After the Riots: The Way Forward

The August 2011 riots in Camberwell & Peckham, London Borough of Southwark

Rt. Hon. Harriet Harman QC MP
Member of Parliament for Camberwell and Peckham

House of Commons,
London, SW1A 0AA
0207 219 4218
harriet.harman.mp@parliament.uk
harrietharman.org
@HarrietHarman

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The government set up the Riots Communities and Victims Panel following the riots. This report will be presented to the Panel as well as to the Home Affairs Select Committee, the Home Secretary, the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Southwark Council and the Mayor of London, among others.
Summary

Areas in Southwark, including Peckham and Walworth, were some of the worst hit by the terrible riots which took place in August 2011.

Criminal looting caused extensive damage to local shops and businesses. They lost profits and have still not fully recovered. The riots shocked and scared people in Southwark. This was an attack on the whole community.

I have taken forward eight strands of work following the riots. To inform this work I have surveyed local people, talked to local businesses affected by the riots and held focus groups with young people.

At the heart of my findings is the impact of government cuts on the local community’s ability to withstand riots in the future. There are four areas where government cuts will really hinder, not help, Southwark’s ability to build community resilience and support young people.

The Way Forward

1. Increasing youth services
   While most of those charged with offences during the riots in Southwark were under 25 years of age, the overwhelming majority of young people in Southwark took no part in the riots, are decent, law abiding and ambitious to do well in their lives. Local people believe that youth services are important to prevent riots from happening again. But the government has cut Southwark Council’s grant by 18% over two years – a cut of £34 million in the first year. As well as this cut to Southwark Council’s budget, the government has also cut grants which funded voluntary sector and community organisations meaning a total of £11 million less for children’s and youth services in the borough. As a result, more than 70 charities and community groups in Southwark, many providing youth services, are facing grant funding cuts of up to 100%. It is essential the government look again at these cuts in Southwark as the riots have shown it is a vulnerable area.

2. Creating employment opportunities
   Local people gave as their second highest priority for preventing future riots: ‘more jobs and apprenticeships’. Unemployment in Camberwell and Peckham

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1 Southwark Borough Police (personal communication to Harriet Harman MP). 6 November 2011.
3 Southwark Council (personal communication to the Office of Harriet Harman MP). 11 November 2011. As a result of government cuts to the core budget settlement Southwark Council have £6 million less for children’s services and youth services in the borough. In addition, the government cut another £5 million in grants for children’s and youth services which helped fund voluntary sector organisations in the borough as well as programmes such as Connexions and Homestart.
had begun to fall by May 2010. However, in the last 12 months the number of people claiming Jobseekers Allowance (JSA) has increased by 15.3%. In Camberwell the government is closing Camberwell Jobcentre, one-third of whose clients are from the immediate neighbourhood — and sending them further away to seek work. After the riots and against the background of rising unemployment, it is inexplicable that the government should be persisting with their plans to close the Jobcentre. The government must abandon plans to close this vital local service.

3. Protecting police numbers
The riots shone a spotlight on the important role of the police. And local people believe improving the police response is key to ensuring riots don’t happen again. They are very concerned that cuts to police numbers will hamper the force’s ability to respond to any future riots. In recent years we have had more police in Southwark and crime has been coming down. But now the government is cutting Southwark Police’s budget by 20%. In the 12 months to March 2011 the total number of police officers and staff in the borough fell by 59 and are set to fall further. It is essential there is a moratorium on cuts to police officers in Southwark.

4. Improving the relationship between the police and young men
Despite a great deal of work by the police, a poor relationship exists between the police and many young men in Camberwell and Peckham. This is not the case for police and young women — although many women acknowledged the difficulties their male friends and family members experienced — or for police and older adults. But between police and young men, there is clearly a problem. A targeted programme of engagement to improve the relationship between young men and the police is needed. It is essential the government backs Southwark Police to deliver this programme without diverting increasingly scarce resources away from frontline policing.

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4 HOC RP11/66 16 September 2011
5 Jobcentre Plus (personal communication to the Office of Harriet Harman MP). 11 October 2011
6 http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110218135832/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/ia/atlas.html
7 HOC SN/SG/2616 14 October 2011
8 Hansard HC Deb 10 October 2011 94-96W
Main areas in Southwark affected by the riots

Source: Map created on http://batchgeo.com with data provided by Southwark Council.

Southwark Council (personal communication to the Office of Harriet Harman MP) 30th August 2011.
What local people think about the riots

I set out to hear local people’s views. I wrote to community organisations, tenants and residents associations and places of worship. I invited people to meet me and my team at four estate meetings and talked to people as I was out and about in the constituency.

I asked local people what they thought caused the riots, what they thought of the police response and what could be done to stop riots happening again.10

Graph 1: What caused the riots?

Local people most frequently cited causes related to unruly youth. As one person said: The “youth are out of control. Parents and teachers have no control - [they’re] not allowed to discipline them.” 11 Frequently people talked about the importance of parents and discipline. However, many parents feel their authority is undermined and they are not allowed to parent in the way they want to.

What caused the riots?

10 See Appendix A. Graphs represent answers given by local people who spoke in-depth about their views at one of four estate meetings. People gave multiple responses to each question. Percentages have been calculated by dividing the total number of people who gave a particular response by the total number of respondents.
11 This snapshot of Camberwell & Peckham residents’ views echoes the results of a national poll. The survey, conducted by ICM for The Guardian newspaper, asked people what they thought the main cause of the riots was. The top two responses were criminality and lack of respect inside communities and families. ICM/Guardian. (August 2011)

[http://www.icmresearch.com/riots-poll]
The second most common cause people gave for the riots was a lack of jobs and opportunities. One person simply said: “No jobs - too many people not in jobs or training.” While others specifically mentioned young people: “Youth unemployment is too high.” Some believe a lack of jobs and opportunities have caused people to disconnect from the community and feel they have no future.

Some people also believe there is a problem with the relationship between the police and young people, which was exposed following the shooting of Mark Duggan in Tottenham. Local people expressed frustration with the police and could empathise with those who had started the riots. One person said: “Unlawful killing of the Tottenham guy caused anger and young people responded…I identify but I do not condone stealing and looting.” Another person said: “Police action in Tottenham was a trigger but anger was already boiling.” But others indicated the police response to the death was indicative of a wider problem with the police’s relationship with the community. As one person noted: “Riots always start because someone is killed. Police need to respond better to these cases in a way that’s more respectful to the victim’s family.”

Southwark Parents

After the riots there was much commentary in the media suggesting that poor parenting was to blame for young people being involved in the riots.\textsuperscript{12}

But many Southwark parents believe that their ability to discipline and bring up their children the way they want to is impeded, rather than supported by, police and social services.

Parents need to know that when acting within the law to discipline their children they will not be undermined. This doesn’t mean allowing parents to beat or emotionally control children, but supporting parents’ authority to correct their children’s behaviour.

The Family and Parenting Institute publish a booklet, ‘Is It Legal?’, with further information for parents of teenagers. It is available at: http://familyandparenting.org\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} “Sub-class’ behind summer riots says Pickles.” Craig Woodhouse, Evening Standard, 20 October 2011 [http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/politics/article-24009857-sub-class-behind-summer-riots-says-pickles.do]\textsuperscript{[a]}

\textsuperscript{13} “Poor parenting to blame for UK riots, says exclusive poll.” Channel 4 Online, 13 August 2011 [http://www.channel4.com/news/poor-parenting-to-blame-for-uk-riots-says-exclusive-poll]\textsuperscript{[b]}

\textsuperscript{[a]} Craig Woodhouse, Evening Standard, 20 October 2011.


One young man in Camberwell summed up the relationship between the police and young people in one word: “Hatred”.

\textsuperscript{13} One young man in Camberwell resident with Cllr Dora Dixon-Fyle and Cllr Emmanuel Oyewole

\textsuperscript{12} “Sub-class’ behind summer riots says Pickles.” Craig Woodhouse, Evening Standard, 20 October 2011 [http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/politics/article-24009857-sub-class-behind-summer-riots-says-pickles.do]\textsuperscript{[a]}

\textsuperscript{13} “Poor parenting to blame for UK riots, says exclusive poll.” Channel 4 Online, 13 August 2011 [http://www.channel4.com/news/poor-parenting-to-blame-for-uk-riots-says-exclusive-poll]\textsuperscript{[b]}

\textsuperscript{[a]} Craig Woodhouse, Evening Standard, 20 October 2011.


Stop and search was deeply resented: “Stop and search can trigger anger.” One young man said he had been stopped and searched by the police three times in one day.

Others, though, saw events in Tottenham as merely an excuse for criminal behaviour – an opportunity which was seized upon: “What happened in Tottenham is not related to what happened down here - people saw a chance to loot and took it.” One person said: “Initially the death of the young man in Tottenham, but then the police response to that incident showed people they could get away with doing whatever they wanted. Many people said that once looters were seen to be ‘getting away with it’ this opened the door for further trouble.

What do you think of the response of the police?

While most people were generally supportive of the work of the police, people’s answers frequently criticised the police response for being too slow when riots first started. A man from Walworth noted: “[The police station is very close to Walworth Road so why did it take so long to get a response?”

However, many residents who believe the police response was slow, attributed this to the police holding back for fear they would be accused of over-reacting. One person said: “Police are afraid to act because of the rule on manner of arrest.” And another: “Police are between a rock and a hard place – they will get into trouble for excessive force if they react stronger.”

“School Assembly’ and ‘After School Clubs’... will go a long way to expose children to values leading to good citizenship”
– Rev Sam Larbie, Elim Pentecostal Church, Camberwell
After the riots, local people wrote messages of support on bunting which was displayed in the windows of shops on Walworth Road.

It was clear, however, that local people want more police, not fewer, as these similar responses demonstrate: “They tried their best. We need more police.”; “The police did their best. Wasn’t enough police on the street.”

**Graph 3: What do you think can be done to stop riots happening again?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Proportion of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More activities for young people</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More jobs/apprenticeships</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve police/police response</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve parent/school discipline</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give young people better life chances</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing can be done</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve community/citizenship education</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve relations with the police</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consult with young people</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better role models</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory ntl service/community work</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shut down social media</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**What do you think can be done to stop riots happening again?**

Many people who believe a lack of opportunity for young people was one of the causes of the riots, called for more youth services in Southwark. People believe this is important to stop riots from happening again as these answers demonstrate:

- “There is a need to look into youth activity”
- “Something to keep young people occupied”
- “More money for youth clubs”
• “Keeping young people busy during the holidays”
• “More money for youth clubs. … sports, football, dances. More jobs and apprenticeships.”

People also noted a particular need in Southwark for good youth services due to the large number of children in the borough who grow up in small homes without outside space to play: “Need something for younger people to do. [There’s] nowhere to play when they get to nine, 13 or 14 – there’s all flats around. They need to engage in sports.” Local people believe that creating and investing in more youth services will keep young people engaged with and invested in the community.

Giving young people a stake in the community was also a common theme for people who believe that more jobs and more apprenticeships are necessary: “Children need something to look forward to – jobs, apprenticeships” Local people also saw jobs and apprenticeships as a way to keep young people busy and out of trouble: “Engage the youth, keep them busy with education, training for work.”

Frequently people’s answers to this question referenced the need for an improved response from the police. People said:
- “Police having faster reactions could stop this sort of thing”
- “Faster police response, not so hands off”
- “Employ more police”

Local people are very concerned about police numbers. It was clear that people believe more police are necessary to strengthen the force’s ability to respond to any future riots. And these views are shared by people around the country. A YouGov/Sunday Times poll found 77 per cent of people did not agree the government should stick to plans to cut police budgets following the riots.\(^{14}\)

A former teacher and mother of a child with special educational needs said the following when asked about ways to reduce the possibility of riots in the future: “Take special educational needs much more seriously – including helping to ensure every child leaving primary school has effective reading and communication skills.”

Grace Outreach Church sampled the opinions of their congregation:
- 85% attributed the cause of the riots to the current economic situation and societal neglect.
- To prevent riots happening again 50% of the congregation suggested more community engagement and more police.

The Church also wanted young people to be part of the solution, with 90% suggesting job creation for young people; Christian youth outreach programmes as well as reopening youth centres.

Consulting local young people

Media coverage of the riots showed young people in Peckham as a rampaging mob. There was much talk about a ‘sick society’ and ‘broken Britain’. My concern, and the concern of my constituents, is that people form the view that the rioters are representative of all young people in Southwark. They are not.

I wanted to show the views of the overwhelming majority of young people in Peckham, who were not involved in the riots, who are pursuing their education and who are determined to make something of their lives. Much of the media coverage speculated about what caused the riots and about the relationship between young people and the police. So I commissioned focus groups to enable young people to speak for themselves about their aspirations for the future and to talk about what lay behind the riots and their relationship with the police.  

The two groups of young people in the focus groups – one of girls, one of boys – all lived locally. They were aged 16-18 and were all staying on in education or on training courses. Demographically, these young people were representative of the local community. None of the young people involved took part in the rioting but they certainly had first hand evidence – they spoke about being on the streets during those nights, receiving BlackBerry Messages (BBMs) and Facebook status updates.

These young people were ambitious but realistic about their futures. They were fiercely aware of their own responsibility for their futures and all had clear goals for their future careers. When asked where they wanted to be in 10 years’ time and how they’d achieve these goals, they simply answered that they’d need to motivate themselves to stay in college, finish their courses and go into training or on to university. One wanted to be a doctor, inspired, she said, by a doctor who acted as her mentor at home in Jamaica. Another wanted to be a mechanic and another a teacher. Some had very clear ambitions – wanting to work for Microsoft and having found the pathway and even office location. Others were thinking more generally about industries – fashion or acting for example - but also spoke of their back-up plans.

Whatever their ambition, the unanimous position was that it was they themselves who were responsible for achieving it. One girl studying acting said: “It’s nice to have that support and help from teachers and other people at college, and especially from parents, but really I think it’s about yourself. It’s down to you. Not about the others around you and what they can do, but what you can do.” The boys agreed: “You know that phrase – you can take a horse to a stream but you can’t make it drink the water and stuff. If you don’t want to do this, no-one can force you.”

The difference between the boys and the girls started to become apparent when discussing their role models – while boys chose political, business and sporting leaders like Usain Bolt, Bill Gates and Nelson Mandela, the girls almost exclusively picked their mothers. This was not, however, to talk about how they’d been cared for – rather, every girl wanted to speak about their pride in and respect for their mothers. “She came to this country with practically nothing, and she just started working, and

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15 Focus groups were carried out by Britain Thinks on 28th September 2011 at St Mary’s Church and Community Centre. For the topic guide see appendix C
she’s worked ever since even whilst bringing us all up.” “She’s worked really hard – she’s a mental health nurse with young kids. I see those kids having tantrums and stuff with anyone else, but with her she can talk to them, keep them calm and happy.” Amongst the boys and the girls there was not one mention of the role of the father throughout the discussions.

Differences in opinion between boys and girls were most apparent when they spoke about the riots. All described rioting, particularly the destruction of communities and shopping centres, as stupid, unthinking, hypocritical. However, the difference in tone between the two groups was profound. The girls had absolutely no sympathy for rioting and were reluctant to consider looting as anything other than unthinkingly “following the crowd”, “getting caught up in the excitement” or simply “wanting to get free stuff”. The boys, however, emphasised the mitigating circumstances – they discussed high levels of frustration relating to joblessness and government cuts and stressed that “there were just some really broke people, and they realised they could go and riot and get stuff to better their lives and their kids’ lives. That’s different from that stupid woman who just nicked bubblegum.”

When looking at the causes of the riots, the girls dismissed out of hand the suggestion that this was a manifestation of anger with the police: “No way was it about anger at the police. You didn’t see burnt out police stations. You didn’t see police getting hurt. They would have been the main target. No. People were stupid.” Boys, however, had a completely different viewpoint – they spoke about the shooting of Mark Duggan with genuine anger: “They were so quick to execute him, but so slow to tell the truth of what happened. How could you trust that?”, and said that this image of the Met was backed up by their own daily experience of the police: “[If we were all to leave here together now we’d definitely get stopped. For no reason. Just because they have authority, they don’t need to abuse it.”

It was clearly due to the boys’ experiences with the police that they were so ready to understand, and to some extent sympathise with, rioting. Many tried to express their feeling that they’d have preferred the unrest to be more directed at the sources of anger – primarily the police – than looting: “[S]ome people did try to take advantage of a genuine protest, just so they could get stuff for themselves”; “if someone set fire to a police station, I’d shake their hand. Well, actually no, it’s obviously wrong to do that, but at least it makes more sense than robbing.”

Meanwhile, the girls admitted that they have a much easier time with the police than boys their age and their only criticism of policing of the riots was that it was not stringent or forceful enough, which they reasoned was because “when they’re out of uniform, at the end of the day, they’re just one of us really. Of course they didn’t want to hurt themselves, they’ve got families as well.”

A theme that ran through both conversations was a strong awareness that they are stereotyped by police on a daily basis, and by the media in their coverage of youth culture and rioting. They stressed that this was not so much racism as targeting on the basis of age, clothing and community.

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16 In fact, there were reported incidents of police stations in Southwark being attacked.
Southwark residents charged with riot-related offences

After the riots I visited Camberwell Green Magistrates’ Court and thanked court staff clerks who had worked long hours to make sure people suspected of riot-related offences were taken through court without delay.

After the riots there was a discussion in the media about who the rioters were. An analysis of the information about people whose riot related charges were heard at Camberwell Green Magistrates’ Court shows:

- 353 defendants appeared before the court for riot-related offences.
- The youngest person charged with riot-related offences was aged 12 years. The oldest was aged 61 years.
- Of the total number of defendants appearing before the court for riot-related offences, 74 per cent were aged under 25 years.

Table 1: Defendants appearing at Camberwell Green Magistrates’ Court for offences relating to the public disorder between 6th and 9th August 2011 - data as of 12th October 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence type</th>
<th>Defendants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Damage</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(^{19})</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Disorder(^{19})</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>353</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Justice Statistics Analytical Services
Ministry of Justice. [Ref: PQ 75688-75691]

\(^{17}\) See for example: “Who are the rioters? Young men from poor areas… but that’s not the full story.” Paul Lewis and James Harkin, The Guardian, August 10 2011 [http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/aug/10/london-riots-who-took-part].

“Rioting teenagers ‘were bored in the long summer holiday’”. Tim Ross, The Telegraph, August 29 2011. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/8728524/Rioting-teenagers-were-bored-in-long-summer-holiday.html

\(^{18}\) Other offence type (includes following offences: Having an article with a blade or point in public place, Possession of offensive weapons without lawful authority or reasonable excuse, Having possession of a controlled drug (Cannabis)).

\(^{19}\) Violent disorder (includes following offences: Violent disorder, Riot, Affray, Summary causing intentional harassment, alarm or distress, Summary harassment, alarm or distress, Assault with intent to resist apprehension or assault a person assisting a constable, Common assault offences, Assaulting a constable and offences under Public Order Act and Justice of the Peace Act).
An analysis of the information about people charged with riot-related offences committed within the London Borough of Southwark shows:

- Eighty four of the 104 people charged thus far are Southwark residents.
- Thirteen per cent of those charged are women, 87% are men.
- The youngest person charged is 12 years of age, the oldest, 55 years.
- Seventy per cent of those charged are under the age of 25.
- Offences include: Arson with intent to endanger life, Violent Disorder, Robbery, Burglary - Non-Residential, Theft, Handling Stolen Goods, Possession of an Offensive Weapon, Going Equipped to Steal.

An analysis of the information about Southwark residents charged with riot-related offences committed outside the borough shows:

- Eight Southwark residents have been charged with offences committed outside the borough.
- The range of offences is theft, handling stolen goods and burglary.
- One hundred per cent are men.
- The youngest person is 18 years and the oldest 26 years.
- 87.5% were committed by persons under the age of 25.

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21 Ibid
Cost to important Southwark Council services

The riots are costing the council as it puts right the damage done to our local shopping centres and homes above shops. Initial estimates put the cost at over £600,000, but the council expects this figure to rise. I hope Southwark Council will get full recompense from the various government funds designed to cover the immediate costs of the riots, but it may not be able to claim for lost parking income and the cost of postponing planned community events. Additionally, Southwark Council expects to spend further sums supporting businesses and local shopping areas. Discussions are ongoing with the government about how much of this can be reclaimed.

Table 2: Initial estimate of type and amount of cost to Southwark Council

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleanup</td>
<td>£150,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Safety</td>
<td>£29,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of revenue due to business rate relief</td>
<td>£169,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-housing costs</td>
<td>£0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing support to local business</td>
<td>£161,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs to youth offending services</td>
<td>£1,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (inc. loss of income, cancellation fees)</td>
<td>£94,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total costs incurred by Southwark Council</strong></td>
<td><strong>£606,887</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Southwark Council

These extra costs have placed additional strain on Southwark Council’s already stretched budget. The council has seen its grant from central government cut by 18% over two years - a cut of £34 million in the first year.

Local residents believe one way to stop riots from happening again is to fund youth services. Yet the government has also cut grants which funded voluntary sector and community organisations meaning a total of £11 million less for children’s and youth services in Southwark. As a result, more than 70 charities and community groups in Southwark, many providing youth services, are facing grant funding cuts of up to 100%.

The government should not be undermining measures which enhance community resilience by inflicting large scale cuts on what the riots have shown is a vulnerable area. It is essential the government look again at these cuts in Southwark.

Rye Lane, Peckham – the site of a shop which was set on fire during the riots

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Rising unemployment in Camberwell & Peckham

Local people gave as their joint top response for preventing future riots: ‘more jobs and more apprenticeships.’ Unemployment in Camberwell & Peckham had begun to fall by May 2010. But in the last 12 months the number of people in Camberwell & Peckham claiming Jobseekers Allowance (JSA) has increased by 15.3%.

Graph 4: Number of unemployed JSA Claimants in Camberwell & Peckham [2010-2011]

Source: NOMIS

Note: In July 2011 the government announced a consultation on plans to close Camberwell Jobcentre and in October 2011 it confirmed that it will close in October 2012.

After the riots and against the background of rising unemployment, it is inexplicable that the government should be persisting with their plans to close Camberwell Jobcentre, one-third of whose clients are from the immediate neighbourhood. If the government goes ahead with its closure, local people will have to go further afield to find work. I have called on the government to reverse its decision.

25 HOC RP11/66 16 September 2011
26 http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/
Police numbers

The riots shone a spotlight on the important role of the police. Up to 100 extra police officers came to assist Southwark Police from forces as far away as Wales, Scotland and Yorkshire. And Southwark police officers worked shifts up to 30 hours long to restore order to our streets.

To stop riots happening again local people believe we need more police officers, not fewer.

Yet the government is now cutting Southwark Police’s budget by 20%. This will inevitably mean fewer police officers in Southwark. In the 12 months to March 2011 the total number of police officers and staff in the borough fell by 59 and are set to fall further.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>March '07</th>
<th>March '08</th>
<th>March '09</th>
<th>March '10</th>
<th>March '11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police Officers</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police officers &amp; PCSOs</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>1064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Staff</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of Police officers and staff in Southwark</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>1215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even before the riots, people in Southwark were very concerned about police numbers. Over the last 10 years we have worked together locally to increase the number of police. In 2002 I set up the ‘Southwark Police 1,000 Campaign’ where all three Southwark MPs, local councillors, community groups and GLA member Val Shawcross AM campaigned for more police. Our campaign was successful and between 2002 and 2010 the number of police officers in the borough increased from 775 to 1,071 and at the same time crime fell.
We are now stepping up our campaign to increase police numbers in Southwark. The riots shook the confidence of the local community in the police. That confidence needs to be restored. That cannot be done against the background of falling police numbers. It is essential there is a moratorium on cuts to police officers in Southwark.
Cost to local businesses

Local businesses, particularly the shops, suffered in the riots. And the riots have set back the drive to improve our local shopping areas.

A section of Rye Lane in Peckham was closed following the riots while the council made sure fire-damaged buildings were safe.

I talked to local businesses directly affected by looting – those whose stock was stolen and windows smashed. I also spoke to businesses whose takings went down when shoppers stayed at home during the riots out of fear.

And with the help of Southwark Chamber of Commerce, Black Business Initiative and Biz Extra I conducted a survey of local businesses to hear how they had been affected and what help they needed. I want to ensure local businesses get the help they need to get back on their feet.

Businesses said they have been affected by the riots in the following ways:

- Closing early
- Road closures
- Customers staying away
- Stolen stock
- Damage to premises
- Windows smashed
Mr Graham Francis, Partner, TD Sports, Walworth Road

“I saw it on Facebook. They set a bin on fire outside so it looked like the shop was on fire. I got here about 8pm and saw the destruction. I’ve worked here about 12 years but the current owner has been here for over 22 years... Stock wise we lost £38,000 worth of stock. We are still waiting on the insurance. We are fully covered and our insurance covers loss of trade. Our business lost more because we specialise in team wear for football teams. For two weeks we could have been a lot busier.”

Mr Qamar Chowdrey, Owner of Junior, Rye Lane, Peckham

Mr Qamar Chowdrey has owned Junior, a children’s clothes shop on Rye Lane, for 28 years. He sells school uniforms and designer children’s clothing. He said: “I lost three days of sales. This is a key period in the shop because people come in and buy school uniforms. I probably lost about £24,000 [to] £25,000 from closing and because trade has gone down by about 25% [or] 30% because people don't want to shop in the area.”

Mr Saravanamuthu Viveegananthan, Walworth Convenience Store, Walworth Road.

Mr Saravanamuthu Viveegananthan owns Walworth Convenience Store on Walworth Road. Shops on either side of this busy newsagents were looted. Mr Viveegananthan says: “Our shutters are very strong they protected the shop. [Looters] tried to break the shutters but they couldn’t do it.” Still the business was affected by the riots – the owner estimates he lost £900 in sales from closing early for three days.
Mohammad Abbas, Owner, UK Food Store, Rye Lane, Peckham

UK Food Store is a busy shop on Rye Lane in Peckham selling Afro-Caribbean foods, groceries, fruit and veg, fish, meat and mobile phones. Mohammad Abbas has owned the shop for five years. During the riots his stock of yams and plaintains was taken costing him about £500-600. He says: “We closed the shop for two days which cost me about £1,500. My boys came over to the shop to stop people taking things… I called the police but nobody came. They were across the street but they did not defend the shop. I don’t think they were there to help local business.”

Argos, Walworth Road

The whole window was smashed in and the shutters destroyed. Staff took jewellery out before the riots, but the store was shut for three days. After the riots staff came to Walworth Road to help people clean up. On the fourth day the shop opened up again for business as usual.

Mr Salim Ghani, Manager, Clothing Club, Rye Lane, Peckham

Clothing Club on Rye Lane sells women’s clothes, shoes and accessories. Mr Salim Ghani manages the shop, which has been trading for over 20 years. Clothing Club lost £1,000 per day when the shop was closed for three days during and after the riots. And Mr Ghani says: “Business has declined since the riots. It was like a ghost town in the aftermath.”

But the riots have not deterred further investment in the business. “We will still stay here. We are not cowardly.”
Recognising the work of ‘good Samaritans’

As well as terrible acts of crime, there were also some really positive actions from local people on the night of the riots and afterwards.

By noon the next day Southwark’s streets had been cleared, with volunteers sweeping alongside the council’s clean-up crews. People caringly checked that their friends and neighbours were OK and staff helped to protect the places where they worked from looters.

Oli Food Centre on the Walworth Road is usually open 24 hours a day. During the riot they had to close for a short time but staff helped protect the shop.

“We shut for two hours but we had no doors. We had 25 workers stood outside and had a one-in-one-out policy for customers.”

- Hussain, Oli Food Centre

Local people bravely stepped in to stop property being grabbed from shops. Members of the Unwin & Friary Estate Tenants and Residents Association helped stop looting of the Payless Shop on Peckham Park Road.

When asked who should be acknowledged for their community-mindedness many people acknowledged: “[That drama group [Peckham Shed] who set up the peace wall - handing out sticky notes to write why they love Peckham.”

With Cllr Althea Smith and Cllr Peter John by the ‘Wall of Hope’ organised by Peckham Shed
Appendix A

I wrote to community organisations, places of worship and tenants and residents associations to ask people to share their views. I also invited people to meet me and my team at four estate meetings and talked to people as I was out and about in the constituency. The questions below were used as prompts to encourage people to share their views and their responses have been coded. The views in this report are taken from the responses I received.

Harriet Harman MP
Questionnaire for Southwark residents

Southwark was badly affected by the riots which happened up and down the country in August. The government listened to Labour’s calls to hold an inquiry into the causes of the riots and ways to prevent similar events in the future.

As MP for Camberwell and Peckham, I am listening to the views of my constituents to make sure the inquiry understands how the riots have affected people locally.

1. Who did the riots affect?
   Please tick all boxes below that apply to you [✓]
   [ ] You
   [ ] Your family
   [ ] The local area
   [ ] Other (please explain)

   2. What caused the riots in your view?
   3. What do you think of the response of the police?
   4. What do you think can be done to stop it happening again?
   5. Do you know anybody who was involved in the clean-up?
   6. Is there anyone you want to highlight for their fantastic response?
   7. Do you have any additional comments?

   Name: ______________________
   Age: _______________________

   Postcode: ______________________
   Gender: [ ] Male [ ] Female

   Employment status:
   [ ] in full time or part-time employment (including self-employed and freelance)
   [ ] in full time or part-time education
   [ ] not in full time employment or education
   [ ] retired

   If you would like me to send you a copy of my final report please provide your email or home address below. The report will also be made available on my website www.harrietharman.org
Appendix B

Letter sent to organisations in the community

August riots – the way forward

The riots were inexcusable and created untold fear and damage.

I want to make sure the right lessons are learnt from the riots. And I want to ask for your help and your views.

- What are people on your estate saying about the riots? Why did they happen? How can we stop them happening again?
- As well as some terrible acts of crime, there were some really good actions from people bravely stepping in to stop property being grabbed from shops, caringly checking that friends and neighbours were OK and offering help. I want to ensure these acts of community-mindedness are properly recognised. Who do you know who went out of their way to help people in the riots? I’d like to hear from you.

I know that local businesses, particularly the shops, suffered in the riots – and I am doing a major survey along with the Black Business Initiative and Southwark Chamber of Commerce to assess the damage and ensure the right help is given

Unemployment has been going up again in the last few months and the riots will only have made that worse – so I am campaigning hard against the closure of the Camberwell Jobcentre

The riots threw a spotlight on the important work of the police. Over the last few years we have had more police in Southwark and crime, which is still too high, has been coming down. The government have started cutting our police. I’m pressing Simon Hughes MP to stop voting with the government to cut police numbers in Southwark.

We need to listen in particular to the voices of young people in Southwark. So I am carrying out a major programme of hearing young people’s views.

Southwark Council has already been hit by massive cuts from the government. And now the riots are bound to cost the Council as they try and put right the damage done to our local shopping centres and homes above shops. I’m demanding that the government give the council the money they need for this.

I will be submitting all this in my report to the Government inquiry on the riots. Southwark suffered in the riots and the government must help. And I would appreciate hearing from you and your members so your voice can be heard.

Best wishes,

Harriet Harman MP
**Appendix C**

**Discussion Guide for focus groups with young people**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>Exercise</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>∑Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Pre task     | Before coming into the group - Participants will be asked to complete a written task:  
- Each to bring along an object that represents their own feelings about their future, and the name of someone they admire who has achieved the kinds of thing they would like to achieve |      |       |
| Intro        | Each participant to briefly introduce themselves  
- Moderator explanation of session, explaining Rumbi’s role | 5    | 5     |
|              | In pairs - each pair to discuss where they want to be in three years and ten years - and share with the whole group.  
Discussion:  
- To add to what careers they’ve suggested, would they consider police? Youth work/Childcare? Teaching? Fire/ambulance?  
  - Probe on why/why not for each of the careers and how they view each one  
- what will help them to achieve what they want?  
- what will hinder them?  
Develop a list of ‘barriers’ and a list of ‘stepping stones’ to achieving your ideal future | 5    | 10    |
| Narrative    | Discuss the role models that they bought along:  
- why they chose them and what they admire.  
Discuss:  
- what do they need to do to be more like these people?  
- How achievable is that? | 25   | 50    |
|              | If these are the people that they admire, can they think of people they know or know of, who represent a warning or a bad example?  
- Probe: famous people, gang leaders, local trouble-makers - how hard is it to resist becoming like them? | 5    | 55    |
|              | Using magazines and papers, in pairs to put together a profile of a typical person who got involved in the riots.  
Discuss:  
- What kind of person was this? What was their motivation? What caused the riot?  
- Do they feel sympathetic or not towards the rioters?  
- What was the role of the police?  
- Probe on:  
  - Did they help to keep the situation in control or make it worse?  
  - What could they have done differently to improve the situation?  
  - Some people have said that the policing was | 30   | 85    |

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30 Topic Guide prepared by Britain Thinks for focus groups carried out on 28th September 2011 at St Mary’s Church and Community Centre.
do they agree?

- What are the local police like?
- In general do they help to ease tensions or are they part of the problem?

**Work in pairs to each come up with 5 solutions:**

- What do they think needs to change to mean that the riots we saw this summer are less likely to happen in the future?
- Think about what government should do - what schools should do, what the police should do, what parents should do etc etc., and discuss

**Each to write a letter to David Cameron asking him to make these things happen.**

(We provide a ‘Dear Mr Cameron’ format for them to write in)

**Thinking again about their personal ambitions:**

- Would it be a problem if there were more riots in the future?
- Does this kind of unrest cause a problem or get in the way of their ambitions?
- Are the two in any way linked?

**Wrapping up & Thanks**

Explain that the focus groups are being held on behalf of Harriet Harman the local MP - is there anything that she can do to help? Would anyone be interested in meeting her - ask Rumbi to take their details and be in touch

| 10 | 80 |
Harriet Harman MP
Impact of the August riots on businesses in Southwark

Interview topic guide

As the Member of Parliament for an area affected by the terrible riots in August, I'm very concerned about the effect the riots have had on local businesses. I want to get a very clear picture of how it affected you and ensure that, where necessary, you get the help you need for your business.

Thank you for sharing your views.
Harriet Harman MP

1. Have you been affected by the riots in August?  
   *If so, in what ways?*

2. Has your income been affected?  
   *If so, approximately by what percentage?*

3. How has it affected your staffing?

4. Are you insured?  
   *If so, how have your dealings with your insurance company been? When do you expect payment?*

5. What do you think of the response of the police on the night of the riots?

6. Have the riots made you any more or less likely to invest in your business?

7. Have you had any contact from Southwark Council? Government Officials? Who else has been in touch?

8. Do you have anything to add?

Name: ___________________________________________  Position: ____________________________

Business name: _________________________________  Contact number: _______________________

Photo?  Full description of shop – (size, goods sold/services provided):
Appendix E

Message to Southwark businesses owners

I’m grateful to Southwark Chamber of Commerce for sending this email to you for me.

I’m very concerned about the affect the riots last month have had on local businesses. I want to get a very clear picture of how it affected you and ensure that, where necessary, you get the help you need for your business.

So I’d be grateful if you would let me know:

1. Have you been affected?
2. How has it affected your staffing?
3. Are you insured? If so, how have your dealings with your insurance company been? When do you expect payment?
4. What do you think about the response of the police on the night of the riots?
5. Have you had contact from the council? From government? Who else has been in touch?
6. Has your income been affected? If so by approximately what percentage?

I look forward to hearing from you on these points and also your views on why so many people got swept up in criminality which terrorised local people.

I also want to let you know that I am:

- Stepping up my campaign to protect police numbers in Southwark.
- Listening to what local people say about why the riots happened. In particular I’m consulting young people. We need to make sure their voice is heard to answer the questions about why so many people got swept up in criminality which terrorised local people.
- Campaigning hard against the closure of Camberwell Jobcentre.
- Estimating the cost of the riots to Southwark Council.
- Tracking those going through the criminal justice system.
- Recognising the hundreds of good deeds on a night of crime and destruction. I want to ensure these acts of community-mindedness are properly recognised – let me know the ‘good Samaritans’ you saw.

Thank you for sharing your views.

Harriet Harman MP
Member of Parliament for Camberwell and Peckham
Appendix F

Members of the Riots Communities and Victims Panel

- Darra Singh OBE
- Simon Marcus
- Heather Rabbatts CBE
- Maeve Sherlock OBE

Terms of reference for the Riots Communities and Victims Panel

“The Independent Riots Communities and Victims Panel has been set up to examine and understand why the August 2011 riots took place.

“We will talk directly to people who were affected in their communities including young people, local business owners, parents and residents.

“Our work will look at:

- the motivation for a small minority of people to take part in riots;
- why the riots happened in some areas and not others;
- how key public services engaged with communities before, during and after the riots;
- what motivated local people to come together to take civic action to resist riots in their area or to clean up after riots had taken place;
- how communities can be made more socially and economically resilient in the future, in order to prevent future problems; and
- what they think could have been done differently to prevent or manage the riots.

“We will publish an interim report in November and will present a final report to the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the Official Opposition in March 2012. We’ll publish copies of both reports on this website.

“We want to hear from as many people as possible – the most important part of our work will be to listen to the people who have been affected and we want to make sure everyone has the chance to have their voices heard. We will also work with academics, Government and other organisations to gather evidence and analysis.

“There are several different ways to have your voice heard. We will travel across the country to talk to people face-to-face – you can see our schedule of visits and meetings here. You can also email your views to riotpanel@communities.gsi.gov.uk or write to the Panel at Riots Panel, 6th floor, Eland House, Bressenden Place, SW1E 5DU. If you would like your evidence to be included in the interim report, please submit it to us by the end of October.

31 http://riotpanel.independent.gov.uk/
Appendix G

Terms of reference for the Home Affairs Select Committee Inquiry on Policing Large Scale Disorder

“On 15 August the Home Affairs Committee announced an inquiry into the lessons that may be learned from the wide-scale rioting and looting by predominantly young people in London, Birmingham, Bristol, Nottingham, Liverpool, Manchester and other cities in August 2011.

“In particular, the Committee is interested in:

- Police relations with the communities where violence took place before the riots, including similarities with and differences from previous public disorder events;
- The role of social media in spreading disorder and in the response to it;
- The role of organised groups in promoting disorder;
- The role of the IPCC, HM Inspectorate of Constabulary, and ACPO/NPIA public order guidance;
- The techniques used by the police to quell the rioting, including: a) Decisions taken over the deployment of police officers (availability of officers, response times), b) The use of standard techniques: containment, dispersal, specialist public order officers, dogs, horses, c) The deployment of non-standard techniques: armoured police cars, baton rounds, water cannon, curfews;
- Variations in the responses of different police forces;
- Lessons to be learned from the police response to previous public disorder incidents;
- Training of officers to deal with riots;
- Whether there were any constraints on the police such as limited resources or powers;
- Whether there should be any changes to the legislation regulating normal policing processes during times of major disorder;
- Whether the age of many of the rioters constrained the police in their use of anti-riot technique;
- The application of the Riot (Damages) Act 1886; and
- To revisit relevant recommendations made in previous Home Affairs Committee reports into Policing the G20 protests and Knife crime, and other relevant recommendations, to assess if they have been implemented by successive governments.

“Organisations and individuals interested in making written submissions are invited to do so by Friday 9 September 2011. Submissions must be no longer than 2,500 words.

“Oral evidence sessions will be held: further announcements will be made in due course.”
Acknowledgements

Helen Charles, Head of Constituency Office
Rumbi Gotsoa, Danny Hathaway and Anna Eaton, Constituency Office
Deborah Mattinson and Zoe Tyndall, Britain Thinks who conducted focus groups among young people
Christopher Wilson, Southwark Chamber of Commerce
Sunny Lambe, Black Business Initiative
Patrick Blunt, Biz Extra