Side by side

Young people in divided communities

a guide for donors and grant-makers

September 2004

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Executive Summary

'… *Social cohesion is the single most important issue of our times. To me it suggests that either we hang together, or we will surely hang separately* …'
Acting Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, 2002

■ **Community relations** are poor in parts of this country. Communities divided by poor relations are not limited to urban centres, and divisions occur within white communities as well as between white and black and minority ethnic communities.

■ This report sets community divisions against a backdrop of **racist and sectarian attitudes** and hostility towards migrants and travelling communities. Islamophobia in particular has risen in the wake of September 11th, 2001.

■ **Poverty and deprivation** are major contributors. Communities may find themselves in a vicious circle, with economic disadvantage and poor relations becoming mutually reinforcing. Thus, there is an economic and moral call to action.

■ **Segregation** of housing, education and employment exacerbate divisions, letting prejudices fester and preventing fruitful interaction. Further, poor community leadership and a lack of discussion of contentious issues create a vacuum that far-right parties such as the British National Party exploit to stir up hatred and mistrust.

■ Many community difficulties result from the disengagement of **young people**. However, their attitudes and behaviour are more receptive to change than those of older people and they are in a unique position to shape their communities' evolution. As a result, they form the focus of this report.

■ **Government** can influence good community relations but cannot by itself create them. Community relations are not an area in which government has a clearly defined responsibility. Despite a stated commitment, government is not doing enough to overcome and prevent divisions.

■ There is an important role for the voluntary sector, since community-based activities that foster deep-rooted understanding can prevent divisions. **Private funding** is vital, since the area is not well funded by government and the independence of the voluntary sector is important if it is to innovate and take risks.

■ **The role of the voluntary sector** is in large part to support and bring together communities – a role that the state is not in a strong position to take on. We identify five types of interventions: shared spaces and experiences (including arts-based and sport-based interventions); community leadership; training in conflict resolution; training for education and employment; and work with perpetrators.

■ **Outcomes** are difficult to identify and to measure; however there are many very tangible examples of personal change having been effected, and these can bring significant community benefits. We describe likely outcomes from supporting each intervention and show that most outcomes are rooted in increased understanding.

■ We have identified many excellent voluntary sector organisations working in this field. Some have established track records and need funding to continue or expand their programmes; others are grass roots organisations with much potential, looking for seed funding. We have made clear **funding recommendations** about how money can be best used and in-principle recommendations about organisations that we have analysed and that we believe to be the most efficient and effective; we are keen to talk though these with potential funders.

Contents

Introduction

The purpose of this report

This report provides a guide for funders interested in organisations working with young people living in divided communities. Its purpose is to provide the information and analysis required to understand more fully the extent of the issue and the types of response offered by government and by voluntary sector organisations. The outcomes generated by each voluntary sector intervention are described in order to help funders understand the effects that grants in a particular area are likely to have. The report examines charities operating throughout the UK; however, much of the policy research is focused on England.

Funding organisations in this field can be far from straightforward. There are many areas of the country that are experiencing divisions, a diverse selection of organisations working on the issues and a variety of interventions available. This means funders need to be well informed before making their funding decisions. Although this report is neither exclusive nor exhaustive, necessarily based on 75 visits to organisations, we aim to guide funders to the greatest needs and to the most effective organisations that we have uncovered in the course of our research. This will enable funders to target their resources more efficiently. We have detailed reports on a number of organisations to assist in funding that we would be happy to discuss should a funder wish to develop grants.

The contents of this report

Recent years have seen many conflicts between people of different identities: the murder of an estimated 800,000 Tutsis by people of Hutu origin in Rwanda; the genocide committed by all major ethnic and religious groups in Bosnia; and the *intifada* between Palestinians and Israelis. We have all lived through the tragic impact of polarisation and terrorism in Northern Ireland and watched as prospects for a lasting peace have waxed and waned. The disturbances in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley in the summer of 2001 shocked many, not only for their violence but also because they brought home an uncomfortable truth: that such conflict could also occur in Britain.

Despite the common sentiment that these conflicts are the result of people of different skin colour or religion hating each other, we show that this view is an oversimplification. There is potential for tension and conflict wherever people encounter others who are in some way different from them, yet many live together contentedly. This report outlines the influences that lead to community divisions and their effects, and explains how the voluntary sector can contribute to positive community relations.

Section 1 looks at the **need** for intervention, and describes the characteristics of communities where tensions have manifested themselves. Section 2 addresses the **role of government** in diffusing and preventing discord, to establish the important complementary role for private funding. Section 3 looks at the **role of the voluntary sector** and describes approaches to promoting harmonious relations in communities, pointing to factors that increase the chance of achieving the best outcomes for the young people involved. Section 4 describes the **outcomes** that funders can expect to achieve by supporting voluntary sector organisations. In Section 5 we assist funders in **achieving outcomes** by explaining how they might go about maximising the impact of their funding in this area. Finally, at the end of the report we list **recommended voluntary sector organisations** that we believe are the most efficient and effective and who we (in principle) recommend that funders consider.

Methodology

This report is based on numerous sources, including academic research, consultation with experts, reviews of policy literature and meetings with policy makers. Among the main sources of knowledge have been our discussions with practitioners and voluntary sector organisations, including visits to 75 organisations in areas including Burnley, Cardiff, London, Belfast, Glasgow, Bradford and Leicester, selected to provide a range of areas dealing with different aspects of damaged communities and doing so in different ways. Throughout the report we draw upon case studies of many groups we visited, and in-principle recommendations as to which were the most efficient and effective can be found at the end of the report. All organisations visited are detailed in the acknowledgements.

Finally, we drew upon a consultative panel that was very influential in shaping our thoughts and took the time to criticise our report prior to publication. We thank them for their valuable input and list them at the end of the report.

Section 1: Need

This section describes the impact of community divisions and their causes, and examines young people's central role in building a better future. We examine the state of race relations and community activity in the UK today, showing how in some areas people live disconnected, 'parallel' lives. Then we look at areas with particularly damaged relations, exploring factors that contribute to divisions, including poverty, segregation and local leadership. The section ends by looking at the role and experiences of young people in divided communities. Our analysis is peppered with troubling examples of recent conflict in a range of contexts: inner-city and rural; race-based and driven by sectarianism; fuelled by crime and by damaging myths.

Conflict and communities in the UK

Communities examined in this report lie on a spectrum of division.

Table 1 shows a framework for categorising the different types of communities that are facing or experiencing divisions. Set against each type of area are examples of areas cited by other research or visited during the research for this report.

Table 1: Four types of areas facing the problems of division

	Few divides but latent tensions	Potential for divides	Emerging divides	Divided communities
Possible characteristics:	Unvoiced racist/ sectarian attitudes Little interaction between communities Little perception of need to build links between communities	Newly arrived communities Weak community organisations Few activities for young people Little interaction between groups	Disaffection, isolation Emerging tensions Verbal abuse common, sometimes tolerated Segregation	Established, long-standing tensions Significant segregation Conflicts/ disturbances/ rioting High levels of hate crime
Examples of areas:	Some rural counties Some areas of rural Scotland	Ribble Valley Leicester suburbs Bermondsey (South London)	Leicester Glasgow Newham, Brent (London)	Burnley Bradford Belfast

At the extreme end of the spectrum are the rare areas that clearly display 'divides' in the form of segregation in education, housing and employment. Here, tensions have escalated to overt conflicts, and people live the kind of parallel lives described in submissions to the reports following the 2001 disturbances in Northern England:

> '… *When I leave this meeting with you I will go home and not see another white face until I come back here next week* …'[1]

> '… *They think that we don't belong here. They think only white people should live in England* …'[2]

We also studied a number of areas where divides are emerging. In these, indicators suggest that more serious problems may develop. For example, Newham and Brent (London's most diverse boroughs[3]) display ethnic segregation and groups are developing 'parallel lives'.

Further, there are areas where few indicators would suggest that difficulties are present, but where socio-economic or cultural changes suggest difficulties may be approaching. In these areas, prevention work has the least identifiable outcomes, but has the greatest potential impact. However, prevention is often low visibility, painstakingly patient, difficult to evaluate and requires long timescales.[4]

We start from the premise that a lack of interaction between people of different background or belief is a problem wherever it occurs

We believe that a lack of interaction between people of different background or belief is a problem wherever it occurs, for it risks each party, consciously or unconsciously, dehumanising the other. We are all at risk of being guilty of this; researchers at London's Institute of Psychiatry warn that it is not possible to divide the population neatly between a small group of xenophobes and the rest, and that feelings of suspicion and hostility towards outsiders are latent in most of us.[5] It is important to recognise that people may be prejudiced against different ethnic groups without realising it. For example, experiments show that most people who view a picture of a person of a different race will subsequently show faster reaction time to unpleasant words than to pleasant words. The reverse is true when they see a photograph of people of their own race.[6]

Figure 1: Adverse effects of divided communities
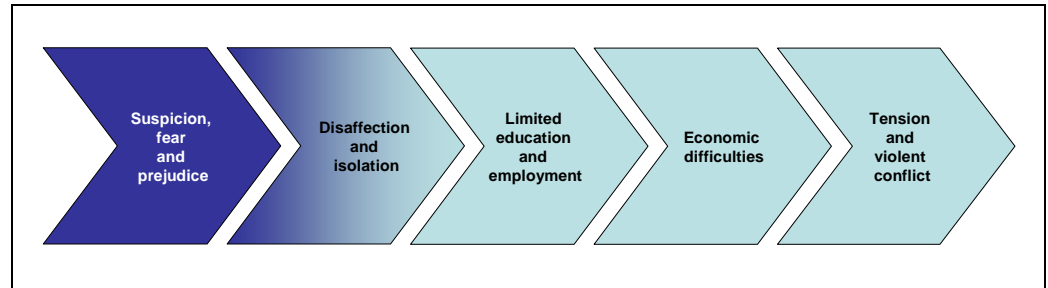
Community divisions can have a number of adverse effects (see

Figure **1**), including:

- **Suspicion, fear and prejudice.** A report on young people in Burnley drew attention to the fact that the area was riddled with metaphorical glass walls of fear, separating people of different cultural backgrounds. It found that young people regulate their movements, not entering areas where they feel they cannot go for fear of attack.[7] One of the causes of the riots in Oldham and Bradford was the suspicion by people of South Asian origin that white people were getting more cash from the local council, while white people thought Asian people got all the help.[8]

- **Disaffection and isolation.** In many places, people are disaffected, believing that they have no influence on the area in which they live. Young people may turn to drugs and crime, feeling there are no other options for them. In an area of Burnley, a long-time resident described how elderly people were increasingly isolated because they were afraid to leave their houses in the evenings, as they felt threatened by young disaffected Asian men congregating in the streets.[9]

- **Limited education and employment** opportunities stem from poor schooling and from poor economic options, and can lead to feelings of despair and hopelessness. With poor educational opportunities come poor employment options.

- **Economic difficulties** arise in an area with limited education and employment options. As we shall see later, these difficulties reinforce community divisions and in turn are reinforced by them, creating a vicious circle.

- At the extreme, **tension and violent conflict** can occur. This has serious effects on entire neighbourhoods and can be felt nationally through the media and the way it shapes public opinion. In Glasgow, racial tensions mean some people of South Asian origins are afraid to walk the streets at night.[10] In 2003, a bonfire burning an effigy of a gypsy caravan in Sussex highlighted local hostility towards travellers.[11] Box 1 describes the serious violent conflict of the disturbances in Burnley in 2001.

> **Box 1: Violent conflict in Burnley, described in the Task Force report[12]**
>
> In the early hours of Saturday 23rd June, 2001, violent clashes took place between groups of young people, some white and some of Asian heritage, probably from criminal gangs and possibly drug dealers. Cars and property were damaged … such conduct could not have been spontaneous. A number of people reported hearing rumours the previous day that something was going to happen.
>
> On the Saturday evening, a group of Asian youths attacked the Duke of York pub … A number of Asian young men were of the view that a group gathering inside the pub were preparing for an attack on Asian homes and businesses. Disorder occurred again on the Sunday when a group of white men started abusing passers-by and attacking business premises owned by Asian people. Such attacks spread to areas not previously involved. Another pub was petrol bombed by young Asians.

The roots of community divisions

By understanding the characteristics of divided communities, we can learn how divisions arise and identify areas that may be at risk of developing problems. We turn first to the relationship between the individual and society, where we see that potential for inter-group conflict exists in any environment. Then we explore the national context, looking at British views on race, the influence of the media and people's attitudes to community. Finally, we study local areas that have experienced the greatest tensions.

The individual

It is important to examine the characteristics of individual perpetrators of discrimination-based violence or harassment and how their psychology relates to their circumstances. However, it should be remembered that perpetrators need to be considered as part of a larger group and their perceptions are affected considerably by others.

When we identify ourselves with a **group**, we risk developing negative attitudes to those outside it. People whose self-esteem has been damaged by a group failure show an increase in prejudice to those outside the group.[13] Additionally, experiments show that people have a tendency to adjust their perceptions to conform to those of other group members. Such a convergence of attitudes helps bind a group together and establishes boundaries between 'us' and 'them'.[14] Stereotyping then erases the unique characteristics of individual members of another group. As soon as boundaries are drawn around outsiders based on religion, race or creed, its members are perceived as interchangeable. In particular, people have a tendency to construct uniform images of people of competing classes, political or economic organisations, or ethnic groups.

Groups are also biased in their perceptions of themselves and others so they are likely to attribute better motives and character to members of their own group than to those from another group. When things go wrong, people are likely to assign blame to someone outside of the group rather than to one of their own.[15]

Prejudice itself is often not the root of the problem. A Home Office study in 1997 found that the racist views held by perpetrators of racist violence and harassment often served as distractions from real, underlying concerns that they felt unable to deal with. Certain conditions seem to contribute to stereotyping and prejudice: feeling helpless and miserable, loneliness, fearing the future, and looking for someone to solve one's problems.[16]

Another key contributing factor is that people see no alternative to their current situation. They do not believe that things will get better or that they can do anything to improve it. Because of these feelings, when scapegoats for their problems are put forward, people are often ready to accept them. The fact that people do not see hope for a better future and do not see what they can do to address the problems in their lives and improve their conditions, are two essential factors that need to be addressed to transform this problem.[17]

Evidence on **why young white people act out their prejudices** (see Box 2) makes it clear that it is important to tackle the beliefs of perpetrators, but also indicates that this has to be part of a larger strategy to tackle prejudice in the community as a whole. Solutions do not lie in the perpetrators alone. The views held by perpetrators are often shared by the communities to which they belong, and this they see as legitimising their actions.[18]

Perpetrators need to be considered as part of a larger group as their perceptions are affected considerably by others

Racist views often distract people from underlying concerns that they feel unable to deal with

Box 2: Why young white people act out their prejudices[19]

Young white people engaging in harassment and violence tend to have grown up in households where racist attitudes are prevalent and attainment is low. They may have had some friends from different backgrounds when they were young, but they tend to see them as different from the larger group whom they stereotype and abuse. They may have picked up habits of harassment and anti-social behaviour from older youths. They lack aspirations and find themselves unoccupied and bored for much of their time. They are unlikely to have role models and a sense of identity, often finding a sense of power and belonging in sport or far-right politics. Perceptions of others, and of black people in particular are often in response to their own lack of identity.

The national climate

Before looking at communities where tensions have occurred, we look at the national backdrop, which influences the way we interact with one another. We begin with a description of British views on race, including how these have changed since September 11th, 2001. Next, we look at the important issue of migration and how this relates to divided communities. Finally, we look at policing and how it has both encouraged and prevented community divisions.

British views on race

It is an uncomfortable truth that racism and discrimination remain rife in the UK. Findings from MORI surveys on race[20] show that almost 40% of people surveyed would prefer to live in an area only with people from the same ethnic background. 41% of whites and 26% of black and minority ethnic (BME) people surveyed want racial groups to live separately. Further, 41% of people believe that Britain is not a place that has good relations between different races. MORI polls also show that nearly half of those surveyed believe other people are unfairly getting priority over them in public services and welfare payments. Of the 45% who believe the welfare state treats them as second-class citizens, nearly two-fifths blame asylum seekers and new immigrants.

These views may in part be the result of people being uninformed on issues of race. On average, Britons believe that first generation immigrants comprise 23% of the population.[21] However, only 2% of the population of England and Wales was born outside the UK.[22]

In part, these views may also be as a result of people not having the opportunity to explore the issues openly. An anxiety to eliminate insulting forms of behaviour and language has led to an unwillingness to explore subjects that might lead to uncomfortable differences of opinion.[23] Thus, a government report concluded that a lack of willingness to be open about differences of culture, belief and tradition had in part led to a collective lack of respect for our neighbours.[24] In Burnley, despite the difficulties that came to light in the summer of 2001, there is still a perceived unwillingness, particularly by the council, to acknowledge the prevalence of racism in the town.[25]

It is also important to recognise that prejudices exist between non-majority communities as well as between majority and minority ethnic groups, as Box 3 illustrates.

Box 3: Intra-ethnic tensions in Southall, described by *The Economist*[26]

New faces, many of unfamiliar hues, have arrived in the area. And that does not please the established residents.

'The neighbourhood is getting worse,' according to Ashraf Jussab, a Malawi-born Asian Muslim who works at a local nursery. 'When I came here, in 1973, it was safe and enjoyable. Now it has become a dumping ground for asylum-seekers. War criminals, murderers—they are all coming to Southall.'

The immigrants causing Mr Jussab and others so much distress are a mixed group of Afghans, Somalis, Kosovans and East Europeans. Like the Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis who came to London three decades ago, many are refugees; also like the Asians, their arrival has been controversial. But while the outcry over asylum-seekers has been loudest in middle England, it is Asian neighbourhoods like Southall that are actually seeing many of the new immigrants. Among local youths, tensions are rising: one local pastor describes the mood as 'dynamite'.

British views on race may in part be encouraged by irresponsibility on the part of national media. The media have a huge influence on attitudes and perceptions. Unbalanced and inaccurate reporting can provide a spurious justification for racial harassment.[27] Sadly, it is all too common, as the following quotes from *The Sun* illustrate:

> '… *If these people can't mix with the community, they should go back home. I am willing to pay for their one-way ticket* …' [28]

> '… *Damned by the Stephen Lawrence inquiry as 'institutionally racist,' the [Metropolitan Police] went into an orgy of self-flagellation and self-incrimination. But even if they handed out free spliffs to Rastas and prayed to Mecca twice a day, it still wouldn't be enough* …' [29]

A recent focus for racial and religious hatred is Islamophobia, which has risen dramatically since September 11th, 2001.[30] A British National Party (BNP) banner outside the House of Commons during a debate on religious hatred read 'Islam out of Britain'. Other incidents include: a woman being pelted with eggs by 30 youths for wearing a headscarf; a man distributing leaflets encouraging people to find, beat and kill Muslims and damage mosques; and a Muslim baby being tipped out of a pram.[31]

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British views on race might in part be encouraged by irresponsibility on the part of the media

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Sectarianism

Sectarianism is defined as 'a narrow-minded adherence to a particular belief' often leading to 'prejudice, discrimination, ill-will and malice' towards people with another belief.[32] That sectarian feelings and actions are almost endemic within Northern Irish society is a truism.[33] Red white and blue curb stones, republican flags and paramilitary murals still abound in Belfast, but sectarianism in the UK is not limited to Northern Ireland.

Sectarianism in Scotland dates back to Catholic immigration from Ireland in the 19th century to post-reformation Protestant Scotland.[34] Sometimes referred to as the last acceptable prejudice, sectarianism is not confined to the past. There is around one reported case a day of crimes motivated by religious hatred in Scotland, most of them sectarian in nature.[35] Research commissioned by Glasgow City Council in 2003 found that 77% said that sectarian jokes between friends were quite common and 65% felt that sectarian violence was common. Only 33% thought that sectarianism is becoming a thing of the past.

Orangemen still parade in Glasgow and some Catholics march to demonstrate allegiance with Republicanism. Although some are peaceful events celebrating cultural heritages, some fear marches passing through their areas and violence can erupt at the fringes.

Sectarian abuse and violence is common around Celtic and Rangers football games. After a Rangers versus Celtic game, a BBC reporter spent an evening at Monklands Hospital in Airdrie, Glasgow, and witnessed 30 admissions in an hour resulting from sectarian violence. They included a father supporting Rangers attacked in pub toilets and a Celtic supporter with the fingers of his hand cut to the bone.[36] In May this year, the Celtic player Neil Lennon received death threats and anti-Catholic slogans daubed outside his Glasgow home.[37]

Migration

The subject of immigration and of travelling communities lies largely beyond the scope of our research. Refugees and asylum seekers will be covered in greater depth by a future NPC report. However, as MORI polls described earlier indicate, the arrival of new groups into communities is often a source of tension and so we must review the subject here.

Asylum has received much press attention in recent years. Polls have found that 'bogus', 'scroungers' and 'desperate' were among the most commonly recalled words from media coverage on asylum. As David Blunkett recently pointed out, '*even today, there is a tendency to deny the scale of past migration, and exaggerate the present*.'[38] The issue is of disproportionate concern to the general public and in particular to young people. Young people believe that 31% of the world's refugees are in Britain. The true figure is less than 2%.[39] 56% of the population believe there are too many immigrants in Britain, rising to 90% when poor white people were surveyed. [40] Young people rate asylum as the second most important issue facing Britain, beating climate change, health, education and crime and coming second only to war.[41] This is partly the result of the system that forces asylum seekers onto welfare and prevents them from working legally for as long as two years. Some have said that this has been designed to provoke maximum hostility from Britons.[42]

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Wrexham in North Wales has traditionally attracted immigrants because of the abundance of unskilled work, although their arrival has not been well received by the existing community. In June 2003, an Iraqi man of Kurdish origin was attacked and badly injured, and this led to clashes between Kurds and the white community and petrol bomb attacks upon the police. Tensions continued as myths circulated about asylum seekers, and there is resentment about Kurds receiving softer punishments than the white men involved in the riots.[43]

Travelling communities (both settled and nomadic) face isolation from and suspicion in areas where they choose to set up sites.[44] Unprepared host communities without an understanding of or interaction with new arrivals can feel threatened, causing tensions.[45] Kathy Buckland was evicted from land her family had bought in Meadowlands, near Chelmsford, when she was pregnant with her fourth child. After planning permission was refused, bailiffs and police towed her mobile home out into the road. It was later torched and she lost everything. She has been housed by the council but says she is not coping well with the change of lifestyle.[46]

Interventions aimed at areas with new communities such as immigrants or travellers are particularly important in preventing divisions. If host communities are prepared and understand the new arrivals and if newcomers are supported and respected, and in turn attempt to understand British society, then recent arrivals and the existing community may not establish the 'parallel lives' that are at the root of many tensions.

Policing

The government recognises that the police service has a central role in improving social cohesion.[47] The reports following the disturbances in 2001 highlighted a breakdown in confidence amongst local communities in the police and a perception that they were racist. The Ritchie Report into the riots in Oldham noted:

> '… *Within the Asian community there is a widespread perception that the police are racist in their attitudes and whilst some of the concerns cannot be substantiated, there is no doubt that some are based on experience … In some cases, the complaints relate to non-Greater Manchester police officers drafted in to support operations during the riots, but this does not account for all such cases, let alone justify them …*'[48]

A Home Office research study in 2001 found that confidence in the police, and satisfaction with experience of the police, is consistently lower amongst BME groups. Distrust and a lack of confidence are particularly prevalent in young people from minority groups. Some BME groups are much more likely than white people to be stopped or searched by the police, and the experience is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction with the service.[49]

A survey of young people's attitudes to the police in Burnley found that they perceived them to be 'patronising' and 'suspicious', leading to a lack of trust. They felt that the promises of senior officers contrasted greatly with the behaviour of the police they met on the streets. Young people were unlikely to contact the police in the event of racially motivated crimes because of a feeling that they would not do anything. The research highlighted how young people experienced racism so frequently that their awareness of it became blunted. Only the most extreme incidents were reported to the police with many of the minor ones tolerated.[50]

Local areas

People are as likely to have parallel lives in Tewkesbury as they are in Bradford or Bolton

Many areas of the country face challenges due to emerging and existing divides. Each area's economic and social makeup is unique and the circumstances that result in divisions in one area may not do so elsewhere.[51] As a Home Office Minister said recently, 'people are as likely to have parallel lives in Tewkesbury as they are in Bradford or Bolton.'[52] The Local Government Association described it well:

> '… *The nature of divisions differ from one area to another – in some along racial lines, in others faith; there may be tensions and mistrust between urban and rural dwellers or between incomers and longer-term residents...*' [53]

Tensions do not occur only in urban centres. For Welsh villages where English and Welsh speakers live parallel lives, the issue is just as real. In Ribble Valley, East Lancashire, there is a community of 400-500 South Asian Muslims, mostly concentrated around the small market town of Clitheroe. The BNP has been active in the area and there has been ill feeling from some whites over the decision to seek planning permission for a small mosque.[54] Research undertaken in rural Scotland with BME people uncovered widespread experience of racism, discrimination and isolation.[55]

We now describe each of the common factors in local areas for division and outline the consequences that result from each. Against the background of the national trends and the international climate, these factors encourage new divisions and support existing ones.

Disaffection and isolation

There are significant differences in how different BME groups perceive the area in which they live (see Figure 2). People from BME groups feel less civically engaged, less informed about local affairs and are less likely to have been involved with local organisations.[56]

Figure 2: Perceptions of local area by ethnic group[57]
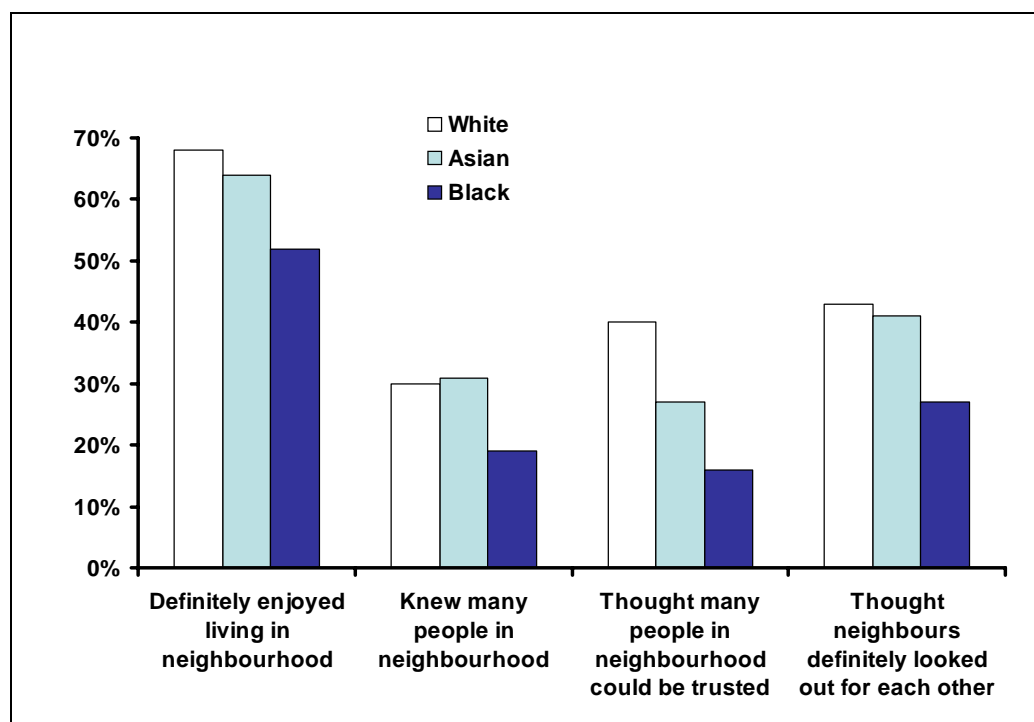
Deprivation also affects attitudes to community; 49% of people in the most deprived areas do not feel local people can influence decisions about their neighbourhood.[58] While 52% of people living in the least deprived areas believe many people in their local area can be trusted, only 25% living in the most deprived feel the same way.[59]

Economic difficulties

Economic disadvantage, unemployment and poverty have a significant impact on how members of a community see themselves and each other. The 2001 disturbances all took place in wards that were among the 10% most deprived in the country.[60] In communities experiencing frustration at unemployment, a lack of housing and economic difficulties, individuals tend to lack a sense of themselves. This leads to people searching for self-respect through activities such as bullying others and joining gangs to obtain the respect of others.[61] In such a culture, tensions flourish. The Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sachs, described the link between poverty and hope when he said '*there is such a thing as an ecology of hope. There are environments in which it flourishes and others in which it dies.*'[62]

Academics believe there are links between economic strength and social cohesion in a community. There is an emerging consensus that increased levels of trust and interaction in cohesive communities contribute to economic strength. For example, high levels of trust between individuals can facilitate business transactions.[63] Conversely, when community relations are damaged, there is a negative effect on the economy. This may in part be because of competition for scarce resources; people find themselves having to compete with others and 'scapegoating' may arise.[64] Also, mobile, high-skilled groups are unlikely to move to an area with community tensions. For the young and ambitious living in deprived areas, 'getting on means getting out'. Many see no way of improving their situation while remaining in the community.[65]

As well as there being a moral case for understanding between people of different backgrounds or beliefs, these arguments indicate there is also an economic case for promoting good community relations. Furthermore, inequalities must be addressed if good social relations are to be sustainable,[66] as the Home Secretary recently acknowledged.[67]
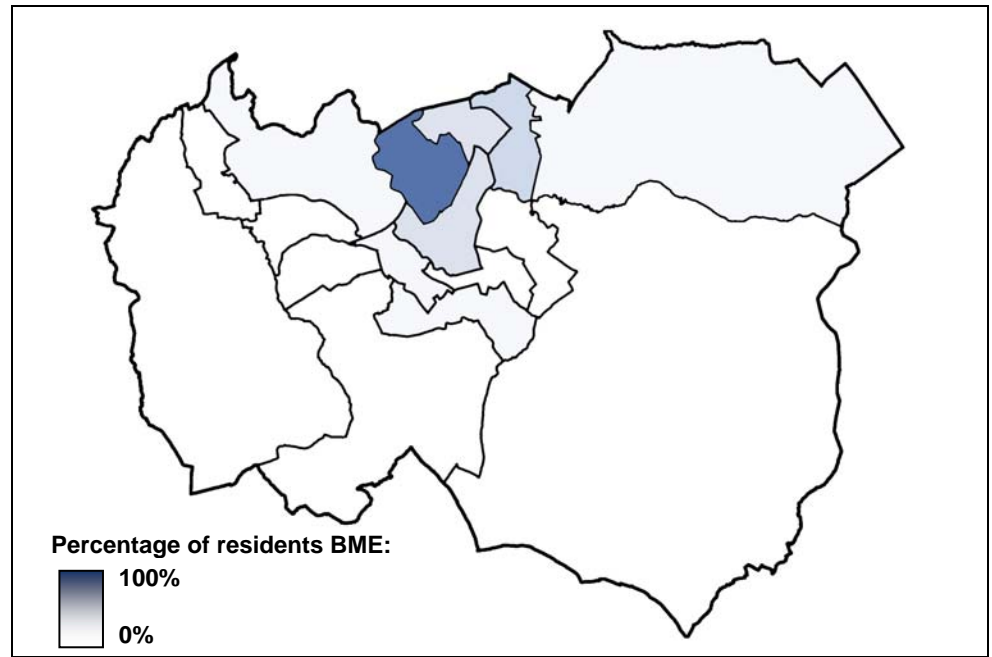
Segregation

In some areas, tensions exist without dividing lines and clear separation of communities. However, in most areas we have visited, it is physical segregation that most clearly allows parallel lives to flourish.[68] Segregation then begets segregation as suspicion flourishes. Segregation is most noticeable in housing, education and employment.

There are links between economic success and levels of trust and interaction in a community

There is strong evidence that segregation of housing along ethnic lines and the resulting separation from other communities has contributed significantly to inter-community tensions and conflict.[69]

Figure 3 shows the degree of segregation along ethnic lines in Burnley. Even when racial tensions and segregation are not the main problem, as in Southwark in South London, there may be territorial issues with people growing up on one estate being highly suspicious of their neighbours across the road.[70]

Figure 3: Residential segregation in wards of Burnley[71]

Percentage of residents BME:

100%

0%

Segregation in housing is mostly an organic process and it is impossible to classify it as either chosen or forced (see Box 4). History and culture, proximity to work and cultural facilities, lack of experience in accessing social housing and fear of harassment can contribute.[72] Segregated communities may provide a quick route to supportive networks that migrant communities would not otherwise have access to.[73] However, there are examples of heightened segregation coming about very quickly and being attributable to a single cause. For example, the summers of 1969 and 1971 saw a huge movement of population in a number of areas of Northern Ireland, particularly in Belfast. Many families were forced to move out of mixed areas because of intimidation by paramilitary groups.[74]

Box 4: The roots of segregation in Oldham

In some towns, South Asian communities are concentrated in poor quality private rented housing, and impoverished members of the white community on social housing estates. This has its roots in the history of immigration to the area.

For example, in the 1960s, Pakistani and Bangladeshi workers travelled to Lancashire and Yorkshire to work in the mills, doing the lowest paid and worst jobs. Immigrants were effectively barred from council housing where white workers lived, because they needed to be residents to qualify for it. Thus, many settled in poor areas of cheap housing close to the textile mills.[75] In the late 1980s, the Commission for Racial Equality found that a local estate agent had tended to recommend 'white' areas to prospective white purchasers and 'Asian' areas to Asian purchasers. They had also accepted instructions from white vendors to deter prospective South Asian purchasers and to offer mortgage facilities only to white clients.[76]

The review into the Oldham disturbances found that people of South Asian heritage did not always choose segregation. They noted that so-called 'white flight' was occurring on a large scale: that is to say, when Asian or Muslim people moved into a new street, white people began to move out.[77]

Segregation also exists between different BME groups. For example, organisations working with Somali families in West London have encountered difficulties in working with families that fought on different sides of the war in Somalia.

Segregation in **education** affects children's experiences and perceptions over their lifetime. In one survey, over a third of BME pupils in mainly white schools reported hurtful race-related name-calling.[78] Ethnic segregation in English schools is high. In some education authorities, over half the minority pupils would have to switch schools to produce an even spread of ethnic groups.[79] Some schools in Northern English towns are almost 100% South Asian, others almost 100% white. In Northern Ireland, fewer than 7% of young people attend mixed schools.[80] There are two main reasons for educational segregation. Firstly, schools may have an intake from a particular geographic area, which may already be highly segregated. Secondly, schools may be faith-based.

The role of faith-based schools is contentious. *The Economist* newspaper argues the government's policy of encouraging single-faith schools threatens to worsen the problem of divided communities: '*Christians will be educated in one school, Muslims in another, and never the twain shall meet.*'[81] The philosopher A. C. Grayling agrees: he commented that single-faith schools '*sow the seeds of apartheids*'.[82] However, some believe that faith-based schools are able to nurture confidence in young people who may find themselves in a minority in other areas of life.[83]

Employment is also an area of segregation**.** Some employers discriminate against potential recruits on the grounds of where they live and some have recently been shown to discriminate in recruitment against candidates with names that might be Muslim or African.[84] This reinforces segregation in housing and schools. The Oldham Independent Review showed that, despite the Race Relations Act outlawing racism in jobs, out of over 10,000 employees in Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council only 2.6% are recorded as being from BME groups. This compares with a local BME population of 11%.

Crime and gangs

Crime plays a significant role in dividing communities and often sparks off violent conflict. The review into the 2001 disturbances in Burnley concluded that the disorder was started as a result of disagreement between criminal elements in the white and Asian communities.[85]

Gangs are a huge problem in some areas. Glasgow, dubbed 'the murder capital of Western Europe,' is a case in point. The city has recently seen some brutal murders, alleged to be the work of the Shielders gang, who have severed body parts from live victims. Violence begets violence as fear escalates – a recent poll found that one in five young people in the city carries a weapon, with 70% citing the risk of attack as the reason.[86]

Research from the UK and the US has highlighted that gang members perpetrate a disproportionate share of offences by young people, particularly of more violent offences. Yet, some young people involved in gangs do not like to be described as gang members. At a conference run by the charity Leap Confronting Conflict, young gang members spoke to practitioners and policy-makers about the criminal connotations of the term 'gang'; they preferred 'group'. Indeed, some had been afraid to be involved in a project for 'gangs' for fear of what their parents would think.[87] Young people join gangs for a number of reasons: as a refuge from problems at home or in school; as a source of identity; and for protection in areas with high crime rates.[88] Experts consider that young people exposed to poverty and racism and lacking support networks are more likely to turn to gangs.[89]

Community leadership

Poor local leadership reduces the ability of communities to influence decisions about their neighbourhoods. For example, on a visit to Burnley, we met a number of people who were angry about the lack of responsibility taken by council leaders over the disturbances. Some highlighted that since councillors were elected by strong support from a particular area of Burnley, so few were truly representative of the whole population of the town.

Leadership can be a problem when outsiders seek to find out the views of a community, particularly of a minority group. When Luton was targeted in police anti-terror raids in April 2004, media reports highlighted the inflammatory remarks made by a local leader about the bombings in Madrid in March 2004.[90] But on a march calling for peace, which attracted more than 500 members of local mosques, Akbar Dad Khan, of the community group Building Bridges, denounced him, saying that '*he is seen as a man of importance by outsiders. But he represents the views of perhaps half a dozen people in Luton.*'[91]

Local and national media

The media play an important role in informing and shaping our perceptions. In the absence of community meetings or civic involvement, the main source of information about our

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Some fear that Government's policy of encouraging single-faith schools will make segregation worse

Poor community leadership reduces the ability of communities to influence decisions about their neighbourhoods

communities and neighbourhoods comes from newspapers, radio and television reports. So the media can play a potentially valuable role in building cohesive communities, but unfortunately myths perpetrated by the media have also been a factor in contributing to tensions.[92] As the Home Office explains:

> '… *In the aftermath of the Bradford, Burnley and Oldham disturbances, one reason given for poor community relationships was the degree to which older communities felt that newer communities had been singled out for special treatment. This common perception is one that too often is propagated by the local and national press …*'[93]

As one academic put it, while some antagonism seems based upon a realistic conflict of interests, '*most of it, we suspect, is a product of the imagination.*' Yet as he points out, '*imaginary fears can cause real suffering.*[94]

Myths about BME people abound. An outreach anti-racism youth project uncovered some deeply ingrained attitudes. When he challenged their perceptions, a youth worker found a flood of questions followed:

> '… *They ask about a dozen questions after that: 'Why was there unemployment in the 1930s when there weren't no blacks here?' which they attribute it to. 'Why weren't there enough council houses? Surely if all the blacks went there'd be enough council houses left for white people to move into?'…They really did believe it …*'[95]

Asylum is perhaps the issue most misrepresented of all in the press and subject to most misconceptions. Welsh politicians argue that myths about asylum seekers significantly contributed to the disturbances in Wrexham in 2003.[96]

There are examples of positive roles being played by the media to prevent divisions arising. For example, in Sefton (north of Liverpool), the council worked with the local media to encourage balanced coverage of the arrival of asylum seekers to the area. This is thought to have contributed to the welcome the latter received from local people and the prevention of divisions arising in the community.[97]

The British National Party

The British National Party (BNP) is very active in areas where the conditions are ripe. Together with other far-right parties, it managed to attract over one million voters in the 2004 local and European elections.[98] In 2003 the party had nine councillors in Burnley, making it the official opposition party[99] and in a local council by-election in Calderdale, West Yorkshire, the BNP gained 32% of the vote.[100] Its stance is repugnant to many (see Box 5), yet it is attracting voters, particularly in areas that experienced disturbances. At the time of writing, it is being investigated for possible breaches of the 1986 Public Order Act for a leaflet distributed to 30 million homes. The leaflet says that 'around two million illegal immigrants and asylum seekers' were pushing the benefits system and health service 'to breaking point' and that 'government is planning to build five giant new cities, each the size of Birmingham, over the next 30 years, to house over five million new immigrants.'[101]

It is imperative that supporting work to counter messages of hate such as those of the BNP be a central component of working with divided communities

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Box 5: BNP campaigning materials promoting hatred

'… *Only the BNP will stand up for white people in Burnley…Before the advent of the BNP, Labour squandered all their budget on Daneshouse [a predominantly South Asian area] but they daren't do that anymore! …*'[102]

'… *Every year, hundreds of thousands of so-called 'asylum seekers' come to Britain and are immediately given free homes and full benefits – paid for by British taxpayers. This at a time when our schools are short of teachers and our hospitals are short of beds, and while our pensioners freeze in winter …*'[103]

'… *Make Britain SAFE – Stop Asylum ForEver … the asylum flood has helped to make Britain a battleground for foreign conflicts …*'[104]

There are suggestions that BNP election campaigns increase racist attacks. For example, reports of racial attacks in Bethnal Green (East London) increased by 300% following BNP activism in 1997. During the early days of a BNP election campaign in Sunderland, racially motivated attacks increased by 25%. This included a 19% rise in assault, a 12% rise in abuse, and a 175% rise in racist graffiti.[105] Supporting work to counter messages of hate such as those of the BNP is believed by many to be a central component of working with

divided communities. Although we have not studied this area extensively, we provide some additional analysis on the subject in an appendix to this report.

The importance of young people

We have seen that the causes and symptoms of community divisions are complex and involve the whole community. However, this report focuses on interventions working with young people.

Young people are an integral part of any community, although they are not often seen as such. It would be wrong to regard them merely as a means to an end, to be educated to be 'better' citizens and leaders. They have needs and rights of their own, as outlined by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (see Box 6).

> **Box 6: Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.[106]**
>
> The article states that children are fully-fledged people who have the right to express their views in all matters affecting them and requires that those views be heard and given due weight in accordance with the child's age and maturity.

Young people are influenced by their parents, friends and schools. They may be born into a situation where community relations are already damaged. How they influence and are influenced by their surroundings is of crucial importance for their own future and the health of their local area. Research shows that children develop the ability to categorise and attribute negative characteristics to races from about the age of two and a half.[107] The formation of negative attitudes is independent of whether or not young people have contact with people of a particular race.[108] Yet their views are more open to change and likely be more progressive than their parents.[109]

Drug abuse, crime and a gang culture seem to thrive when teenagers are disenfranchised, growing up with a lack of positive activities to engage them.[110] A report by the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) highlighted a significant lack of activities aimed at engaging and supporting young people. A nationwide survey found that six out of ten teenagers and eight out of ten parents think there is not enough for teenagers to do where they live.[111] Teenagers frequently feel they are too old for activities at youth clubs but not old enough to go to pubs and clubs in the city centre. Young people interviewed in the course of the IPPR's research explicitly linked the lack of things to do with other problems in their local area.[112]

Some will take out their frustrations through committing acts of violence and harassment, though many more will be victims. A report commissioned by Save the Children describes how young girls at a Muslim school and Jewish school have experienced abuse and even violence as they leave for home. [113]

Yet other young people have created different ways of channelling their energies. Young people involved in youth leadership work in East London set up CityZEN, a group to provide support to their peers and engage them in actionable consultations on issues affecting their lives. Their rationale was that they got involved in working to change their local areas for similar reasons to young people involved in gangs. Box 7 gives interpretations of words from young people who have worked with CityZEN.

> **Box 7: Young people on knowledge, understanding and social development**
>
> *On knowledge:* '… *That we live in a diverse society with different religious beliefs and attitudes …'* 17 year-old Ghanaian female
>
> *On understanding:* '… *I want to understand how others develop so that I can also develop myself* ….' 18 year old Iraqi female
>
> *On social development:* '… *Social development is where you live in a community and how it develops …*' Black African male.

Summary: the need for action

This section described the need for action to prevent and overcome divided communities. It outlined the poor state of community relations in parts of this country and highlighted some of the local and national influences that drive individuals to perpetrate acts of violence and harassment. Finally it set the scene for our focus on young people.

In particular, we have described the nature of divisions:

■ Many people's initial views on community divisions are overly simplistic. When divisions do occur, they are not limited to urban centres. Divisions often occur between white communities as well as between white and BME communities.

■ Community divisions result in a string of negative effects for all concerned. These begin with suspicion, fear and prejudice and include educational, employment-related and economic difficulties. Ultimately tensions may result in violent conflict if suitable interventions are not made.

We described the factors that lead to divisions:

■ Racist attitudes and hostility towards immigrants and travelling communities are prevalent, even considered acceptable, in some parts of society. Islamophobia in particular has risen in the wake of September 11th 2001. Local and national media have a substantial influence on race relations and they do not always use this responsibly.

■ Poverty is a major contributory factor to community tensions. Communities may find themselves in a vicious circle, with economic disadvantage contributing to poor relations and tensions hindering economic development. Thus there is an economic as well as a moral call to action. Segregation of housing, education and employment exacerbate divisions, letting prejudices fester.

■ Poor community leadership and a lack of discussion on contentious issues creates a vacuum that far-right parties such as the British National Party can take advantage of to stir up hatred and mistrust.

Finally we described the importance of young people, the focus of our research:

■ Young people have a right to be heard on matters affecting them. They are born into a context where pre-existing attitudes are bound to influence them. With appropriate support, their energies can be channelled for their benefit and the good of their communities.

In Section 3, we examine how the voluntary sector is responding to this need to challenge prejudices and bring people together from opposite sides of a divide. First, however, we examine the state's response to this need, looking at the role of the state in promoting good community relations, including the most important influence on many young people's lives – their education. This context helps us understand the need for private funding to support voluntary sector action.

Section 2: The role of government

Government rhetoric about 'community cohesion' and a raft of initiatives aimed at building strong communities may give the impression that government should, can and is tackling divisions adequately. We examine this view in this section.

Our working premise mirrors the position taken by government itself: central and local statutory bodies can influence community relations but the issues are such that legislation alone cannot prevent or overcome divisions.[114] Legislation and the efforts of public service providers cannot make people value other ways of life; nor can they make people work together and share opportunities. A fundamental aspect of preventing or healing divisions must be community-based activities that foster a genuine understanding and respect between people. This is where the voluntary sector makes its vital contribution, as we outline in Section 3.

Government's responsibilities

The problems underlying community tensions are complex and intertwined, as Section 1 demonstrated. So it is hardly surprising that an attempt at a solution within central government involves several government departments, including the Home Office, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) and the Department for Education and Skills. Despite this co-ordination and effort, social cohesion does not always get the attention it deserves; it was not explicitly mentioned in the recent strategy developed by the ODPM to regenerate Northern Towns, 'the Northern Way'. No one department has overall responsibility for implementation of initiatives and achieving results. However, the bulk of the responsibility falls to the Home Office Community Cohesion Unit.[115] However, improvement may be on the way; the Home Secretary recently announced his intention to create an overarching strategy for government cohesion activity.[116]

Local government has a legal obligation to promote good relations between different racial groups.[117] The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 introduced a duty on local authorities and other statutory funded bodies to have 'due regard to the need', in everything they do, to tackle racial discrimination, promote equality of opportunity and promote good relations between people from different racial groups.[118] The Commission for Racial Equality (see Box 8) has powers to prosecute bodies infringing these requirements.

> **Box 8: The role of the Commission for Racial Equality**
>
> The 1976 Race Relations Act established the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) to work towards the elimination of discrimination, promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups.
>
> The CRE receives an annual grant from the Home Office but operates separately from government. It is for the CRE to decide how best to implement the government's strategic direction within the constraints of its budget. Activities include:
>
> - Legal advice to people who have been discriminated against. (Although it is not empowered to rule on whether discrimination has occurred.)
>
> - Investigating companies or organisations under the Race Relations Act where there is evidence of possible discrimination, and requiring them to make changes to their policies and practices. It can also take legal action against companies or organisations in certain specific circumstances (for example, if they have published a discriminatory advertisement).
>
> - Working to reduce discrimination and promote equality by seeking to educate and inform the public, and influencing policy and practice.

Local government's duty to promote good relations between people from different racial groups is most obviously central to the issue of divided communities. However, Beverley Hughes, formerly Minister of State at the Home Office, highlighted the importance of creating equality of opportunity, tackling poverty and deprivation and taking an uncompromising

Local government has a legal obligation to promote good relations between different racial groups

stance on racism as vital in creating deep and lasting cohesion.[119] Many implementing bodies recognise this too. For example, Bradford Vision (the Local Strategic Partnership) has equity amongst the four principles underpinning its community cohesion strategy.

Relevant government initiatives

There are very many government initiatives that touch on divided communities. Firstly, we discuss the Home Office's community cohesion initiatives, which are the main focus from central government. We then discuss other initiatives that fund voluntary sector activities in the area, such as regeneration funding and CRE grants programmes. Finally, we briefly describe a number of policy areas, such as education, housing and migration, where government is influencing community divisions.

Community cohesion initiatives

Following the disturbances in Burnley, Oldham and Bradford in the summer of 2001, the government published a series of reports, culminating in the Denham report, which looked at how ministers might take each of the other reports' recommendations forward. This led to the establishment of the Community Cohesion Unit at the Home Office (see Box 9 for a definition of community cohesion).[120] Its roles in England and Wales are threefold. First, it gathers intelligence as to which areas are at risk and seeks to develop an understanding of what works in building links between communities. Second, it works with other government departments to review national policy. Finally, it encourages and assists local authorities and other agencies promote fruitful community relations.

> **Box 9: Definition of community cohesion[121]**
>
> A 'cohesive community' would:
>
> - Have a common vision and a sense of belonging.
>
> - Appreciate and value the diversity of people's backgrounds .
>
> - Present equality of opportunity.
>
> - Develop strong relationships between people from different backgrounds.

A major part of the Community Cohesion Unit's activities is learning how to tackle issues successfully and pump-priming initiatives in local areas through its Pathfinder scheme, described more fully in Box 10. This has distributed £6 million to 14 areas to support local government and voluntary sector approaches to promoting cohesion. Funding lasts for only 18 months, ending October 2004. Research suggests that this is far too short a timescale for any significant impact to be made on local problems (see Section 4 for a discussion on the timescales required for cohesion work). Furthermore, it leaves community and voluntary groups (many of which will be small organisations) in a precarious position if they wish to maintain this strand of their activities.

> **Box 10: The Community Cohesion Pathfinder programme[122]**
>
> The £6 million funding in this programme lasts for 18 months and aims to support local authorities and the voluntary sector to create local solutions to problems across England. The 14 areas in the programme were selected to demonstrate the range of communities facing divisions. Programmes address tensions including those between BME communities in urban areas, between travelling and local communities in rural areas and inter-generational / inter-faith tensions.
>
> The bodies administering local programmes review local authority policies, aiming to promote an approach incorporating cohesion principles. Additionally, some funding is made available to local voluntary sector groups to bridge community divides.
>
> Cohesion projects funded by the Southwark Pathfinder scheme include:[123]
>
> - Youth drama workshops tackling tensions and violence in the community.
>
> - An intergenerational video project, where groups of pensioners and young people learn video-making skills together.

The Community Cohesion Pathfinder programme is the main part of the Government's strategy to tackle divisions

■ A project bringing together young people to tackle issues of diversity.

Within each area, there is also a Young Community Champions Fund that aims to support young people to implement cohesion and community focused projects. Pathfinders each receive £45,000 to fund around 20 such projects in their area.

The 14 Pathfinder areas are Peterborough, Sandwell, Stoke-on-Trent, Mansfield, Leicester, Charnwood, Plymouth, Kirklees, Southwark, Bury, Rochdale, East Lancashire, West London and Middlesbrough.

There are also 14 shadow Pathfinder areas, which make strides in the same direction as the main areas but without any funding being made available. They are Thurrock, Tower Hamlets, Redbridge, Barnet, Calderdale, Tameside, Tewkesbury, Preston, Wigan, Oldham, Liverpool, Gateshead, Slough and Bradford.

Other government initiatives funding the voluntary sector

Many charities are doing work that promotes cohesion but do not label their work as doing so

There are numerous other government funding initiatives that voluntary sector organisations can access, largely since work preventing or overcoming divided communities often cuts across a number of themes. As a result, many charities are doing work that promotes cohesion but they do not label their work as such, presenting a challenge to funders. It is important to emphasise that none of these are designed to support groups over the long term. Funding is typically small and short-term. As such, private money is vital if divided communities are to be tackled adequately by the voluntary sector.

Funding sources include:

■ **The Home Office Race Equality Unit's** Connecting Communities grant programme. Two strands of this £6m per annum programme are relevant. The first, Access to Jobs and Services, funds community projects to support the building of good relationships between people from BME communities and public services. The second, Positive Images, funds events celebrating the achievements and the contribution of BME communities to society and encourages the building of cross-cultural relationships between different communities.

■ The **Commission for Racial Equality** recently launched an additional round of funding – the Specialist Programme – as part of its 'Getting Results' framework. As part of the programme, a limited amount of funding will be made available for projects falling under two areas: capacity building and integration. The integration pot of money is aimed at organisations that have a track record of delivering projects that encourage better understanding, co-operation and interaction within and between communities.

■ **Regeneration Funding**. There is a plethora of funding streams from central and local sources to aid the regeneration of the most deprived districts, for which interested readers should refer to NPC's report on community organisations.[124] Many voluntary groups in this field are able to take advantage of such funding to extend or expand their activities, from sources including the Single Regeneration Budget, the Community Chest and the New Deal for Communities scheme.

■ **The Children's Fund.** This is administered by the Children and Young People's Unit at the Department for Education and Skills. It is aimed at measures preventing social exclusion in children.

■ **The Big Lottery Fund** (previously the Community Fund and the New Opportunities Fund). This quasi-governmental lottery body has 'linking communities' as a funding priority in London and may give preference to similar work occurring across the South East. However, much of its other funding goes towards achieving similar outcomes and much of its funding is for work that should have a positive impact on community relations. It estimates that it has funded projects to a value of £640,000 over two years that promote positive community relationships.[125]

Overview of key policy areas

There are six further areas where government significantly impacts on community relations:

■ **Education.** Many schools in divided communities are segregated. Education is one of the best ways to introduce positive attitudes regarding 'difference,' as attitudes developed in childhood are carried into adulthood.[126]

■ **Housing.** Physical segregation of communities allows parallel lives to flourish.

- **Youth work and policy.** Local authorities' youth services are fundamental for addressing social cohesion.[127] Youth workers provide activities that divert young people from turning to violence and influence young people's attitudes.

- **Policing.** The police's role involves responding to racially and religiously motivated incidents and policing in areas where there are tensions.

- **Regeneration.** In the past, the allocation of regeneration funding has caused resentment in segregated areas, as this is allocated to the most deprived areas, which can be predominantly inhabited by one ethnic group.

- **Immigration and travelling communities.** Government policies in this area affect the migrants and the travelling communities themselves, but they also affect the welcome they receive from local communities.

- Since the Race Relations Amendment Act in 2000, there has been few major **legislative developments**, although there have been strides towards heavier penalties for hate crimes.

Education

Young people under 16 years old spend up to 35 hours per week in schools, making schools uniquely placed to influence community divisions for better or worse.[128] However, education often reinforces segregation and fails to tackle the variation in performance between young people of different backgrounds.

Variation in performance in the UK education system is one of the highest in the industrialised world[129] and Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools confirms that some BME groups underachieve.[130] Educational performance has a significant influence on children's futures, including (but not limited to) their career opportunities. Hence, schools that fail to support children with the most needs are reinforcing community divisions. Dr. Mohammed Ali, Chief Executive of Quest for Economic Development in Bradford, described to us how he saw far too many bright young men of South Asian origin ending up driving taxis or working as waiters.[131]

In 2001, there were over 7,000 **single-faith schools** in the UK, mostly Church of England and Roman Catholic, with a smaller number of Jewish and Islamic schools. The 2001 education White Paper expressed the government's support for existing and further single-faith schools.[132] However, the policy has its detractors as well as advocates: the Cantle report (an overarching government review of reports on the 2001 disturbances) found that many thought single-faith schools would add to the lack of contact and understanding between communities. He concluded that non-faith schools can also be culturally segregated and so the issue should be how all schools ensure that there is some diversity in their intake and use other mechanisms to promote cross-cultural contact.[133]

The journalist Yasmin Alibhai-Brown recently praised the role of faith in modern life but expressed her concern about state-funded religion-based institutions, including schools. In particular, she said single-faith schools could contribute to increasing tribalism.[134] Cantle recommended that schools in multi-cultural areas should have no more than 75% of pupils from one ethnic group, although this recommendation has not been implemented. His recommendation on twinning schools dominated by different cultures has taken place in some areas, although the practice seems not to be widespread. Oldham, Bradford and Halifax have school twinning schemes, whereby schools typically get together for events.[135]

The advent of the **citizenship curriculum** has increased the focus of schools on community relations. There are three inter-related components that underpin the curriculum, which has been compulsory in primary schools since 2000 and secondary schools since 2002. These are social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy.[136] The Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study, published in May 2004, is the first formal evaluative study. While small in scope, it illuminates some key features of successful citizenship education. The study found that this often builds upon active participation in extracurricular activities, such as school councils, arts and sports and involvement with the wider community. Many successful lead teachers were involved in community organisations and nearly half of teachers involved external people in their programmes..[137] Three-quarters of teachers identified a need for more training to deliver the citizenship curriculum, according to a recent survey.[138] A community group of young people from East London has set up a scheme to train teachers in how to make the best use of this opportunity to help young people become well rounded.[139]

Housing

Physical segregation and lack of everyday contact allows parallel lives to flourish. Thus one would expect a housing policy underpinned by community cohesion principles to be at the

Some think single-faith schools add to the lack of contact and understanding between communities

It is the physical segregation of communities that allows parallel lives to flourish

heart of any government strategy for local communities. However, there is no statutory enforcement of the plethora of good practice that exists, although in theory the Commission for Racial Equality could enforce statutory bodies' duties to promote encourage good community relations across ethnic and religious groups.

The Cantle report was adamant that there should be ambitious and creative strategies to provide more mixed housing areas, with supportive mechanisms for minorities facing intimidation and harassment.[140] As a result, guidance from the Local Government Association suggests ways that housing authorities can contribute to good relations, including monitoring the impact of their policies on community contact, and access to services, consulting communities about their housing preferences and improving awareness of social housing amongst under-represented groups.[141] In response, government and housing agencies have created a number of innovative ways of tackling segregation and making sure all communities feel comfortable living in a particular neighbourhood. More needs to be done to ensure that this practice is widespread.

Local authority youth services

Youth services, including youth clubs and after-school clubs, are essential to young people's lives and are particularly important in divided communities. Their role here is threefold: they support and empower young people; they provide activities that may divert young people from crime; and they have the power to bring young people together across community boundaries. As such, we believe the poor state of youth services represents a major failure of government.

In 2001, the average local authority youth service spent just over £60 on each young person in its catchment area, although this has been increasing slightly in recent years. The new government target is to spend a minimum of £100 per head on youth services.[142] Perhaps as a result of funding constraints, youth services face a shortage of well qualified staff and problems retaining those that they already have.[143] Consequently the reports into the 2001 disturbances raised concerns over the funding, capacity, consistency and quality of youth services.[144] A parliamentary committee concluded recently that the provision of youth services (and its quality) is highly varied and subject to constant funding cuts:[145]

> '… *Providing high quality youth services is a fundamental requirement for addressing social cohesion. We urge the Government to put the provision by local authorities of youth services on to a statutory basis to ensure adequate standards and consistent provision. This needs to be backed up by adequate funding from central Government* …'[146]

Policing

Policing is a key area of government activity that affects divided communities. Here we describe a number of interesting developments, including progress on dealing with racism and racist incidents, the spreading of good practice in policing divided communities and the beginnings of the use of restorative justice.

The Macpherson report following the investigation into the death of Stephen Lawrence showed that practice throughout the country on dealing with **racist incidents** varied substantially. The report made many important recommendations, including suggesting a number of indicators that should be used to monitor the extent of hate crime and the police response. Police forces and local authorities have been required since 2000 to provide information on some of these and other indicators and policies[147] and the collection of further information is now a government priority.[148] An indication of the level of religiously and racially motivated crime is the number of cases dealt with by the Crown Prosecution Service, which has risen by 12.4% over the last year and may point to increasing confidence in the system. In the last year there were over 3,100 defendants and an 85% conviction rate.[149]

However, improvements have not necessarily followed in all areas. The Commission for Racial Equality used its powers to investigate the **police treatment of officers and recruits**. They found that more than 90% of police race equality schemes examined failed to meet minimum legal requirements.[150] Trevor Phillips, the Chair of the CRE, has announced his intention to begin legal action against 14 police authorities.

The government, together with the Association of Chief Police Officers and other practitioners, is currently developing and sharing good practice in **policing divided communities**, so that forces are able to identify priority areas where social tension is high, enabling resources to be directed to affect long-term change. The new National Centre for Policing Excellence is involved in developing indicators of 'at-risk' communities.[151] Box 11 describes some techniques used in Northern Ireland to prevent and quell tensions.

There are concerns over the funding, capacity, consistency and quality of youth services

> **Box 11: Good and bad practice from Northern Ireland[152]**
>
> Mistrust of the police has sometimes led people to organise patrols around their neighbourhood throughout the night. This has the advantage of using people with strong knowledge of the locality, but can legitimise the role of paramilitary groups.
>
> However, community involvement has many benefits when it is undertaken in partnership with the police. In some local areas mobile phone networks of members of the community on both sides and the police have been built, with community members often able to defuse the trouble themselves by countering rumours or dispersing crowds. In more serious situations, they have been able to talk to the police confidentially over the phone to provide intelligence.
>
> Local consultation can help resolve tensions. At an interface area in Graymount (Belfast), trouble from young people led to calls for a physical barrier between communities. A community association consulted local people and found that the majority were not in favour of the idea. This managed to prevent a barrier that would have contributed to further divisions for many years to come.

A report on perpetrators of racist violence found that the most successful approaches are those that look at the causes of perpetrators' behaviour rather than adopt a simplistic approach based on moral opprobrium.[153] **Restorative justice** is focused on repairing the damage and comes with the added benefits of providing a resolution for victims as well. The approach is non-judgemental, does not assign blame and can be used as an alternative to or in conjunction with a public prosecution. Perpetrator and victim meet a mediator separately and are gently probed about the background to the incident, how it affected them and how they responded. If both parties consent, then there is a face-to-face meeting, sometimes involving third parties affected by the crime. The meeting aims to create empathy and makes each party listen to the others' perspectives and motivations. If the parties know each other, the process will discuss the options for how they can treat each other in the future, with the aim of drawing up a written contract holding them to that.[154] An offender who went through the process described it as follows:

> '… *I found the conference very difficult, but a very worthwhile exercise in taking responsibility for my actions. The main lesson I learnt about myself was that my crime affected everybody concerned – it became more like ten crimes because of all the people it affected* …'[155]

The government is showing increasing interest in this approach for several reasons. First, it gives victims a greater voice in the criminal justice system. Second, it appears to reduce re-offending rates. Third, it can build more cohesive communities by focusing on helping community representatives find their own solution, repairing the physical and psychological damage caused by crime. The Home Office has published a strategy for the next few years, which includes piloting and evaluating the use of restorative justice as an alternative to prosecution, particularly in the Youth Justice System.[156]

Regeneration

Although some voluntary and community groups working to bridge divides have been able to harness regeneration funding, such schemes have also contributed negatively to community divisions. For example, the competitive nature of some regeneration funding has been a focus for tension between neighbouring areas, since funding is mainly allocated to electoral wards. Some regeneration schemes had the effect of pitting communities against each other in competition for resources. Furthermore, in many cases, regeneration funding failed to meet the needs of BME populations, and BME groups are significantly under-represented amongst those running regeneration projects.[157]

These factors have generated resentment and suspicion across communities in some areas and a feeling that 'other' areas were being favoured in the allocation of resources. This resentment seems to be exacerbated in parts of the country where BME communities live in different areas to white communities.[158]

Additionally, although many new policies, most noticeably in regeneration, require or advise the participation of young people in decision-making and shaping services, this does not always translate into something visible on the ground. The result is that young people tend to feel on the periphery of decision-making and receive rather than the shape services.[159]

The competitive nature of some regeneration funding has been a focus for tension between neighbouring areas

Migration

We do not examine government policy on immigration and travelling communities in depth. Refugees and asylum seekers will be covered by a future NPC report. Here we focus on the how government policy affects new communities' relationship with host communities.

Contrary to the public perceptions discussed in section one, an independent think tank found that **asylum seekers** are not primarily economically motivated, are not aware of the type of welfare provision they can expect, and make decisions about their destination en route.[160] At £37.77 per week, benefits for a destitute single person are 30% below the UK poverty line, although most asylum seekers are housed by the state. Under the (temporarily suspended)[161] Section 55 of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, asylum applicants can be denied access to support if they are unable to prove that they applied for asylum 'as soon as reasonably practicable' after entering the UK. According to the Refugee Council, this can be used to deny basic state support to people who are particularly vulnerable and in need of international protection, leaving them destitute.

Relative to its size and gross domestic product, the UK does not receive an exceptional number of asylum seekers. It was ranked seventh in Europe and 32nd in the world by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in 2002. During 1993-2002, the UK received 655,000 applications for asylum. In 2002, refugee status or exceptional leave to remain was granted to 34% of applicants, indicating a genuine need for protection. In addition, one in five cases that went to appeal had the original verdicts overturned, which indicates worrying flaws in the initial decision-making process.

The government is making progress towards its target of processing applications quickly. In 1997 the average time for an initial decision was 20 months, and this had fallen to six months in 2002-3. However, this can result in applicants not having time to access proper legal advice or interpretation and there is a backlog of appeals. Detention remains a contentious issue. Around 5,000 people a year are detained in the removal centres established by the government to maintain security and control. Asylum seekers, including families and children, are isolated from mainstream society, detained with no time limits, possibly in violation of their human rights.

Local government has a duty to provide sites with a basic level of amenities for **travelling communities**. There are currently 324, although a recent research report commissioned by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister estimates that between 1,000 and 2,500 more pitches will be needed on sites over the next five years and between 2,000 and 2,500 pitches on emergency stopping sites. The department has guidance for the police and Local Authorities on dealing with unauthorised camps.

Legislative activity

The main legislative development in this field is the move towards addressing religious hatred. Crimes aggravated by religious and racial hatred have carried extra penalties in England and Wales since 1998. However, the government has not yet been successful in introducing an offence of incitement to religious hatred; one attempt was defeated in the House of Commons in 2001. Many of those opposing the adjustment to legislation believe that it would impinge on people's rights to debate each other's religions. The Home Secretary has recently announced his intention to pursue this again.[162]

Crimes aggravated by religious hatred have carried extra penalties in Scotland since June 2003. However, the Scottish Executive has not yet fulfilled its promise to implement the recommendations of the cross-party working group on religious hatred, which called for the monitoring of hate crime, research on perpetrators and victims, a publicity campaign and further pressure on Rangers and Celtic to address their fans' sectarian behaviour.[163]

Legislation in Northern Ireland is in line with that for England and Wales.

Summary: what role for philanthropic funding?

Government can influence the conditions for but cannot by itself create good community relations. Section 1 made a powerful case for intervention and now we have analysed policy and state funding for the voluntary sector, we are in a position to identify the role for philanthropic funding. Three points raised in this section suggest a role.

First, community relations is not an area in which government has statutory responsibilities. Government has obligations to provide services such as education and healthcare but in many areas the boundary is fuzzy. Divided communities are a case in point.

Second, despite a stated commitment, government is not doing enough to overcome and prevent divisions. In part this is because the state alone cannot prevent or alleviate tensions. Government cannot force people to be tolerant and understanding nor make them work

The UK does not receive an exceptional number of asylum seekers

Government can influence the conditions for, but cannot by itself create, good community relations.

together and see their similarities. As such there is an important complementary role for the voluntary sector. Our research shows that a fundamental aspect of preventing or healing divisions is community-based activities which foster a genuine understanding of difference. Section 3 gives a flavour of the many inspiring ways in which the sector brings people together, builds tolerance and enriches lives.

Finally, government itself recognises the role of the voluntary sector, but its funding is far from enough to sustain it. There remains a significant gap which private funders can fill. Private money is vital since, as we will show in Section 3, the independence of the voluntary sector is important if it to be able to innovate and take risks. No government funding streams aim to fund the voluntary sector in this field over the long term. Further, it is unlikely that approaches such as community consultation through the arts that we have seen in Leicester and Bradford would have developed at the behest of the state.

With a clear need established for the voluntary sector and for private funding, we now describe in Section 3 the role of the voluntary sector and make sense of the myriad of different activities that are underway.

Section 3: The role of the voluntary sector

In this section we describe the characteristics of the voluntary sector that make it well positioned to counteract community divisions. We go on to describe the five interventions that we believe have proved to be most successful in this area. We conclude that whatever the nature of divisions, the core solutions are often similar: raising awareness and understanding of difference to break down barriers. This is best achieved through sustained interaction with 'the other', along with giving young people the support necessary to engage and work through difficult issues.

Overarching issues

Before we describe each of the interventions in turn, let us first highlight the strengths of the voluntary sector in this field and secondly describe factors that have contributed to 'success' in working with young people in divided communities.

The strengths of the voluntary sector in this area

Section 2 described the role of the state in shaping services and guiding society to become more cohesive. The government is rarely active in targeting resources to bring people together. The voluntary sector is often better placed to understand local needs and to deliver appropriate, innovative and targeted interventions. This is particularly true in Northern Ireland, where there is a history of lack of trust in statutory services and much service delivery is paid for by the state but delivered by the voluntary sector.

By their nature, many divided communities require local interventions to be community-based and community-supported if they are to be successful.[164] As a University of Durham academic put it, '*general principles do not guarantee success, which remains a product of local context and local energies.*' He went on:

> '… *This is why a search for national and international examples of best practice that seeks to implant them in different settings, or to derive a common standard from them, is futile, because it removes the site-specific circumstances and social relations that made a local solution workable …*'[165]

Regional or national organisations that come to an area can be seen as outsiders 'parachuting in' or 'interfering' with local issues, unless they have local partners that are respected by and representative of the community. As a result, organisations undertaking this work are often small, less able to publicise themselves and under-funded. Despite this, they often offer extensive insight into the needs and perceptions of local people and are thus highly attractive to funders. Our recommendations section gives guidelines for funders facing the challenges of accessing local groups and providing appropriately structured support.

Factors contributing to success

Research shows that several factors increase the likelihood of success for interventions in this area. Academic studies, discussions with local practitioners and research by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation have told us that:[166]

- **Cohesion sometimes initially requires 'single' identity work** before cross-cultural contact. If young people can explore their norms and how they are perceived by others, then they will be in a better position to empathise with others.[167] Single-identity organisations, particularly BME or faith-based groups, are often able to gain the trust of young people in a way that 'mainstream' organisations are not. Further, if young people are clear about their self-perception and have pride in themselves, they will be better placed to be challenged and learn from the challenges.[168] We therefore believe that single-identity work, with the aim of going beyond this at a suitable point, is fundamental.

- **Projects must address cultural differences and inequalities.**[169] Stereotypes and historical differences must be openly discussed within a safe, mediated environment. When divisions have a long history, as in Northern Ireland, tears and anger are inevitable. It is therefore important that everyone in the group agrees to ground rules for when a discussion moves towards contentious grounds.

By their nature, divided communities require local interventions that are community-based and community-supported

Projects must address human rights, cultural differences and inequalities

Commonly used rules are that participation in any discussion is entirely voluntary, that no one should be interrupted and that any member of the group can ask for the discussion to stop until the atmosphere becomes less heated.[170] However, to attract a wide audience, activities need to be fun and engaging.

■ **Activities require a dedicated space and time**[171] **and must be of sufficient frequency, duration and closeness** to permit meaningful relationships to develop. Ideally, the space should be 'neutral' so that young people can express themselves more freely and explore new roles. Results do not come from physical proximity alone. If two people from groups that have a history of tension or polarisation come together, they may form friendships over time. However, work with Israeli and Palestinian children has shown that they often view their new friend as being the exception rather than the rule from their community. Activities where people are brought together to work towards a common goal create more trust than when people simply interact.[172]

■ **Success requires local knowledge, understanding and support.** Community members and leaders need to support and be actively involved in building stronger relationships. Local knowledge is essential as outside experts do not always have a strong enough initial understanding of the factors contributing to divisions in any given area. In addition, outsiders 'parachuting in' may not create sustainable solutions unless local people are involved. Leap Confronting Conflict (London) has an approach that attempts to overcome these pitfalls.

> **Box 12: Leap Confronting Conflict's approach to local knowledge**
>
> Leap Confronting Conflict works only with local charities, schools and youth groups that have asked for their intervention. In schools, they conduct a 'conflict audit', outlining the findings of a week spent talking to teachers and pupils to ensure school management is on board for the programme of conflict resolution training that follows. They make sure that their work is sustainable by training local youth workers, teachers and young people to use their approach.

■ **Young people can benefit from looking at conflicts outside their own lives.**[173] Practitioners explained to us the benefits of exploring conflict situations from other areas. Young people may feel at first that doing so has muddied the waters. However, many find that this experience sheds new light on their lives.

■ **Young people should be at the centre of the organisation.** We have seen a large number of organisations that put young people at their core and are run by or with them, rather than for them, for example, CityZEN in London and youthVOICE in Leicester. These organisations offer great opportunities for the development of the people involved, not least because they provide many young role models. In light of the clear benefits of involving young people, we would encourage funders to support organisations not doing so only when good reasons are given.

■ **Organisations in this area can influence beyond the limits of a local area.** This may be through piloting a new intervention that is picked up by others. The best organisations have clear plans in place for how they will learn from their work and ensure that benefits of the experience is maximised. However, we encountered few good examples of this in practice. We believe funders have a role in encouraging more sharing through providing sufficient funding for evaluation and dissemination.
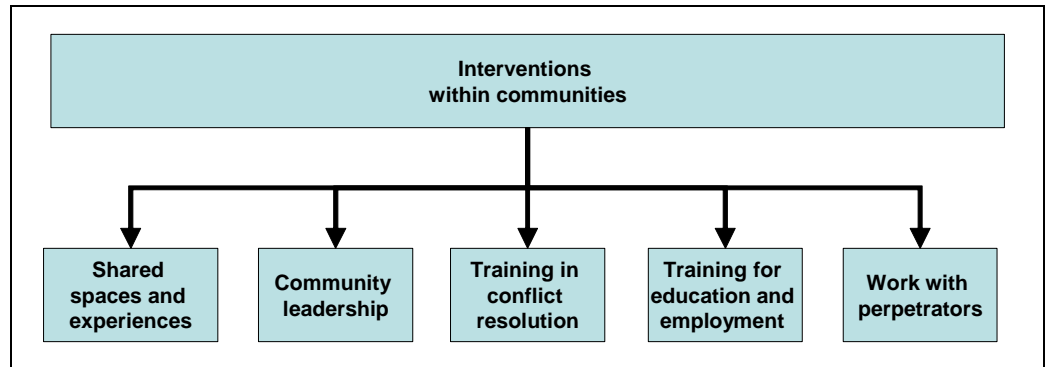
Interventions

We have identified five broad categories of interventions that we believe are most effective, as shown in Figure 4. These are rarely either preventative or curative, but contain elements of both. For example, people working with perpetrators rarely deal solely with those convicted of racist or sectarian attacks. They work within a context where young people are strongly influenced by their peers, so will often work with a group of friends. The 'Johnathan Ball Tiny Steps for Peace' project is an example of this:

The **Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Trust** (National) was set up by Tim Parry's parents after he died aged 12 in the Warrington bombing. The Trust has a pilot programme encouraging positive attitudes to diversity amongst six-year-olds in 10 schools in Warrington and Oldham. A drama workshop exploring some of the issues is followed by

class discussions and three weeks' worth of homework exploring attitudes and prejudices. As there is little comparable work going on in the UK, the trust hopes to raise funds to evaluate children's attitudes before and afterwards.

Figure 4: Interventions within communities

We describe each intervention in this section, along with examples of organisations in each area that funders could support. Organisations we have studied focus on transforming community relations. We have looked in less depth at general-purpose organisations that strengthen social cohesion in a local area. Interested funders may want to refer to NPC's report *Local action changing lives,* which addresses the role of multi-purpose organisations.

We have focused this report on organisations undertaking work in communities rather than organisations working to change government and civil society's commitment to working to counter tensions. In an appendix to this report we provide information on national work.

We have noted that although links between local practitioners are often strong, **national networks** are lacking. Although what works in different areas may vary, we believe that new community groups could be helped by drawing on the expertise of more established organisations and thus avoid re-inventing the wheel. Two organisations offer initiatives that aim to do this:

Diversity and Dialogue (pilot in London, the Midlands and North England). Save the Children is leading this project on behalf of a coalition of Christian, Muslim, Jewish and secular charities. This pilot project aims to develop educational programmes to help young people engage with issues of global citizenship, diversity and international development by drawing on existing good practice in the field. The team will initiate opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue in schools and use this experience to create organisations and an education resource pack for schools and youth workers.

Conflict Resolution Network UK (supported by the Big Lottery Fund) has been set up recently by **Aik Saath** (Slough), an organisation that trains and supports peer educators in conflict resolution skills. It aims to bring together organisations working in conflict resolution to share ideas and good practice and to promote work in the area. It provides a platform for organisations to promote their organisation, lists resources that are of use, posts job listings and disseminates news.
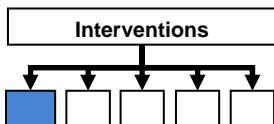
Shared spaces and experiences

As a tool for preventing or overcoming suspicion and mistrust, shared spaces and experiences are extremely important. As one academic from Leicester put it:

'… *It is only by knowing individuals, and something about their life stories, that prejudice based on ignorance can gradually be broken down. And the one thing that people rapidly respond to is a human story …*'[174]

Across cultural divides, shared experiences are relatively common at the level of individual consumption (food, music, crafts etc.), but it is much less common for people to engage in dialogue. A recent academic study of Leicester found that this is not a process that takes place naturally and that 'bridging' needs to be carefully planned. The study went on:

'… *Leicester is a multicultural city but not an intercultural one … This may be a consequence of innocence or naivety on the part of this city's policy- and*

decision-makers in making the assumption that multiculturalism will lead to interculturalism.[175] It does not and will not happen until intercultural bridging is, in effect, socially engineered … Bridges have to be constructed with full understanding, planning and effectiveness …'[176]

We encountered a large number of organisations whose work brought together people who would not normally have mixed, although we found notably fewer with the specific aim of exploring the perceptions that are behind many cultural divides. While there is undoubtedly a vital role for organisations promoting intercultural understanding as an incidental by-product, we focus here on organisations with that specific aim, since research suggests their work is more likely to achieve 'success' across the most severe divides.

Arts, sports and other leisure activities are a useful tool to engage young people across community divides and to break down the divides themselves. As the Local Government Association concluded, '*young people take part in leisure and cultural activities through choice and marginalised groups are often more willing to engage with such activities than other … activities.*'[177] These play an important diversionary role in places where the absence of positive activities can drive young people to crime. Arts-based projects have the additional benefit that they can be used to tackle issues and explore young people's identities.

We look first at organisations that discuss sensitive issues. Next we look at projects using the arts as a tool for engaging with difficult issues. Finally we look at an example of sport-based projects that bring young people together.

Shared spaces for discussing issues

Breaking Barriers in Burnley (Burnley) is a youth group bringing young people together to build mutual respect and understanding amongst the group and eventually the wider community. Young people meet weekly in a borrowed neutral space where they have fun together and work through issues of concern to them, often relating to Burnley's community divisions. Occasional training and residential outings complement the programme. The group is co-ordinated by a person employed by the council and operates with almost no budget. Core funding would allow the group to expand its role and influence significantly, which is much needed by young people in Burnley.

The Spirit of Enniskillen Trust (Belfast) This charity grew out of Gordon Wilson's determination for something positive to come out of his daughter's death in the 1988 Enniskillen bombing. Each year 60 young people are selected for the core programme on the basis of the potential contribution they can make towards a shared future in a fair and pluralist society. They then work through an eight-month programme addressing the difficult and contentious issues current in Northern Ireland and, through effective feedback and support, are encouraged to develop the capacity to engage in similar discussions with others beyond the Trust.

Arts-based shared spaces and experiences

Burnley Youth Theatre (Burnley) uses theatre, dance and other arts to explore a variety of issues, often including prejudices and misconceptions. It has put on two performances – one giving local young people's vision of the town's future, the other dramatising the story of a local asylum seeker's reception in the area – that have been written in conjunction with young people, using workshops to explore their views. Although at times its work has been seen as controversial, it has been immensely popular with young people wanting to take part and with its audiences. It also runs courses where it explores issues of concern for young people, examining why their attitudes are the way they are and what effect it has on their lives. In an area such as Burnley, racism, intolerance and far-right politics are obviously on the agenda.

Bradford the Musical (Bradford) is a proposal to hold a series of small performances, each presenting perspectives of certain parts of the city's history, to an audience across the district. Performances will include: a representation of the riots and subsequent cross-community dialogue through break-dance and circus skills, involving hundreds of young people with a variety of cultural heritages; performances by schools and community organisations, developed with some assistance from community artists; and performances by socially excluded groups, including the homeless and asylum seekers.

### Sport-based shared spaces and experiences

We were disappointed not to find more organisations in the areas we visited that were using sports as a way to bring young people together to tackle difficult issues. Research discussed earlier shows the importance of directly addressing such issues alongside bringing young people together across community divisions. The absence of such organisations does not mean that sport is not a key component for creating better community relations. In many

Arts, sports and other leisure activities are a useful tool to engage young people

places it plays an important diversionary role. A number of organisations successfully bring young people together who would not otherwise mix. They include the following:

Heaton Juniors Football Team (Bradford). Stephen Wilson set up this club because he did not want his sons to go to local clubs with a competitive, racist, homophobic ethos. Five years on there are now seven teams (including a girls' team), each meeting once a week. Every effort is made to field multi-racial teams for matches. Coaches come from a variety of cultural backgrounds in order that young players have plenty of role models. The club is looking to take on a woman, and this could help increase the number of Asian parents allowing their children to take part.

Family Action in Rogerfield and Easterhouse (FARE) (Glasgow) operates in a highly territorial area with a lot of gang activity. FARE has used funding from Sports Relief to employ a worker who brings young people from different estates together for football tournaments. At the end of a competition, each team has to vote for another team that has demonstrated good sportsmanship throughout and the winning team receives a trophy. FARE has also started to run a preventative project bringing together for a 'mini-Olympics' young people moving to secondary education. The aim is to create contact and goodwill before they come into increased contact with gangs.
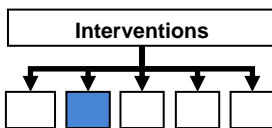
Community leadership

In some areas experiencing divisions, community leadership is weak. Leaders can be self-selected and not interested in speaking for the whole community they claim to represent. For example, when a conflict between two individuals rapidly led to conflict between two communities in Leicester (see Box 13), many expected violence. However, the community had in place trusted mechanisms for solving the conflict and a dispute that could have easily led to disturbances was defused non-violently.

Box 13: Solving a dispute non-violently in Leicester[178]

A fight between young people over a mobile phone the previous day began the incident. Over a hundred young people gathered on the streets to exact 'revenge', and the escalation was reminiscent of the disturbances in the northern towns of 2001. However, on this occasion the communities had the tools to prevent violent conflict. The Highfields Youth and Community Association was well established and had strong links with the communities involved. It brought together around a hundred people to discuss how to end the conflict without violence. The discussion emphasised the need to end the conflict non-violently and the communities came together to do just that. No gang appeared on the streets of Highfields that day thanks in part to the strong community organisation.

In many communities, young people are not involved or included in decision-making processes. Involvement in communities with existing divides was a key recommendation of the Cantle report into the disturbances of 2001, which concluded that '*a well resourced programme of engaging young people in the decision-making process affecting their communities should be established.*'[179]

Strong dialogue and representative leadership give communities the voice they need to ensure their concerns are considered and acted upon, thereby minimising people's frustration with the way that decisions are made by others on their behalf. For example, strong and representative community leadership would help a traveller community represent their concerns to local councils and other residents' groups. This could foster greater understanding and lead to fair and appropriate service provision, making it less likely that divisions between the travelling and settled community will arise.

Bradford and Keighley Youth Parliament (Bradford and district) is the first democratically elected youth parliament in Britain. Elections are held every four years and the last attracted almost 6,500 voters. The 30 members of the youth parliament have been trained in media, communication, leadership and dealing with conflict, and have held large events and local forums in schools and youth clubs to gather young people's views. They offer their opinions on council consultation documents and have set up a consultation database of over 2,000 young people who can comment via the web. Their commitment is extraordinary – some have been spending a large number of hours per week on youth parliament business on top of their school commitments.

Youth Bank (Bradford branch) This is a national grant-making scheme for young people by young people. In Bradford, a panel of 12 with a range of abilities has been trained to make funding decisions on a pot of around £4,000 per annum. Grants have

Interventions

In many communities young people are not involved in decision making

been made for football tournaments, environmental clear-ups and trips away for educational purposes.
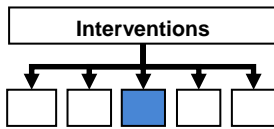
Training in conflict resolution

Training, like community leadership, gives communities the tools with which they can resolve conflicts non-violently. International experts in conflict agree that '*the skills and tools needed to solve conflicts exist'* and *'all that is left to do is learn them and put them into practice.'*[180] Training provides young people with the tools to understand and communicate issues faced by them and their peers. There are various approaches to training.

The National Coalition Building Institute (Leicester) builds skills, understanding and confidence in issues surrounding divided communities through training and support. Its focus, particularly in Leicester, is young people, where the institute trains them and professionals working with young people (such as statutory agencies and charities). The institute has built a pool of volunteer young people, 'community facilitators', who go on to train other young people. A number of other initiatives centre on the theme of giving young people the skills to challenge prejudice and discrimination. One example is bullying support clubs run in difficult schools.
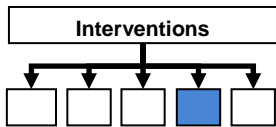
Training for education and employment

Many of the charities profiled provide a significant amount of training, which can directly enhance young people's career prospects. Equality of access to life opportunities is an important goal for fostering good relations in the long term; otherwise resentments and suspicions may remain. Tackling educational underachievement and unequal socio-economic status is therefore vital.

Quest for Economic Development (QED) (Bradford) targets its activities at local South Asian communities. Projects include widening the horizons of thousands of young people of South Asian heritage by inviting them and their families to '*Career Melas'* where they can see the variety of careers that could fit their skills and meet their aspirations. It also provides skills development training to help secondary school children develop an understanding of workplace skills and requirements. It works to improve the academic performance of schoolchildren of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin by incorporating literacy and numeracy education into madrassas' programmes and through intensive mentoring of particular families. Additionally, it produces and distributes through embassies a video designed to help new immigrants to Britain understand the challenges they will face on arrival and which signposts towards help.

Bradford Youth Development Partnership's Youth Teams (Bradford). This scheme trains 12 young people each year to become youth workers through an accredited training programme. Each group of trainees engages with 500-700 young people during the course of their training. They run workshops in their own communities and in the summer they run diversionary activities with the aim of preventing young people from becoming sucked into drugs or gang culture. It employs a community cohesion coordinator who organised a project bringing together three people from different neighbourhoods to put on a performance that tackled issues such as racism, gangs, drugs and arranged marriages.
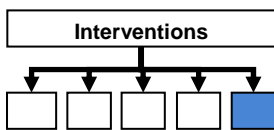
Work with perpetrators

Only 2-3% of perpetrators of racist violence and harassment are ever caught.[181] A Runnymede Trust report into perpetrators concluded that the most effective way to reduce racist violence and harassment was likely to be work with the larger perpetrator community and that '*attempts to foster meaningful contact between these communities and target common issues among them will surely yield fruits of success*'[182].

Working with perpetrators themselves as a means of preventing or overcoming divided communities was further questioned by a Home Office study in 1997. This found that the views held by perpetrators of racist violence and harassment were often shared by the wider communities to which they belong, suggesting that working with perpetrators is insufficient to reduce that violence and harassment.[183] Therefore, while this is an important strand of work to prevent divides widening, it should not be the sole focus of any funding strategy. Although there is a role for work with identified perpetrators, perhaps more valuable are those projects that look at the wider community by working with potential as well as actual perpetrators, taking account of the influence of wider social networks.[184]

Anti-Racism Kirklees (Kirklees, Yorkshire) is an outreach youth work project aimed at tackling racist attitudes in young white men living on deprived, segregated estates with few activities for young people. Some of the estates where ARK operates are regarded

Only 2-3% of perpetrators of racist violence and harassment are ever caught

as no-go areas for people of Asian descent. Workers do not label their intervention as having an anti-racist focus, so as not to alienate their clients. They attract young people to activities such as graffiti workshops, and discuss and challenge some of the racist sentiments that arise. The three project workers, who work with about 75 young people for an 18-month period, come from a mix of cultural backgrounds.

In some situations it is not possible to go beyond diversionary work with potential perpetrators. In these environments a simple activity can help prevent community divisions from becoming worse, as an example from Londonderry illustrates:

Tullyally & District Development Group (Londonderry). During the summer holidays there was a pattern of rioting in Tullyally, a small semi-rural Protestant village outside of Derry in Northern Ireland. It used to occur nightly, beginning at around 6pm, with the violence escalating and coming to a head with stone and petrol-bomb throwing at 11.30pm, when the older paramilitaries left the pub. When project staff saw the trouble starting, the youth worker would drive down a hired minibus to the hot spot, pick up the young troublemakers and take them to the cinema, McDonalds or bowling for free, thus offering an activity more enticing than fighting. Without the presence and back-up of the younger troublemakers, the older rioters were not as confident and the levels of violence fell. Ultimately, the riots eased and Tullyally has become more peaceful, although project staff continue to intervene as necessary.

Summary: the options for private funding

This section has set out the role of the voluntary sector in preventing and overcoming divided communities. The role is in large part about supporting and bringing together communities – something the state is not in a strong position to do. This role is very significant and in this section we have described a number of approaches that have proved to be particularly effective.

Funders may be beginning to ask to what type of intervention they should allocate their resources. The answer is not simple. However, in the following section we review the outcomes of these interventions and provide further guidance on selecting appropriate voluntary sector groups. This provides the background for our recommendations section, which argues that funders with substantial resources should commit to supporting a range of interventions in a local area. Those with fewer resources at their disposal will want to draw their own conclusions from the principles and case studies provided.

Section 4: Outcomes

Outcomes, the desired achievements of charitable activity, are the subject of this section, where we articulate to funders the potential consequences of their funding each of the interventions described in section 3.

Understanding outcomes is as fraught with difficulty as understanding the divisions themselves. Just as any two communities are different, so divisions are different, with varying characteristics, causes and effects. What works in one area may not be appropriate for another. Additionally, with so many influences on young people's lives, it is hard to determine conclusively whether any changes in attitudes can be attributed to an intervention. That is not to say that outcomes cannot or should not be identified, and in this section we have attempted to do just that.

We give examples of very tangible changes in attitudes and outlooks in both individuals and the broader groups with which they identify. From our research and analysis, we are confident that many of the charities we have recommended play an important role with a high probability of achieving the outcomes described here.

Introduction to outcomes analysis

All charitable activity is aimed at achieving outcomes, which are distinct from the outputs of charities. An output is the activity of the charity itself, for example conflict resolution training for young people. The outcomes are the changes brought about by these outputs, such as increased understanding amongst participants of how conflict can arise and how they can play a part in tackling it. Interventions working with the same broad objective of preventing and overcoming community divisions may achieve different results. In fact, most interventions achieve a different balance of similar outcomes. Funders need to understand these balances to determine where their resources can achieve the most desirable impacts.

The purpose of considering outcomes is to explain to funders the potential returns from their funding. Describing outcomes is problematic when considering divided communities, particularly since success invariably requires long-term intervention. But grappling with this area is a useful exercise, because some understanding of what constitutes success in preventing and overcoming divided communities is better than none. Because of the difficulties, the discussion that follows should not be regarded as conclusive.

In light of the difficulties for organisations identifying and measuring outcomes in this area, many that we met have chosen to measure nothing. This is in some senses explainable, since measurement of outcomes in this field is difficult and since those were generally the smaller organisations or those that were constantly short of funding. However, we consider it is essential for organisations to seek to track the development of their participants.

In the absence of outcomes measurement, social cohesion work is an area where 'outputs' provide a useful indication of outcomes. For example, while an organisation aiming to build cohesion between two divided communities might struggle to measure the outcome of 'cohesion', a useful indication of success in its work could be the number of people that have passed through its doors from each community over the period. Ideally, outcome measurement would track the degree to which people's views of 'the other' had changed as a result of the intervention; but knowledge that, say, 20% of each community had passed through its doors at least hints at success in this regard.

First, we discuss the long timescales over which outcomes are achieved. Then we briefly discuss the outcomes likely from supporting organisations working to effect change in society, and move on to an in-depth discussion of outcomes likely from supporting organisations working within communities.

Timescales of outcomes

John-Paul Ledarach, an eminent conflict resolution theorist, has coined a rule of thumb that for each year that groups are violently at odds, 10 years of peace are required to reverse the damaging effects.[185] Although most of the divided communities we have studied in the UK have not seen constant violent conflict, their problems are unlikely to be resolved in the course of a few years. A village fête is unlikely to turn communities who do not interact into a lastingly cohesive group, just as a youth parliament is unlikely to turn all of the area's young people into empowered and civically engaged citizens within the course of a few years. We

Most interventions achieve a different balance of the same outcomes

For each year that groups are violently at odds, 10 years of peace are required to reverse the damaging effects

urge funders to recognise that they are unlikely to see the effects of their funding at a community level over a few years.[186]

NPC generally suggests that funders commit to at least three years of unrestricted general purpose funding for an organisation, in order to give them the financial stability to concentrate on their work. This should of course be subject to annual reports and reviews. In the case of divided communities this timescale is particularly important.

Why 'understanding' is at the root of all outcomes

We frame our discussion around the characteristics of a cohesive community (Figure 5). For each of the escalating characteristics of community divisions, we have identified a corresponding characteristic of a cohesive community (shown below it). Interventions are aimed at moving a community from top to bottom.

Figure 5: The characteristics of divided and cohesive communities
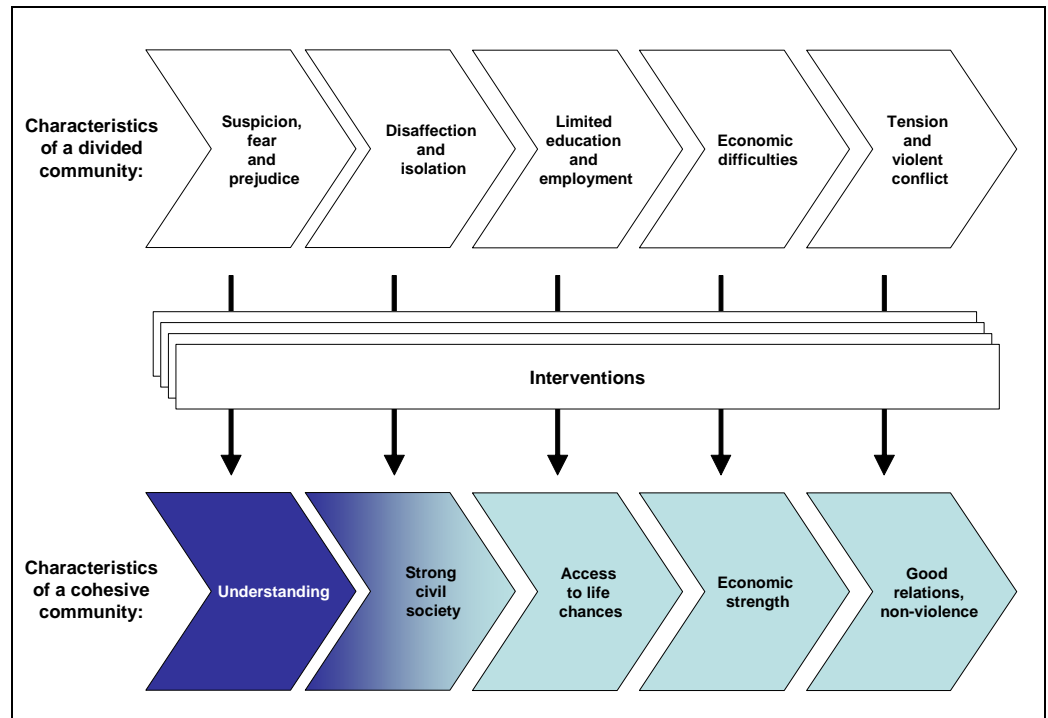
It is clear that the later outcomes need to be rooted in those before them. As most of the characteristics of cohesive communities are rooted in understanding and most interventions with aim to increase this (see Box 14), we explore this in some detail here.

> **Box 14: The importance of understanding**
>
> **Good relations and non-violence** are much more attainable if based on strong, stable and economically successful communities with understanding of their differences, rather than on an uneasy truce.
>
> **Economic strength** must be based on **access to life chances**, stemming from good education and employment opportunities. Academics believe that these are better produced in a cohesive society. Life chances are important, since there is evidence that economic inequality and social cohesion are mutually reinforcing.
>
> **A strong civil society** might include people working together on matters of joint concern. Arguably, local civil society could not be said to be strong if it was based on a lack of interaction or an avoidance of disputed issues. Instead, community relationships should be rooted in increased understanding and meaningful contact.
>
> **Social interaction** needs to be based on understanding, rather than politeness, for it to contribute to true cohesion (as discussed earlier with reference to studies of taking young Israelis and Palestinians on holidays together).
>
> **Understanding** is crucial to counter the suspicion, fear and prejudice that characterise the lives of so many living in divided communities.

Outcomes of interventions

Interventions aimed at preventing or overcoming community divisions tend to work with relatively small numbers of people, so we begin by focusing on what these outcomes mean for individuals and how their behaviour may affect people outside an intervention group. Through looking at leadership, we see how these outcomes can be transferred to larger numbers of people in the community.

We now examine outcomes associated with each of the interventions identified in Section 3 (see Figure 6). First we look together at outcomes from interventions based around shared spaces and experiences and working with perpetrators, since they are closely related in terms of the understanding they aim to build. Next we outline outcomes related to each of the three remaining interventions.

Figure 6: Interventions within communities
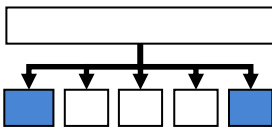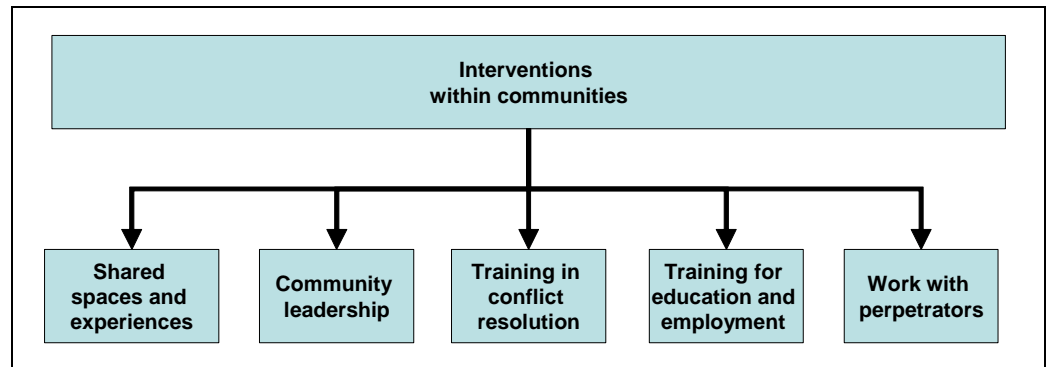
Outcomes of 'shared spaces and experiences' and 'work with perpetrators'

We break down understanding[187] into three stages and, for each, we explain what types of interventions are capable of achieving. These stages are 'understanding culture', 'understanding identity' and 'tackling sensitive issues'. If an intervention achieves a greater degree of understanding than another, it does not necessarily mean that it is better than the other. The starting point of the intervention group is an important consideration. For example, it is arguable whether an organisation that helps a perpetrator of racist harassment or a member of a violent gang reach our first level of understanding achieves more than an organisation that helps a member of the Youth Parliament for Great Britain to what we see as the highest level of understanding. Sometimes, it is the journey of the young people from their starting point that is most revealing:

> Bea Campbell, the chief youth worker at **Breaking Barriers in Burnley** told us that she and her staff had worked with 50 young people, some of whom approached the first sessions with suspicion and displayed overt racist language and behaviour. She and some of the young people we met were able to tell us how BBB had taken them from an unpromising starting point to confidence, enthusiasm and a supportive atmosphere.

Some communities need not rise to high levels of understanding in order to remain peaceful (though an absence of violence does not necessarily make for cohesion). If a situation is relatively stable, then interventions going deep into exploring identities will probably not seem appropriate nor be the most cost-effective way of improving relations.

It is difficult to estimate a cost of achieving outcomes in this area. We have analysed a range of organisations and seen a number of models of operation. At the lowest level, interventions require frequent, sustained contact between people, in a shared space, with at least a full-time co-ordinator trained to ensure that difficult issues are tackled. One group that we felt did an excellent job was Breaking Barriers in Burnley, who amazingly did so with almost no core budget; the staff member's salary was the only real cost, since office space, meeting space and mini-buses were borrowed and refreshments and activities were each donated or funds raised individually for them. We estimate that such a programme costs around £40,000 per annum and supports at least 30 young people directly, suggesting a cost per intervention of £1,300. This is excellent value for money, given the significant need and the organisation's ability to serve that need. However, the true cost per intervention is much lower, since many more people are affected in less tangible ways, such as through training programmes and other outreach activities.

Understanding culture

Understanding culture has two components, which in isolation have an inadequate effect, but which together form a first step towards tolerance in individuals and, if sufficiently prevalent, in communities.

The first component is **cultural awareness**. This does not require deep knowledge of other cultures; just that an individual is aware that there are other norms that can be seen as equally as valid as one's own. [188] A culturally aware person would not view their own way of life and beliefs as 'true' or 'right' – just as the way that they had grown to view the world. When such an individual comes across someone with a different cultural viewpoint, he or she would be unlikely to view them as aberrant, but attribute this to a differing cultural perspective. If enough people in a community think this way, then co-existence is likely but interaction and trust is not inevitable. Some members of the community with strong views may view this person's attitude as unthinkingly politically correct. One person's cultural awareness is unlikely to change the views and behaviours of those around them.

The second component is **cultural knowledge.** A person with knowledge of other cultures and faiths could see a person in the context of their background. However, he or she may not have a good understanding of how people relate to their cultural upbringing or allegiance. There is therefore a danger that the person will have a homogenous view of people from a particular culture or faith.

There is evidence that cultural knowledge can have cohesive effects. When a community is educated about the cultures of incoming asylum seekers or refugees, they are on average more receptive, understanding and better able to empathise with them.[189]

If culturally aware and knowledgeable people have cross-cultural contact, any bonds they form are likely to be more lasting than if they are merely culturally aware. Their knowledge gives them tools for understanding when different behaviours or attitudes are evident.

The attitude of cultural awareness is often distinguished from the factual understanding that comes with cultural knowledge. As we have seen, both have pitfalls – cultural awareness can be seen as unthinking and politically correct and cultural knowledge brings with it the dangers of stereotyping. That said, both are valuable stepping stones towards understanding and may prevent tensions and prejudices in some situations. Where tensions are deeply ingrained, however, it may be necessary to probe more deeply into identity and to explore the sensitive issues so often at the root of tensions but rarely spoken of. We go on to explore the outcomes that such interventions generate later in this section.

A good example of cultural understanding in action comes from work with perpetrators:

> A large part of the work of **Anti-Racism Kirklees** is 'myth busting' and creating more accurate perceptions of Kirklees' South Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities. They work with about 75 disaffected young people split over three predominately white estates for an 18-month period. Its budget is £100,000 per annum, and this means the cost per young person reached is approximately £2,000 over the 18-month period.

Understanding identity

Experts explain that it is crucial for young people to explore how their view of themselves and their **understanding of their own identity**[190] relate to a collective identity of a group to which they belong (e.g. Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, white, Afro-Caribbean). This is particularly important in situations where a divide is longstanding and ingrained and young people or their families have experienced harassment and violence. This exploration can decrease defensiveness that may hide individuals' insecurity or unease with their own identity. Some issue-based interventions do this through working with a single side of the divide first, referred to as 'single-identity' work.

No one can be entirely described by a label alone

This process should help each person see that no one can be entirely described by a label alone. Their individual experiences and outlooks form an important part of who they are. Such work should foster appreciation of differences and diverse opinions within a group who might otherwise be seen as one and the same.

Single identity work in Northern Ireland provides a good example of this outcome:

> **80:20** works in an East Belfast secondary school serving a deprived loyalist community with strong paramilitary allegiances. Pupils make 'identity boxes', which help them to explore what makes them who they are. The outer shell of the box is devoted to their surface identity, i.e. the face they show to other people. Inside, images are devoted to a memory, desire or theme of importance in their life. Through the finished boxes, pupils learn that although their surface identities may have much in common, they are each very much more complex than a label or their surface might indicate.

Understanding identity also requires **understanding of others' relationship to their religious or cultural background.** On a theoretical level, this might mean understanding that not all practising Muslim women wear a headscarf and not all England fans are football hooligans. Deeper understanding often comes from interaction and discussion with people who are labelled in a particular way. Young people involved are often helped when this is coupled with an exploration of their own identity.

Cross-cultural relationships formed through understanding identity are based on an understanding of how people's race, religion or creed influences but does not determine who they are. Some young people may feel confident enough to tackle prejudice and stereotyping when they come across it outside the group.

> **Bradford the Musical**. The arts can be a powerful mechanism to explore how people see themselves in relation to the way they are labelled. Theatre in particular is an excellent way to explore the complexities of identity. For example, the pilot phase of Bradford the Musical included 'playback' performances, whereby members of the audience told a story and actors played the story out on stage for the benefit of the audiences. Such a technique can convey in a very immediate and human way how people cannot be reduced to labels alone.

Tackling sensitive issues

When we described the first stage of understanding, we showed that polite attitudes such as cultural awareness may leave some of the most sensitive issues unaddressed. As mentioned before, studies of young Israelis on holiday with Palestinians show that young people may form friendships, but the friendships do not necessarily result in greater trust of Israelis or Palestinians as a whole. Many children view their new friends as the exception in a group of which they are still suspicious.

It can take great courage to explore contentious issues, particularly in a community where such speaking out has led to conflict in the past. To be able to discuss sensitive issues with confidence, young people often benefit from exploring their own identity in order to feel that they don't have to adhere to a particular view because of their background. To discuss sensitive issues with respect, young people benefit from understanding how others relate to their religious or cultural backgrounds.

Although there is a role for discussing difficult issues amongst a single-identity group prior to taking part in a more diverse group, we believe that issues need to be aired in a mixed group for young people to be exposed to different points of view and for horizons to broaden. A small group of young people able to hold discussions about potentially tricky issues without retreating to entrenched positions can present an alternative vision of the future to the community. They could even inspire others to reconsider and discuss their positions.

Issue-based shared experiences in Northern Ireland provide a good example:

> **The Spirit of Enniskillen Trust's** core learning programme works with 60 young people from all backgrounds, many with hostile and oppositional positions. Participants are brought – at their own pace – through stages until they reach the point of being able to discuss and debate openly the issues around Northern Ireland's divisions and sectarianism. Young people develop their awareness and skills; by the end of the programme, they listen to others' views with respect, while perhaps maintaining a very different position. The Director of the Trust, Chuck Richardson, believes that the approach is about taking measured risks in bringing together individuals from very different experiences where, more often than not, the tensions between contrasting points of view are changed into a constructive, collaborative energy. This energy is also channelled through the Trust's follow-on programme Future Voices, which works with schools and youth groups across Northern Ireland. This year all the core programme facilitators are former participants in the programme.
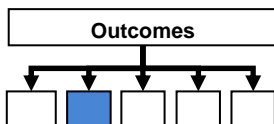
Outcomes of 'community leadership'

There are several features of **representative leadership** itself that interventions may create. Leadership does not need to be a core goal of an intervention for that intervention to foster it. The aspects of leadership that may be created are:

■   Handling differences and drawing common concerns from a diverse group.

■   Reaching agreement on constructive ways forward.

■   Communicating with people in positions of power.

■   Taking on positions of power.

Outcomes

If these are used to help others develop understanding, conflict resolution skills and leadership, leadership offers a multiplier effect of increased understanding, spreading far beyond the beneficiaries of an individual organisation's work. We call this '**leadership for increased understanding**.' One organisation fostering leadership in Bradford provides an excellent example:

> **Bradford and Keighley Youth Parliament.** Some of the members of the youth parliament were initially timid, but after two years' experience they are confident holding their own with local councillors and representing the views of local young people to figures of authority. Some members have undertaken anti-racist training, so they are equipped to break down intolerance and overcome misunderstandings amongst their peer group. The parliament receives a grant of £100,000. There were 30 members elected in 2002, making the average cost per participant just over £3,300. However, if the number of people that the participants consult and represent is considered, the cost per beneficiary becomes much lower.
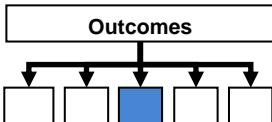
Outcomes of 'training in conflict resolution'

Conflict resolution is an approach that essentially aims to build increased understanding between conflicting parties. It is worth examining the steps in the process and to look at some of the intermediate outcomes, which are immensely valuable in themselves.

Outcomes that should occur in the conflict resolution approach are:

- **Understanding of the 'flashpoints'** for conflict. Leap Confronting Conflict has an exercise where participants explain and share their 'red flags', i.e. what makes them mad. A youth worker at Castlemilk Youth Centre in Glasgow told us that even the most reluctant participants took away with them the results of this exercise.

- **Understanding of choices and responsibility** about how they react to conflict triggers. One way of achieving this is to weigh up the costs and benefits of various options when a trigger occurs, including responding confrontationally, stepping back and reflecting, and attempting to understand the other viewpoint.

- **Understanding of the effects of conflict** on them and other people (stage two on our scale of increased understanding). This is often mediated by a skilled practitioner. In some cases, the two parties affected will be in a room together; in more severe cases, there will be no contact and the mediator will be a go-between.

- **Understanding different opinions** and why others take a different view (stage two or three on our scale of increased understanding). It is often easier for someone to listen to another person when they have begun to understand the effects of the conflict on the other person.

- **Agreeing reparations** and a way of repairing past damage. This is a unique feature of conflict resolution. If a wrong has been done by one or more party, then (subject to the success of the earlier stages), the parties discuss ways that harm could be repaired or compensated for (not financial recompense, but perhaps restoring damage incurred or learning more about a particular culture).

Experiences of practitioners suggest that participants in such programmes are more likely in the future to choose a considered response to conflict flashpoints. This is therefore a key process to take people through, as it increases the use of non-violent responses to conflict situations. Training is obviously extremely important, since it allows others to act as a mediator in other conflicts and thus has a multiplier effect.

There are a range of different models for achieving outcomes in this area, each of which suggests a different cost per intervention. The National Coalition Building Institute offers excellent outcomes in this area and offer a good indication of the likely costs:

> **The National Coalition Building Institute** works directly with around 300 young people per year. Evaluations carried out post-training with young people are very positive. More than 90% of young people who have been trained report they are better able to accept people different from themselves; understand other people; take pride in themselves and their identity; deal with stereotypes; and mix with other people. Most also report that they will try to intervene when they hear someone say something prejudicial, and be friendly to people who are different from themselves. At a total cost of around £270,000 per annum, this suggests a cost per intervention of around £800 per annum and a cost per successful intervention of around £900. As always with calculations of this type, we have conservatively estimated the number of interventions and so the cost per intervention; in reality the effects are likely to go much further into

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Outcomes

Conflict resolution aims to build increased understanding between conflicting parties

the community as young people pass on their skills and become involved in their local community after passing through the training programme.
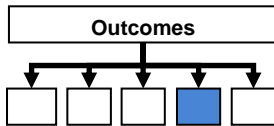
Outcomes of 'training for education and employment'

Inequality can fuel divisions and therefore interventions with an economic/educational component can have a significant impact on social cohesion. Many organisations build skills and increase employment in divided communities with the aim of improving the **education and economic prospects** of the beneficiaries. Some do so as a central aim, others through working towards different core goals.

Interventions in this area are needed to prevent and overcome divided communities of all types. For example, in Leicester, if such interventions existed, they would probably be targeted at the white communities living on peripheral estates.

Often, members of youth parliaments and young grant-makers on schemes such as **Youth Bank** find that the leadership qualities they have developed help them when they apply for higher education or employment. Two members of Youth Bank Bradford, who were only partially literate when they joined the team, became confident enough to make a presentation on young people's concerns to Tony Blair. Many found that their experiences as youth leaders have helped them into higher education or employment.

Summary of outcomes

In each of the above, we described the main outcomes for each intervention. In reality an intervention often goes beyond its core aims and engenders a number of related outcomes. In Table 2 we summarise the outcomes we believe are most likely to be achieved by each intervention. Outcomes are ticked if they are very likely to achieve an outcome in a majority of cases and are rated with a question mark if they may achieve an outcome in some cases.

This is a useful framework for understanding the different outcomes interventions can achieve. Not all interventions easily slot into one category; many are an amalgam of more than one. Neither do all interventions in one category necessarily achieve the same outcomes; much depends on the methodology and the individuals involved. For example, while an intervention seeking to divert perpetrators might change patterns of behaviour, one that is looking to foster both a change in attitudes on difficult issues and meaningful contact between communities might delve deeper and thus achieve 'higher level' outcomes.

Table 2: Outcomes of community interventions

Outcome… … and intervention on which the outcome is based	Intervention						
	Shared spaces and experiences			Community leadership	Training in conflict resolution	Training for education and employment	Work with perpetrators
	Issues-based	Arts-based	Sports-based				
Shared spaces and experiences, work with perpetrators:							
Understanding culture	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	-	✓
Understanding identity	✓	?	-	?	✓	-	?
Tackling sensitive issues	✓	?	-	?	✓	-	?
Community leadership:							
Representative leadership	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-
Leadership for increasing understanding	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-
Training in conflict resolution:							
Understanding of the 'flashpoints'	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	?
Understanding of choices, responsibility	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	?
Understanding of the effects of conflict	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓
Understanding different opinions	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓
Agreeing reparations	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓

Outcome… … and intervention on which the outcome is based	Intervention						
	Shared spaces and experiences			Community leadership	Training in conflict resolution	Training for education and employment	Work with perpetrators
	Issues-based	Arts-based	Sports-based				
Training for education and employment:							
Improved educational, economic prospects	✓	?	?	✓	?	✓	?

Summary

Each of a range of interventions develops the young people with whom they work in order to bring about change in communities. Each type of intervention described here offers valuable outcomes to divided communities, and we hope that the descriptions and analysis of those outcomes will assist funders in considering the best organisations to fund and the impact of their funding.

We calculated various costs per intervention and these appeared in the range of £1,000–£2,000 per annum for organisations working with a defined pool of young people over a year. This is the typical model across all five of our intervention types and so we might expect similar costs. In practice, costs will vary according to whether organisations own, rent or borrow meeting and office space; whether staff members volunteer, are part-time or full-time; and the number of young people and the intensity with which the programme is run.

This low unit cost is striking when compared to the potential outcomes. It should be remembered that our calculations are always conservative in two respects - in terms of the number of young people actually involved, and because we do not include the secondary effects that stem from achieving outcomes with a single young person. In reality many young people whose understanding and attitudes are affected by interventions in this area will go on to shape those of others. On some occasions this is through organised 'outreach' programmes with peers; but mostly this is through day-to-day interactions in the local community. This is an invaluable outcome from work in this area. However, it must be remembered that these costs are per participant rather than per young person whose attitudes have been changed. Given the young people that interventions work with in some cases, a relatively low 'success' rate is to be expected.

We now consider how funders might put the knowledge of need, interventions and outcomes to best use, in the form of suggestions as to how to maximise the chance of achieving outcomes through funding work in this area.

Section 5: Achieving outcomes

In this section we discuss some current biases in the funding of the voluntary sector in this area that we believe result in much funding not achieving its full potential.

We then discuss how we believe funders might most effectively support divided communities. We are eager to talk to any funders wishing to engage in supporting young people in divided communities, in order to communicate further the findings of our research. In the meantime, we provide guidance as to how we think funders might effectively engage with young people in divided communities. Clearly different funders will have different priorities and approaches, and so we describe suggested approaches for funders at three levels.

Finally, we offer advice on how funders might support organisations or geographies other than those that we have studied in the report.

Biases of current funding streams

Given that this is a difficult area for funders to access and understand, we believe that in the past much funding (both public and private) has not reached the organisations that most needed it. Many of the biases described below stem from difficulties that funders have acknowledged to us and that many are working to overcome. However, our research with voluntary sector organisations suggests that these problems persist.

Comfort bias. Organisations working in politically sensitive or 'uncomfortable' areas have had difficulty in accessing funding. For example, organisations working with asylum seekers, perpetrators or travelling communities may be less successful in attracting funding. In a project we visited in Belfast, staff had to engage with paramilitary groups, who have a ruling hand in many areas, in order to replace a sectarian mural with one representing a more inclusive and hopeful vision of the future for Northern Ireland.[191] Some funders are uncomfortable being associated with approaches such as this. Similarly, some might be uneasy about supporting youth-led organisations. As discussed, we believe there are clear benefits from putting power into young people's hands, as long as they are adequately supported as they take on new responsibilities.

Bridging bias. Sometimes funds have to be used to support minority groups, in order to build the confidence and trust of those communities before moving on to building bridges between communities. Some funders have been reluctant to provide this funding, since it can appear to perpetuate segregation. We argued earlier that single-identity work makes groups better prepared for bridging work. We believe there is a strong case for supporting single-identity groups, providing they are achieving cohesion outcomes. David Holloway from the youth organisation Tolerance in Diversity put this well:

> '… *I would certainly support single issue groups, single race groups at times, but there has to be a very good reason for that. Why should it be? What is the institution doing which is being funded? Is it reinforcing that segregation or is it overcoming it? Is there a good reason for it? Is the overall, long-term aim going to work towards a cohesive society? ...*'[192]

Innovation bias. There are many community groups doing excellent, proven work who struggle to fund their existence because many funders consistently seek to fund new approaches. Innovation is vital, since there is limited evidence of what 'works' in this area and what works in one place is unlikely to work everywhere else. However, we believe it should be a priority to ensure that effective approaches are not allowed to die as a result of funders striving to invest in innovation. This is a particular problem in the area of divided communities, where change at a community level may be visible only after many, many years. For example, the Spirit of Enniskillen Trust in Belfast is doing excellent work with young people across sectarian divides, as confirmed by independent reports from government and grant-makers alike. Despite this, it finds itself unable to attract funding for its core programme, and plans to fund its activities from its reserves in the next few months.

Anti-state bias. Government (national and local) does fund voluntary sector organisations to undertake activities that go beyond statutory obligations. Even if an organisation receives some (or even most) of its funding from government sources, there can still be a role for private funding. Sometimes it takes government involvement and money to catalyse community activities. We found a number of excellent organisations (such as Breaking

In the past funding (both public and private) has not reached the projects that needed it

Barriers in Burnley) that were conceived of and initiated by a council, but which now require private funding if they are to exist in the long term to achieve their significant potential for achieving change in their communities.

Funding of up to £5,000 per annum

While there are many organisations that would benefit hugely from receiving an individual grant of up to £5,000, another possibility is for funders in this category to use their donation to support a larger number of very small initiatives in a local area. We encountered a number of organisations who expressed a desire to have pots of money of this size, which they could distribute in small grants ranging from a few hundred pounds to a couple of thousand pounds. This allows the funding to reach organisations and groups of a size that it would be impractical economically for some funders to reach out to, but which could achieve positive first steps into community cohesion work with small amounts of funding. Organisations we have encountered who could make use of money in this way include:

Burnley Youth Council (Burnley) is seeking a grant of c.£5,000 to allow the young people on the council to re-grant this money in small amounts to individuals and organisations that would otherwise be unable to access funding. Because of the strong links that these young people have with local groups and other young people across Burnley, this money could find or catalyse 20-50 activities that would otherwise not happen or be unlikely to happen. These could include collaborations between two youth groups across a community divide or training sessions for young people in schools. These would probably leverage the money since it would likely be spent on materials, while the work was carried out by enthusiastic young volunteers. Outcomes from this work would be varied and would depend on the grant criteria, but could offer a significant and much-needed positive contribution to overcoming Burnley's divides.

Ribble Valley CVS (Ribble Valley, East Lancashire) is in an area that has undergone a community cohesion audit through the Home Office's Pathfinder scheme. This uncovered a clear need for intervention, finding little interaction between white and South Asian communities, BNP activity, rural isolation and few activities for young people. However, there is statutory money available to local community organisations to tackle this. The CVS, which is funded for its core activities by the Big Lottery Fund, would be well positioned to distribute small grants for cohesion work. It has indicated that anything from £5,000–£30,000 per annum would be useful.

Funding of £5,000 to £100,000 per annum

Later in this report, we detail 45 organisations whom we have analysed and that we believe contribute significantly to preventing and overcoming divided communities in their area. Each of these represent an in-principle recommendation, and we suggest funders wishing to grant in this area up to £100,000 per annum fund organisations such as these. Funders may wish to contact them directly; alternatively they may benefit from our more detailed two-page reports available for many of the organisations we have analysed.

Funders giving up to £100,000 per annum can usually expect to support – and make a significant difference to – between one and three organisations.

Funding of more than £100,000 per annum

For funders wishing to tackle the issue in some depth, we suggest choosing a particular area of the country, such as a town or borough. This allows funders to support a range of interventions in the area, and so enable the provision of a more comprehensive basket of interventions that will be mutually reinforcing. We believe an intervention in a particular geography is more likely to lead to sustainable change, along with public sector support and with complementary interventions by various voluntary sector organisations in the area.

As part of our research we visited and studied in depth Belfast, Bradford, Burnley, Glasgow, Leicester, London and Wales. The organisations identified that we would recommend in principle are described in the following section of the report. Funders might wish to follow the leads below to identify organisations in other areas, or contact us about the areas we have already studied. Alternatively, funders may wish to discuss with us the possibility of our researching new areas.

Funders wishing to make large commitments are likely to fund in a number of areas related to divided communities, such as young people more generally or in education, housing, poverty and deprivation. We would strongly encourage them to encourage grantees to consider the issues in this report. We believe a very significant difference could be made to

divided communities if organisations for whom divided communities is not their main focus were to realise the importance of the subject and it into their work.

Supporting other organisations and geographies

Funders wishing to support organisations or geographies other than those that we have studied in the report may contact us for additional help and support in finding suitable grantees. Unfortunately it can be difficult to locate organisations as focused on preventing or overcoming divided communities. For funders wishing to locate organisations independently, we suggest that useful leads in a local area would include:

- Local Councils for Voluntary Service (CVSs) oversee and support voluntary and community sector organisations in their area, and so are often well placed to guide funders to organisations working on a particular issue. We found them of variable quality, and some were unable to help usefully. NACVS is a network of over 300 CVSs and keeps a directory of local CVSs at www.nacvs.org.uk/cvsdir/.

- Local councils sometimes have staff that are responsible for coordinating either the council's response to divided communities and/or the voluntary sector's work. The 14 Pathfinder councils will certainly have a dedicated team; but in other areas the contact may be more difficult to identify. The person responsible for youth services in the council would be a good contact in the first instance.

- Most areas of the country have a Race Equality Council (REC), who will often have a good overview of the activities of the BME voluntary sector and of organisations with whom the BME voluntary sector is working. Most RECs are supported (and many partially funded) by the Commission for Racial Equality, whose website contains a directory of local RECs at www.cre.org.uk.

- The Council for Ethnic Minority Voluntary Organisations (CEMVO) aims to support and build the ethnic minority voluntary sector across the country. The council has a directory of its members and regional staff will have good contacts with groups operating in their area.

Conclusion

Community relations are in a poor state in many parts of the country. Government acknowledges this and is making efforts to counter the problems that arise, but is powerless to effect a comprehensive solution. Private funding plays a vital role in supporting the efforts of local groups that are striving to make a difference and create more harmonious relations.

It is possible to sit back and lament the poor state of community relations. But it is also within the gift of those with funds to build the foundations for lasting change. This can require a sustained commitment and patience with the absence for some time of tangible or measurable outcomes. But it is only by engaging with these problems and their potential solutions that we can hope to repair the deep rifts that all too often scar parts of our society. Young people often are both part of the problem and the solution. We should strive to ensure that they are more solution than problem. We believe that supporting the work of many of the organisations recommended in the following section would help in this quest.

Recommended voluntary sector organisations

Introduction

We chose to focus our organisational analysis primarily on seven areas. These were selected to provide a range of issues being faced by divided communities and interventions being practised by the voluntary sector. These areas researched and visited were:

- **Belfast**, which continues to experience the clearest community divisions in the UK, but which offers great hope in the form of passionate and well-developed voluntary sector organisations aiming to tackle those divisions.

- **Bradford** and **Burnley** whose divisions led to violent conflict in the summer of 2001, but who each face quite different challenges and whose voluntary sectors are dealing with these in quite different ways.

- **Glasgow**, whose divisions relate mainly to gangs and sectarianism.

- **Leicester**, which has a very significant and established BME community and yet has overcome many of the difficulties and divisions that it had faced in the past.

- **London**, which offers a wide range of areas and of issues being faced by those areas, but which posed a challenge in identifying organisations working in this field.

- **Wales**, whose divisions relate to gangs and migration in urban areas, and which is experiencing difficulties associated with language barriers in remote, rural areas. Again, Wales provided difficulties in identifying and visiting organisations.

In addition, we visited and analysed several organisations that either operated nationally or were of particular interest because of the interventions they were using.

Across these areas, around 300 organisations were identified during the research process, by grant-makers, policy-makers, local experts and from other organisations working in the field. We narrowed this list down to 75 organisations that we analysed and visited for the research. These were deemed to be of most relevance and appeared to be most efficient and effective in the area of preventing and overcoming divided communities. Organisations in which we were most interested had a good understanding of how they had overcome challenges to develop to their current state and a clear vision of what they must achieve to progress. Additionally these organisations often had a good understanding of many of the points outlined in this report, such as the factors contributing to success (see Section 3).

We appreciate that we were able to visit only a sample of organisations working in this field. This is inevitable given the time and resources that would be required to go any further; however, we believe we have been fair and thorough in ensuring that we endeavoured to visit the most efficient and effective organisations that we were able to identify.

Of the 75 organisations we visited (listed in the acknowledgements), we believe it appropriate to recommend 45 in principle to funders. This means that we believe their interventions to have a high chance of producing positive outcomes that are well targeted to significant local needs. It should be stressed that exclusion from this short list does not in any way imply censure. Most organisations provide an essential service to and are worthy of support in that respect. But after analysis, some organisations will inevitably stand out above others and this is what we seek to reflect in providing this list to funders.

We have judged success of an organisation from outcome data where available. Where not available, interviews with staff and with beneficiaries (where appropriate) were used. For most organisations it was apparent whether bright staff had considered the issues being faced by their community and were involving those in most need in appropriate, effective interventions.

Brief individual reports are available to funders on many of the organisations listed below. The reports outline our analysis of the need that an organisation aims to serve, its activities in serving those needs and our assessment of the likely outcomes of those activities. Finally, the reports include an overview of the organisation's finances and our in-principle recommendation as to appropriate funding levels.

We use the phrase 'in-principle' recommendation to signify that, while we have spent time with the management of each organisation and have analysed its record, finances and

plans, in many cases we would want to clarify additional issues before funding is considered. That said, we are keen to share our enthusiasm for these organisations and our suggestions for additional questions with interested funders. Additionally, by their nature, organisations such as these may change over relatively small time periods.

Figure 7: Organisations recommended in principle for funding
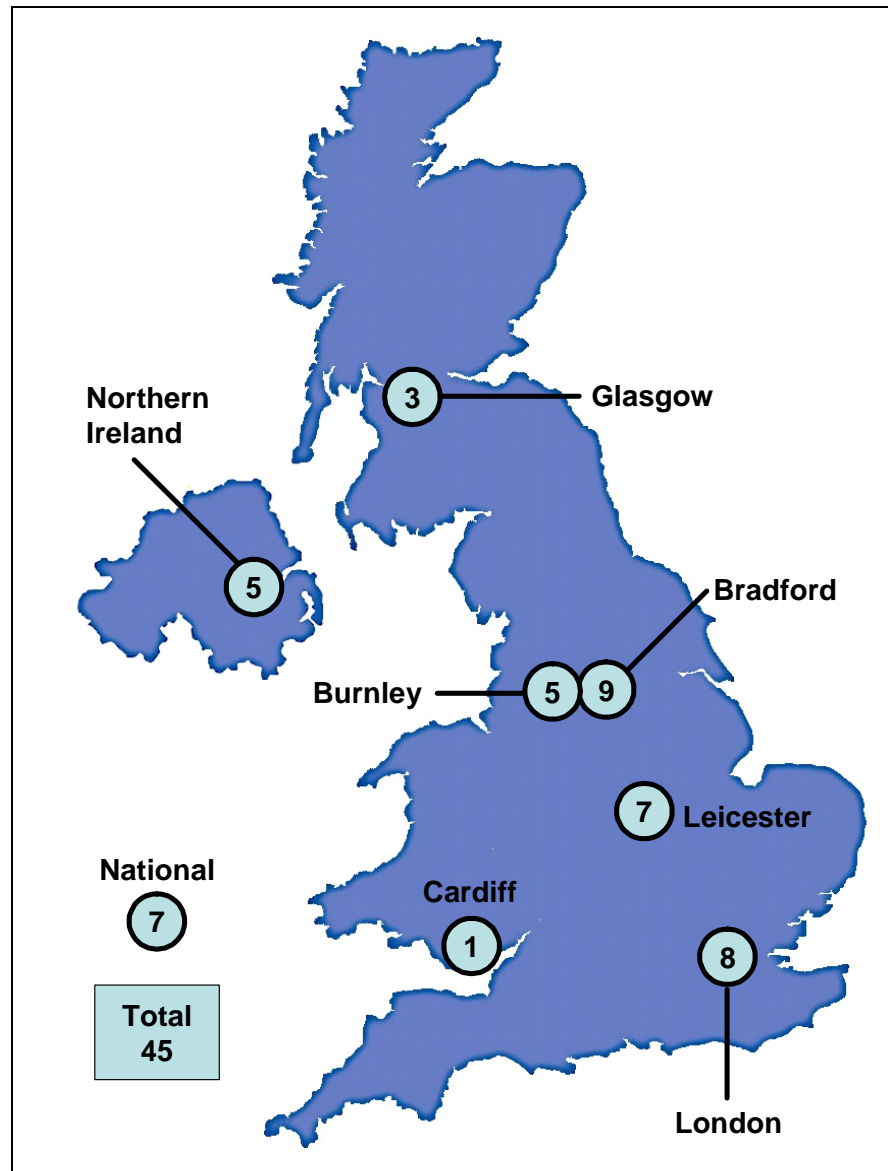
Recommendations by area

For each area studied and visited, we first provide a brief overview of our findings in that area and then a table containing the organisations that we have met and are happy to recommend in principle to funders.

National

Few organisations were identified that operate community-based projects with national co-ordination, possibly since the nature of the work requires local knowledge and understanding that makes this difficult (see Section 3). We did identify several organisations attempting to provide national research, networking and support to other organisations working in this field. Unfortunately though, most community-based organisations that we met are still working without opportunities to share best practice and learn from others.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
Conflict Resolution Network UK	Set up recently by Aik Saath (Slough), an organisation that trains and supports peer educators in conflict resolution skills. It aims to bring together organisations working in conflict resolution to share ideas and good practice and to promote work in the area. It provides a platform for organisations to promote themselves, lists resources that are of use, posts job listings and disseminates news.	Nil
Diversity and Dialogue	Led by Save the Children on behalf of a coalition of Christian, Muslim, Jewish and secular charities, the project aims to develop and disseminate educational programmes to help young people engage with issues of global citizenship and diversity by drawing on existing good practice in the field.	c.100 for 2005-2006
Operation Wedge	Designed to raise awareness – initially in the criminal justice system and among teachers and community workers – of the symbols, codes, music, games, clothing, insignia and so on of neo-Nazi, racist and hate groups. Its aim is to '*drive a wedge between disadvantaged and alienated youths and the race hate groups that prey on them*'. A project of Searchlight.	n/a (A project of Searchlight)
Runnymede Trust	Aims to inform and influence policy relating to ethnicity. Developing a practitioners' guide for working with potential and actual perpetrators of racist violence.	n/k
Scarman Trust	Makes small grants to 'can-doers' – people with good ideas about how to effect positive change in their communities.	3,422
Searchlight	Originally a newspaper in the 1960s and a monthly magazine from 1975, Searchlight's research on racist and fascist organisations is used by the criminal justice system, community organisations and trades unions. Searchlight aims to build and support community groups in areas targeted by organised racism.	164 (Searchlight Educational Trust, 2002)
Tim Parry Jonathan Ball Trust	Works with young children in 10 schools to encourage positive attitudes to diversity. Runs programmes for young people from Warrington, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland to come together to understand each other's view points on the 'Troubles'.	375

Bradford

Organisations we recommend in Bradford offer funders chance to support diverse and imaginative activities to improve community relations. More funding for these organisations is needed to increase their impact and to ensure their activities are sustainable.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
Anti-Racism Kirklees	An outreach youth work project that we visited while in Bradford, aimed at tackling racist attitudes in young white men living on deprived, segregated estates with few activities for young people. The three project workers, who work with about 75 young people for an 18-month period, come from a mix of cultural backgrounds.	100
Bradford and Keighley Youth Parliament	The 30 Members of the Youth Parliament were elected by 6,500 local young people. They have since been trained in media, leadership and dealing with conflict and have held large events and local forums in schools and youth clubs to gather young people's views.	100
Bradford the Musical	Aims to hold hundreds of small performances, each presenting perspectives of certain parts of the city's history, to audiences across the district. Performances will include a representation of the 2001 riots and their aftermath and performances by socially excluded groups.	c.55
Bradford Youth Development Partnership	Trains 12 young people each year from disadvantaged backgrounds to become youth workers with an understanding of cohesion issues. Each group of trainees engages with 500-700 young people during the course of their training. Operates the Bradford branch of Youth Bank, a national grants scheme for young people run by young people.	707
Common Purpose (Bradford)	Provides leadership training that encourages people from the public, private and voluntary sectors to explore and address the issues facing their local area. Courses are available for young people in schools as well as emerging leaders in the working world.	n/k
Intercultural Leadership School	A four-day residential programme for 15 people aged 20-30 to give them the skills to work across communities. It explores Muslim, Christian and Western secular values and beliefs and looks at the issues facing the city. Participants are also equipped with media and conflict resolution skills.	c.25
Pakistani Youth Forum	Tackles frustration and disengagement in young people in Huddersfield by encouraging them to discuss issues affecting them and to organise cross-cultural events. There is separate provision for young men and women to satisfy parental concerns.	12
Quest for Economic Development	Works to improve the economic prospects of South Asian communities in Bradford. Projects include '*Career Melas*' where young people learn about careers that could meet their aspirations; mentoring of families whose children are struggling at school; and producing a video to help immigrants understand the challenges they will face on arrival.	805

Burnley

In Burnley we mostly recommend that funders support grassroots organisations, bringing young people together across Burnley's segregated society. The common theme to this work in Burnley is the passion and dedication of the staff that we met.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
Breaking Barriers in Burnley	Brings young people together to build mutual respect and understanding. Young people meet weekly in a borrowed neutral space, where they have fun together and work through issues of concern to them, often relating to Burnley's community divisions.	n/k
Burnley and Padiham Community Alliance	It provides support and training to a network of around 40 organisations. It has undertaken some identity work with young children in the past and is in a position to administer a small grants programme to young people working on community relations work in the area.	n/k
Burnley Youth Council	Involves around 150 young people from Burnley's many segregated communities in considering and tackling the issues that young people face in the community. Many of the issues relate directly or indirectly to the clear divisions amongst Burnley's communities.	n/k
Burnley Youth Theatre	Uses theatre, dance and other arts to explore a variety of issues, often including prejudices and misconceptions. It also runs courses exploring issues of concern for young people, examining why their attitudes are the way they are and what effect it has on their lives.	n/k
Lancashire Youth Association	Community cohesion project supports young people to become community champions and advocates for community cohesion. Projects are being developed in Nelson, Accrington and Burnley to train and support young people from across community divides.	c.170

Glasgow

Glasgow offered a chance to see sectarianism outside of Northern Ireland, although many of the organisations we visited were more focused on crime and gangs.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
BTCV Scotland	Uses the environment and the arts as tools to address issues of social cohesion - for example, by working with young people of South Asian heritage living on a deprived estate in Glasgow to produce a video on what living in that area means for them.	n/k
Family Action in Rogerfield and Easterhouse	Brings young people from different estates together for football tournaments. At the end, each team votes for a team that has demonstrated good sportsmanship. Runs a preventative project, bringing together young people moving to secondary education for a 'mini-Olympics' with the aim of creating contact and goodwill before they come into increased contact with the gang culture.	150

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
Nil by Mouth	Works to eliminate sectarianism from Scottish society through lobbying and advocacy. NbM influenced the Scottish Executive to impose heavier penalties on perpetrators of crimes motivated by sectarianism and has worked with Rangers and Celtic to develop anti-sectarian policies. It is now a partner in producing an on-line anti-discrimination resource for schools.	34

Leicester

Leicester has a number of well established organisations, using established interventions. While many of the overt difficulties associated with community divisions have been overcome, these organisations are now moving on to deal with more advanced and more ingrained difficulties. Despite the significant challenges still being faced and despite their well established and proven interventions in this area, many of these organisations are not in a financially sustainable position.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
Highfields Youth and Community Association	Aside from its strong ties to the community (see Box 13), its building provides a focal point for young people in the area. A number of youth activities are based out of the centre, some of which are aimed at helping young people better understand and mix with different cultures.	c.750
Leicester Youth Council	A youth council is much needed in Leicester, to empower young people and to begin to form a bridge between Leicester's different communities. This project is still at a proposal stage, but promises to make a significant difference if properly supported.	n/a
National Coalition Building Institute	Builds skills, understanding and confidence in issues surrounding divided communities such as race, diversity and dealing with conflict through training and support. Its focus is on young people and it brings together perpetrators and victims as part of its work.	264
Soft Touch Community Arts	A non-profit making community arts company run as a co-op based in Leicester. Carries out projects '*with community groups who have something to say and need a way to say it*' helping groups of under-represented people to express themselves.	217
Speakeasy Theatre	Speakeasy is based in Leicester, but operates across the East Midlands, focusing on '*theatre for educational means*'. Speakeasy partners with organisations (schools, youth groups) to use theatre to explore issues in young people's lives and to encourage a shared understanding of those issues amongst others in the community.	n/k
Wildcall	Works with gypsy and traveller communities in Leicester to support them in accessing services and to help local communities to understand and welcome them. One project involves supporting young travellers in recording a video about their life for local schoolchildren.	n/k
youthVOICE	Run entirely by young people, aimed at engaging and building the skills of disenfranchised young people from across Leicester. Currently it operates diversionary activities such as sports and crafts, and activities supporting young people in education and enterprise.	60

London

London's size, diversity and complexity is not reflected in the organisations we were able to find working in this field. Perhaps because tensions do not frequently manifest themselves in large-scale violence, or perhaps because organisations are unaware of how to tackle the issues in the way other areas have done, activities in this field in London are not as advanced as we would have expected. We identified several organisations that indirectly support communities facing divisions; however, few were in any of the categories that we have prioritised and described in this report. Southwark, East London and West London were researched in some depth in an attempt to find such organisations.

Having said this, a number of strong organisations were identified in and around London, which we describe below.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
Aik Saath (Slough)	Trains young people in conflict resolution skills in Slough and the surrounding areas. Young people then become peer trainers, working in their communities to pass on skills and understanding required to overcome community tensions.	38 (2002)
CityZEN	Runs consultations on issues of concern for young people, provideing peer mentoring, support and training. Aims to channel young people's energies to help them affect change in their local area, rather than turning to gangs or drugs.	c.13
Leap Confronting Conflict	Provides conflict resolution training for young people in London and a network for young mediators across the UK. Beginning extended interventions with gangs after a multi-site pilot project. Works with schools in East London to help young people handle their conflicts.	593
London Bubble	A community theatre company based in Bermondsey, London. One interesting programme involves sending youth workers out to London schools to run courses that encourage and enable young people to express concerns and the issues, using the arts.	764 (2002)
Rugby Portobello Trust	Operates a number of schemes with young people from deprived estates on the edge of Notting Hill, offering educational, recreational and skills-based activities. Soon to move into new and expanded premises, offering significantly increased opportunities.	n/k
South East London Community Foundation	SELF is experienced in distributing large pools of money in the form of small grants to community groups and individuals across South East London. SELF would be ideal to operate a 'divided communities' grants scheme of this nature.	1,943 (in grants)
Tolerance in Diversity	Involves young people in decision-making by empowering them to understand and work through issues they are facing. Young people are trained to become peer trainers to facilitate a safe environment for the exploration of such concepts as racism, prejudice and conflict, leading to increased understanding and helping to overcome community divisions.	61 (2002)
WORLD-write	WORLDwrite (an education charity) recently ran a London-based pilot programme in partnership with young@now. This delivered in schools a programme designed to encourage young people to investigate the strengths and weaknesses of multiculturalism and to consider what they have in common. Steps are now being taken to expand this programme and roll it out more widely.	82 (2003)

Northern Ireland

Much good practice in improving community relations has developed in Northern Ireland, as a result of the very significant difficulties that communities there have faced and perhaps because a number of funding schemes have helped to catalyse new projects. However, much current funding is not providing long-term support; we saw a number of organisations producing very significant outcomes in areas of very significant need, and yet time and time again their funding requests were rejected.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
80:20	Works with loyalist communities in Belfast to explore identity. Runs programmes using the arts for young people from England, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland to explore conflicts and human rights. Projects here include working with young people to paint murals that replace sectarian images.	251
Corner House Family Centre	Focuses on cross–community/cultural work on the interface between the Protestant Tiger's Bay and Catholic New Lodge areas of North Belfast. Currently the centre caters for 50 young people each week, 20 of whom are currently taking their Duke of Edinburgh Bronze Award.	171
Groundwork Northern Ireland	Works with communities to deliver regeneration projects across the province. A pilot project in East Belfast has worked with Protestant and Catholic young people on opposite sides of an interface 'peace' wall. Workshops and diversionary activities have led to some young people from different sides coming together for shared activities.	c.1,000
nichs	It is based in a highly segregated area made up of small, insular yet neighbouring Catholic and Protestant communities. Annually around 400 young people meet regularly at its centre for workshops addressing issues of concern, to share information and experiences of each others' culture and history, to build trust and co-operation, reduce prejudice and learn how to solve conflicts.	318
Spirit of Enniskillen Trust	Each year 60 young people are selected for the core programme on the basis of the potential contribution they can make towards a shared future in a pluralist society. They work through an eight-month programme, addressing the difficult and contentious issues current in Northern Ireland, and are encouraged to develop their capacity to engage in similar discussions with others.	160

Wales

Experts described to us divides in the form on gangs and migration in urban areas and language in rural areas. However, Wales provided difficulties in identifying and visiting organisations. We believe that a need exists for work in this field and that there are organisations out there, but can offer only one here that we can recommend in principle.

Name	Overview of activities	Expenditure (£'000, 2003)
ReStart	A youth project managed by Safer Cardiff, which is based around crime reduction, targeting young people at risk of offending. This group counters territorialism and other community divisions in the areas of Ely and Caerau where the project is based. Up to 60 young people turn up each night, and after mentoring six to eight young people substantially increase school attendance each term.	167

Glossary and terminology

Civil Society[193]

The term civil society is defined as both the '*part of society that is distinct from states and markets*', as a '*metaphor for a 'good' society (characterised by positive norms and values as well as success in meeting particular social goals)*' and as '*the public sphere*'.

Community

This report uses the term **community** to refer both to groups of people who might say they share the same norms, values and beliefs (communities of identity) and groups of people living in the same neighbourhood.

Identity is not a simple concept; it is something both chosen by individuals and influenced by circumstances. For example, someone might see an acquaintance as being a member of the Afro-Caribbean community in Liverpool, whereas the person themselves might identify more with a group of friends from work, or with the university they attended rather than skin colour and area of residence.

Community relations

The aggregate state of relationships in a geographic region (e.g. neighbourhood, borough/ district, nation).

Race and Ethnicity[194]

This report uses the term **black and minority ethnic (BME)** to refer to people who do not or would not identify themselves as white British. As the Runnymede Trust highlights, there is a gulf between specialist and non-specialist use of the word 'ethnic'. For specialists, an ethnic group is one whose members have common origins, a shared sense of history, a shared culture and sense of collective identity. In this sense, all human beings belong to an ethnic group. In popular usage, on the other hand, different meanings are attached to the term. For example, when people talk of 'ethnic food' the reference is often to non-Western food that used to be less commonly available in Britain.

Similarly, the term '**minority**' can have connotations of 'less important' or 'marginal'. It can perpetuate the idea that everyone who is not a member of a minority is a member of a homogeneous majority that has no significant differences or tensions.

Race, too, has its disadvantages as a term. It is useful in that it helps to convey the reality and huge impact of racism. Yet it maintains the notion that there are separate and distinct races, a proposition that is not carried by the scientific evidence available.

Social Capital

Social capital describes the level of social interaction within communities. It can be thought of as the 'glue' that binds us together. A community with high levels of social capital would be expected to be one in which most members were engaged in local activity – be that playing in a local football team or working together to overcome a problem with housing, education or crime. In a geographic community, people would be expected to have a large degree of trust in each other and to share norms and values.

Voluntary sector

This term generally refers to well established organisations, often with charitable status. In the interests of readability, in this report we take the term to refer to both the voluntary sector and those organisations that are less formal, often without a limited company and without charitable status, that are sometimes referred to as the 'community sector'.

Appendix: Interventions effecting change in society

We have not studied this area in detail, but we consider it is vital that we signpost funders as to the issues and expectations regarding work in this area. Options available to funders can broadly be categorised under two headings – to support organisations that aim to improve understanding of community tensions, or that aim to tackle groups encouraging divisive attitudes and prejudice across UK society. Both are vital for effecting long-term change and both require more and better funding.

Descriptions of organisations in this category are included here to re-cap.

Interventions

It is vital to increase the pool of **understanding of what 'works'** for divided communities. While the key to many problems faced by divided communities lies in understanding their local particularities, more sharing of understanding between organisations avoids duplication of effort and allows more groups to get closer to best practice in preventing and overcoming divisions. Every year hundreds of new groups begin work in this area without having the opportunity to benefit from others who have attempted to overcome similar challenges.

The Runnymede Trust (national). The trust aims to inform and influence policy relating to ethnicity. The bulk of its research is on education and employment: for example, it is looking at how the national curriculum can counter stereotypes and be representative of the UK's population. It is also developing a practitioners' guide for working with potential and actual perpetrators of racist violence.

Nil by Mouth (Scotland) works to eliminate sectarianism from Scottish society through lobbying and advocacy. It influenced the Scottish Executive to impose heavier penalties on perpetrators of crimes motivated by sectarianism and has worked with Rangers and Celtic to develop anti-sectarian policies. It is now a partner in producing an on-line resource for schools, is working to develop anti-sectarian training for trainee teachers and has further targets for the Executive, employers, schools and football clubs.

As one academic in the field wrote recently, '*other outbreaks [of disturbances] will not be prevented unless steps are taken to control the cultural hate and incitement worked up by the National Front and the BNP.*'[195] There are a number of organisations that work at a national level **tackling the threat of co-ordinated racial prejudice** and incitement to hatred, whose work can be supported to assist in this area. One organisation stands out:

Searchlight (national) began as a newspaper in 1975 and is now read all over the world. Searchlight Information Services (SIS) was formed as a research organisation in 1986, working closely with the criminal justice system, community groups and trades unions to combat fascism and prejudice. Its activities include providing speakers who address approximately 200 meetings a year, providing information to the police and media about racist organisations and individuals, and offering advice on how to deal with the problem of racism. Recently Searchlight has developed two new projects. Firstly, in response to recent BNP electoral success it developed a national political campaigning strategy focussing on local issues through local people. Secondly, it has developed 'Operation Wedge', an awareness-raising project – initially aimed at the criminal justice system, teachers and community workers, which provides information on the symbols, clothing, insignia and so on of neo-Nazi, racist and hate groups.

Two organisations that link racism and football also stand out:

Show racism the Red Card is a national charity established in 1996 that focuses on anti-racist education, producing materials for schools and communities and organising support from professional footballers.

Kick It Out, founded in 1994, similarly works at a national level through football, education and community groups to challenge racism. The campaign is supported and funded by the game's governing bodies including the PFA (the players' union), the FA Premier League, The Football Association and the Football Foundation. It addresses not only racism among young people but also within the professional and amateur game, and works closely with European counterparts.

Outcomes

The outcomes of interventions seeking to change national attitudes differ according to their exact aims. Some aim to influence public policy and best practice; others educate and campaign against prejudice or hate. Quantifying the likelihood of success and the cost of influence is often impossible, given the scale of such operations, the qualitative and subtle nature of behavioural change and the gradual timescale on which such organisations operate. It is impossible to count success in meetings or publications. However, there are some general points for funders to consider:

- Is the organisation's information thorough, representative and broadly-based?

- Does it effectively channel information to those who most benefit?

- Is it presenting the information in an engaging way?

- Does it provide ideas that are practical and easily implemented?

- Does the organisation have the ear of those it seeks to influence?

- Is the organisation working with other key agencies in the field?

Good examples of outcomes in this area include:

The Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities campaigned for many years to bring the inadequate race relations legislation in the province up to date with the rest of the UK. In 1998 it successfully influenced the Northern Ireland Bill (implementing the Good Friday Agreement), which brought the legal framework for tackling race and religious legislation beyond the rest of the UK. This ultimately formed the template for the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, which applies to England and Wales.

Nil by Mouth (Scotland) appealed to the Scottish Executive for stronger legislation, to award higher penalties for crimes aggravated by religious hatred. It also made representations to the cross-party working group on religious hatred, which made some recommendations based on its suggestions, for example banning the sale of sectarian memorabilia outside football stadiums.

Searchlight (National) focused in the recent council elections on a local approach that worked with community groups to address and de-racialise the local issues driving people towards the BNP. Its strategies, such as local editions of its national campaign newspaper and locally produced leaflets written to refute in detail BNP scaremongering, seem obvious but are rarely implemented by others. It also provided best practice guidance and advice on campaign tactics to local anti-racist groups. The Rowntree Foundation commented of Searchlight's campaign that it was good to see concrete results from anti-racist campaigning, with the BNP vote down in two-thirds of those wards that the BNP was actively trying to target.

Acknowledgements

80:20 (Northern Ireland)	LEAP Confronting Conflict (London)
Aik Saath (London)	Leicester Racial Equality Council (Leicester)
Anti-Racism Kirklees (Bradford)	Leicester Youth Council (Leicester)
Artworks (Bradford)	London Bubble (London)
Bradford and Keighley Youth Parliament (Bradford)	National Coalition Building Institute (Leicester)
Bradford Community Network (Bradford)	New Avenue Youth and Community Project (Northern Ireland)
Bradford Environment Action Trust (Bradford)	NICEM (Northern Ireland)
Bradford the Musical (Bradford)	nichs (Northern Ireland)
Bradford Youth Development Partnership, Youth Bank (Bradford)	Nil by Mouth (Glasgow)
Bradford Youth Services (Bradford)	Operation Wedge (National)
Breaking Barriers in Burnley (Burnley)	Pakistani Youth and Community Association (Leicester)
Bridge Youth Centre (Northern Ireland)	Pakistani Youth Forum (Bradford)
BTCV Scotland (Glasgow)	Programme for a Peaceful City (Bradford)
Building Bridges in Burnley (Burnley)	Promoting Tolerance (London)
Burnley and Padiham Alliance (Burnley)	Renewal (London)
Burnley Youth Council (Burnley)	ReStart (Cardiff)
Burnley Youth Theatre (Burnley)	Ribble Valley CVS (Burnley)
Castlemilk Youth Centre (Glasgow)	Rugby Portobello Trust (London)
Catalyst (Leicester)	Runnymede Trust (National)
Children's Society (National)	Scarman Trust (National)
CityZEN (London)	Searchlight (National)
Common Purpose (Bradford)	South East London Community Foundation (London)
Community Relations Council (Northern Ireland)	Shama Women's Centre (Leicester)
Conflict Resolution Network UK (National)	Soft Touch (Leicester)
Corner House Family Centre (Northern Ireland)	Speakeasy Theatre (Leicester)
Dance for Life (Bradford)	Takeover Radio (Leicester)
Diversity and Dialogue (National)	The Spirit of Enniskillen Trust (Northern Ireland)
Downside Fisher Youth Club (London)	Tim Parry Jonathan Ball Trust (National)
East London Mosque (London)	Tolerance in Diversity (London)
Family Action in Rogerfield and Easterhouse (Glasgow)	Top of t'Town Association (Burnley)
Groundwork (Northern Ireland)	Trident arts and sports work (Bradford)
Heaton Juniors Football Team (Bradford)	Trinity Community Partnership (Burnley)
Highfields Youth and Community Association (Leicester)	Tullyally & District Development Group (Northern Ireland)
Inspire (Bradford)	Wildcall (Leicester)
Institute for Conflict Research (Northern Ireland)	WORLDwrite (London)
Intercultural Leadership School (Bradford)	YMCA (Northern Ireland)
Islamic Foundation (London)	youthVOICE (Leicester)
Lancashire Youth Association (Burnley)	

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