

[Suzanne M. Hall](#)

Super-diverse street: a ‘trans-ethnography’ across migrant localities

**Article (Accepted version)
(Refereed)**

Original citation: Hall, Suzanne M. (2015) *Super-diverse street: a ‘trans-ethnography’ across migrant localities*. [Ethnic and Racial Studies](#), 38 (1). pp. 22-37. ISSN 0141-9870

DOI: [10.1080/01419870.2013.858175](https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.858175)

© 2013 [Taylor & Francis](#)

This version available at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/54973/>

Available in LSE Research Online: March 2016

LSE has developed LSE Research Online so that users may access research output of the School. Copyright © and Moral Rights for the papers on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. Users may download and/or print one copy of any article(s) in LSE Research Online to facilitate their private study or for non-commercial research. You may not engage in further distribution of the material or use it for any profit-making activities or any commercial gain. You may freely distribute the URL (<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk>) of the LSE Research Online website.

This document is the author’s final accepted version of the journal article. There may be differences between this version and the published version. You are advised to consult the publisher’s version if you wish to cite from it.

Super-diverse street: A 'trans-ethnography across migrant localities'

Suzanne M. Hall
s.m.hall@lse.ac.uk

(The definitive version of this article is published in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2015, vol. 38, issue 1, pp. 22-37)

Abstract

The paper emerges from an ethnography of the economic and cultural life of Rye Lane, an intensely multi-ethnic street in Peckham, south London. The effects of accelerated migration into London are explored through the reshaping and diversification of its interior, street and city spaces. A 'trans-ethnography' is pursued across the compendium of micro, meso and macro urban spaces, without reifying one above the other. The ethnographic stretch across intimate, collective and symbolic city spaces serves to connect how the restrictions and circuits of urban migration have different impacts and expressions in these distinctive but interrelated urban localities. The paper argues for a 'trans-ethnography' that engages within and across a compendium of urban localities, to understand how accelerated migration and urban 'super-diversity' transform the contemporary global city.

Key words: city, migration, super-diversity, locality, ethnography, street

Acknowledgments:

This paper is part of the 'Ordinary Streets' project based at LSE Cities. The research has been carried out by an energetic and talented interdisciplinary team, and my thanks extend to Antoine Paccoud, Nicolas Palominos, Sadiq Toffa and Adriana Valdez Young. Thank you to Ricky Burdett for key insights and directions during the project's progress. My colleagues David Madden and Austin Zeiderman gave invaluable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Introduction

What understandings might ethnography yield for urban 'super-diversity': for Vertovec's (2007) encapsulation of the evermore-varied differentiations of migrant identity, connection and stratification within a fluid world? On a kilometre stretch of street in Peckham, south London, 199 formal units of retail are tightly packed adjacent to one another, forming a dense, linear assemblage of economic and cultural diversity. The majority of these units are occupied by independent proprietors, aligning amongst them over twenty countries of origin including: Afghanistan, England, Eritrea, Ghana, India, Ireland, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Pakistan, Kashmir, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam and Yemen.

The high concentration of diverse countries of origin amongst the proprietors on this single street is accompanied by remarkable intercultural proficiencies. Almost a third of the proprietors on Rye Lane are able to converse in four languages or more (Hall 2013). Interactions on the street are more than simply lingual, and one in four of the independent shops have been subdivided and sublet into smaller shops, where proprietors from across the globe, each arriving on the street in different migratory rhythms, share space, risk and prospect. Conventional retail economies mix with emerging ones. Rudimentary agreements including who locks up at night and how water closets are shared, are arranged alongside mercantile ambitions for how retail activities are best co-located. Exchange, a more apt description of these shared, agile practices than 'community cohesion' (Home Office 2001), occurs within and across affiliations of ethnicity and origin.

During the course of 2012 the economic and spatial morphologies of this intensely diverse street received the attentions of our team of sociologists and

architects. We too represented a mix of individuals differentiated in discipline and origin including Chile, South Africa, the UK and the US. Between us we counted, photographed, drew, filmed, talked and listened, recording dimensions of space and economy on the street. We were versed in the textures of our own cities: parts of Johannesburg, Cape Town, London, New York and Santiago. However, in Rye Lane we were exploring a street that exceeded our familiarities; a 'super-diverse' concentration of languages, origins and goods, and of ambitions and restrictions. As we progressed with our street-level observations, we came across varied registers of the street's value - or perceived lack thereof - in neighbourhood sites (Benson and Jackson 2013), media representations, and in the London Borough of Southwark's redevelopment plan for Rye Lane included in the working document: *Revitalise: Peckham and Nunhead Area Action Plan* (2012).

In formulating a regeneration vision for the street, the expertise within the borough has drawn on planning and economic conventions, highlighting large sites adjacent to the street for market-led development, proposing an expanded offer on cafes and restaurants, as well as increasing chain and franchise retail. It was as if the economic and cultural diversity of the street as it exists, was somehow invisible to those undertaking the planning exercise. Indeed, an officer commented that no survey of the existing retail activity had been undertaken as part of the planning exercise, remarking with perceptible clarity:

The council has an economic development strategy: to articulate a strong and inclusive economy. There are tensions between large-scale developments versus supporting existing economies to grow. These two things don't always meet well. (Fieldwork discussion 2012).

This apparent mismatch between lived realities within diverse, comparatively deprived, yet economically active inner city locations, and authorised processes of displacement or regeneration are well documented (Zukin 2010). But our research

question deviates from questions of gentrification, towards the question of how contemporary 'super-diversity' registers in the lived and regulated realms of an intensely ethnically diverse street and city. Researchers engaging with the practices and spaces of urban super-diversity point to the visible and invisible dimensions of migrants and their lifeworlds (Knowles 2012), profoundly impacting on the politics of what or who is seen, and what or who is valued. The question of how ethnography might contribute to the emerging research field of urban super-diversity is as much a political as it is a methodological concern (Vertovec 2011; Hall 2012; Berg and Signore 2013; Keith 2013). The aim of this paper is to methodologically engage with the hidden and overt features of super-diversity in two ways: first, is the analytic alignment of the authorised techniques for making migration and diversity officially visible in the city such as Census data, together with the frequently less visible practices of 'being super-diverse', explored through observation. Second, is an exploration of the urban localities of super-diversity by acknowledging the overlap of intimate, collective and symbolic city spaces.

An ethnography of urban super-diversity

Within the field of contemporary ethnography, explorations have addressed how a practice essentially attentive to particular, local dimensions, can equally engage with planetary scales of change and more complex assemblages of analysis. Such methodological pursuits have forged direction for 'global ethnographies' across territorial borders (Burawoy et al 2000), 'multi-sited' analysis across 'dichotomies of the "local" and the "global", the "lifeworld" and the "system"' (Marcus 1995, p. 95), as well as an understanding of the more hybrid identities of individual and groups alongside asymmetrical conditions of power (Hannerz 1997). These ethnographic approaches address the flows within a global, interconnected world, and the migrations of people,

objects and ideas. But how is a contemporary ethnography equally able to attend to the dis-connect between the lived realities and official (mis)recognitions of the intense and evermore-varied differentiations of human association and stratification within a global city?

Glick Schiller and Çağlar's paper, 'Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: migrant incorporation and city scale' (2009), provides an important steer. Their focus on 'locality' challenges an analytic de-territorialisation that suggests that allegiance and identity in an increasingly fluid world is primarily formed outside of place (see for example Beck and Grande 2010). Rather than evolving notions of 'unbounded social actors' and 'free floating subjectivities', Guarnizo and Smith argue that migratory practices are, 'embodied in specific social relations established between specific people, situated in unequivocal localities, at historically determined times' (1998, p. 11). While this paper focuses on the specific conditions of urban place, or what Soja (2010) refers to as the 'whereness' in the production of space, our ethnography traverses across a series of distinct but interconnected city spaces. The analytic bounds of the neighbourhood or ghetto have defined many canonical ethnographies of race, ethnicity and the stratified city through the lens of the street (for example, Liebow 1967; Duneier 1999; Anderson 2000). However, the boundaries of either a singular locality or ethnicity are simply too contained to capture the wider impacts of accelerated migration on the transformation of contemporary urban space.

Glick Schiller and Çağlar further advance the idea of the contemporary city as a space actively remade by global processes of migration, focusing on migrants engaged 'in acts of contemporary place-making' across the city' (2009, p. 178). The transformative, if often unrecognised agency of migrants will be explored in this paper, for example, in the reshaping of Rye Lane in south London, through the incorporation

of the social and spatial textures of markets and bazaars in Ahvaz, Jammu, Morogoro, Hanoi and Tiazz. Critically, these city-making practices or 'modes of incorporation' need to be analysed alongside the different 'hierarchies of power' (Glick Schiller 2005, p. 48). Migrants are embedded in the structures of economic and political power that assign their emplacement in a city. You will note in the introductory listing of countries of origin amongst proprietors of Rye Lane, that the US, Western Europe and Australia, for example, are absent from the street, while places in Africa and South Asia are prominent. This paper seeks to understand what citizenships are produced in the symbolic, collective and intimate spaces of the city, exploring how different kinds of citizenship and city-making are rendered visible or invisible in different urban localities.

Our 'trans-ethnography' across the city engages with three particular urban dimensions: the symbolic city (London), the collective city (Rye Lane) and the intimate city (shop interiors). Each distinctive but interconnected dimension of the city is grounded in an urban locality within which the structures of power and the processes of integration (Glick Schiller 2005) reveal different aspects of urban super-diversity. The *symbolic city* addresses the notion of the city as a 'whole' and the macro forms of representation that depict an overview of accelerated migration and urban change. The *collective city* refers to a recognisable urban area (in our case the street) within which a shared range of inter-cultural practices emerge. Finally, the *intimate city* focuses on the microcosmic dimensions of up-close interaction and expression within shop interiors, where forms of identity merge with the imperatives of livelihood.

The symbolic city: macro perspectives

Why is that that certain migrant groups come to live or work in certain parts of the city? This question resonated during our first year of fieldwork on Rye Lane, and although we had elements of data from the street to begin to answer this question, it became

important to engage with larger data sets that spatialise and visualise where migrants currently locate across London. Working with data sets on population Census, indices of deprivation and locality, we observed three discernible patterns of urban change: an 'ethnic spread' across neighbourhoods (CoDE 2012b); differential concentrations and dispersal of migrant groups (Paccoud 2013); and correlations between areas of inequality and ethnic diversity. To begin with, we were aware of dramatic changes in the size, composition and location of 'ethnic minorities' in England and Wales over the past ten years traced through the Census 2011, as explored by Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (2012a; 2012b). One in five individuals living in England and Wales identify themselves as other than 'White British', and a significant increase in people identified with 'Mixed' and 'Other' ethnic categories. Further, one in eight households comprised of individuals from more than one ethnic group, and areas too had become more mixed over the past ten years. The CoDE work points to ethnic overlaps in bodies, households and neighbourhoods, indicating that designated ethnic categories were less able to capture emerging mixings that supersede the official categories.

To complement the variation in ethnic categories analysed by CoDE, we mapped the Census category of 'country of origin' to respective residential locality (Paccoud 2013). Distinctive patterns of migrant concentration and dispersal occurs across the UK, but most evident, is that global processes of migration into the UK manifests primarily as an urban phenomenon. Greater London, with 41.6 per cent of the UK's migrant population, is the most intense concentration. Of the world's 229 nations, 113 have at least 1000 representatives in Greater London, with the ten largest groups including: India (262,247); Poland (158,300); Ireland (129,807); Nigeria (114,718); Pakistan (112,457); Bangladesh (109,948); Jamaica (87,467); Sri Lanka (84,542); France (66,654); Somalia (65,333). These groups are further highly concentrated in inner London, with 103 of the world's nation represented in thirteen

London boroughs, including the London Borough of Southwark in which Rye Lane in Peckham is located. However, migrant concentration is differential for particular groups. Not all groups are similarly concentrated: concentration across the UK is most noticeable for example, with groups from Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Somalia who are concentrated in cities across the UK, and in inner city areas within these cities. By contrast, migrants from Germany, Ireland and Poland are more spread across the UK and across rural, metropolitan and inner city localities.

Finally, economic globalisation continues to exacerbate hierarchies and inequalities within urban landscapes, producing particular relationships between ethnicity, poverty and space (Hamnett 2003). We were particularly interested in how ethnic diversity and disparity is spatialised, and we overlaid two existing maps of London's areas of high ethnic minority concentration, with a map of officially designated 'deprivation' (we used the 2001 ethnicity data mapping as fine-grained ward level analysis was directly comparable with ward level analysis of deprivation). The first mapping of ethnic diversity (GLA 2008a) confirms the concentration of ethnic diversity to area, of which migration is one primary contributor. The second mapping of 'The Indices of Multiple Deprivation' across London (GLA 2008b), is based on 2006 data including indices of household income, employment status, educational attainment, and distance from residence to local amenities. In overlaying the two maps (Figure 1), there is a strong convergence between officially designated 'deprivation' and ethnically concentrated diversity. The map suggests that marginal urban locations are most likely to be the destinations of the majority of less-affluent migrants into London. Urban disparity, marked in locality, contributes to the migrant's emplacement (Smith 2005), embeddedness (Kloosterman, van der Leun and Rath 1999), or 'fit' between the migrant's status and the receiving urban locale.

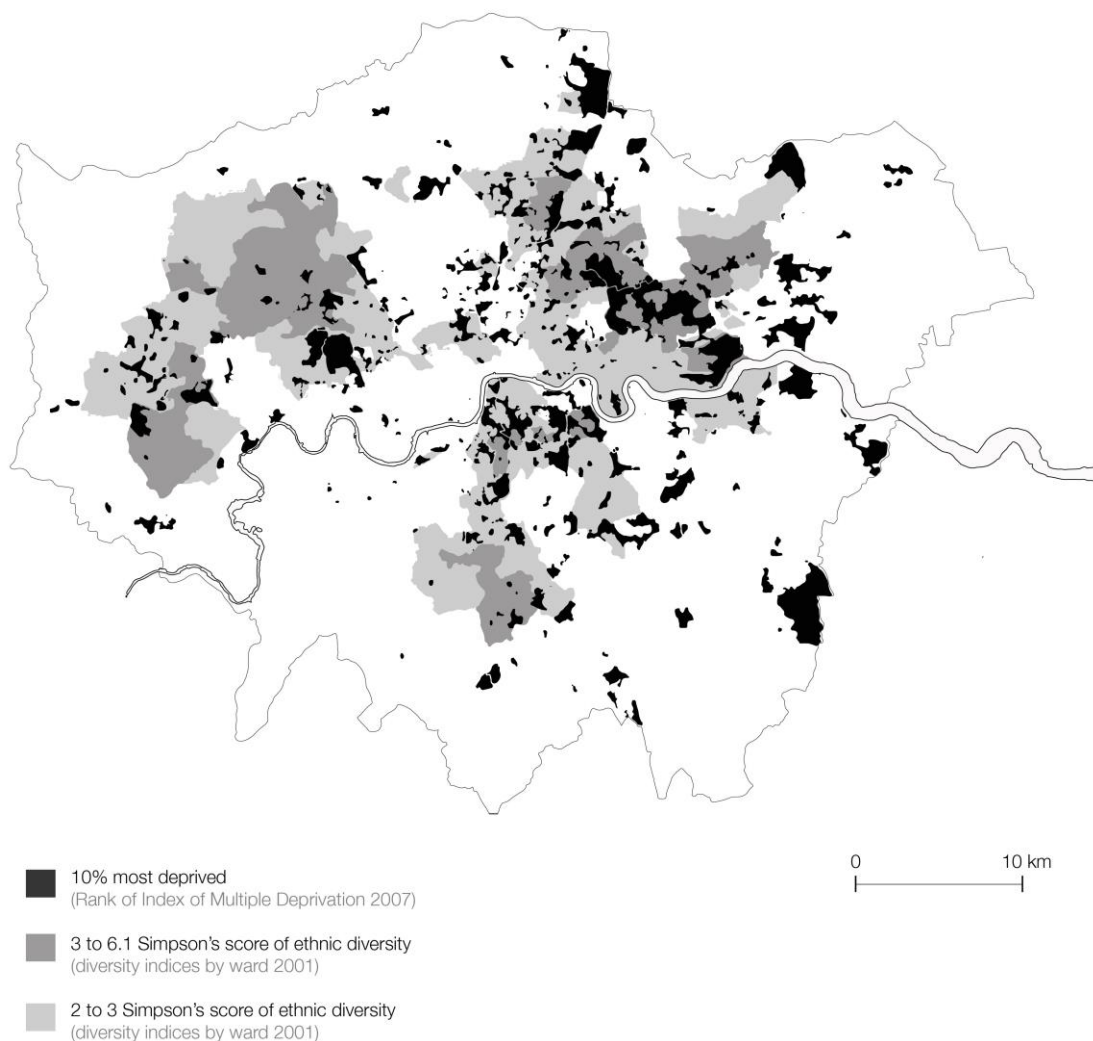


Figure 1. Mapping the overlay of ethnic diversity (2001) and indices of deprivation (2007) in Inner London. (LSE Cities, Ordinary Streets Project, 2013)

In 1991, the Peckham ward in which Rye Lane is located was registered as the only ward south of the River Thames to fall amongst London's locales of the highest concentration of ethnic diversity. A further increase in ethnic diversity in Peckham was registered in 2001 and 2011. Peckham is not simply an ethnically diverse place. Peckham is also officially registered as amongst the 10 per cent most deprived areas in the UK. Several large social housing estates feature as the most intense areas of deprivation within Peckham, such that a local development officer referred to Rye Lane

– the street between social housing estates to the north and east and the gentrifying area of largely privately owned houses to the west - as a 'frontline to gentrification' (Interview 2012). If Rye Lane is a frontline of sorts, so too is it a place of reception in the city into which migrants arrive and share space with established residents.

The large data sets and macro perspectives on ethnicity, origin and deprivation provided a lens on patterns of locality. However, the nuances and dynamics of flows are omitted or invisible. Near and far webs of flows include daily transfers between places of work and home (the Census privileges the pinpoint of home), generational succession as economic mobility potentially allows migrant families to acquire more than one local foothold within a city, and transnational interchanges sustained between sending and receiving countries. A real estate agent on Rye Lane articulates how on-going waves of migration and movement are central to the re-shaping of the street:

Interviewer: What do you think will happen to Peckham Rye Lane?

Mark: This is the same thing that's happening all over London. It's similar to Woolwich and Lewisham, where businesses are bought up by Asian people and West Africans. First it was the Irish, then the West Indians took over businesses. And in Lewisham, there were Jewish people, now Indian Sikhs set up shop. [...] Any of the long-time residents of the area, white English people, are moving out. They are ageing, dying or moving away. It's not a racial thing. It's about lifestyle.[...] Immigrants are the same. After they set up their businesses and once they get established, they'll leave and live somewhere else. They'll keep their business in Peckham, but they'll move out to somewhere quieter. (Interview 2012)

Understanding migration and the transformation of the city therefore lies in combining the diversity of urban migration patterns, with the topological complexity of lives lived within and between a number of urban locales. As highlighted at through the analysis of macro city space, the bounded, official categories of ethnicity, deprivation and territory reveal a trend of urban concentration, where the most ethnically diverse areas have a high correlation with areas of deprivation. However, this is only one view of the city, and the complex, fluid unit of analysis integral to urban migration requires a

greater methodological stretch across localities, as well as and quantitative and qualitative approaches. If we incorporate ideas of flow (intergenerational as well as daily live-work journeys), exchange (of economies and ideas) and inter-locality (spatial webs of allegiance across space), we obtain a different view of migration and urban change. Both views, of the structural context of increasing urban inequality inscribed in space, and of liminality or fluencies across bodies and spaces, are necessary to engage with urban super-diversity.

The collective city: street perspectives

Interviewer: Is there any form of management structure for the street as a whole?

Tim: There is no central management structure for the street [...] The Council is currently supporting a BID [...] the idea is to use BIDs to work with traders in southern and central parts of Southwark.

Interviewer: Can a management structure be developed without a more detailed understanding of the businesses on the street?

Tim: In large and unwieldy bureaucracies, stereotypes are the tools of discourse. It's easier and quicker to use overarching narratives. Interestingly, we learnt more about businesses in Walworth Road and Rye Lane after the riots.
(Fieldwork discussion 2012)

The street provides a perspective of the city where shared practices between diverse groups are refined within an area. We focused on the day-to-day practices of exchange on the street, or what Conradson and Latham refer to as the 'middling' forms of national and cultural interchange; a 'panopoly of mundane efforts' (2005, p. 278). Methodological challenges at this meso scale of the city relate to how locality is practised as both a bounded and a connected space. Rye Lane is part of Peckham's designated town centre, and is as much a planned and maintained administrative area, as it is a dynamic intersection of people, cultures and economies within and beyond the street. We return to the question of why Rye Lane's retail activity remains largely invisible to the officers involved in its re-planning, and what a socio-economic survey of

the independent shops along the street yields for understanding the role of migration and ethnic diversity in the everyday interactions along an urban high street.

In 2012 we undertook a face-to-face survey of the independent proprietors along Rye Lane. Every permanent unit along the length of street was recorded and linked with a spatial code, so that we could develop a visual and systematic language of the street's composition. Of a total 199 street-level retail properties, 105 were recorded as independent retail, 70 of which were included in a face-to-face survey. We asked each of the proprietors: How long have you traded on this street?; What is your primary trade activity?; Do you live in the surrounding area?; Where were you born?; and How many languages do you speak? The survey took two weeks, and provided us with an important entry point into our fieldwork. At the outset, it provided a record of the array proprietors' countries of origin, in order of their prevalence on the street: Pakistan (32 per cent), England (16 per cent), Afghanistan (10 per cent), Nigeria (7 per cent), India (6 per cent), Eritrea (4 per cent), Iraq (4 per cent), Iran (3 per cent), Ireland (3 per cent), Jamaica (3 per cent), Sri Lanka (3 per cent), Ghana, Kashmir, Kenya, Nepal, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam and Yemen. We subsequently mapped each of the proprietor's country of origin with their shop on the street (Figure 2.), drawing a line between the two. In respectively mapping 70 of these links, a dense network of connections and intersections from across the world appears, collectively concentrating on a single street in London (see Hall 2011 for a comparison).

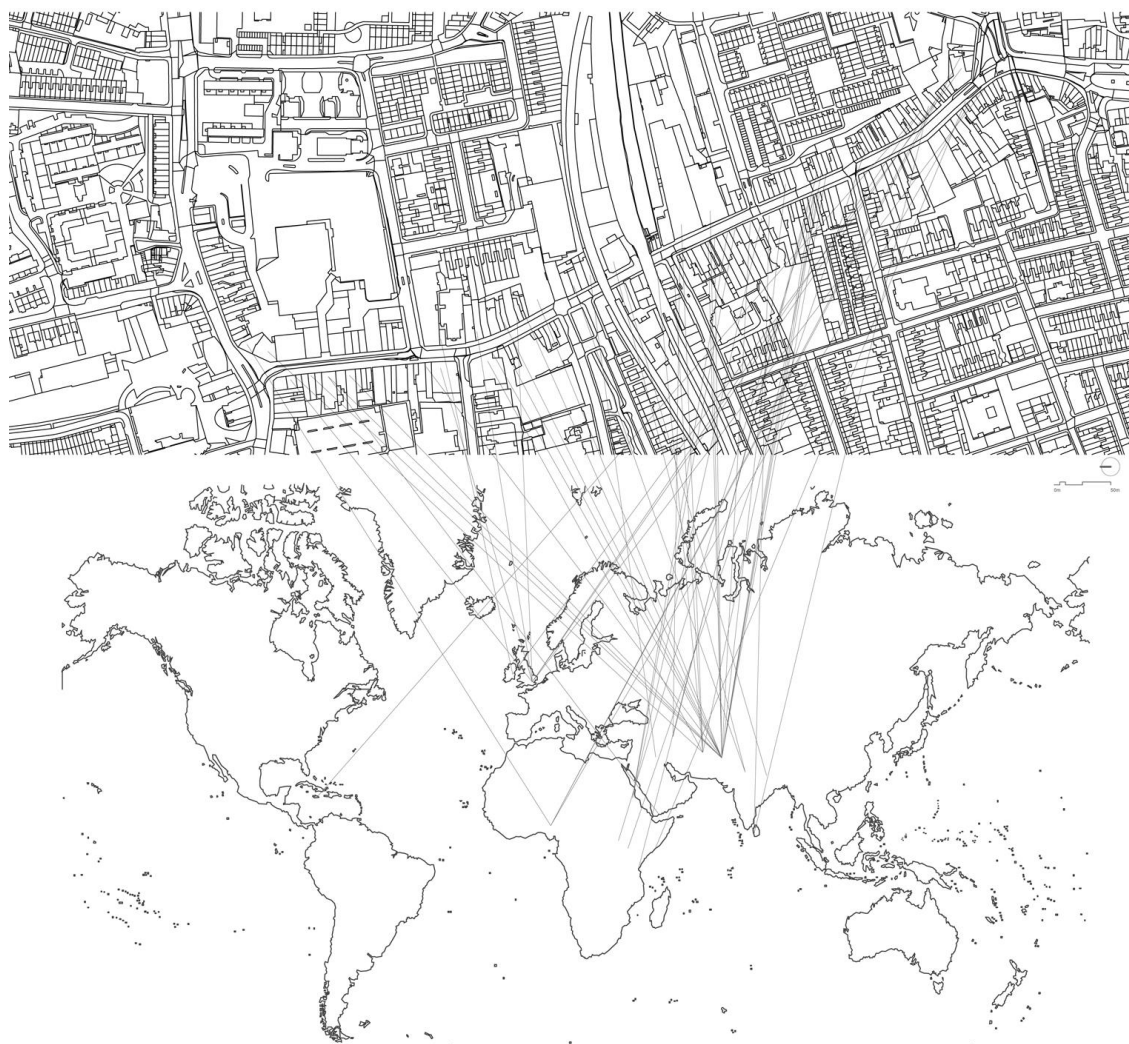


Figure 2. Mapping the origins and destinations of the independent proprietors on Rye Lane, and aligning the street to the world. (LSE Cities, Ordinary Streets Project, 2012)

While this map represents a single moment in time, it is important to recognise the migratory rhythms over extensive time periods that accumulate to transform the scale and texture of the street. Our survey revealed that 21 per cent of the traders had been on Peckham Rye Lane for more than 20 years. However, 45 per cent had occupied their shops on the street for five years or less, with 69 per cent for 10 years or less, indicating a condensed period of transformation over the last decade. What collections of economic practices emerge on this street? To begin with, 65 per cent of retailers on Peckham Rye Lane operate in independent, non-affiliated retail. The

spectrum of retail trade includes clothing, generally inexpensive (18 per cent), and food including Halal meat, fish and ethnically specific foods (17 per cent), while the presence of beauty products largely in hair and nails (13 per cent), money remittances (12 per cent) and mobile phone products and services (11 per cent), are increasing. Ground floor retail space is at a premium, testified by the limited number of vacancies (less than 10 per cent) despite the global economic crisis and its impact on the demise of high streets across the UK. Public activities such as a host of existing and new mosques and churches find space to the rear of the street or in basements or above-ground rooms where property prices are cheaper.

The 'locality fit' between Rye Lane and a variety of migrant retailers has been historically assisted by its low entry rents and property values sustained across recent decades, as well as its dense, well-connected urban fabric that has yielded high thresholds of support. Comparatively high residential densities in Peckham (98 persons per hectare as opposed to London's average of 45 persons per hectare) combined with numerous bus routes and an over-ground rail station that sits midway in the length of the street, generate high thresholds of footfall on the street. But its particular vibrancy is not uncontested, and the rapidly gentrifying area to the immediate west of Rye Lane supports a different retail compendium. Parallel to and 250 metres to the west of Rye Lane is, Bellenden Road, a less active retail street that includes an independent bookstore, cafes and gastro pubs. The Telegraph (2006) coarsely sells this as 'the tale of two Peckhams [...] There is north Peckham [...] notorious for its sink estates [...] And then there is Georgian and Victorian Peckham, the conservation area around Bellenden Road (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/property/3348928> accessed 14/03/2012).

The question here is how urban change – be it through gentrification in Bellenden Road or migration in Rye Lane – registers in public and official discourse. In the words of a local officer:

Interviewer: What is distinctive about Peckham Rye Lane?

Tim: We call it “the inside-out supermarket model”. There is a sensory aspect that is distinctive – to some appealing, to others, less so. It is a street with very different business models, one being low entry rents.

There is a split set of demands in Peckham in general terms. A large embedded middleclass argue for a “tidying up” and for Rye Lane to sell more things. But “Rye Lane is a mess” is a general attitude together with a wish that Rye Lane has more to offer. There are complaints about butchers, and yet in its own terms it’s thriving. Another pressure is the creative types who want to open bars and galleries. (Fieldwork discussion 2012).

Planning is one way in which authorities organise and enact power, through envisaging a ‘better’ future, and facilitating a process of redevelopment. The London Borough of Southwark’s regeneration intentions for Rye Lane, as encapsulated in the document ‘Revitalise: Peckham and Nunhead Area Action Plan’ of February 2012’ (<http://www.southwark.gov.uk/futurepeckham>), suggests both conserving noteworthy areas of historical distinction, as well as identifying land parcels for redevelopment, including the reintroduction of large format shops in the northern end of Rye Lane. Both the planning strategies of conservation and renewal will require the removal of existing shops. Yet at the time of undertaking our survey of Rye Lane’ shops in 2012, it was evident that no detailed survey of the actual retail activities and economic vitality of the street had been undertaken. The emerging forms of retail on Rye Lane, that are arguably pivotal to futures of many high streets across London, remain invisible to the lens of power. It is worth noting, for example, that in London during the period from 2000 to 2006, a 78,5 per cent increase in non-affiliated independent retail was reported (Wrigley, Branson, Clarke and Murdoch 2009), and although the connection has not been explicitly made to migration over the same period, this connection warrants further research.

Further, it became clear in mapping the changing economic and cultural activities on Rye Lane, that not only different modes of survey and analysis, but different forms of notation were required. For example, we started drawing a conventional 'land-use' plan for the street, only to discover that the range of activities within the shop interiors defeated the standard land-use and retail categories. The challenge of understanding and communicating urban change does not only reside with the academic researcher: of concern is how the conventional habits of large bureaucratic planning institutions are able to meet the dynamics and complexities of urban change. The planning default mechanisms of 'conservation' and 'big shop' retail in the redevelopment of inner city areas like Peckham may not only hasten a certain gentrification trope, but may also be out of sync with the larger urbanisation trends where cities and streets will continue to diversify through the processes of city-making by migration as raised by Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2009).

Our mapping and survey work at the scale of the street provided a sense of the organisational logic of Rye Lane and how a super-diverse amalgam of proprietors and traders individually and collectively respond to Rye Lane's urban locality. While the Indices of Multiple Deprivation presented in the previous section represents the area around Rye Lane as a place with high unemployment and comparatively lacking in skills and education, zooming in to the middle ground offers a different perspective from that of abject deprivation. A dense and diverse economic streetscape is apparent, dominated by independent retail, with vacancies limited to 10 per cent, and a core body of retailers who had been active on the street for 20 years or more. On Rye Lane, change on the street is fast, and the street is rapidly being remade as a space of economic opportunity for the diverse, largely immigrant proprietors. Planning institutions have a different organisational logic and are behaviourally slower, tending

to rely on long-established conventions and value systems. Surveys, mappings and observations of the street provide an important tier in understanding how migrant proprietors shape the city street. Through our survey data, we continue to engage with local authority officers and members as part of our research. A key question remains as to whether and how migrant forms of city-making can be made legible to the authorities who ultimately regulate and plan the street.

The intimate city: interior perspectives

The intimate city incorporates contact between individuals or small groups, self expression and micro scales of organisation, through which the city emerges as distinctive or nuanced parts. The different ways in which micro-worlds are textured, divided and amalgamated reveals the mutations of urban migration and diversity as they alter and reform in daily and annual rhythms. The frame for our exploration of economic and cultural hybridity along Peckham Rye Lane is the long, skinny shop. The linear assemblage of shops, whose narrow frontages face the street, is a cadastral inheritance from the mid-1800s when Peckham Rye Lane was formed by suburban villas for the middleclass. Each house was accompanied by a generous garden to the front and rear (see for example the Dewhirst map of the parish of Camberwell in 1842). As the significant momentum of industrialisation and urbanisation took force in nineteenth-century London, the front and rear gardens along Rye Lane were built over, and the street became lined with shop fronts.

The shape and form of these long narrow shops are currently being put to new mercantile uses, and accommodate a series of interior subdivisions that serve to rearrange floorspace, products, services and rental agreements. Economic, cultural and social subdivisions have created a number of hybrid interiors, or what we refer to

as 'mutualisms': a reciprocally beneficial co-existence between different entities. One in four shops along Rye Lane have undergone processes of subdivision, and several different typologies of 'mutualism' or arrangements of economic and cultural co-existence have emerged.

We mapped several of the interior floor spaces, and combining mapping with observation and interviews, to understand the spatial and economic logic of these emerging shop typologies along the street. While the shop interiors along Rye Lane are owned or rented by one owner or head leasee, a host of subdivisions and interior encrustations belie the simplicity of the primary legal arrangement. The first type of hybrid interior is where a single ownership or lease is upheld by one proprietor, but where the shop interior hosts a variety of diverse retail ensembles. The hybridity follows consumer demand, and it is not atypical to find hats, mobile phones, groceries and fresh meat and/or fish all arranged within one long interior. In this first instance, the arrangement is orchestrated by the primary owner/ leaseholder, generally in larger stores where the proprietor has been well established on the street for a long period of time.

The second type of mutualism is one where a head proprietor sub-lets smaller spaces within the shop, but the sub-letting occurs within close ethnicity or kinship ties. Such shops on Rye Lane have several retail zones within them, each with a separate till point. The boundaries demarking space range from counter level differentiation, to floor-to-ceiling dry walls, particularly in the instances of money remittance services, or hair salons where a higher degree of privacy is required. The third mutualism within one interior relates to the practice of sub-letting to a variety of tenants across a varied gender and ethnic spectrum, under the curatorial endeavour of the head lease (Figure 3). Here for example, one can find a money remittance area run by a proprietor

originally from Uganda, adjacent to a seamstress from Ghana, adjacent to a mobile phone and fabric outlet run by a proprietor from Pakistan.

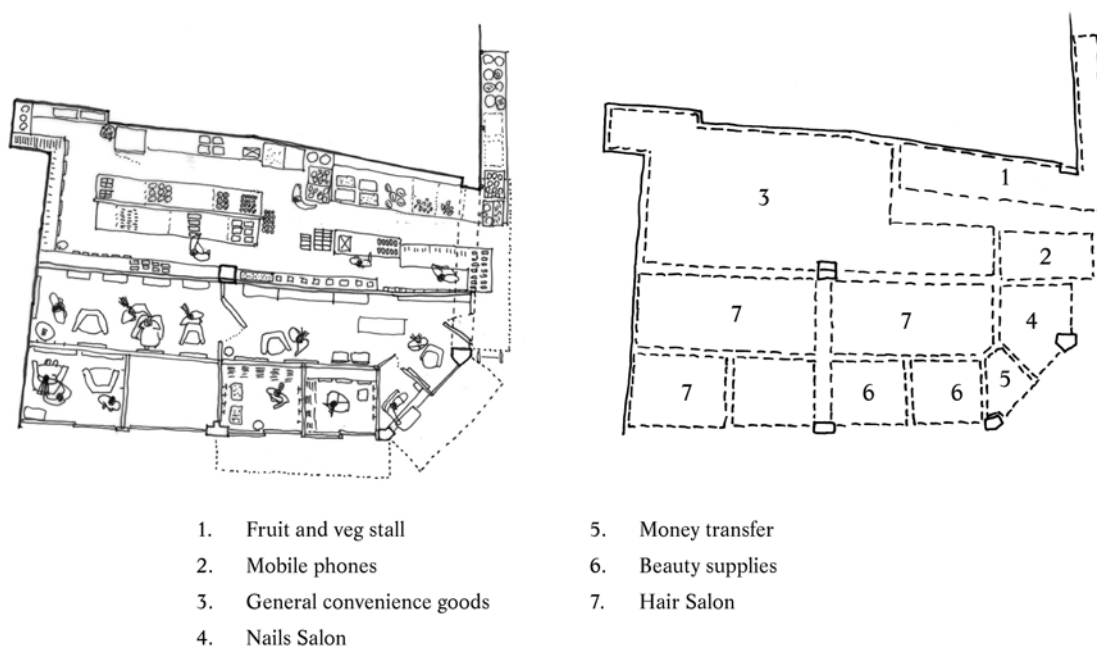


Figure 3. Mapping the sub-divisions of floor space in a shop on Rye Lane. (LSE Cities, Ordinary Streets Project, 2012)

These mutualisms allow the proprietor to respond, on a regular and prompt basis, to the nuances of the market such that adjustments to emerging trends can be immediately attended to. At the core of the hybrid model is an economic imperative, one that has had an increasing impetus over the period of the financial crisis. When Ziyad, a young entrepreneur from Afghanistan who has had a shop on the street for three years, was asked what the most profitable part of his business was he replied: 'Renting out parts of our store to other people'. The benefit effect works in two directions, where Ziyad has a rental income to support his retail business in its early and most vulnerable years, and small entrepreneurs with limited access to start up funds, are able to rent very small spaces on the street. The re-scaling of shop is

towards smaller dimensions: one conventional shop footprint subsequently supports several micro initiatives.

Ziyad's rental is approximately £10 000,00 per annum, while he is able to sublet a chair in the hair salon out to Abeje for £80 per week. At another end of the sublet spectrum, money remittance stores and mobile phone shops pay a premium rental for their small spaces. Umesh pays £800 per month for his Western Union store located at the back of the shop, his small shop space of approximately 6 meters squared yielding a rental of £130 per meter squared. Notably, there are several Western Union outlets on Peckham Rye Lane, and a Western Union Consumer trading study of 2008 makes the following claim:

[...] offering a Western Union Service increases the cross-sell opportunity as well as the shopping frequency. 75% of customers making a Western Union Money Transfer transaction also purchased other products and 47% shop more frequently once they know that Western Union is available at the store. (<http://www.westernunion.co.uk> accessed 31 August 2012)

However, the impulse to subdivide, mix and remake these shop interiors is not simply driven by mercantile interests, but also by cultural ones. As Mark, the local real estate agent comments:

I would say the subdivisions are primarily a cultural thing and secondarily an economic thing. It's a way to create a home away from home [...]. It appears chaotic but it works. The big owner has multiple streams of income. (Interview 2012)

Certainly the long, hybrid shop interiors have a bazaar-like quality that exhibits a mix of economic dexterity, opportunism and a litmus-like response to the multi-ethnic, less affluent urban population that it serves, with affinities for highly sociable modes of trade. The densely invested interiors are illegible from the pavement and much of the emerging life of the street is therefore invisible to the passer-by. Shop arrangements in more affluent areas in London presumably reflect not only different norms of buying

and selling, but also a more stringent interpretation and enforcement of title deeds, sub-letting and planning regulations.

The planning response on Rye Lane is to revert to established norms and to prevent the practice of subletting in the future: the borough have taken the decision to that 'no further subdivisions' will be written into future lease agreement. However, at national levels of governance, there is broad support for 'pop up shops' and 'meanwhile spaces' as exploratory ways of allowing new cultural and retail resources to emerge on high streets across the UK, in response to the diminishing presence of the high street (DCLG 2012; Portas 2011). Exploring the city at the scale of interiors and individual recalibrations of retail space and rental, provides important cues for understanding retail renewals, migrant entrepreneurs and their transformations of the high street.

Towards a trans-ethnography

What does a trans-ethnography yield for the analysis of the super-diverse city? This paper has explored how the properties of power and practices of adaption evident within different localities of the city, render a complex view of urban migration and ethnic diversity. While in each space, categories of belonging and practices of exchange appear as visible or masked, what remains crucial is to analyse the macro, meso and micro as distinct *and* connected overlays of the city. To engage with such a complex unit of analysis, through the primary orientation of ethnography, this paper has proposed three interconnected perspectives for the analysis of accelerated migration and urban transformation: the macro perspectives of the symbolic city; the street perspectives of the collective city; and interior perspectives of the intimate city. We have learnt about important differences in the visibility, regulation and practices of migration and city-making in these different spaces of city, street and shop. Neither the city nor citizenship is singular, and there are multiple and overlapping practices of

being an urban inhabitant and migrant, where home, street or shop allows for different cultural repertoires to be tested. Regulatory regimes are similarly diverse, where border agencies, local boroughs and regeneration plans serve to differentially control the contingent. The super-diverse city constantly emerges as the intense places through which migrant citizens are simultaneously integral to and regulated from the past, present and future of the city.

Finally, a note on ethnography and urban change. In seeking to understand the intersections of power, practice and place in the spaces of city, street and shop it is apparent that analytic conventions and categories – such as ethnicity, deprivation and territory - are officially authorised and re-inscribed by conventions of method. Citizenship, as shown in this paper, is an active phenomenon – vividly made by regulation, compliance and transgression. Understanding it therefore demands attitudes to intersecting concepts, data and methods. In this paper locality has been a way of understanding the city and how its large and small dimensions are constantly altering through an unprecedented scale, speed and variation of migration processes. Questions that provide the analytic frame are: How is power organised?; What are the practices of integration?; and, What are the analytic conventions and can these be productively disrupted? Trans-ethnography traverses across localities, across qualitative and quantitative knowledge, and across verbal and visual communication. Its method, we propose, is to move between the visible and the obscure, the convention and the emergent.

References:

- ANDERSON, ELIJAH 2000 *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*, New York: WW Norton & Company
- BECH, ULRICH and GRANDE, EDGAR 2010 'Varieties of second modernity: the cosmopolitan turn in social and political theory and research', *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 409-43
- BENSON, MICHAELA and JACKSON, EMMA 2013 'Place-making and place maintenance: practices of place and belonging among the middle classes', *Sociology* vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 793-809
- BERG, METTE L. and SIGONA, NANDO 2013 'Ethnography, diversity and urban space', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 347-60
- BURAWOY, MICHAEL (ed.) 2000 *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*, Berkeley: University of California Press
- CENTRE ON DYNAMICS OF ETHNICITY 2012a *How has Ethnic Diversity Grown 1991-2001-2011?*http://www.ethnicity.ac.uk/census/869_CCSR_Bulletin_How_Has_Ethnic_Diversity_Grown.v4NW.pdf
- 2012b *More Segregation or More Mixing?* Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- CONRADSON, DAVID and LATHAM, ALAN 2005 'Transnational urbanism: attending to everyday practices and mobilities', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 227-233
- DCLG 2012 *Re-imagining our Urban Space to help revitalise our High Streets*, London: Department of Community and Local Government
- DUNEIER, MITCHEL 1999 *Sidewalk*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux
- GLA 2008a *A Profile of Londoners by Country of Birth: Estimates from the 2006 Annual Population Survey*, London: Data Management and Analysis Group, Greater London Authority
- GLA 2008b *Indices of Deprivation 2007: A London Perspective*, London: Data Management and Analysis Group, Greater London Authority
- GLICK SCHILLER, NINA 2005 'Transnational urbanism as a way of life: a research topic not a metaphor', *City and Society*, vol. 7, no.1, pp. 49-64

- GLICK SCHILLER, NINA and ÇAĞLAR, AYSE 2009 'Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: migrant incorporation and city scale', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 177-202
- GUARNIZO, LUIS E. and SMITH, MICHAEL PETER 1998 'The locations of transnationalism', in Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo (eds) *Transnationalism from Below*. NJ: Transaction Publishers, pp. 3-34
- HALL, SUZANNE M. 2011 'High street adaptations: ethnicity, independent retail practices and Localism in London's urban margins', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 43, no. 11, pp. 2571-88
- (2012) *City, Street and Citizen: The Measure of the Ordinary*. London: Routledge
- (2013) 'Multilingual citizenship' *Discover Society*, vol. 1, no. 1, <http://www.discoversociety.org/multilingual-citizenship/>
- HAMNETT, CHRIS 2003 *Unequal City: London in the Global Arena*, London: Routledge
- HANNERZ, ULF 1997 'Flows, boundaries and hybrids: keywords in transnational anthropology', *Mana*, vol. 3, pp. 7-39
- HOME OFFICE 2001 *The Cante Report – Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team*, January
- KEITH, MICHAEL 2013 'Emergent publics, critical ethnography, scholarship and race and ethnic relations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 36, no. 9, pp. 1374-92
- KLOOSTERMAN, ROBERT, VAN DER LEUN, JOANNE and RATH, JAN 1999 'Mixed embeddedness: (in)formal economic activities and immigrant business in the Netherlands', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 23, pp. 253-267
- KNOWLES, CAROLINE 2013 'Nigerian London: re-mapping space and ethnicity in superdiverse cities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 651-669
- LIEBOW, ELLIOT 1967 *Tally's corner: A study of Negro Streetcorner Men*, Boston MA: Little, Brown
- LONDON BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK 2012 *Revitalise: Peckham and Nunhead Area Action Plan, February 2012*, <http://www.southwark.gov.uk/futurepeckham>
- MARCUS, GEORGE E. 1995 'Ethnography in/of the world systems: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 24, pp. 95-117

- PACCOUD, ANTOINE 2013 'Country of birth in the 2011 Census: local authorities and London's Extended Metropolitan Region' *LSE Cities Working Paper*, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/51152/>
- PORTAS, MARY 2011 *The Portas Review: An Independent Review into the Future of our High Streets*, Department for Business, Innovation and Skills
- SOJA, ED. 2010 'On the production of unjust geographies', *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 31-66
- SMITH, MICHAEL P. 2005 'Transnational urbanism revisited', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 235-244
- 2007 'The two faces of transnational citizenship', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 30, no. 6, pp. 1096-1116
- VERTOVEC, STEVEN 2007 'Super-diversity and its implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 30, no. 6, pp. 1024-54
- 2011 'Migration and new diversities in the global city', *Working Paper*, Göttingen: Max-Planck-Institute, vol. 9, no. 1
- WRIGLEY, NEIL, BRANSON, JULIA, CLARKE, GRAHAM and MURDOCH, ANDREW 2009 'Extending the competition commission's findings on entry and exit of small stores in Britain's high streets: implications for competition and planning Policy', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 41, pp. 2063-85
- ZUKIN, SHARON 2010 *Naked city: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SUZANNE HALL is a researcher at LSE Cities in the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics and Social Science.
ADDRESS: LSE Cities, Houghton Street, London, WC2A 2AE
Email: s.m.hall@lse.ac.uk