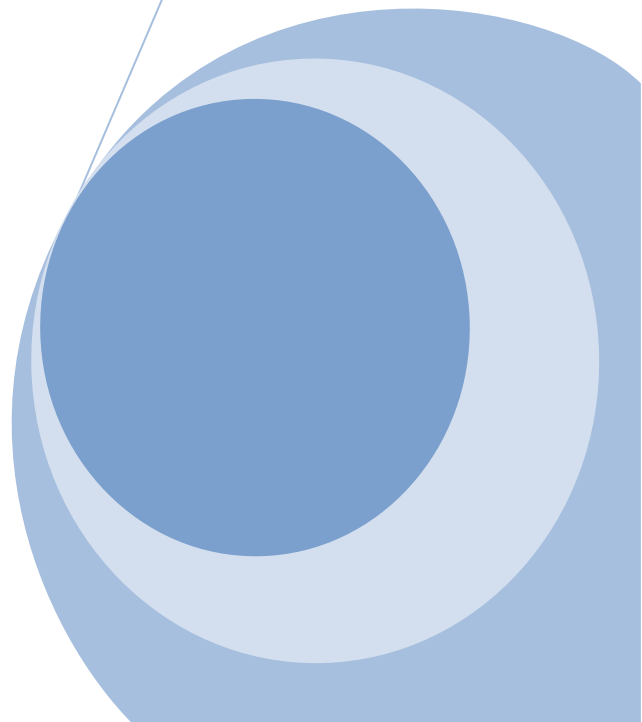


**HOW TO MAKE THE
GOVERNMENT'S
STRATEGY ON
COMMUNITY
COHESION SMARTER**



First edition by Dr Frank Reeves, REWM

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About Waterhouse Consulting Group

Waterhouse Consulting Group is a multi disciplinary management consultancy that brings together the UK's leading experts to deliver services in equalities & diversity, counter-extremism training, research and executive search.

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HOW TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY ON COMMUNITY COHESION SMARTER

CONTENTS

Introduction	4
1 The Government's strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion 2005	6
2 Community cohesion policy: its evolution in the absence of a satisfactory evidence base	11
3 Measuring community cohesion and social integration	28
4 Towards an ethnically-differentiated community cohesion policy.	42
5 The role of local race equality organisations in building community cohesion	54
Bibliography	56

Chapter One

The Government's strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion 2005

Published in 2005 by the Race, Cohesion, Equality and Faith Directorate at the Home Office, *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: The Government's strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion* (IOSS) clarifies and restates policy relating to community cohesion and reasserts the government's continuing intention of ensuring new and established ethnic and religious minorities living in Britain become integrated into society.

The 2005 IOSS strategy has two key features which race equality practitioners are bound to welcome. Firstly, it replaces the earlier multi-strand approach to community cohesion, exemplified by Local Government Association Guidance and the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit's prospectus, with a policy once more firmly focused on achieving inter-ethnic cohesion. Secondly, it places great weight on the need for differentiating between ethnic groups if action to promote equality of opportunity is to be effective.

IOSS has two main and related themes: improving equality of opportunity and increasing social cohesion, encapsulated in the titles of two of the strategy document's chapters: 'improving life chances for all' and 'building community cohesion'.

Reassertion of the primacy of inter-ethnic cohesion

IOSS represents a return to a community cohesion agenda dominated by issues relating to race, ethnicity, ethnic cultural diversity, and religion. It replaces the earlier expansive multi-factoral vision of community cohesiveness involving considerations of age, gender, disability, and sexual orientation, in addition to those of ethnicity or religious belief, developed by the Cattle, Denham and Local Government Association reports. This approach had led to a loss of focus on the original presenting problems of the civil disturbances and the phenomenon of 'parallel living' identified in the reports on the northern towns of Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. IOSS once more sees community cohesion as ethnic cohesion, to be brought about by:

- helping young people from different communities grow up with a sense of common belonging.
- helping immigrants to integrate into communities.
- helping people from all sections of society to understand and celebrate the contributions made by a range of cultures in Britain.
- increasing opportunities to participate in civic life.
- helping to ensure racism is unacceptable.
- marginalising extremists who stir up hatred.
- promoting cohesion at a local level.

Different racial and ethnic groups, minority and majority, are expected to develop a sense of 'Britishness', to integrate, to understand and welcome each others' different ethnic cultures, to participate in civic life, and to reject racism and those who incite racial hatred.

Recognition of the need for ethnic differentiation in policy making.

An important feature of IOSS, stressed in the forward by the Home Secretary, Charles Clarke, is the need to identify and respond to the specific needs of different ethnic communities in relation to education, health, employment, housing and security.

In discussing ways to improve life chances, the report states that the overarching objective is to reduce racial inequalities. This aim is to be supported by a comprehensive cross-Government Public Service Agreement target to monitor and reduce inequalities between 2005 and 2008.

Throughout the IOSS document, there is a recognition that black and minority ethnic groups are performing differently in education, the labour market, health, housing, the criminal justice system, and across the public services generally, and that support must be focused to help those who are most disadvantaged. Whilst some groups are succeeding, others still suffer significant disadvantage.

Specific measures are necessary to address particular barriers to progress, associated with varying circumstances, the experience of racial discrimination, or the culture of the group in question. IOSS emphasises that 'generic programmes of support are important, but not always sufficient' (p.16) and that the strategy must meet specific and local needs.

In education, young people of Chinese and Indian origin are performing above the national average, but children, particularly boys, from Black African, Black Caribbean, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Gypsy and Traveller groups, do poorly and are less likely to succeed in formal education (p.17).

In regard to the labour market, almost one in ten people of Black Caribbean ethnic origin are unemployed, compared with less than one in twenty-five among the population as a whole. Fewer than half of working-age people from Bangladeshi and Pakistani backgrounds are in employment and those that are, are often in poorly-paid jobs (p.18).

In housing, 21 per cent of Pakistani households, 30 per cent of Bangladeshi and 13 per cent of Black African, compared with 2 per cent of White, live in overcrowded conditions, many in 'non-decent' homes and deprived areas.

Health also varies by ethnicity. There is a prevalence of heart disease amongst South Asians and they are also up to five times more likely than the general population to suffer from diabetes, while African and Caribbean groups are three times more likely. Black men are six times more likely to be compulsorily detained in mental health care than the national average.

There are similar variations between ethnic groups in their fear and experience of crime and their contact with criminal justice agencies.

This level of ethnic differentiation in life chances and economic and social achievement justifies the Government's intention 'to develop more sophisticated,

tailored approaches to meeting the specific needs of different minorities...rather than treating all minority groups as disadvantaged or having the same needs' (p.19). IOSS emphasises that the time has come to drop one-size-fits-all approaches in favour of tailored services that are monitored against specific targets for particular groups.

In other words, the differences between ethnic groups are to be tackled by eliminating institutional racism and sensitising public services so that they meet the particular needs of all ethnic groups, making outcomes more equal: a customised service improvement policy. For public authorities, the policy seems merely to require the fulfilment of the public duty imposed on them by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.

Ethnic differentiation and the Government's 2005 community cohesion strategy

Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society (IOSS) makes clear the Government's intention to pursue an ethnically-differentiated strategy to provide everyone with more equal life chances. The document also recognises that British society is becoming increasingly ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse, with 'enormous variation in the customs and social lives of neighbours' (p.20).

New immigrant groups from many parts of the world have arrived. In London, three hundred different languages are spoken. There are now one and a half million Muslims and half a million Hindus living alongside Christians, Jews and Sikhs (p.20).

While in general, different ethnic communities mix and gain from one another, in some areas, according to earlier reports on community cohesion, people are living segregated or 'parallel' lives. Prejudice and discrimination also take on distinctive forms, for example, anti-Semitism and Islamaphobia, depending on the groups being targeted. New immigrant groups, including refugees, are often on the receiving end of particular manifestations of hostility, which make it far more difficult for them to integrate.

In recognising that ethnic inequalities are likely to have an adverse effect on social cohesiveness, and that different ethnic groups, including recent arrivals, may find it more difficult to integrate, the IOSS strategy seems to provide a strong argument not only for a differentiated approach to the promotion of equal opportunity, but also for a differentiated policy in regard to community cohesion.

Nevertheless, despite the acknowledgement that groups differ in the opportunities they have to meet and to share a common sense of belonging, the IOSS strategy does not develop or set out what might be termed a differentiated community cohesion policy. The case for differentiation is made almost entirely in respect of the targeted action needed to reduce race and ethnic inequalities, but not in the context of building cohesion between ethnic groups. The former is rightly seen as assisting the latter, but the strategy of ethnic differentiation is not applied in the same way or to the same degree (except perhaps in regard to recent immigrants) to the practical means of achieving community cohesion, understood in everyday terms as 'integration'.

The 2005 community cohesion strategy, therefore, is presented as a series of measures aimed essentially at all citizens, but especially highlighting the importance of encouraging and assisting recent immigrants to integrate. Cohesion, for the majority, is seen as occurring partly by a steady reduction in the differences between ethnic groups in their life chances through improving the services available to them, and partly through a series of measures aimed at encouraging a sense of belonging, respect for others' culture, increasing participation in civic life, tackling racism, and marginalising extremists who stir up hatred. The former part of the strategy is clearly predicated on ethnic differentiation, but the latter, somewhat inexplicably and inconsistently, is not.

The need to measure a specific ethnic group's quality and degree of integration

Race Equality Digest 16 repeats the case made in the earlier REWM publication *Community cohesion: concept, policy, implementation and theory*, for an approach to community cohesion which is based on sound social scientific research and with policies customised to improving particular contextualised social relations.

As recognised in strategy relating to race equality, it is important to distinguish the degree to which particular ethnic groups have already made progress towards integration and whether they differ in regard to the competence, aspirations and opportunity they possess for achieving integration. In other words, what are the facilitators or inhibitors of social integration that are specific to particular ethnic communities in a given social context?

A tendency in race equality circles in recent years, also reflected in the 2005 strategy described above, is to conflate action to eliminate racial discrimination and to equalise opportunity, with the business of improving relations between ethnic groups. It is widely assumed that if inequalities between ethnic groups in education, work, health, housing and other aspects of social life are reduced, then these serve as indicators of improved inter-ethnic relations, greater integration, and enhanced community cohesion. Reduction in ethnic inequality may be a sign, cause, or consequence of improved ethnic relations, but it is not equivalent to, nor a guarantee of good or improving relations.

In fact, some of the most horrendous breakdowns in ethnic relations, often followed by genocide, have occurred in societies where different ethnic communities living side by side appear to share common living standards. One plausible hypothesis is that ethnic conflict is only likely to break out in acute form when a community begins to achieve social, economic and political parity and to compete with another on roughly equal terms, thus threatening its previously dominant position.

The quality of community cohesion, therefore, cannot be measured solely on the basis of an index of ethnic groups' equality, although issues of equality must feature too. What is required are additional indicators of inter-ethnic cohesion, integration, interaction, or interspersion. (In this context, integration is distinguished from assimilation, in that it is understood as a two-way adaptation process, and not one in which a minority is expected to adopt the ways of the majority in their entirety.)

The argument here is that the ethnic communities living in Britain, including the white majority, differ in the degree to which they are able or are prepared to mix with others and that an effective community cohesion strategy must be developed on baseline information about these differences. This is already recognised by government in relation to categories such as refugees, and Gypsies and Travellers.

Comparative studies of integrative competences, aspirations and opportunities now need to be conducted for other ethnic or religious populations, including the white majority. Only in this way can community cohesion interventions be targeted with sufficient precision to be effective. This would also help to deal with some of the common criticisms of community cohesion policy: that it focuses almost entirely on the Muslim population, or that it blames comparatively powerless minorities for their failure to integrate or to embrace the opportunity to become British, ignoring racism and other obstacles that prevent this happening.

Chapter Two traces the evolution of community cohesion policy, the absence of sound social scientific evidence to support its assumptions, and the recurring attempt to measure improvement with indices of equality alone, rather than of integration or cohesiveness. To make a success of community cohesion strategy, what are needed are baseline data on particular ethnic populations' competences, aspirations and opportunities to integrate as well as the obstacles they face in achieving integration, and then a series of policies designed to meet those populations' local circumstances. Race equality councils would appear to be the most appropriate local agencies to coordinate the delivery of a customised local community cohesion or integration policy of this kind.

Chapter Two

Community cohesion policy: its evolution in the absence of a satisfactory evidence base

Current community cohesion policy was developed as a government response to the outbreaks of violence and destruction of property in three northern towns in the spring and summer of 2001. Three separate reports on the state of inter-ethnic community relations in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham were used as evidence for two further national reports: that of the Independent Review Team, chaired by Ted Cantle (which made use for the first time of the term 'community cohesion' in its title) and that of the Ministerial Group on Public order and Community Cohesion, chaired by John Denham (which revealed the government's concern at the scale of the disorders and their destructiveness).

The initial reports on Bradford, Burnley and Oldham share much in common and set the scene for the subsequent national community cohesion policy. All three are primarily concerned with the issue of integration between white and ethnic minority communities. Their depiction of the situation in terms of the sharp division between and separation of ethnic groups in all major fields of public life: housing, work, education and out-of-work activity, make it clear that they are preoccupied not with racial inequality as such but with positive ethnic intermixing and interspersion. Racial equality is only part of the equation: in the northern towns, fostering good race relations must be pursued in its own right.

The reports also have another premise in common, which if not over-emphasised, is clearly understood. The most numerous ethnic minority group in all three locations is Pakistani, constituting 14.54 per cent (67,998) of the total population of Bradford (467,665) 4.94 per cent (4,423) of the total population of Burnley (89,542) and 6.33 per cent (137,753) of the total population of Oldham (217,273). Coupled with the Bangladeshi population (a further 4.52% (or 9,821) of the population Oldham), this distinctive Muslim community from the Indian subcontinent is clearly the reference of all assertions relating to the failure to integrate, or the desire to self-segregate, or remain separate. While there is some reference to communities in the plural choosing to keep themselves apart, few of the recommendations or measures in themselves are aimed at the white population and its values, although political extremists are singled out for attention.

Nevertheless, it is precisely in relation to the predominantly Muslim Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities living in these three locations, that information on their comparative levels of integration, or speed of adaptation to life in Britain or British values, compared with other ethnic groups, is absent. Relying on subjective opinion, impression, and hearsay as an information source, it is not surprising that the reports have been criticised for superficiality, blaming the victim, neglect of racial injustice. Islamophobia, and much else.

Yet the reports were written with serious intent, two of them after violence and destruction of property involving conflict between white and Asian people. The issue of how best to go about promoting community cohesion deserves serious and immediate attention, but it also deserves, like other social policy, to be grounded in

sound research into the accuracy of the assumptions on which it is based. With so much at stake and limited resources, remedial action to address the problems identified must be accurately targeted. Without closer analysis and research into the process of integration, this cannot be assured.

Report on Bradford (Sir Herman Ouseley) (2001)

Published in July 2001, the report on race relations in Bradford (West Yorkshire) entitled *Community pride, not prejudice, making diversity work in Bradford*, was written before the April 2001 outbreak of interethnic violence and destruction of property in the district. The Race Review Team, commissioned by Bradford Vision, a regeneration initiative representing key local agencies, was chaired by Sir Herman Ouseley former chair of the Commission for Racial Equality. The team set out to address the question of why community fragmentation along social, cultural, ethnic and religious lines was occurring in the Bradford District. As the first of three dealing with race relations in northern towns, the report introduced and popularised the concepts of *community fragmentation* and *self segregation*, claiming that there were growing racial, ethnic, religious and class divisions among Bradford's population. Ouseley's report was predicated on the view that relationships between different communities were deteriorating. White people apparently thought that their needs were neglected in favour of Muslims, in particular Pakistanis, who were given preference over them. Members of the Muslim community, on the other hand, believed that Islamophobia and racism were blighting their lives and that they were treated unfairly by decision-makers.

According to the Ouseley report, different communities were seeking to protect their identities and cultures by discouraging and avoiding contact with other communities and institutions. This 'self-segregation' was driven by fear of others, the need for safety from harassment and violent crime, and the belief that it was the only way to retain cultural identity and faith. The white community perceived minority ethnic religious leaders (presumably mostly Muslim) as the advocates of segregation. Different ethnic groups were segregating themselves and retreating into 'comfort zones' made up of people like themselves. Their children went to separate schools.

Funding regimes had failed to incorporate specific objectives to bring about social interaction and integration. The review team felt that local leaders had contributed to community division by their reluctance to challenge the perceived norms of allowing social and economic programmes to develop along self-styled single cultural and faith-dominated tracks, leading to comfort zones, segregation, and ghetto formation.

Comment

The report assumes from the start that Bradford is experiencing increasing polarisation, segregation and fragmentation along ethnic lines and the Race Review Team's terms of reference specify the need for greater understanding as to how to build bridges between communities. The report, then, is centrally preoccupied with how to bring about a greater degree of integration between ethnic groups whose relations with one another are deteriorating. Issues of ethnic inequality are a secondary issue.

What evidence is there to support the view not only that ethnic groups in Bradford are polarised but that the situation is a result of preference and choice (self-segregation) and is getting worse?

The report draws heavily on the views of local people: individuals from different ethnic groups, voluntary organisation, local and regional employers, public services and young people and the vulnerable and disaffected. Ostensibly, it provides a long list of their concerns, with the disclaimer that they have not emanated from the review team. The comments appear, nevertheless, to have been selected carefully, and some of the Race Review Team's recommendations are based on them, indicating a degree of concurrence or approval at least. From a social scientific point of view, however, the use of the diverse opinions of local people, who have 'spoken out', to underpin the report's more significant claims are methodologically most unsatisfactory. Is there really a sufficient evidence base to justify the assertion that ethnic communities self-consciously choose to be segregated, as opposed to finding themselves in a decision field determined by the housing, education and job markets, or fears about security? If the communities from the start have always lived separately, what evidence is there for assuming the situation in Bradford is deteriorating? Do the young share the views of their elders?

This detailed evidence on the views of respective ethnic communities, including those of the white majority does not appear to have been gathered nor made available to the Race Review Team at the time, nor since, yet four years later, as a direct result of this seminal report, the government has developed a strategy aimed at addressing the worrying phenomena of community fragmentation and self-segregation.

Another assumption, reflected in the recommendations of the Ouseley report, is that the solution to fragmentation lies in educational and attitudinal initiatives rather than in government intervention in the housing and employment markets. The softer approach involving the adoption of 'British values' exemplified by, for example, citizenship ceremonies, has now become an integral part of government strategy.

Report on Burnley (Lord Clarke) (2001)

In Burnley, a task force of fifteen people was set up to make recommendations after violence broke out between whites and Asians during the weekend of 23rd to 25th June 2001. Chaired by Lord Tony Clarke, the Task Force distinguished between the immediate trigger of violent conduct and damage and the deeper reasons behind Burnley's racial and ethnic division. In explaining the division, the report made extensive use of the concept of *segregation* in housing, education, employment and other social contexts, in a general situation of long-term decline. The high levels of prejudice and distrust in Burnley were attributed to the absence of opportunity for white and ethnic minority groups to mix.

The primary emphasis was on producing an action plan to tackle the housing crisis, poverty and deprivation, ethnic divisions and distrust in Burnley. The violent events of 23rd June to 25th June 2001 had, according to the Task Force, been caused by criminal acts followed by deliberate attempts on the part of both white and Asian groups to turn the violent acts into racial confrontation.

The Task Force took the view, however, that the disturbances needed to be explained at a more profound level, which in Burnley could be related back to the collapse of the housing market. Burnley had a large surplus of housing, much of it in a poor state and unfit for occupation. Ethnic minorities with large families were housed in smaller, older, privately-owned property, inadequate for their needs, while demands from whites for social housing was falling. The physical and environmental decline associated with both these processes had created a context in which disadvantaged communities felt neglected, a situation further exacerbated by the obsolescence of much terraced housing, falling house prices, and increased vacancy rates.

The report concludes that, for many people, the equity in their home was their major source of wealth after a lifetime of work. The collapse of the local housing market had increased social exclusion, threatened social cohesion and made some of the poorest communities even poorer after a decade of economic growth. The social costs, evidenced in the June disturbances, of allowing these trends to continue could well be severe.

The report describes how Burnley had developed areas with predominantly minority ethnic communities, centred around places of worship, clothing and food shops, voluntary organisation and their community facilities. There was a perception that these areas were exclusive to Asians, although there was still a high proportion of white residents.

The report claims that statutory and voluntary organisations had contributed to racial segregation through their employment policies by colour matching whites to work with whites and Asians to work with Asians. It also mentions the perception by the white community that the local authority spent its money predominantly on Asian areas, when much of the funding was geographically restricted and could not be spent elsewhere.

The Task Force thought that the level of economic deprivation made it much more difficult to bring about racial harmony. In addition, there were few opportunities for white and minority ethnic groups to mix. Chances of integration outside of the workplace were remote. Schools in or near predominantly Asian areas were virtually all Asian and, in white areas, virtually all white. Communities remained separate and segregated, both at home and in school.

Comment

Against a background of poverty, deprivation and a collapsing housing market, the Clarke report singles out segregation in housing, education, employment and other social contexts, and the absence of opportunity for whites and ethnic minority groups to mix, as the reasons for high levels of prejudice and distrust in Burnley. This, once more, is a report concerned about ethnic communities living separate or segregated lives and of the absence of opportunities for them to integrate or mix to reduce levels of prejudice and misunderstanding. One major obstacle to achieving greater integration lay in different ethnic group's access to housing and their respective housing market situations. Unlike the Ouseley report on Bradford, the emphasis here is not so much on the sharing of values but on ensuring equal access to decent housing and opportunities for people from different ethnic backgrounds to mix. These issues

have been taken up by the Government's housing market renewal strategy, rather than in community cohesion initiatives.

The role of the Burnley Task Force was conceived from the outset as a practical one of producing a set of recommendations as part of a comprehensive local action plan. While emphasising the need for greater integration and community cohesion, the report does not purport to be based on social scientific investigation of ethnic relations in Burnley, but its 83 recommendations might have been better honed by reference to a research exercise of this kind.

Report on Oldham (David Ritchie) (2001)

An independent inquiry chaired by David Ritchie, a civil servant, with a panel of six other expert members, was set up to review the racial attacks, rioting and the activities of the British National Party, which took place in Oldham in the run-up the General Election of 7 June 2001. The resulting report *Oldham Independent Review: one Oldham, One Future* (11 December 2001) made extensive use of the concept of social integration, seen as requiring respect for cultural diversity, but involving greater degrees of residential, educational and social mixing and a recognition of the need for improved communication between communities through the medium of English, greater education in cultural awareness, more prosperity, and a safer environment.

The panel was sceptical as to whether communities currently wanted to have much to do with one another and concluded that the main cause for residential segregation was the preference, both within the white and the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities of people 'to live with their own kind' This concept of self-segregation, retarding the process of integration, clearly echoes a theme of the Ouseley report.

The panel severely criticises Oldham's lack of strategic direction and any vision for future development and its failure to face up to the deep-seated issues of segregation in the town: 'there has been no real evidence of the parties coming together to form a strategy for community relations within the town'.

There was no forum in Oldham where people could openly discuss, in an unthreatening environment, the issues of race relations, including the stereotypes and myths about other communities, or be consulted about and involved in decision making on issues connected with race and diversity.

In regard to education, the report provoked controversy on account of the importance it attached to people from the Indian sub-continent achieving proficiency in English. It also criticised local faith secondary schools for having no Muslim pupils and recommended that 15 to 20 per cent of places be made available to pupils of non-Christian background.

Another proposal was for 'integration proofing' - the suggestion that every submission/paper/document coming to the Council for a decision should include a specific section entitled 'effects on integration within Oldham'.

Comment

The report is strong on the historical context of immigration and settlement in Oldham, and the role of ethnic minorities in the economy. It also recognises the mutually-enforcing relationships between housing, education, employment, health, policing, leisure, culture, regeneration, governance and the media. It acknowledges the role of politics in the equation and is not afraid to criticise politicians for their lack of leadership.

Like those on Bradford and Burnley, the report suffers from a lack of evidence to support its assertion that Oldham's residential and other segregation is self-inflicted. There is simply insufficient data to attribute 'blame in equal measure to all parties' for the town's poor, segregated race relations. More than impressionistic evidence of the town's progress towards, or retreat from integration is required.

National Community Cohesion Report (Ted Cante) (2001)

The spring and early summer 2001 disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford led the Home Secretary to set up a Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion Review Team (CCRT). Chaired by Ted Cante, the CCRT of eleven, at least half from ethnic minorities, sought the views of local residents and community leaders in the towns affected, as well as other urban areas, including Birmingham, Leicester and Southall. The report entitled *Community Cohesion, a report of the Independent Review Team*, was issued to the Home Office Ministerial Committee on 28 November 2001 and published in December 2001.

Although aware of the existing physical segregation of ethnic groups on housing estates and in inner city areas, the team was surprised at the depth of polarisation of other aspects of daily living, with separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language and social and cultural networks. The separation resulted in people leading 'parallel lives' which seemed not to touch at any point.

There was a widespread failure running through most institutions, including voluntary organisations and political parties, to debate the issues raised by ethnic polarisation and to find solutions to it. The team concluded that there was an urgent need to promote community cohesion and a greater sense of citizenship based on common principles.

The report contained 67 proposals (to be undertaken by a range of agencies) under the following headings: people and values, political and community leadership, political organisations, strategic partnerships, regeneration initiatives and funding, integration and segregation, younger people, education, community organisations, disadvantaged and disaffected communities, policing, housing, employment, the press and media. The press focused on the proposal that church and faith leaders should voluntarily limit the faith intake in independent and state sector schools by offering at least 25 per cent of places to other faiths or denominations in order to ensure a better mix of cultures or ethnicities.

Comment

The Cantle report is seminal in introducing a more general concept of community cohesion into what had hitherto been an exploration of the issues facing communities fragmented along ethnic lines. Following Forest and Kearnns, 'the domains' of community cohesion are defined from the outset as common values and a civic culture, social order and social control, social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities, social networks and social capital, and place attachment and identity (p.13). Community cohesion was about helping micro-communities to gel or mesh into an integrated whole. Divided communities needed help to develop goals and shared vision (p.70).

With this theoretical underpinning, it is unsurprising that the overwhelming emphasis of the Cantle report is on sharing ideas, such as the value of cultural pluralism, or the development and dissemination of the principles of a new citizenship to bring about cohesion. Far less attention is devoted to the existing socio-economic structural or institutional divisions that have led to fragmentation and ethnic polarisation. As a result of the focus on shared values, the report recommends that the granting of British citizenship must involve fluency in English to facilitate full participation in society, as well as a formal pledge of allegiance.

The report has been criticised for seemingly holding ethnic minority communities responsible for poor community relations as a consequence of their lack of fluency in English and failure to come to terms with, or commit themselves to the British way of life, thus losing sight of the reciprocal, or two-way nature of the integration process.

The report also adopts the view that the fear and ignorance of different communities (and presumably prejudice and discrimination) is a result of the lack of contact between ethnic groups. The solution, in the form of a local community cohesion plan, lies in the promotion of cross-cultural contact between different communities at all levels, the fostering of understanding and respect, and the busting of myths.

Two features of the Cantle approach to community cohesion have clearly influenced subsequent strategy. The first is the tendency to broaden the scope of the original concern over fragmentation along ethnic and religious lines to include considerations of division and exclusion on grounds, for example, of gender, age and disability. The second is to reinterpret the wealth disparity domain of sound cohesion in terms of disparity in service provision and outcome, and to plump for reduction in inequality between ethnic groups, rather than the quality of their integration, as the more significant dimension and measure of cohesiveness.

Report on the Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion (John Denham) (2002)

The Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion, chaired by John Denham, was announced in the home Secretary's statement on 10th July 2001 to the House of commons, following the serious disorder in Bradford in early July. It was asked to report on action to minimise the threat of further disorder and to build strong, more cohesive communities. Entitled *Building Cohesive Communities*, the Denham report draws extensively on the proceeding reports on

Bradford, Oldham and Burnley and Cattle's national report, and stresses the need to make community cohesion a central aim of government.

The Ministerial Group distinguished between the roles of central government in empowering and enabling local communities and the need to fund and implement solutions at local level, rather than to have them externally imposed. It highlighted the features shared by the areas that suffered disturbances. Participants were overwhelmingly young men: white and minority ethnic and local to the areas. The neighbourhoods involved were some of the most deprived in the country, with significant Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities.

The Denham report pointed out that until Lord Ouseley observed that different ethnic groups in Bradford were 'increasingly segregating themselves from each other and retreating into 'comfort zones' made up of people like themselves', the term 'segregation' had rarely been used in discussion of community relations in Britain. While acknowledging that there was nothing intrinsically wrong about people exercising choice in where they lived and who with, the Ministerial Group believed that geographical segregation was likely to reduce opportunities for different communities to collaborate and might be symptomatic of other concerns (for example, fear of racist attack).

The report also placed less emphasis than Ouseley on the concept of self-segregation, raising the question of whether the segregation observed resulted from choice or a real and damaging lack of choice about housing, jobs and schools. It recognised the difficulty of distinguishing between cause and effect in the development of segregated communities.

The Denham report identified various factors leading to community fragmentation, among them:

- the lack of a strong civic identity or shared social values to unite diverse communities.
- the fragmentation and polarisation of communities on economic, geographical, racial and cultural lines, on a scale amounting to segregation, albeit to an extent by choice.
- disengagement of young people from the local decision-making process, inter-generational tensions, and an increasingly territorial mentality in asserting different racial, cultural and religious identities in response to real or perceived attacks.
- activities of extremist groups.

Comment

The problem with this approach is that it is not clear what particular instances of social fragmentation these factors are meant to explain. Do they explain all instances of social fragmentation or only those that have already occurred in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham? Are they, in fact, explanations or 'factors leading to fragmentation', or

merely alternative ways of describing the phenomenon or outcomes of fragmentation? And just as importantly, in the context of the argument mounted here, how have these factors been identified? What is the evidence for singling out these factors from among other possible explanations? Should they not be treated as alternative hypotheses whose comparative explanatory strength needs testing? Unfortunately, these perfectly reasonable queries about the methodology adopted by the Ministerial Group were sidestepped. While the Group accepted that there was room for further research and analysis, it was of the view that the issues raised could not be resolved purely through academic research and analysis: local people's views had to be taken into account in shaping policy responses. In other words, if local people thought, for example, that fragmentation was caused by young people's voices being ignored by decision makers, then this had to be a contributory factor, and the solution must be in re-engaging them in the decision-making process.

The Denham report, however, developed community cohesion policy in two ways. Firstly, it separated the role of central government in developing a unifying national civic identity from policies and decisions to be made and implemented at local government level. Secondly, it gave a list of the factors it believed led to community fragmentation, together with a set of policy recommendations offered as a solution. This list, with recommendations, subsequently led on to the definition of community cohesion provided in the Local Government Association report. As with the preceding reports, there is little or no attempt to base analysis or findings on purposely-commissioned social scientific research into the phenomenon of ethnic segregation and the factors resulting in it.

Commission for Racial Equality report on the lessons of Bradford, Oldham and Burnley (CRE) (2002)

In 2002, the Commission for Racial Equality published *A Place for Us All, Learning from Bradford, Oldham and Burnley*, a report examining the factors leading to the disturbances in the north of England. Accepting the findings of Sir Herman Ouseley's report, that ethnic groups live a segregated existence in housing, education, work and everyday social intercourse, and that communities are fragmented along racial, cultural and faith lines, the Commission proposed various practical policies that might be adopted to remedy the situation.

The report deals in turn with residential separation ('a sense of place'), the quality of housing ('a place to live'), ethnic segregation in education ('a place to learn'), community safety, including racist incidents ('a safe place'), employment prospects ('a place of opportunity'), and regeneration strategies ('a place of neighbourhood renewal'), each chapter making reference to conditions in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley.

An important distinction is made between 'segregation' and 'congregation'. The Race Relation Act applies only to enforced segregation and not to what is termed 'congregation', where people from a particular group choose to live or work together. While acknowledging the right to congregate, the CRE points out that for many people from the ethnic minorities, choice is constrained by social and economic factors, as well as by the fear of exposure to discrimination and harassment.

The CRE offers the following definition of a cohesive society. It is one where there is/are:

- shared values that can be upheld despite other differences between groups; a sense of belonging, and an acceptance that this means different things for different groups.
- an intolerance of racial discrimination and harassment.
- people share pride in the place where they live.
- respect for people's lifestyles, as long as these do not infringe on others' rights.
- genuine opportunities for everyone in education, employment, health, and civic and democratic activity.
- national and local leaders who tackle inequality and respect differences in background and outlook.

This list is similar to the one provided in the Local Government Association guidance (see below), but places greater emphasis on racial justice, diversity, the intolerance of racial discrimination and harassment, and respect for others' lifestyles.

The report draws on data from the 1991 Census to show the extent of ethnic concentration and residential separation in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. In all three towns, the main ethnic minority population is of Pakistani origin and concentrated in very few wards. More than 70 per cent of families of Pakistani origin in the north of England originate from Mirpur in Kashmir.

As examples of what might be done to bring about greater contact, various schemes developed for Northern Ireland and ethnically-diverse urban neighbourhoods in the USA are described. 'Social seams' needed to be created by locating inclusive attractive facilities, such as good schools, shopping centres, clubs and social centres, in places where people from different communities in adjacent neighbourhoods could access them. Youth and community facilities, designated for people from all backgrounds could be sited on the borders of segregated areas.

In the United Kingdom, the role of race equality councils and Local Strategic Partnerships is mentioned with the recommendation that the government, with the CRE, should consider funding a network of local community organisations to bring together people from different ethnic groups and faith communities.

Comment

The Commission for Racial Equality's report has a number of strengths. It is historically and economically grounded, basing its insights and recommendations on the situation in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. It cites interesting examples of good practice in severely ethnically-segregated residential areas in the United States and Northern Ireland. Nevertheless, it does not have, and is unable to draw on independent empirical research to support its analysis. For example, the distinction made between segregation and congregation, the degree, for instance, to which people congregate to avoid the experience of discrimination, cannot be properly explored. And without any means of comparing or measuring the nature or degree of segregation, it is impossible to judge whether the good practice cited from elsewhere in the world provides any appropriate lessons for the situation in the north of England.

Local Government Association Guidance on Community Cohesion (LGA) (2002)

Published by the Local Government Association in May 2002, the guidance was jointly produced by the LGA, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Home Office, Commission for Racial Equality, and the Inter-Faith Network for the United Kingdom, and supported by the Association of Police Authorities, Department for Education and Skills, Employers' Organisation for Local Government, and the National Youth Agency. It is designed to assist local authorities and Local Strategic Partnerships to strengthen and build community cohesion.

While providing a definition of 'community cohesion', the approach is unapologetically atheoretical, setting out to offer 'practical steps' for authorities and their partners to take to build the promotion of community cohesion into their policies and delivery of services. With the publication of the Cantle and other reports, it is assumed that the challenge is to translate an understanding of the issues raised into practical action to improve the situation on the ground by tackling the causes leading to conflict and guarding against the circumstances that might lead to 'the fracturing of communities'.

The guidance claims that community cohesion includes, but goes beyond, concepts of race equality and social inclusion. A cohesive community is one where:

- there is a common vision and sense of belonging for all communities.
- the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and positively valued.
- those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities.
- strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, schools, and within neighbourhoods.

While promoting good race relations is part of bringing about community cohesion, the guidance makes clear its remit is far broader and extends to other groups distinguished by wealth, age, belief, gender, and disability.

The guidance stresses the importance of developing a shared vision of the kind of place people want their locality to be, because, if they share such a vision, they are more likely to interact, understand, and value differences positively. The theme should be 'unity in diversity': that integration and cultural pluralism are compatible. The vision should then be turned into action by, for example, the development of a conflict resolution strategy, a programme of 'myth busting', a series of events to foster cross-cultural contact, and the development of festivals and celebrations involving all communities.

The guidance suggests that all local agencies (not just local authorities) should acquire a detailed understanding of the nature of their local communities and the degree of cohesiveness. Each local authority is expected to assess how it is performing in relation to the various themes of community cohesion, asking questions such as: are

we clear about the regeneration needs and aspirations of all sections of our community? The 2001 census data is considered crucial to this baseline assessment.

Comment

The exclusive focus on the practical action that might be taken by local authorities has a number of important consequences. Firstly, the existence of community fragmentation and the need to foster cohesion are taken for granted and as unproblematic, requiring no further evidence to justify intervention, although local agencies are still expected to acquire a detailed understanding of their local communities and the degree of cohesiveness by the use of census data by establishing local aspirations.

The expectation that such understanding should be acquired and that progress in promoting cohesion should be assessed is very much part of REWM's current argument that community cohesion interventions must be motivated on the basis of local ethnically-differentiated evidence of separation and integration. But the LGA recommendations for action are made prior to, and irrespective of, the acquisition of research findings of this kind.

Secondly, the proposals are not derived from any appreciation of the need for a theory of, or research into, the social, structural, or institutional forces underpinning ethnic separation and polarisation. Indeed, it is made clear that the social divisions that should be of concern to authorities are far broader than those of ethnicity and race.

As a result, the guidance consists not of a strategy for clinical, tightly-coordinated, controlled, particular and effective interventions, but of a piecemeal presentation of worthy recommendations to be delivered simultaneously by a number of different agencies, albeit urged to work in partnership. There is also an emphasis on marshalling and coordinating those various activities and initiatives already in train which appear to have a bearing on issues of diversity, race and community, in the hope that more of the same will do the trick. But in the absence of clarity as to the obstacles in the way of any particular ethnic group's integration and also of the means of measuring the success of existing initiatives, effectiveness will be difficult to assess.

Thirdly, by focusing on the practical action that might be taken by local authorities and Local Strategic Partnerships, 'community cohesion' is redefined in terms only of those actions that lie within the power or remit of local government. The possible limitations on local authorities' ability to tackle the more intractable structural problems of community fragmentation, such as the depressed Burnley housing market, go unacknowledged.

One of the most useful messages of the LGA's guidance, however, is of the dangers of working in 'silos' and of the central importance of coordinating and improving policy implementation and service delivery through working in partnership. Partnership will be to little effect, however, if action is not specifically focused on the task of integrating ethnic communities disadvantaged and at risk through living apart.

Prospectus for Local Authorities and Partners: Community Cohesion Pathfinder Programme (2002)

The prospectus was issued jointly by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit and the Home Office in November 2002 to local authorities to enable them to identify whether they wanted to apply for funding under the Community Cohesion Pathfinder Programme (CCPP). The CCPP was intended to build on and showcase good practice in promoting community cohesion in fifteen local areas, which had to be committed to mainstreaming community cohesion in everything they did. Only those areas that could demonstrate 'capacity, challenge and commitment', and were already beginning to tackle community cohesion, were invited to apply. Successful areas were expected to prioritise the integration of community cohesion and to disseminate their findings to other authorities.

The programme's aims were to identify and disseminate models for integrating community cohesion into service delivery, to support the voluntary and community sector in promoting community cohesion, and to build the capacity of communities themselves to challenge the inadequacy of services and provide a 'bottom up' approach to cohesion.

Comment

The means of selecting the Pathfinder Programme areas was probably never meant to distinguish between localities in terms of their real or perceived need for initiatives to encourage integration between communities fragmented along ethnic lines. Even had it been, there would have been no objective way of measuring the degree of fragmentation in, say, Birmingham, or Telford and Wrekin, as compared with the successful Pathfinder areas of Sandwell and Stoke-on-Trent. In any case, the funding over the twenty-one months from February 2003 to October 2004, would have been unlikely to impact in any dramatic fashion on the deep-seated problems of 'parallel' ethnic communities identified in the earlier reports, bearing in mind that the Pathfinder Programme appeared to have adopted the Local Government Association's broader multi-strand concept of community cohesion.

Local Government Association Action Guide on Community Cohesion (LGAG)(2004)

Published by the Local Government Association (LGA) in 2004, the Action Guide was produced by the LGA, Audit Commission, Commission for Racial Equality, Home Office, Improvement and Development Agency, Interfaith Network, and the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. Repeating the definition of community cohesion used the LGA guidance of 2002 and reflecting the same themes, the Action Guide provides descriptions of the application of community cohesion policy, pointers for successful implementation, and case studies of good practice drawn from local authorities around the country. It reaffirms that the interpretation given to community cohesion involves addressing fractures, removing barriers, and encouraging positive interaction between groups.

While the Action Guide retains the broad definition of cohesion as good relations between groups of all kinds, it also asserts that cohesion is closely linked to

integration, a context 'where people feel confident they belong and are comfortable mixing and interacting with others, particularly people from different racial backgrounds or people of a different faith' (p.7). Greater emphasis than in previous LGA Guidance is given to race and faith issues, as 'divisions along race and faith lines are often the most pressing issues for local agencies to address' (p.7). A local community cohesion strategy would include, for example, the welcoming of newcomers and helping both them and the local community to adjust, combating different forms of discrimination, promoting cross cultural or inter-faith contact, and consulting with young people, asylum seekers and refugees, and gypsies and travellers. Connections might be made through race equality councils, black and minority ethnic networks, and local inter-faith bodies.

A whole section of the Action Guide is devoted to measuring community cohesion, a theme explored at greater length in Chapter Three. The Action Guide also recognises the important role that Local Strategic Partnerships can play in developing and implementing community cohesion by working closely with Community Empowerment Networks and others. There are other useful sections on conflict resolution, working with black and minority ethnic communities, faith communities, and voluntary and community organisations. Many of the sections correspond to those in the earlier LGA guidance but this time they are embellished with plenty of examples of good practice, thus providing a showcase of Home Office-funded projects, ODPM Community Cohesion Pathfinder initiatives, and the six Beacon councils for community cohesion, all judged successful.

Comment

The Action Guide signals an acknowledgement of the need to focus on cohesion between racial, ethnic and religious communities and a tacit acceptance of the criticism that the previous, broader multi-dimensional policy was too diffuse to be effective. Yet still none of the measures to promote it, are conceived in relation to the separate existence and integration of specific ethnically-defined communities.

Certainly, the earlier LGA Guidance has produced a plethora of worthy projects, but it remains unclear as to how successfully they have contributed to alleviating the problems of 'parallel living' identified in the reports on incidents in the northern towns. Nevertheless, the Action Guide provides sensible advice and examples of activities that might be usefully imitated elsewhere.

Community cohesion: guidance for local authority leaders and key partners (2005)

Intended primarily for local authority chief executives, leaders, and members with a community cohesion portfolio, this document sets out the statutory and regulatory framework and means of delivery, such as the community strategy and local public service agreements needed to achieve community cohesion objectives. Responses to the consultative document, *Strength in Diversity: towards a Race Equality and Community Cohesion Strategy*, are taken into account, and the guidance is presented with case studies showing how local authorities have attempted to embed community cohesion principles in their strategic planning processes.

This document was unavailable at the time this chapter was being prepared.

Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: the Government strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion (IOSS) (2005)

IOSS has already provided much of the subject matter for Chapter One, but for the sake of completeness a brief account is provided here.

With a foreword by Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary, the Government's 2005 strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion was produced by the Home Office Race, Cohesion, Equality and Faith Directorate. The Home Secretary emphasises that the strategy is not about putting all people from ethnic minority communities in one category and those from the majority into another, but of identifying and responding to the specific needs of different communities: that is ethnic differentiation.

The strategy aims to ensure that people are not discriminated against because of their race or religion, and that they are able to contribute fully to society. The overarching objective is to reduce race inequality. This is supported by a public service agreement target to monitor and reduce race inequalities between 2005 and 2008, across the range of major public services.

The strategy falls into two related parts, one dealing with improving life chances in education, the labour market, health, housing, and the police and criminal justice system, and the other dealing with measures to build a cohesive society. Both parts are relevant to community cohesion but REWM will focus here on the latter.

A cohesive society is defined as more than a society that offers equal opportunities to individuals. It requires a number of social conditions to help people from all backgrounds 'to come together and develop a sense of inclusion and shared British identity defined by common opportunities and mutual expectations on all citizens to contribute to society' (p.11). And this does not just apply to black and minority ethnic groups. Inclusion must involve the majority community when it feels excluded or left behind by social change.

The government would promote a sense of common belonging and cohesion among all groups by ensuring:

- Young people from different communities grow up with a sense of common belonging. (Action would be taken to improve opportunities for young people from all backgrounds to learn, socialise and volunteer together, to develop a British identity alongside other cultural identities, and to develop citizenship education and religious education (to improve understanding of all faiths) in schools.)
- New immigrants are integrated. (Action would be taken to promote a sense of belonging among immigrants, including citizenship ceremonies, and practical help in adapting to life in the UK.)

- People have opportunities to develop a greater understanding of the range of cultures that contribute to Britain's strength. (Action would be taken to bring people together through participation in programmes of sport and the arts, including Citizenship Day, and to help faith and ethnic communities promote understanding and dialogue.)
- People from all backgrounds have opportunities to participate in civic society. (Action would include help for people from disadvantaged backgrounds to be active in their communities.)
- Racism is unacceptable. (Action would focus on reducing racially-motivated incidents, dealing effectively with hate crimes, addressing racist attitudes amongst offenders, providing support for victims of hate crime, and helping schools deal with racist bullying, etc.)
- Extremists who promote hatred are marginalised. (Action would be taken to enforce recently-introduced legislation on incitement to religious hatred, to strengthen the skills of those in local government to tackle racism and extremism, and to support faith communities by offering training for religious leaders.)
- Community leaders are trained to resolve tensions; housing and regeneration programmes support cohesion; good practice on helping people from different communities to come together is disseminated.

Comment

The 2005 strategy sharpens the focus on inter-ethnic and inter-faith cohesion, the latter receiving far greater emphasis than hitherto, with the promise of a new £3 million programme to help faith-based groups promote understanding and dialogue.

There is a clear recognition that different black and minority ethnic groups vary greatly in their life chances and that help needs to be targeted at those in greatest need. The strategy, however, is separated into two sections, one on improving life chances and the other on building community cohesion. While the former stresses the importance of identifying the needs of different ethnic groups and dealing with them respectively, the latter shows little recognition of the need to carry the same principle forward when addressing issues of integration and community cohesion. Information on differences of need in regard to issues of integration is, in REWM's opinion, essential to the pursuit of any effective community cohesion strategy and an omission that needs to be remedied in subsequent action.

There is a suggestion that the effective of the strategy can be measured against indicators that show a narrowing of the differences in social inequality between ethnic groups. While a reduction in ethnic inequality is important, it is unlikely, in REWM's view, to constitute by itself a sufficient measure of local ethnic integration or community cohesion. As IOSS admits, a cohesive society is more than one that offers equal opportunities to individuals: it requires social conditions that allow people from different ethnic and religious groups to mix.

This, of course, is true, but the IOSS strategy is particularly hazy on cause and effect. Will integration occur as a consequence of the adoption of common values or will common values be adopted as a consequence of the social and physical conditions which encourage people from different ethnic and religious groups to integrate? IOSS community cohesion strategy plays down major structural intervention and tends instead to highlight action aimed at bringing about educational and attitudinal change, as reflected in expressions such as 'promoting a sense of belonging', 'developing a British identity', 'celebrating heritage and background', 'promoting understanding of different cultures'. This may not be sufficient to prevent the emergence in some localities of an American-style pattern of residential segregation along racial and ethnic lines, as originally noted in the reports on community relations in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. But without better measurement of the degree and rate of inter-ethnic integration in particular localities, success will be difficult to identify.

Chapter Three

Measuring community cohesion and social integration

The unchallengeable wisdom in government and civil service circles, reiterated by the Audit Commission, is of the importance of being able to measure the changes brought about by official action and intervention. To the question, why measure? , Osbourne and Gaebler in *Reinventing Government*, 1992, supply the following answers:

- What gets measured gets done.
- If you don't measure results, you can't tell success from failure.
- If you can't see success, you can't reward it.
- If you can't reward success, you're probably rewarding failure.
- If you can't see success, you can't learn from it.
- If you can't recognise failure, you can't correct it.
- If you can demonstrate results, you can win public support.

The result of insisting that all manner of government initiatives be measured is a whole library of performance indicators to assess and review local government functions, such as community strategies, local public service agreements, Neighbourhood renewal, and Best Value Performance Plans and Reviews.

Within this context, then, it was obvious from the beginning that attempts would be made to pin down precisely what community cohesion policy was meant to achieve and to measure its outcomes. The obvious starting point was to make extensive use of existing performance indicators and targets, such as the local government Best Value Performance Indicators, health and crime indicators, quality of life indicators, and floor targets.

The probable consequence of this approach, coupled with other initiatives relating to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, and the equality standard for Local Government, was to skew attempts to capture community cohesion in the direction of public service improvement initiatives aimed at narrowing the gap in service delivery and outcomes between different ethnic groups, and away from the more problematic field of ethnic integration.

While the reasons given for measuring the success of political or managerial intervention may be convincing, the development and implementation of appropriate and effective measures in the field of social policy do not come without their difficulties.

Firstly, it is often hard to arrive at a precise clarification, specification or definition of a policy and what it is meant to achieve. This is particularly true in the case of community cohesion policy, which, as Chapter Two reveals, has gone through at least three phases of development since it was first devised in 2001.

The community fragmentation first noticed was of ethnic, cultural or religious division, with solutions couched in terms of increased inter-ethnic mixing or integration. Later, this became generalised, with a broader definition of community groups (not only ethnic communities) and the need to ensure that all of them mixed

well together and received an equality of treatment. More recently, there has been a return to the focus on ethnic and religious division, and the targeting of intervention and accompanying resources at those who are believed to need them most, to achieve an equality of treatment in service provision and outcome.

A fundamental ambiguity lies at the heart of the concept of community cohesion: is it about remedying the divisions in society brought about by social disadvantage and discrimination, measured through indicators developed primarily to assess improvements in the performance of the public services? Or is it about remedying the perceived fragmentation and disintegration along ethnic lines arising from the concentration in urban areas of ethnic minority communities living distinctive lives separate from the white population and/or other communities? The second possibility would require more specific indicators of the process, rates and manifestations of integration.

Secondly, even were community cohesion policy clearly defined and agreed, the business of intervention requires an evidence-based understanding of the processes at work, such as whether the fragmentation described in the earlier reports is in reality occurring and getting worse, what its causes are, and what, therefore, might be done to remove those causes and to intervene effectively to turn the situation around. By focusing entirely on the measurement of outcomes and failing to understand the importance of social scientific research (whether ‘academic’ or not) into cause, effect and process, the actual policy interventions selected remain ungrounded and unproven, with no guarantee of success. Worse, they consist of little more than a pious, common sense wish list, with the success of measured outcomes dependent more on luck and positive presentation, than on any real understanding of the complex factors at work.

Thirdly, there is the issue of whether the indicators do indicate or measure what they were originally devised to measure. Even when the measures devised for building a picture of community cohesion (described below) have been used, and the quantified results judged as satisfactory, can they give any assurance that there will be no further disruption of civic life in future along ethnic or other lines?

With these issues in mind, this chapter examines some of the attempts so far to devise measures of community cohesion and integration, from the position that existing community cohesion policy does not as yet adequately address the issues of inter-ethnic relationships, or recognise the difference between ethnic groups in their competence, aspiration and opportunity to integrate.

The concept of community cohesion differs from that of integration, and may have avoided the political controversy attached to the latter. But, in the final analysis, the reports on the northern towns, that resulted in the government community cohesion strategy, had at their heart a concern for inter-ethnic relations and mixing, which is most simply described in common-sense terms as ‘integration’. But the issue of ethnic integration has not been the primary focus to date of efforts to measure the success of community cohesion strategy.

Measurement, however, remains high on the agenda. The Local Government Association Community Cohesion Action Guide (2004) devotes a whole section to

measuring community cohesion (pp.12-15). It recognises that measuring community cohesion is not easy, but regards a detailed understanding of local communities as essential to service delivery and monitoring progress towards greater cohesion.

Local authorities are urged to follow three stages to develop a better understanding of community cohesion in their area. Stage 1 is to gain a clear understanding of the nature of different communities and how they relate to one another, by mapping an area's social, economic and demographic characteristics, such as ethnicity, age, culture, educational attainment, and faith. Stage 2 involves establishing a community cohesion baseline by considering programmes targeted at improving community cohesion. Outcomes with supporting data will need to be decided to demonstrate the overall success of the initiative. Stage 3 is regularly to measure progress against the baseline and to adjust the policies and programmes in the light of findings.

The LGA Guide goes on to list various useful sources of information for those planning to measure community cohesion in their areas. These are:

- The Home Office booklet, *Building a Picture of Community Cohesion*. (described in greater detail below.)
- The Audit Commission Library of Local Performance Indicators.
- Local neighbourhood statistics and Census data for 2001.
- Quality of life indicators. (e.g, indicator 25: 'percentage of people surveyed who feel that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds and communities can get on well together'.)
- Commission for Racial Equality guidance.
- Home Office Citizenship Survey. (The 2005 survey will contain national benchmark data based on questions covering rights and responsibilities and institutional trust, racial prejudice and discrimination, neighbourliness, active community participation, and family networks and parenting.)

Few of these are sources specifically developed with the measurement of community cohesion in mind, and those that may be relevant either need extensive interpretation (for example, the local neighbourhood statistics revealing residential concentrations of particular ethnic groups), or relate mainly to inequality in ethnic groups' opportunities and living standards.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to examining first, the recommended Home Office indicators of community cohesion and secondly, other Home Office approaches to measuring the phenomenon of social integration, developed especially with the refugee population in mind. Neither set of indicators is entirely applicable to measuring the issues of inter-ethnic cohesion or integration initially identified by the reports on Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, but the three approaches outlined below point to possible new ways of developing a more specific, measurable, agreed, realistic, ethnically-targeted, and reciprocal strategy, as proposed in Chapter Four.

Building a picture of community cohesion, a guide for local authorities and their partners (2003)

The guide, *Building a picture of community cohesion*, was produced in June 2003 by the Home Office Community Cohesion Unit with contributions from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, the Local Government Association, the Commission for Racial Equality, the Audit Commission and the Improvement and Development Agency. It is based on the recognition that 'local agencies need a detailed understanding of the nature of the communities they serve in order to assess how well equipped they are to build community cohesion' (p.6).

The guide sets out a list of ten indicators for local authorities and their partners to use to measure community cohesion locally in order to provide a baseline assessment and, therefore, the means of monitoring the success of local community cohesion policies and programmes. As with all its social policy initiatives, the government is concerned that public money is spent wisely and that any action embarked upon achieves its intended outcome and provides added value. Community cohesion strategy, from the outset, was to be subject to these same expectations.

The consequence, of course, is that the measures are derived directly from the Local Government Association guide (see Chapter Two) and its definition of community cohesion, characterised by a somewhat deracialised concept of community relations. A cohesive community is one where there is a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities, diversity is appreciated and valued, those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities, and strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools, and within neighbourhoods. It may be that the 'diversity' and 'different backgrounds' referred to are meant to be of an ethnic or religious nature, but nowhere is this stated explicitly. The guide points out that while local authorities have a statutory duty to promote good race relations between people of different racial groups, tensions can also exist along lines of faith or age, or between newcomers and longer-term residents, or urban or rural-dwellers.

Each of the community cohesion indicators provided in the guide has a title, a definition, and a justification of its relevance. They are set out and explained in turn below.

Overall measure

The percentage of people who feel that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together. This is to be established by the survey question: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area (within 15/20 minutes walking distance) is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together? (definitely agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree, definitely disagree, don't know, too few people in local area, all same backgrounds)'.

The question is intended to establish an overall measure of community cohesion based on whether residents as a whole think they live in an area which has good community relations. The guide points out that the question does not specifically focus on race

and therefore could be used to capture tensions that might exist as a result of other factors, such as religion or belief. It is assumed that a community is likely to be more cohesive where the majority of residents agrees with this statement. But what if a significant minority ‘definitely disagree’?

Common vision and sense of belonging

The percentage of respondents who feel that they belong to their neighbourhood/ local area/ county/ England/ Wales/ Britain. This is to be established by the survey question: ‘How strongly do you feel you belong to each of the following? Your neighbourhood/ this local area (within 15/20 minutes walking distance) / Local authority area/ County/ England or Wales/ Britain (very strongly, not at all strongly, don’t know)’. The question is intended to establish whether residents feel an attachment to their local area as well as to larger geographical areas. It is assumed that a community is likely to be more cohesive at the local level where people feel a very, or fairly strong, sense of belonging to their neighbourhood and local area. But how does this question deal with self-contained communities living ‘parallel lives’, and situations where a sense of belonging derives from the safety and security of living among ‘one’s own’?

The key priorities for improving an area. This is to be established by the survey question: ‘Thinking about this local area, which of the things below, if any, do you think most need improving? (access to nature, activities for teenagers, affordable decent housing, clean streets, community activities, cultural facilities, education provision, facilities for young people, health services, job prospects, low level of crime, low level of pollution, low level of traffic congestion, parks and open spaces, public transport, race relations, road and pavement repairs, shopping facilities, sports and leisure facilities, wage levels and local cost of living, other (please write in), (none of these, don’t know) ?’ The question is intended to establish whether local residents share a common vision for their local area from the attitudes they show to these aspects of their life. It is assumed that a community is likely to be more cohesive where there are no major differences in people’s visions of their local area. But surely people of different ethnic communities could quite legitimately put a different emphasis on the factors listed or understand them in different ways, eg., activities for teenagers, affordable housing, cultural facilities, educational provision, job prospects, race relations. It would be quite surprising if they did not.

The percentage of adults surveyed who feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area. This is to be established by the survey question : ‘Do you agree or disagree that you can influence decisions affecting your local area? (definitely agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree, definitely disagree, don’t know)’. The question is intended to establish how involved people feel in making decisions locally. Empowering people by allowing them to influence decisions is seen as an important part of building and sustaining cohesive communities. It is assumed that a community is likely to be more cohesive when people feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area. Of course, a further unexplored issue relates to the knowledge, competences and skills needed to participate in decision making.

The diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued

The percentage of people who feel that local ethnic differences are respected. This is to be established by the survey question: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area (within 15/20 minutes walking distance) is a place where residents respect ethnic differences between people? (definitely agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree, definitely disagree, don't know)' .The question is intended to establish whether ethnic diversity is positively valued in the area. ('Respect', apparently, tends to be appreciated as a lack of tension and community disturbance in an area.) It is assumed that a community is more likely to be cohesive where a majority of residents agree with this statement, especially where people from different ethnic minority backgrounds live.

The number of racial incidents recorded by police authorities per 100,000. This information is available on an annual basis from the Home Office. The measure of racial incidents is felt to provide key data on the lack of tolerance and acceptance of different ethnic groups, although higher numbers may reflect greater confidence among victims that, by reporting incidents, remedial action will be taken. The data would also need to be related to the proportion and mix of ethnic groups in a given area.

Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities

This information is collected by the Index of Multiple Deprivation available from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister website.

Local concentration of deprivation. This is measured as the population-weighted average of the ranks of a district's most deprived wards that contain exactly 10 per cent of a district's population. It is believed that pockets of severe deprivation may lead to social tension and conflict, and that it is essential to identify and target them. There is an assumption that a community is more likely to be cohesive where there are low levels of deprivation and fewer socio-economic differences between people.

The percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grades A -C or equivalent in a local authority's secondary schools.* This information can be obtained from the Pupil Level Attainment Schools Census (PLASC) at the Department for Education and Skills. Improving the educational performance of underachievers can improve their chances of employment and quality of life. It is assumed that a community is more likely to be cohesive where children from different backgrounds have an equal chance of attaining good GCSE grades.

The percentage of unemployed people claiming benefit who have been out of work for more than a year. This information can be obtained from the National Online Manpower Information System (NOMIS) claimant count. Reducing unemployment is regarded as the key to improving individuals' life opportunities. It is assumed that a community is more likely to be cohesive where long-term unemployment is low and not concentrated among certain groups.

Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, schools and neighbourhood.

The percentage of people from different backgrounds who mix with other people from different backgrounds in everyday situations. This is to be established by the survey question: 'In which of the following situations if any would you say you regularly meet and talk with people of a different ethnic origin to you? (at local shops, at work, at a place of study, eg school, college, university, at a place of worship, at a relative's home, at restaurants, pubs, cinemas, community centres, etc, in the neighbourhood, on the buses or youth clubs, at other places (write in), none of these, don't know)'. The question is intended to establish the extent of interaction between people of different ethnic minority and social backgrounds, to enable local authorities to create more opportunities for interaction between different ethnic and social groups. It is assumed that a community is likely to be more cohesive where people of different ethnic origin and social class regularly meet to talk.

Comment

The indicators devised are meant to describe the broader non-ethnically explicit definition of community cohesion adopted by the 2002 LGA guidance. They are deliberately intended to encompass community and group relationships other than, and in addition to those of ethnicity and religion. Unsurprisingly then, they deal only tangentially with ethnic 'parallel living', 'fragmentation', or 'disintegration' and the converse 'integration'.

If the measure of the percentage of people who feel that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together is to throw any light on the state of local race or ethnic relations, it must rely on the unstated assumption that local people will understand 'different backgrounds' as a euphemism for 'different ethnic backgrounds'. Nevertheless, unless responses are ethnically differentiated, any ethnic variation is likely to be subsumed in the overall percentage, with negative opinion from a small minority ethnic community living in the area going undetected. In relation to the common vision and sense of belonging, it could well be that ethnic people feel secure in their own close-knit communities. Again, this scarcely deals with the issue of separate ethnic zoning and the relationship between communities.

It is also difficult to know whether the key priorities for improving an area will vary according to the ethnicity of the respondent. Potentially, if respondents are differentiated according to ethnicity or religion, this might throw up some interesting data, although, as pointed out previously, the factors may be understood in different ways. Similarly, ethnically specific data on differences in attitudes towards influencing decisions may be extremely significant for policy to promote ethnic integration. It would be important, too, to examine the differences between ethnic groups as to whether they felt ethnic differences were respected locally. Potentially, providing responses are ethnically differentiated, these first five indicators may indeed throw light on the differences between ethnic groups and the degree to which they share vision and values, identify with the area, want to improve it, and think they can contribute, but they are still a long way off describing those aspects of cohesion relating to social mixing and integration.

The final indicator attempts to establish this by asking about the situations in which people meet and talk with people of a different ethnic group to themselves. Interestingly however, it does not ask people to specify either their own ethnic group or that of the different ethnic group from themselves with which they talk and mix. Contact may be with someone from a different ethnic group but their particular ethnicity is not established, making it difficult to discover which ethnic groups mix or are more amenable to mixing.

The other indicators relate more to social inequality which, while important to matters of social, and indeed, ethnic cohesion, do not measure it directly, and relate more closely to the service improvement agenda. The indicators selected fall into two categories: those that are established by asking the views of respondents the subjective approach to cohesion, and those that are derived from official data, such as GCSE results and the index of deprivation: the objective approach. Both are required to provide a comprehensive picture. None of the indicators provided here, however, is likely to shed much light on the causes of ethnic fragmentation, whether it is increasing or decreasing, and what might done to encourage integration. The remaining part of the chapter, therefore, is devoted to examining Home Office documents addressing ways of measuring the process of integration.

Indicators of integration: final report (2004)

Published as a Development and Practice Report by the Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, *Indicators of integration* was researched and written by Alistair Ager and Alison Strang of Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh. The aim of the study was to investigate different understandings of ‘integration’ as a concept, to establish a framework for a common understanding of ‘integration’ that could be used by those working in the field of refugee integration in the United Kingdom and, on the basis of this, to design a set of indicators to be used by policy makers and project managers to assist in planning and evaluating services for refugees. The kind of integration under consideration, and the resulting ‘precised’ definition, is intended to be applied in the specialist field of working with refugees - not to settled black and minority ethnic communities, or more recent economic migrants. Nevertheless, many of the ideas developed for this report share matters in common with, and can usefully be applied to community cohesion policy.

The authors develop and present a practical or operational definition of the integration of an individual or group who become integrated within a society when they:

- achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health, etc., which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities;
- are socially connected with members of a (national, ethnic, cultural, religious or other) community with which they identify, with members of other communities, and with relevant services and functions of the state, and
- have sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and a sufficient sense of security and stability, to engage confidently in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship’.

The report goes on to develop an ‘indicators of integration framework’ under four headings or sections: means and markers, social connections, facilitators, and foundation, all considered crucial to the integration of refugees. Each of the main sections is further subdivided. Details of this framework are provided below.

Means and markers

Under ‘means and markers’ are listed employment, housing, education and health. These are major areas of attainment integral to refugee integration. Attainment in these areas should not be seen merely as an outcome of integration: it serves as a means of integration, too. The areas are ‘means’ because success in employment, housing, education and health is likely to assist the wider integration process. They are ‘markers’ because success in these areas is an indication of positive integratory outcomes.

Employment

Employment provides a way of generating income and economic success and is considered by policy analysts and refugees as a key factor supporting integration. Jobs are valuable in giving social purpose, developing language and broader cultural competence, and providing opportunities for social connections. Ager and Strang suggest various measures at practice and policy levels for employment, for example, mean length of time before securing employment after being granted refugee status, and employment/unemployment rates of refugees compared with rates among the general population.

Housing

Housing has an important bearing on much of refugees’ experience of integration. Housing conditions affect a community’s sense of security and stability, opportunities for social connection and access to health care, education and employment. Examples of measures of integration in housing at practice level are the proportion of refugees living in owner-occupier and secure tenancy conditions compared with the general population, reported satisfaction with housing conditions, the number of homeless refugees and, at policy level, the proportion of refugees resident in housing areas targeted for renewal and support.

Education

Access to education and progress within the education system is another significant marker of integration, as well as a major means of becoming socially integrated. Education creates better opportunities for securing employment, gaining social connections, and language acquisition. Examples of measures of integration through education are the percentage of children from refugee families achieving key stages five or more GCSEs, or the number of refugees completing vocational qualifications.

Health

For health, the key issues are equality of access to health services and the responsiveness of these services to the specific needs of refugee populations. Good health enables greater social participation and engagement in employment and education. Examples of measures of health integration are the proportion of refugees registered with a General Practitioner compared with the general population, and the utilisation rates of specialised services (e.g antenatal care) by refugees.

Social connections

The section, social connections, is concerned with the different social relationships that help towards integration. Those connections may be with people who share the refugees' experiences and values through ethnicity, religion or country of origin, referred to here as social bonds. There are connections too, with other communities. These are 'social bridges' between communities. There are connections that help refugees to access services and to be involved as citizens. These relationships to services and government are referred to as 'social links'. Bonds, bridges and links all serve to connect the individual or the group to the wider community.

Social bonds

Where social bonds are concerned, Ager and Strang point out that refugees themselves (and most approaches to integration) understand that a sense of belonging to a particular group or community is crucial. Without this initial sense of identification with a particular ethnic, religious, or geographical community, integration risks being reduced to one-way assimilation. This subsection is about assessing the bonds that support the sense of belonging. Examples of indicators are numbers actively engaged in refugee community organisations, the frequency of community arts events, cultural festivals, etc., the number in contact with relatives (in person or by phone), and the number regularly attending a place of worship or involved in a religious group.

Social bridges

In regard to social bridges, establishing social connections with people from other national, ethnic or religious groupings, or 'intermixing', is considered by many to constitute the essence of the two-way interaction involved in integration. Creating links with other communities aids social cohesion and increases opportunity for cultural understanding and economic exchange. Examples of indicators of social bridge building are participation rates of refugees in youth clubs, childcare facilities, sports teams, or the proportion of refugees who report actively mixing with young people from different ethnic backgrounds in everyday situations.

Social links

The expression 'social links' refers to refugees' engagement with local government and non-governmental agencies and the degree to which they become involved in civic affairs or local politics. It might be measured for example, in terms of the number of refugees assuming office or performing representational functions with

local community organisations or committees, or the number of refugees active within school PTAs.

Facilitators

Under the heading ‘facilitators’ are included the key skills, knowledge and circumstances that help people to be active, engaged and secure within communities. The two facilitators highlighted by Ager and Strang are language and cultural knowledge and safety and stability.

Language and cultural knowledge

Language and cultural knowledge help social connections both with other communities and with the state and voluntary agencies. Cultural knowledge includes very practical information for daily living about such matters as transport, services, benefits, etc., as well as local customs and expectations. To ensure two-way integration, this facilitator should encompass other communities’ knowledge of the backgrounds and culture of refugees. Examples of indicators given are the number of refugees enrolled in English language classes, knowledge of local services and facilities amongst refugees, the proportion of refugees for whom professional interpreting services to support consultation with public sector facilities is available when required, and the knowledge of customs, culture and history of refugee communities within the non-refugee local population.

Safety and stability

In regard to safety and stability, Ager and Strang identify community safety as a common concern of refugees and the broader communities in which they live. Racial harassment and crime erodes confidence, constrains social engagement, and causes individuals to draw back into the confines of the trusted and familiar.

Foundation

‘Foundation’ refers to the principles that define what individuals have a right to expect from the state and members of other communities, as well as their reciprocal duties. These principles include the rights that are given to individuals and the expectations and obligations of citizenship (p.13).

Rights and citizenship

The category of rights and citizenship is used to assess the extent to which refugees are provided with the basis for full and equal engagement within UK society, possibly leading to a formal application for citizenship. The focus here is on access to rights for those granted full refugee status or leave to remain. Examples are the mean length of asylum application procedure for successful claimants, access to and utilisation of legal and welfare benefits advice by refugees compared with the general population, refugees’ views on equality in access to services and entitlements, and the rates of application for citizenship by refugees.

Integration matters: a national strategy for refugee integration (2005)

This Home Office strategy sets out the actions the Government intends to take to integrate refugees. Refugees are people who have been recognised as refugees and those who have been granted discretionary leave or humanitarian protection (but not asylum seekers, whose claims are still under consideration). In law, a refugee is someone who has ‘a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it’. The integration strategy, therefore, does not extend to asylum seekers whose applications are either still being considered or have been rejected.

As a group, refugees are distinctive from other immigrants in that by definition they have suffered or feared persecution, are likely to have lost everything in their home countries, and are less likely to have jobs and support services arranged for them by employers or relatives. As a consequence, ‘integration’ in relation to refugees has come to have a special meaning. In respect to the government refugee strategy, integration is defined as taking place ‘when refugees are empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society, contribute to the community, and access the services to which they are entitled’ (p.14). This definition is unlikely to be sufficient when considering economic migrants or settled ethnic minority communities.

The aim of the strategy, then, is to enable refugees to begin the process of integration swiftly and to support them in doing so. Meeting their most pressing needs: finding and settling into safe and appropriate housing, accessing employment or social security support, addressing any health concerns, and getting children settled in schools, is crucial to the integration process.

The government is keen to measure whether its refugee integration strategy is a success. It recognises that the work of Ager and Strang (see previously) offers a comprehensive framework for understanding refugee integration, but opts instead for a smaller set of high level indicators to assess its strategy at local and regional levels. It warns, however, that in conducting such an assessment with an indicators approach, there is a need for realism about what feasibly can be achieved. Given the difficulties faced by refugees and the relative poverty in which they find themselves, it believes that ‘it is unrealistic to aim for them to achieve outcomes against these indicators that match those of the broader UK population’ (p.81). It will concentrate instead only on demonstrating improvements in outcomes for refugees, and removing local barriers to their integration.

The indicators selected are listed under three headings: achieving full potential, contributing to the community, and accessing services. The similarities here to Ager and Strang’s more sophisticated classification and indicators are apparent:

Achieving full potential

- The employment rates of refugees.
- Levels of English language attainment over time.

Contributory to the community

- The number of refugees involved in voluntary work.
- The numbers of refugees and their children in touch with community organisations (including local groups and wider community life).
- The proportion of refugees taking up British citizenship once they are qualified to do so.
- The proportion of refugees reporting racial, cultural, or religious harassment.

Accessing services

- The rates of access to housing services by refugees.
- The proportion of refugee parents indicating their satisfaction with the education received by their children.

Comment

Both Ager and Strang's report and the national strategy are concerned only with integration and indicators of integration from the point of view of the position of refugees, who are distinguished by their newcomer status, experience of loss and persecution, and their lack of jobs and support services. Unsurprisingly, 'integration' comes to be defined in terms of remedying some of these distinguishing features. The kinds of integration under discussion then are of the most basic kind without considerable thought and modification, the concept cannot be extended to other established ethnic communities. In addition, neither of these approaches attempts to differentiate between refugees or refugee communities on the basis of ethnicity. They deal simply and straightforwardly with integration as a means of meeting the needs of people of refugee status.

The merit of Ager and Strang's indicators of integration rests in its multi-factoral and layered analysis of the processes involved, and the distinction made between means and markers (employment, housing, education and health), social connections (bridges, bonds and links), facilitators (language and cultural knowledge and safety and stability), and 'foundation' (rights and citizenship). Of these, the issues raised in relation to social connections, (dealing with inter-group contacts and support for integration from within and outside of the group), and facilitators (issues of communication skills and knowledge of culture) might most easily be transferred to a more general analysis of integration of established ethnic groups. Employment, housing, education, and health are also identified not only as areas in which it is necessarily to achieve an equality of outcome (e.g employment rates), but as the means of assisting the wider integration process.

Ager and Strang also dwell on the two-way, or reciprocal nature of integration, recognising the importance of the receiving communities coming to possess a knowledge of the refugees living among them. This feature, however, is not drawn out to the same extent in the national strategy.

Any improved way of measuring community cohesion and integration should make use of their insight by ensuring all ethnic communities, including the white majority, are assessed for their integrative competences, aspirations and opportunities. The process of integration is distinguished from assimilation by its reciprocity.

Chapter Four

Towards an ethnically-differentiated community cohesion policy

The preceding chapters show how community cohesion policy has not so far managed specifically or wholeheartedly to address the perceived ethnic community fragmentation originally identified by the reports on Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. Five prevailing tendencies have inadvertently diverted the policy away from dedicated measures to promote inter-ethnic cohesion and integration. These tendencies are:

- to deal with a wide range of social issues, including those on lines of age, gender and disability, in addition to those of race, ethnicity and religion.
- to rely heavily for solution on the service improvement agenda, with the reduction of service inequality between groups seen as a key measure of improvements in cohesiveness (i.e. similar life opportunities).
- to focus on the sharing of a common vision and values and ways of promoting them, rather than on major institutional change in the form of a drive for more ethnically-integrated service provision or employment practices at work, residentially, in education and health care.
- to locate responsibility for fragmentation and separation with black and minority ethnic communities, rather than with economic and social processes over which they have little control and as a consequence, to direct remedial action in the main at these communities to little or no effect.
- not as yet to recognise, nor try to measure, the differences between ethnic communities, including the white majority, in their competences, aspirations and opportunities to integrate across ethnic lines, bearing in mind the two way nature of the integration process.

Chapter Four suggests how government cohesion policy might be strengthened to promote inter-ethnic cohesion and integration. To do this, further consideration has to be given to devising more effective ways of measuring inter-ethnic integration in order to target communities, institutions and situations where the greatest obstacles are experienced, and the slowest progress is being made. In other words, the government strategy has to be made 'SMARTER'.

Making the Government's strategy on community cohesion SMARTER

Why 'SMARTER'? In this context, this frequently used, readily adaptable, management acronym is shorthand for specific (S), measurable (M), agreed (A), realistic (R), targeted ethnically (TE), and reciprocal (R).

'*Specific*' refers to the need for the strategy to be clear, unambiguous, straightforward and understandable. The definition of a cohesive community adopted by the LGA guidance and the subsequent attempt to develop indicators for building a picture of cohesion undoubtedly contributed to a much sharper delineation of desired outcomes. Nevertheless, ambiguity remained as to the precise meanings to be given to terms such as 'all communities', 'different backgrounds', 'diversity', 'similar life opportunities', 'positive values' and 'positive relationships' and also probably to 'common vision' and 'sense of belonging'. In particular, there is a question as to whether to prioritise action in relation to racial, ethnic, ethnic-cultural, or religious divisions, or to spread the net more widely to include the differences of wealth, age, belief, gender, and disability. In addition, should the focus be on reducing ethnic inequalities in service access and outcomes, or promoting far greater levels of inter-ethnic mixing? The definition permits both interpretations. The REWM argument is that in the context from which it was originally derived, community cohesion should be redefined mainly in terms of bringing about a greater degree of ethnic integration. If a consensus were to be reached on this proposition, then, of course, the term 'ethnic integration' would need to be far more clearly specified.

As it is, the existing definition of a cohesive community is meant to be applied and interpreted within a variety of neighbourhood contexts, with each locality coming to a decision as to what tasks should be undertaken to promote cohesion in its area. This recommended customisation to local circumstances is unlikely to improve the specificity of the strategy.

Measurable

'Measurable' means that the strategy should be measurable in terms of the changes brought about by, and the resources dedicated to, the cohesion project from the time before its inception to its completion. The quantity and quality of change and the time and money spent on the exercise have to be assessed, because, as previously explained, what gets measured gets done and, if results are not measured, success cannot be distinguished from failure.

The importance of measuring the outcomes of community cohesion strategy is acknowledged in the Home Office booklet *Building a Picture of Community Cohesion*, but as already explained the indicators provided describe the broader non-ethnically explicit definition of community cohesion adopted by the 2002 LGA guide. The REWM argument here is that greater attention needs to be paid to measuring the element of cohesion involving ethnic integration, for which currently there are few satisfactory or agreed indicators or measures available. These may be derived and developed with the help of studies of how best to measure the integration of refugees.

Agreed

'Agreed' emphasises the importance of coming to a shared understanding of what community cohesion and integration strategies are meant to achieve. This is particularly true of 'integration', which is easily reduced to the more politically contentious 'assimilation', if the 'two-way' nature of the social process involved is neglected, as can easily be the case when there is an unequal power relationship between policy makers and those to whom the policy is applied, as in the case of policy towards refugees.

In the current popular literature urging the integration of ethnic groups into 'the mainstream', the terms for persuading the majority adult white population of the desirability of their adjusting to other ethnic groups are rarely considered, with any requirement to exercise reasonable courtesy and respect damned as political correctness. Nevertheless, it is clearly essential, if progress on integration is to be made, to persuade all parties that it must be on equal terms and to the benefit of all communities, not just black and minority ethnic groups.

Realistic

'Realistic' stresses the importance of ensuring that the action urged on community groups, local authorities, organisations and institutions as a result of cohesion strategy is within their power and capability to take. This requirement is particularly applicable to certain ethnic communities which, within the context of the development of community cohesion policy, have been blamed for not wanting to integrate, when the alternative hypothesis is that they are denied the choice and opportunity made available to others to integrate. There is, however, little evidence to support the view that certain ethnic minority groups are refusing the opportunities afforded to them to integrate and are retreating into 'comfort zones' to avoid contact with a society they perceive as alien. In order to establish the level of realistic expectation in regard to integration - which probably differs from ethnic community to community - it is essential to measure integrative competences, aspirations and opportunities in a context of the social factors that facilitate or inhibit social mixing.

Targeted ethnically

'Targeted ethnically' refers to the need identified by REWM to distinguish between ethnic communities' relationships with one another and with the general population, civil society, social institutions, and the nation state. It is likely that particular ethnic communities differ considerably in their knowledge and experience of other communities and of British society, the skills and linguistic competences they draw on when mixing socially, their aspirations for themselves and their families, the opportunities made available to them, and the obstacles placed in their path. Before any effective and targeted action plan to facilitate inter-ethnic integration can be put into place, ethnic communities should be assessed comparatively to establish a rank order of need and progress, or the lack of it. This is the essence of the REWM case, made here in RED 16, for measuring the integrative competences, aspirations and opportunities of different ethnic communities on a case-by-case basis.

Reciprocal

'Reciprocal' underscores the plea for integration always to be considered as a two-way process, involving adjustments by one party or another or, in using the bridge building analogy, for foundations to be laid on both sides of the divide.

In the context of the present debate on community cohesion, it is important to be entirely impartial until hard evidence has been gathered and analysed as to which parties are responsible for the current ethnic divisions in society and for the obstacles to further integration. Each ethnic community could then be awarded a multi-dimensional index of integrative progress, against which further progress might be measured.

For reciprocity to occur, the white ethnic majority would also have to be ranked alongside other ethnic groups. Like any other community, it is likely to have its strengths and weaknesses, and it should not be assumed from the outset that it is entirely open and accessible to others who wish to mix within its social circles or participate alongside it in making decisions. Reciprocity involves also measuring the white British population's willingness to welcome people of other ethnic groups and establish relationships with them.

All five elements of the acronym SMARTER require to be grounded on sound social scientific research into the integrative resources (or cultural and economic capital) of local ethnic communities. Baseline information is needed, not only of specific ethnic groups' actual or potential mixing with others, but of the groups with which they do manage to mix and on what terms, and of the groups that avoid or reject them.

The rest of this chapter sets out to draft and propose a research project aimed at measuring levels of inter-ethnic integration, actual and potential, on which to base a specific, measurable, agreed, realistic, ethnically targeted, and reciprocal community cohesion strategy aimed at creating an ethnically-integrated society. It is not possible within the limited scope of this publication and with the resources available to take the matter any further here, but development of an effective and widely-applicable measurement of ethnic integration would require a major consultation exercise, piloting, testing, and the development of 'norms'.

Nevertheless, REWM is strongly of the opinion that the creation of a measure of this kind is an essential tool for delivering and measuring success in the delivery of the government's community cohesion strategy.

Towards measures of the ethnic integrative aspect of community cohesion

The means of establishing existing and potential levels of ethnic integration proposed here would apply to all ethnic groups, including white English, Welsh and Scottish majority populations. It is envisaged that there would be at least three measures or approaches:

- a measure of ethnic community integration, involving a comparison of different ethnic communities' integrative behaviour and potential.
- a measure of the variation between the different generations of a single ethnic group in the degree to which they are integrated, providing an indication of the direction and speed of the integration process.
- a measure of inter-ethnic institutional integration providing a picture of ethnic mixing in employment and the provision of goods and services across organisations in the public, private, voluntary, and community sectors.

These would provide a composite picture of integrative trends in and between communities (and the pace of change) and in institutional settings where ethnic mixing should be taking place.

The quality of ethnic integration would be established by using two main sources of evidence: data provided by individuals from a particular ethnic background or religious affiliation in answer to an interview check list or questionnaire (subjectively derived) and information obtained from official sources dealing especially with the service provision and outcomes (objectively derived). The latter would include so-called baseline data and floor targets. Where feasible, an attempt would be made to match, compare and explain discrepancies between the two sources, but an assessment of the quality, degree and potential of integration would rely on their reconciliation with one another.

Ethnic community integration

The measures adopted here would be aimed at showing the quality, level and pace of different ethnic communities' integration, with a view to targeting measures to facilitate the process.

Agreement would need to be reached initially on a definition of ethnic community integration, such as: ethnic community integration occurs when persons belonging to one ethnic category mix, *competently* and on an equal footing, with persons from one or more other ethnic categories and, in the spirit of *mutual* respect, come to share *aspirations*, pursue common objectives, and *achieve* similar outcomes, within a social and physical *environment*, which fosters equality of *opportunity* for all.

Ager and Strang's four categories of integration: means (or access to employment, housing, education, and health) social connections, facilitators (including linguistic and cultural knowledge) and legal rights (including the acquisition of

citizenship), while angled at the special needs of refugees, might all be adapted to fit in with this definition, which can then be applied to the measurement of the integration of ethnic communities generally.

The index or comparative measure of ethnic community integration would be compiled from data gathered on seven elements, each relevant to the process and outcomes involved in integration. They are:

- competences
- mutuality (of respect)
- aspirations
- achievements
- opportunities
- environmental facilitators
- environmental inhibitors.

Collectively, they would provide a multi-faceted picture of inter ethnic community cohesion and a comparative index of each ethnic category's actual level and potential for integration.

Competences

The term 'competences' refers to the knowledge, skills and attitudes that community members require if they are to mix with others as equals. The aim is to focus on integrative competences, not general social competences.

High on Ager and Strang's list are shared language and cultural knowledge. The latter is best interpreted reciprocally as knowledge of other cultures, not just of British values, culture, and institutions.

The competence required to participate on equal terms requires basic skills: language and numeracy, information technology, and broader life skills, including the confidence to participate in and contribute to an ethnically-mixed social environment.

Competences must also be assessed on the basis of general educational and occupational qualifications, as well as practical skills and experience to acquire and to maintain a job on a par with others.

More specifically, the competences under consideration must allow people to access in an absolute and relative the sense, the crucial fields of employment, housing, education, and health and ideally, to deal with legal issues and contact with criminal justice agencies.

Mutuality

Throughout this discussion of community cohesion and ethnic integration, care has been taken to insist that integration, in contrast with assimilation, must be seen as a two-way process, conditional on all parties accepting others as equals, and being able when appropriate to cooperate with and learn from them in the pursuit of overarching aims and interests.

Individuals and groups, however, vary in their attitudes to people of other ethnicities, some believing that they are inferior, or a threat to their traditions and way of life. More commonly, this negativity is referred to as racial prejudice, manifested in derogatory language, discriminatory acts and sometimes, violence. The shared prejudices of a particular ethnic group against others, is likely to play a role in slowing down the process of integration. Its precise ethnic target needs to be identified, and the problem quantified and specifically dealt with.

In regard to measuring mutuality, it is important to establish a particular ethnic community's willingness to treat other groups with which it has contact as equals. This has to be a two-way process if successful collaboration is to occur. The concept of accepting and respecting people as equals must also extend to a preparedness to enter into hierarchical relationships of a managerial kind. A white person must be prepared to take orders from a Black Caribbean, and vice versa, of course, by virtue of their position in the organisation and irrespective of their colour. Mutuality is about the preparedness of members of an ethnic group to accept others as partners on equal terms and is a prerequisite to effective integration. This element describes the reciprocal attitudinal element attendant on the interaction.

Aspirations

Aspirations are the desires, hopes, ambitions, dreams and vision for the future that people have for themselves, their children and families, their local and ethnic community, and the wider society.

Does the future that they envisage involve being employed by others, or self-employed, and in what kind of occupation? What career and promotional prospects, if any, have they in mind, and will these involve their working or competing in a multi-cultural environment? Do they want to work for a while in Britain before emigrating or returning to another country?

In regard to housing, do they consider their existing accommodation inadequate, satisfactory or ideal, and where ideally would they like to move to? Would any new residence be in a neighbourhood inhabited in the main by their own or another ethnic group, or would their preference be to live in an integrated multi-ethnic neighbourhood?

In regard to education, are they happy with the education they themselves received and with the schools which their children attend? Does discontentment, if

any, arise from what is seen as the poor quality of the provision or from the indiscipline or corrupting influence of students from other ethnic groups?

These kinds of questions help to establish the values of individuals and families and whether they are distinct or shared with other ethnic groups. Those values will reveal people's experiences of working, residing, and being educated in Britain and what action they are taking, or choices they might wish to make, to improve their lives and those of their family and community. The information provided should show the degree to which an ethnic community sees its future as one of retaining existing separate and exclusive patterns of interaction, or relinquishing them in pursuit of a more widely-shared personal and social ambition. The assessment of an ethnic group's aspirations is an important indicator of integrative potential.

Achievements

Achievements are the measure of the success of collaborative interaction between ethnic groups to date and act as an assurance of and justification for continuing the process of integration. This is another way of referring to ethnic baseline data on the numbers in employment, educational success, persons with professional qualifications, housing conditions, health issues, etc., and of registering successes in reducing inequalities in service provision, access, take-up, and outcomes. But the indicators of achievement could be extended to include measures of intermixing and interspersions: reductions in geographical and residential separation.

Information on inter-ethnic institutional integration might also be added as well as local examples of collaborative multi-ethnic community ventures. Apart from establishing a rank order of different ethnic groups' achievements to date, the aim would be to show how different groups had made maximum use of their integrative opportunities over time. Some would have achieved more than others.

Opportunities

Opportunities for mixing on equal terms with members of other ethnic groups are also essential to ethnic integration. These opportunities might be characterised in terms of their frequency, duration, the number of persons from different ethnic groups involved and their variety. What range of social interaction do they cover? The LGA indicator of ethnic mixing in situations, such as local shops, at work, at a place of study, at a place of worship, etc., is relevant here.

A key dimension of the opportunity an ethnic group has for mixing with other ethnic groups is the status relationship implicit in the interaction. Does the contact take place on an equal footing, or is it one of inferior to superior, i.e. one of servant to master, or cleaner to company director? The nature of the relationship is also significant: is it one of competition or collaboration, forced or voluntary?

The opportunities for mixing in the key fields of work, housing, education, and worship may be severely restricted for many ethnic groups, hence the Cattle report's telling expression, 'parallel lives'. Even in companies with a multi-ethnic

work force, the work place may be heavily compartmentalised with particular ethnic groups concentrated and specialising in the performance of different functions, with little opportunity to meet or work on tasks together.

Census data, too, shows that certain ethnic groups are concentrated residentially with their own specialist shops, places of worship, and other facilities nearby, providing little incentive to travel outside of the area or to mix with other ethnic groups. Likewise, many schools, particularly at primary level, have a high proportion of students on roll from a single ethnic group.

Nevertheless, the opportunities that individuals from different ethnic categories have on a regular basis to mix on an equal footing with people of a different ethnic group to themselves need to be ascertained (probably by asking them directly) and then quantified and included along with other indicators to establish a comparative measure.

Environmental facilitators

Environmental facilitators are the situational factors that encourage the process of ethnic integration. They can be identified in two ways, corresponding to the subjective and objective distinction in the sources of evidence mentioned above. It would be important to discover what the respective ethnic groups themselves considered to be the main external pressures encouraging or facilitating them individually or collectively to mix with other groups. Conversely, along with Ager and Strang, it might be assumed that the main objective drivers of ethnic integration are employment opportunities in the job market, housing and access to a wider housing market, education (particularly higher educational opportunities), and good health and health care. Measures of inter-ethnic institutional integration will be of relevance here.

Additionally, of course, the government's strategy on immigration, race relations legislation, and welfare support targeted at new immigrants and refugees, are likely to make an important contribution. The general climate of opinion and the leadership exercised by government though its vision of community cohesion as ethnic integration will be crucial.

Environmental inhibitors

Environmental inhibitors are the situational factors that retard the process of ethnic integration. As before, it is important to find out from ethnic communities themselves what they see as the obstacles to their mixing with others. This could relate to the lack of reciprocity in the behaviour of other groups, or more emphatically, to the threat, real or otherwise, to themselves and their communities, of racial harassment, abuse or attacks and a general feeling of insecurity when leaving the familiar environment of the home, street, or neighbourhood. Safety and security are seen as a prerequisite for integration and their absence is likely to lead to an enforced dependency on immediate family or community resources.

From a detached objective point of view, it is possible to distinguish between the rate of crime and the fear of crime, but it is the latter that is more likely to play a part in confining a group to its own circle and neighbourhood.

The range of environmental inhibitors to integration, however, extends beyond physical insecurity to issues relating to the self-sufficiency of a particular community and the reasons for it needing to mix with others. It can be argued, on the one hand, that communal integrity and self-sufficiency provide individuals with the self-esteem and confidence to venture forth into the wider world respecting both themselves and others. The alternative position is that the larger, more distinct, and self-sufficient the community, the more able it is to provide within its own ranks all the social facilities, goods and services that its members require, and that they, therefore, have no need or incentive to venture any further. (This is disparagingly referred to in community cohesion literature as 'retreating in to comfort zones'.)

The argument, however, is important, because the ethnically-specific institutions in a neighbourhood, such as the places of worship, community associations, supplementary schools, shops, workshops and private transport services, are likely to be mono-ethnic, anxious to preserve their autonomy and clientele, and prone to resist any broader integrative process. From a research and social policy point of view, the long-term effects of autonomy and self-containment need to be investigated and, if judged inhibitive, for their strengths to be weighed against the positive attributes of integration.

While environment facilitators and inhibitors are treated here as separate elements, they will affect, and will be detected in, responses relating in particular to mutuality, aspirations, achievements, and opportunities.

Inter-generational differences in ethnic integration

The preceding measures could readily be adapted and used in a survey of different age cohorts within single ethnic groups in order to show inter-generational variation in levels of integrative attitudes and behaviour.

A research exercise of this kind would reveal the speed with which younger age groups and those born and educated in Britain were acquiring integrative competences accepting of mutuality and had aspirations in common with others, in contrast to older people who may have been born or brought up abroad. But such a measure would not only be applied to post-war migrant communities but to white English, Welsh and Scottish populations to discover the degree to which they accepted the need for integration and rejected the ethnically-exclusive or superior attitudes of previous generations.

A table comparing the speed and direction of the integrative change of young people from different ethnic groups would be an invaluable tool in directing resources economically at individuals or areas where change was slowest.

Inter-ethnic institutional integration

The proposed index of inter-ethnic institutional integration would be compiled from data gathered on the employment arrangements and the inter-ethnic relations established in the provision of goods and services by local organisations in the public, private, voluntary, and community sectors. This set of measures might produce comparative information on levels of inter-ethnic institutional integration in different geographical areas, in different sectors, and in different fields of goods or service provision.

It would lead to the identification of organisations which were ethnically compartmentalised or hierarchically ethnically-differentiated and of the reasons for these internal divisions, with the possibility that action might be put in train to ensure that greater integration took place. The proposed ideas of institutional integration could be built on the foundations laid and the ethnic monitoring data gained in the public sector from the race equality schemes required under the provision of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. In regard to the provision of goods and services, ethnic access and take up of services are not only crucial to the success of the service improvement agenda but are important opportunities for ethnic interaction.

This tool might also be used to assess the obstacles to, and potential for integration in community institutions, such as places of worship and community associations in neighbourhoods dominated by people from a single ethnic group.

Concluding comment

The proposals for measuring the ethnic integrative aspects of community cohesion remain rudimentary and undeveloped. If they are to be taken forward, they require to be more systematically specified and formulated with accompanying precisely-defined indicators capable of being applied to all or most significant ethnic groups in the country. This exercise would require further research, development, testing, piloting and validation.

Without dedicated resources for such a development, it is not possible for the race equality movement, or any other statutory or voluntary agency, to proceed along this path. The purpose here, however, has been to argue that the government's current community cohesion strategy is unlikely to be effective, or to be able to demonstrate its effectiveness, without developing a specific, measurable, agreed, realistic, ethnically targeted, and reciprocal (SMARTER) approach.

Currently, in the absence of the SMARTER approach and suitable measures of inter-ethnic community cohesion, Race Equality West Midlands has embarked on an investigation of relations between the Pakistani community and other populations in Birmingham and the West Midlands. It will make use of available data and, in the absence of dedicated resources and research tools, draw on the knowledge and opinions of a panel of expert witnesses (the methodology so severely criticised in preceding chapters).

There is an urgent need, however, to recognise, analyse and address the dangers of perceived community fragmentation along ethnic lines, and to recognise that specific ethnically-targeted policy intervention is required. This is no time to talk about communities generally without reference to ethnicity, or without identifying the ethnic group in question.

Chapter Five

The role of local race equality organisations in building community cohesion

In Race Equality Digest 14, *Planning for multi-strand equality work*, an argument is made for specialist or focused race equality councils. After an analysis of the range of equality functions, the author suggests, among other options, that race equality councils, rather than be persuaded to diversify still further into areas which they currently have no expertise, experience, or legitimacy, might seek to pursue instead an alternative strategy of specialising more narrowly on their core business of promoting good relations between different racial/ethnic groups, community cohesion, and community conflict resolution.

With the proposed legislation to bring into being a Commission for Equality and Human Rights, eventually to replace the Commission for Racial Equality, which part-funds race equality councils, many local race equality organisations are contemplating an uncertain future and are being forced, without official guidance, to decide on a strategy on multi-strand equality work. Yet, at the moment, race equality councils constitute the only nation-wide network of local agencies dedicated to eliminating racial discrimination, promoting race equality and, most importantly, building good relations between different racial groups. In the development of national community cohesion policy and in thinking about its local delivery, race equality councils receive little attention.

With the impending demise of the Commission of Racial Equality and the neglect of the local race equality movement, the government community cohesion strategy is in danger of being left without means of effective local delivery. Local authorities are clearly seen as playing an important part in finding solutions but in many respects, for example, in urban renewal, community development, the provision of social housing, planning permission and grant allocation, they have contributed to the problems identified, as, for example, the Richie report on Oldham makes clear.

Race equality councils, as part of the voluntary and community sector, with their long tradition of bringing ethnic minority communities together and mediating between them and public authorities, are obvious alternative additional candidates for the local delivery of the government community cohesion strategy. With the imposition of normal contractual conditions and a performance management framework, any money allocated to race equality councils to support ethnically-focused community cohesion initiatives would give good value.

Race equality councils, with the appropriate strategic guidance, might be expected to perform all or most of the following tasks relating to ethnic cohesion and integration:

- Research, map, monitor and measure ethnically-differentiated community cohesion across their local area of benefit.
- Monitor the activities of the racist far-right with a view to marginalising extremists who stir up racial hatred.
- Help young people from different ethnic groups grow up with a sense of common belonging.

- Help immigrants, especially refugees, to integrate into local communities.
- Help people from all sections of society to understand and celebrate the contribution made by a range of cultures in Britain.
- Increase opportunities, through various creative projects, for all groups, especially those whose voices are not normally heard, to participate in civic life.
- Work to ensure that racism is unacceptable at all times, anywhere.
- Generally, to promote cohesion at local level by all available means.

This list, slightly augmented, accords closely with the action proposed in *Improving opportunity, strengthening society*.

The Commission for Racial Equality's priorities, too, include action to increase integration and interaction and to resolve disputes occurring in and between communities. The unique and important role of race equality councils now needs to be formally and fully acknowledged and written in to the Government strategy on increasing race equality and community cohesion.

Race Equality West Midlands intends to pursue two related approaches. Firstly, it seeks to contribute to a SMARTER community cohesion agenda, and, in particular, to develop and pilot more sophisticated ways of measuring the quality of ethnic integration at local level, with a view to creating a comparative index of integrative progress. To make any meaningful contribution to this objective, REWM would have to establish a partnership with a university research unit and to acquire dedicated resources.

Secondly, REWM is committed to extending the race equality movement's ability to resolve conflict in local communities. This involves improving local race equality organisations' skills and competence to resolve inter-ethnic and inter-faith community conflict and to develop techniques for community conflict risk assessment, and conflict management, resolution and transformation. An essential feature must be to develop a theory and measure of integrative competence, mutuality, aspiration, achievement, and opportunity, as a basis for identifying community tensions and targeting ameliorative intervention. This will require a community-conflict mapping exercise, as well as training to improve conflict resolution skills and to develop effective intervention strategies.

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