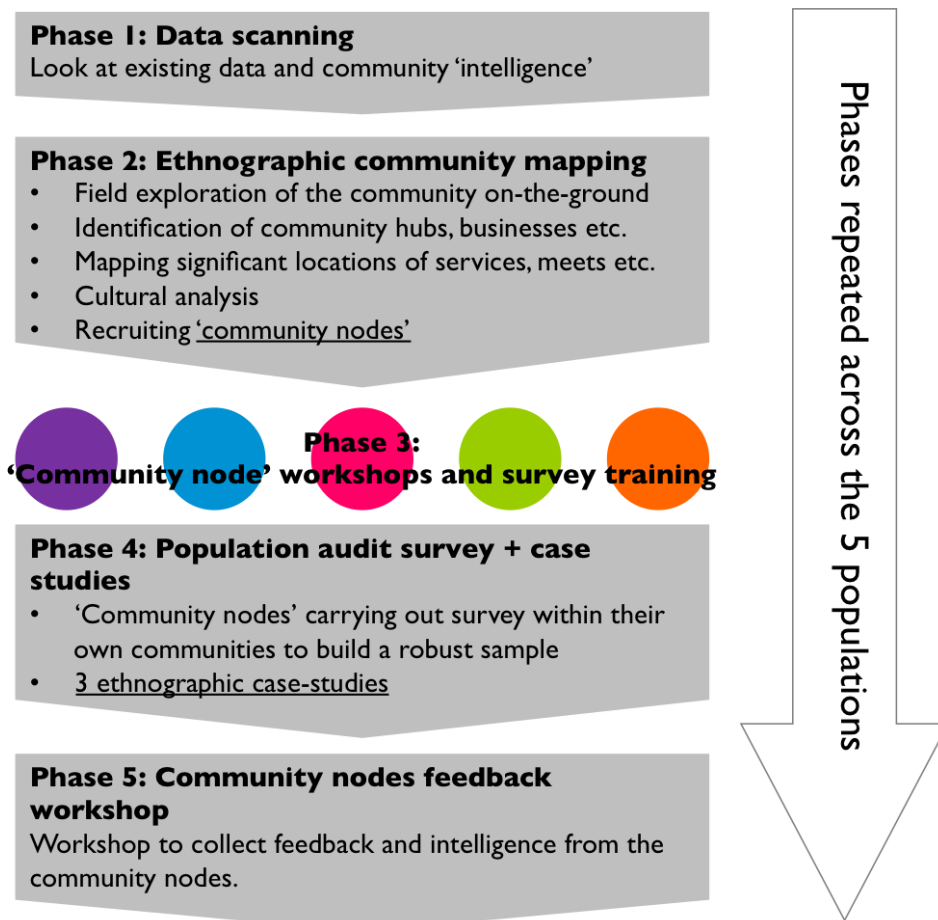
### 8.3 ESRO's "Community webbing" model

ESRO first developed the 'community webbing' technique in 2007 whilst conducting research in Belfast. The method was devised to explore the complexities and challenges for Catholics and Protestants living in and around a contested space in East Belfast. The mixed methodology made use ethnographic research techniques as well as focus groups and a community audit. Perhaps most importantly, ESRO's researchers also trained and employed local young people to carry out research in their own communities.

Since that time the methodology has been developed and enhanced so that it could be used to explore a number of different 'hard to reach' communities and hidden populations around the UK. In particular, using in-house expertise and knowledge, we have been able to conduct a number of *community webbing* studies with different migrant populations in and around London. A similar methodology was used during the research presented here.

### 8.4 Community webbing in Southwark

The research methodology used here had five clear phases: 1) examination of existing knowledge and data, 2) ethnographic exploration and observation, 3) focus groups and training workshops , 4) community survey, and 5) feedback workshops with community researchers. The five phases were repeated across each of the five populations.



**Ethnographic community mapping and ‘day in the life’ studies:** Researchers spent 25 days in the field, exploring and investigating the infrastructure and institutions of the five different populations in Southwark. This meant visits to community centres and informal interviews with third-sector representatives, but it also meant locating shops and services that acted as informal community hubs. Researchers mapped the physical centres of community life, but also made connections, chatted informally and generally gained a feel for the day-to-day rhythms of migrant life in Southwark.

During this first phase of research there were two goals: 1) to understand the landscape of the populations we were investigating, and 2) identify ten people from each population whom we considered to be ‘community nodes’ (key figures in migrant communities). These nodes were then invited to take part in the latter stages of our research as community researchers. The time was also used to recruit three people from each community to take part in a ‘day in the life’ study, which we used to explore themes emerging from latter research stages and to gain an understanding of day-to-day life for different individuals.

**Focus groups and community surveys:** The ethnographic immersion was followed by focus groups attended by the nodes found during field research. The participants were diverse. There were business owners, landlords, mothers, fathers, undocumented migrants, multi-linguists, students, church and community group leaders and more. They came from different parts of the borough, and each had access to different parts of the different migrant populations in Southwark.

The focus groups aimed to elucidate in more detail the themes and issues that were to be covered in the surveys. We explored issues of housing (Where did people live? What did they think of living conditions? How did people find a place to live?), employment (How did migrants ‘get by’ while living in Southwark? What kinds of work did they do? How did they find employment?), legal status, access to services etc. We also used these groups to train participants to carry out research for us within their own communities. They were asked to collect between 10 and 30 survey responses from friends, family, acquaintances and people they met in shopping-centres, cafes etc. This method enabled us to collect surveys from deep inside the two populations. In this way we moved our survey reach beyond the usual pool of respondents who will respond to formal research surveys, to those who might speak only to those they already know and trust.

Finally, our community researchers returned for follow-up focus groups to explore specific issue of engagement, their experiences of data-collection and the things they had found out. We used this to further explore the more difficult questions of need and daily life amongst populations who might otherwise remain hidden or unknown.

### **8.5 Research questions**

The research had a broad remit. Its primary purpose was to uncover emerging issues among ‘hidden’ populations and to obtain statistics pertaining to living patterns and demography. Questions addressed in the survey and the groups focussed on three areas: needs (health, housing, employment etc.), living patterns (geography, living conditions, movements etc.) and engagement (council services, social capital, census etc.). As such, many of the issues that were explored and which emerged through the research were relevant to different local government departments, though not all were covered in equal depth. To some extent the research findings should be treated as indicators and flags for further research, as well as providing a solid baseline understanding of the character of the five populations in Southwark.

The surveys were detailed, containing 46 questions, but were designed to be easy to answer (with simple options or binary choices) and easy to administer (wording was deliberately simple, and some complex issues were deliberately simplified). Wherever possible, we have highlighted those instances in which we feel that it is necessary to understand the exact wording of the questions asked and the answers given.

Method summary	Components
Data scanning	Looking at existing population data-sets
Ethnographic immersion	25 days of fieldwork 50 informal interviews 15 'day in the life' studies
Focus groups	Community mapping 50 respondents
Surveys	175 approx. returns per population
Feedback workshops	Gaining insight from community researchers' experiences

## 8.6 Survey sample

The true size, features and location of the migrant population in Southwark remain unknown, so it is impossible for anyone to construct a truly random or 'statistically representative' sample. We can make certain types of intuitive guesses about a migrant population, such as that the population will probably contain a larger proportion of working age men than women, and see how well this assumption is reflected in our survey sample. But in reality, the assumption itself cannot be tested, either in the sense of being 'true' or not, or in terms of degree (how many more men are there than women).

We recruited a wide range of community 'nodes' who collected surveys from friends, family, peers and neighbours. The diversity in our sample therefore reflects the diversity of our 'nodes' and the diversity of the people that they interviewed.

With this in mind, the sample demographics should only be used as a point of comparison with other data sets, and validation of the fact that we were able to access a wide range of different people. However, it should also be borne in mind that our survey method was specifically designed to be inclusive of certain types of "hard to reach" or "hidden" populations that may be missing from other survey data (such as undocumented migrants, those living in unlicensed HMOs etc.). Therefore our sample SHOULD differ in certain key respects, to others.

The community researchers were both male and female, spoke relevant languages, were employed and unemployed, documented and undocumented, came from different regions within each of the home countries, and spanned different age groups. They were each given the same basic instructions for identifying survey respondents:

- All respondents had to be currently living in Southwark
- All respondents had to self-identify as belonging to one of the five populations
- All respondents had to be over 18
- All respondents had to be born overseas
- Each respondent had to come from a separate and distinct household<sup>6</sup>
- Respondents could be either documented or undocumented

<sup>6</sup> So as to eliminate the possibility of double-counting when looking at household data.



Surveys were carried out face-to-face in shops, streets, restaurants, bars, homes, churches and mosques, lecture halls and offices. In total 981 responses were submitted for analysis:

Population	No. of survey responses
French-speaking Africans	256
Bangladeshis	166
Arabic speakers	163
Nigerians	208
Sierra Leoneans	174
Chose not to state	14
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>981</b>

In comparison with other surveys of this kind, these sample sizes for each population are large. A good case could be made that, due to the variety of different migrant populations studied and the relatively large overall sample size, overall findings could be treated as a reasonable proxy for Southwark’s migrant population in general. It should be acknowledged however, that each migrant population has unique characteristics. This means that populations not included here (such as the Chinese population) might have significantly changed some of the overall figures, like ‘average household size’.

### 8.7 A note on the two non-send-country-defined populations

The French-speaking African and Arabic-speaking populations were deliberately broadly defined. The aim was to gain insight into communities that come together in Southwark due to shared linguistic backgrounds rather than isolating communities from individual countries. This approach was vindicated to a very great extent during research – as it quickly became apparent that although there was some cleavage along national lines, people with common linguistic backgrounds undoubtedly shared common infrastructure and socialised together.

The French-speaking Africans who took part in our study came from: Mali, Congo, Togo, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Burkina-Faso, Cameroon, Ghana, Niger, Gabon, Benin, Mauritania, Chad, Madagascar, Central African Republic and Sudan. Those who identified as Arabic-speakers included those from Iran, Iraq, Algeria, Yemen, Afghanistan, India, Tunisia, Egypt, Pakistan, Lebanon, Palestine, Somalia, Oman and Morocco.

We are aware that migrants from places such as Algeria and Morocco could have identified as both Arabic and French speaking. However, participants **self-identified** as belonging to one or other of the groups. This means that in practise, although some Algerian respondents could speak French, they identified themselves primarily as Arabic-speaking and/or Arab. The group categories were then, more defined by respondents than by researchers and reflect communities in Southwark, rather than being descriptions of ethnicity. It is also worth noting that despite the diversity in terms of the list of countries of origin, large groups from specific countries dominated the survey populations. More than 50% of the French-speaking African respondents, for example, came from Ivory Coast, and more than two-thirds of the Arabic-speaking respondents came from Algeria and Iran.

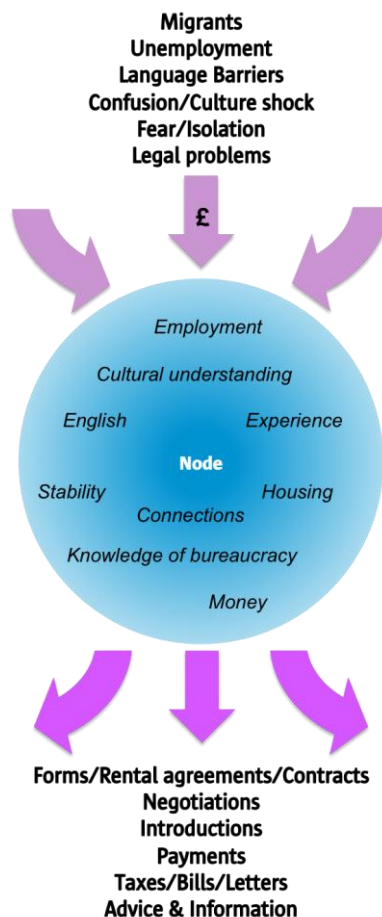
## 8.8 “Community nodes”

Working with migrant populations elsewhere in London, ESRO’s researchers learned that migrant populations and communities often pivot around ‘nodes’. Essentially, nodes are informal cultural brokers. ‘Nodes’ are people to whom migrants might turn for advice on housing, or employment, for example. Often, nodes will be migrants themselves, but migrants who speak English and who are more familiar with British culture and bureaucracy. Or they may have some kind of physical asset; a house with rooms to rent, or a business with jobs on offer. In terms of dealing with local bureaucracies and institutions (paying council tax, filling in forms, sorting out bills etc.), nodes might represent a large number of people who cannot (or do not wish to) represent themselves. Such nodes *can* be of great help to migrants who are otherwise helpless or vulnerable.

Nodes do not necessarily choose to become nodes. Sometimes the role is thrust upon them by requests for help. In many cases, nodes are simply kindly people who feel a sense of duty to help their fellow countrymen. Others, such as informal sub-letters or landlords, may have a more direct financial stake in the choices that migrants make. In this context, it is worth remembering that nodes are often also in a position to exploit those who come to them for help. For the purposes of our research we did not employ those whom we felt were taking advantage of their position, but we certainly heard stories about them.

For the purposes of trying to understand community and population however, it is clear that nodes have a uniquely nuanced overview. They learn of the problems people face, and of the ways in which they negotiate their way through them. They see the changing populations and they shape, in many ways, the living patterns of new arrivals. Even more importantly for local authorities, nodes often act as go-betweens between migrants and the state. It is often the nodes who will fill in Census forms, respond to the electoral roll and to council tax forms, make phone calls and contact the council on behalf of other migrants.

**Figure 1: Nodes**



## **9.0 Appendix B: Population fact sheets**

(based on findings from the migrant populations survey)



# Fact sheet

## Francophone Africans

Sample size: 256

Primary locations (size order)

Peckham, Camberwell, Rotherhithe

Gender

62% male; 35% female (All adults)

Main countries of origin

Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Congo

Undocumented

26%

Employment rate

79%

Average household size

3.8



**39%** definitely filled in a census form

Most used services



GP **65%**  
Hospital **72%**  
Schools **41%**  
Home help / Day-centres **39%**



Education

**33%** University  
**58%** Middle and high school  
**14%** Junior school or none



**35%**

agree that their locality is a place where people of different backgrounds get on well together

Have children in Southwark schools **20%**



Look after someone else's children **11%**

**14%** struggle with English



# Fact sheet

## Nigerians

Sample size: 208

Primary locations (size order)

Peckham, Camberwell, Walworth

Gender

56% male; 43% female (All adults)

Main countries of origin

Nigeria (Lagos, Ogun State)

Undocumented

41%

Employment rate

75%

Average household size

3.4



**51%** definitely filled in a census form

Most used services



GP **80%**  
Hospital **48%**  
Legal advice **18%**  
Schools **16%**



Education

**51%** University  
**38%** Middle and high school  
**6%** Junior school or none

Have children in Southwark schools **20%**



Look after someone else's children **15%**



**66%**

agree that their locality is a place where people of different backgrounds get on well together

**4%** struggle with English



# Fact sheet

Sierra Leoneans  
Sample size: 174

Primary locations (size order)

Peckham, Camberwell

Gender

47% male; 49% female (All adults)

Main countries of origin

Sierra Leone (Freetown)

Undocumented

25%

Employment rate

67%

Average household size

4.0



**57%** definitely filled in a census form

Most used services



GP **83%**  
Hospital **73%**  
Jobcentres **48%**  
Housing **37%**



Education

**30%** University  
**48%** Middle and high school  
**21%** Junior school or none



**55%**

agree that their locality is a place where people of different backgrounds get on well together

Have children in Southwark schools **34%**



Look after someone else's children **11%**

**8%** struggle with English



# Fact sheet

**Bangladeshis**

**Sample size: 166**

**Primary locations (size order)**

Elephant and Castle, Camberwell

**Gender**

**55% male; 42% female** (All adults)

**Main countries of origin**

Bangladesh (Sylhet)

**Undocumented**

**13%**

**Employment rate**

**52%**

**Average household size**

**4.9**



**50%** definitely filled in a census form

**Most used services**



GP **80%**  
Hospital **54%**  
Schools **27%**  
Housing **25%**



**Education**

**26%** University  
**59%** Middle and high school  
**10%** Junior school or none



**31%**

agree that their locality is a place where people of different backgrounds get on well together

**37%** struggle with English

Have children in Southwark schools **30%**



Look after someone else's children **5%**



# Fact sheet

Arabic speakers  
Sample size: 163

Primary locations (size order)

Bermondsey, Elephant and Castle, Peckham

Gender

62% male; 37% female (All adults)

Main countries of origin

Algeria, Iran (Ahwaz)

Undocumented

10%

Employment rate

52%

Average household size

4.1



33% definitely filled in a census form

Most used services



Hospital **90%**  
GP **88%**  
Housing **61%**  
Jobcentres **51%**



Education

35% University  
48% Middle and high school  
15% Junior school or none



50%

agree that their locality is a place where people of different backgrounds get on well together

Have children in Southwark schools **52%**



Look after someone else's children **6%**

14% struggle with English