

# State of the English Cities

## Social Cohesion





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November 2006  
Department for Communities and Local Government

The findings and recommendations in this report are those of the consultant authors and do not necessarily represent the views or proposed policies of Communities and Local Government

On 5th May 2006 the responsibilities of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) transferred to the Department for Communities and Local Government

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Communities and Local Government Publications  
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Email: [communities@twoten.com](mailto:communities@twoten.com)  
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Printed in the UK on material containing no less than 75% post-consumer waste.

November 2006

Product Code: 06HC04137/3

ISBN-10 1 85112 871 9

ISBN-13 978 1 85112 871 6

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## Acknowledgements

The authors of the report are very grateful for the information and practical assistance provided by more than a hundred representatives of public, private, voluntary and community organisations in the five case study cities who gave freely of their time to participate in sometimes lengthy and demanding interviews.

## Preface – State of the English Cities thematic reports

This report is one of a series of six thematic reports associated with the State of the English Cities<sup>1</sup> report (SOCR). These reports together provide the detailed evidence on which the main findings presented in the State of the English Cities report are based. The six thematic reports are:

- The Changing Urban Scene: Demographics and the Big Picture
- Social Cohesion
- The Competitive Economic Performance of English Cities
- The State of American Cities
- Liveability in English Cities
- A comparison of public attitudes in urban and non-urban areas across different regions

Readers should note that the research on which these thematic reports are based was undertaken in 2005. The findings and recommendations therefore relate to the position at the time of writing in 2005.

The Department for Communities and Local Government would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who participated in the research.

<sup>1</sup> State of the English Cities, ODPM, March 2006.

## Summary

### Aims and objectives

This report provides an assessment of the state of social cohesion in English cities in 2005. It focuses on four broad themes:

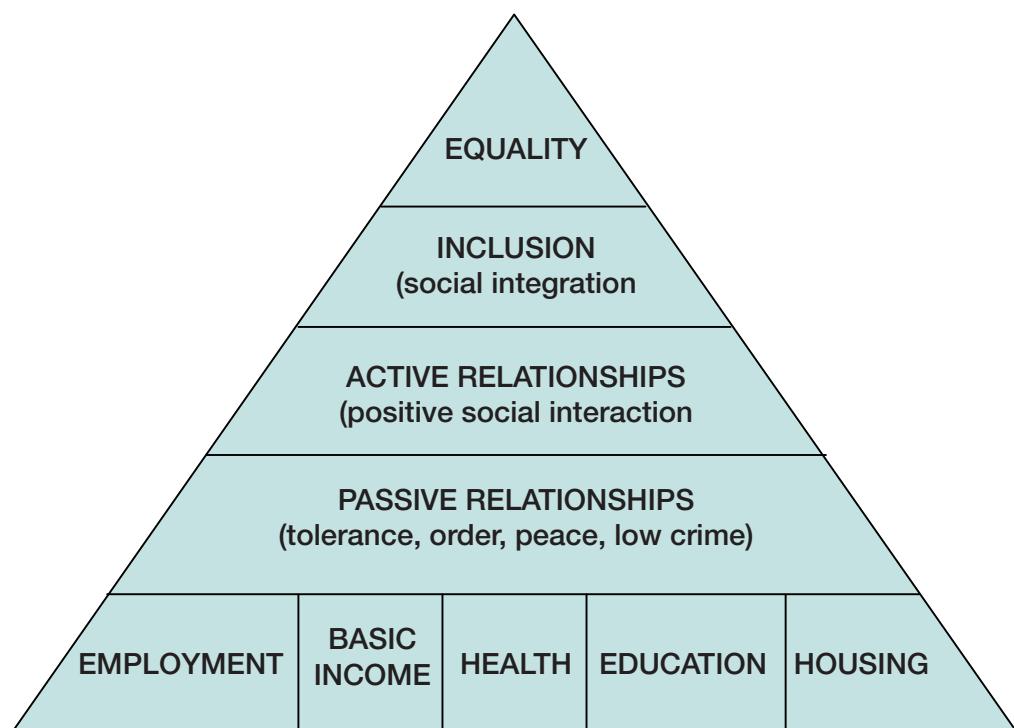
- (i) patterns: the significance of cities to society – or why cities matter;
- (ii) trends: recent social changes in cities – whether things have been getting better or worse;
- (iii) processes: the determinants of social change – what lies behind recent trends;
- (iv) policies: the role of government policies and the issues still to be addressed.

The report draws upon a wide range of evidence including official statistical sources, the State of the English Cities database (SOCD) and detailed case studies of five cities in different regional circumstances.

### The drivers and dimensions of social cohesion

Social cohesion is a multi-faceted notion covering many different kinds of social phenomena. It is sometimes used as a euphemism for the state of race relations, but we define the term more broadly here. The different dimensions of cohesion have an important bearing upon each other but they are not synonymous. Figure 1 conveys the essential features in a simple summary framework.

**Figure 1: Different dimensions of social cohesion**



The report shows that material conditions are fundamental to social cohesion, particularly employment, income, health, education and housing. Relations between and within communities suffer when people lack work and endure hardship, debt, anxiety, low self-esteem, ill-health, poor skills and bad living conditions. These basic necessities of life are the foundations of a strong social fabric and important indicators of social progress.

The second basic tenet of cohesion is social order, safety and freedom from fear, or passive social relationships. Tolerance and respect for other people, along with peace and security, are hallmarks of a stable and harmonious urban society. The opposite is lack of acceptance of social and cultural differences, along with conflict and crime, hence stress, insecurity and instability.

The third dimension refers to the positive interactions, exchanges and networks between individuals and communities, or active social relationships. Such contacts and connections are potential resources for places since they offer people and organisations mutual support, information, trust and credit of various kinds. The opposite is misunderstanding, suspicion, mistrust and resentment, which undermine social well-being.

The fourth dimension is about the extent of social inclusion or integration of people into the mainstream institutions of civil society. It also includes people's sense of belonging to a city and the strength of shared experiences, identities and values between those from different backgrounds – do they have a genuine stake in local society and pull together? The opposite is social or residential segregation, social exclusion, disaffection and isolation.

Lastly, social equality refers to the level of fairness or disparity in access to opportunities or material circumstances, such as income, health or quality of life, or in future life chances. The opposite is a high level of inequality in living standards or very unequal prospects for upward social mobility. This may be associated with frustration, envy and resentment experienced by those lower down the scale, which can damage overall social welfare in a variety of ways.

One of the complications associated with the concept is that the state of social cohesion differs depending on whether one is referring to cities, neighbourhoods or particular social groups. Tight-knit communities may exist within a fractured city if they involve self-centred behaviour and discrimination against other groups. In other words, one group's coherence may come at the expense of another's exclusion.

Conversely, tolerance and trust between different communities can obscure conflicts within them (eg between young and old, or rich and poor). Clearly, groups and communities can be defined on different bases – socio-economic, religious, ethnic, age, disability, gender and so on – and it is important to be specific about what one is referring to when considering the state of cohesion in a city.

The report devotes more attention to the material conditions of social cohesion because they are more measurable and data is more readily available than for the less tangible aspects of social attitudes and relations.

## The significance of cities to society

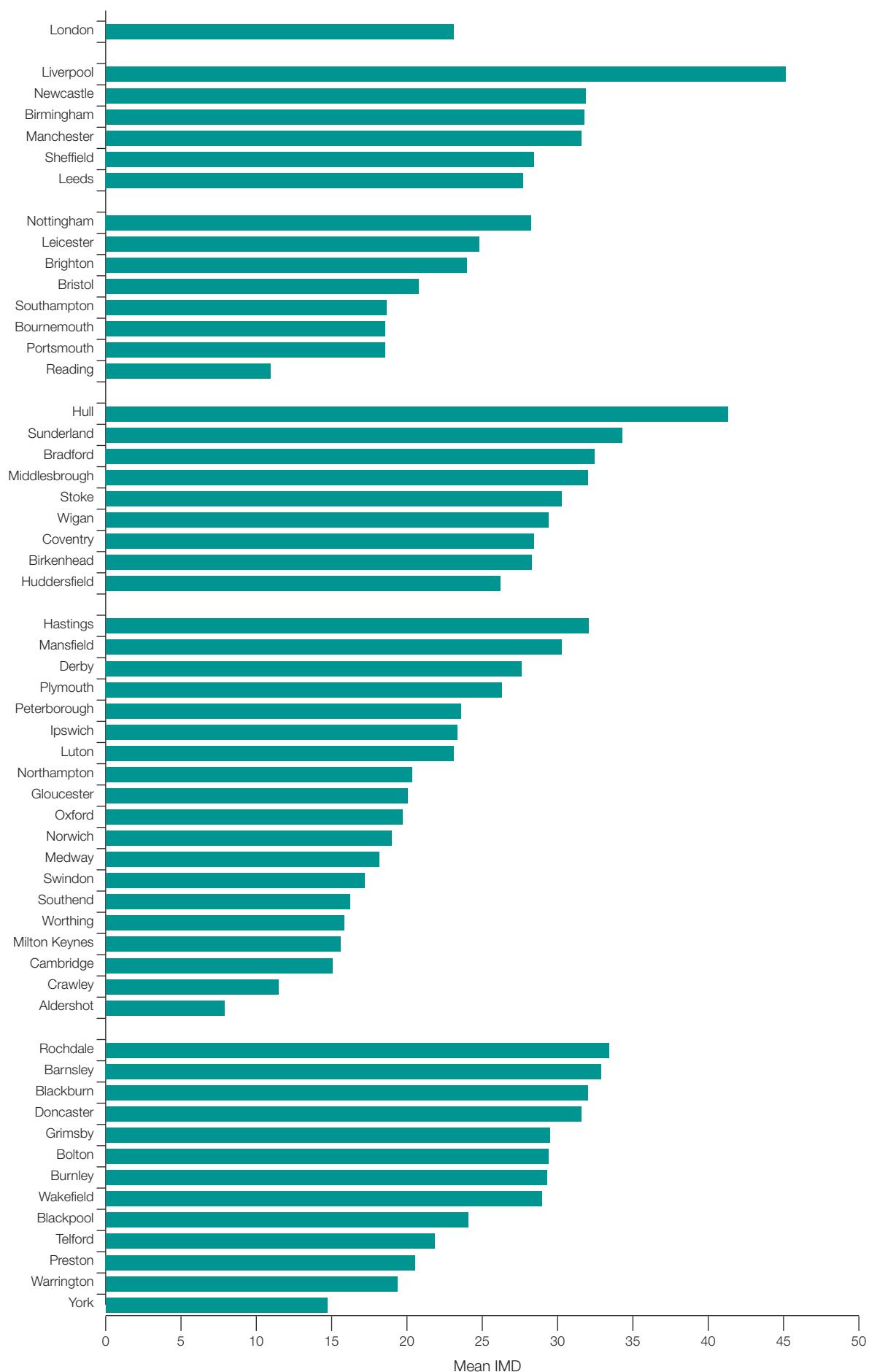
One of the reasons England's cities matter to national success is because of the unique density and diversity of their populations. People of different cultural and social groups live in close proximity and interact in ways that can at best prove highly creative and formative, or at worst conflict-ridden and destructive. The 'thickness' of urban labour markets and their diverse skill-sets also gives cities a special economic asset in terms of their versatility, variety and openness to change and development. Building a more harmonious, tolerant and respectful society requires that government place a particular emphasis on cities, given their variegated demographics. They are also the parts of the country under greatest pressure from immigration.

The report shows that cities continue to face disproportionate challenges of social exclusion and inequality. This is partly related to the legacy of deindustrialisation and selective decentralisation of jobs and population. Child poverty is a good example: it remains much higher in cities than in towns and rural areas. The overall level of deprivation is also higher and concentrations of poverty are greater than in the rest of the country. Figure 2 shows the level or extent of deprivation in each city, based on the mean overall score of the 2004 Index of Multiple Deprivation. The cities are grouped into metropolitan centres in the north and west, large cities in the south and east, large cities in the north and west, small cities in the south and east, and small cities in the north and west.

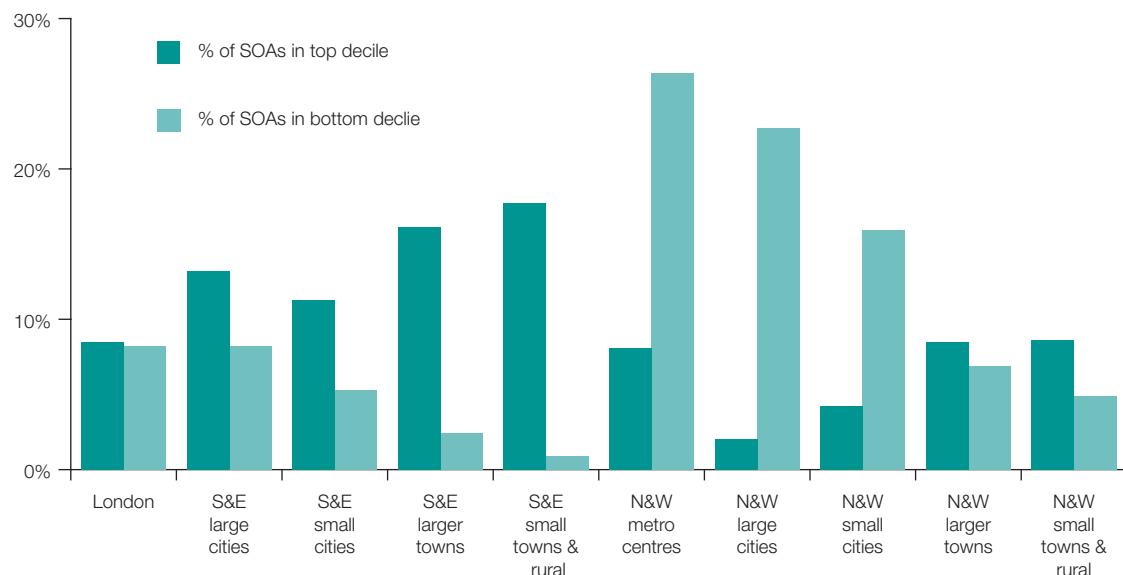
The report also shows that there is a strong, statistically significant relationship between poverty and the level of worklessness in cities, suggesting that employment is the best route out of poverty for communities as well as individuals. By targeting economic development policies more towards cities and thereby raising their employment rate, the government could make a disproportionate contribution to achieving the national employment rate target of 80 per cent and reducing the 2.7 million people on sickness benefits. Cities are also crucial to the attainment of other national goals related to deprived neighbourhoods, social inclusion and equal opportunities.

Residential segregation of different cultural or ethnic groups is higher in cities than elsewhere in the country. It is also generally higher in England than in continental European cities, although lower than in the United States. Segregation between whites and Asians is generally higher than between whites and blacks. Racial segregation actually declined slightly in most English cities between 1991 and 2001, contrary to some assumptions. It increased in only eight out of 56 cities and in most cases only very slightly. Segregation based on income and employment status is actually higher than racial segregation, especially in cities in the south and east. This makes the challenge of social inclusion and integration that much greater.

There are many other regional differences in the issues facing cities. Almost two out of every three of the poorest 10 per cent of neighbourhoods in England are located in the northern and western cities. These cities also have worse health conditions. Figure 3 shows the incidence of the most and least deprived 10 per cent of neighbourhoods between different size categories of city in the north/west and south/east. Every bar in the graph would be 10 per cent if cities had their proportionate share of England's poorest and least deprived areas. In fact, the metropolitan centres of the north and west have more than two and a half times their share of the poorest neighbourhoods and less than half their share of the least deprived areas. Towns and rural areas in the south and east have far more than their share of the least deprived areas. Cities do not appear from this to be much more strongly polarised than towns and rural areas. They certainly have far more poor neighbourhoods, but they also have far fewer prosperous areas. The key point is that cities have more deprivation than towns and rural areas.

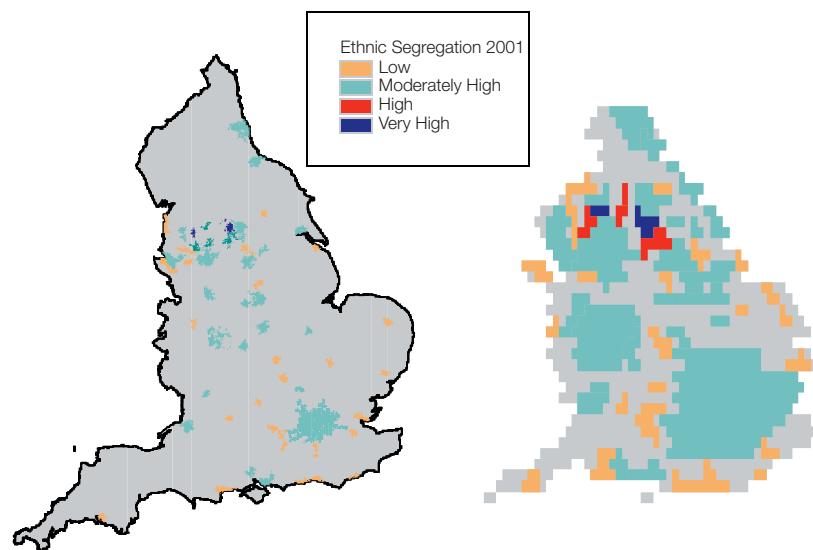
**Figure 2: Level of deprivation in cities**

**Figure 3: Incidence of the most and least deprived neighbourhoods by city type**



Cities in the north and west tend to have higher levels of racial segregation than cities in the south and east. Figure 4 shows the relatively high level of ethnic segregation in selected northern cities and the moderate level in London and the midlands. Child poverty and lone parenthood are also higher in the north and west, partly because there are fewer people in work.

**Figure 4: Levels of ethnic segregation 2001**



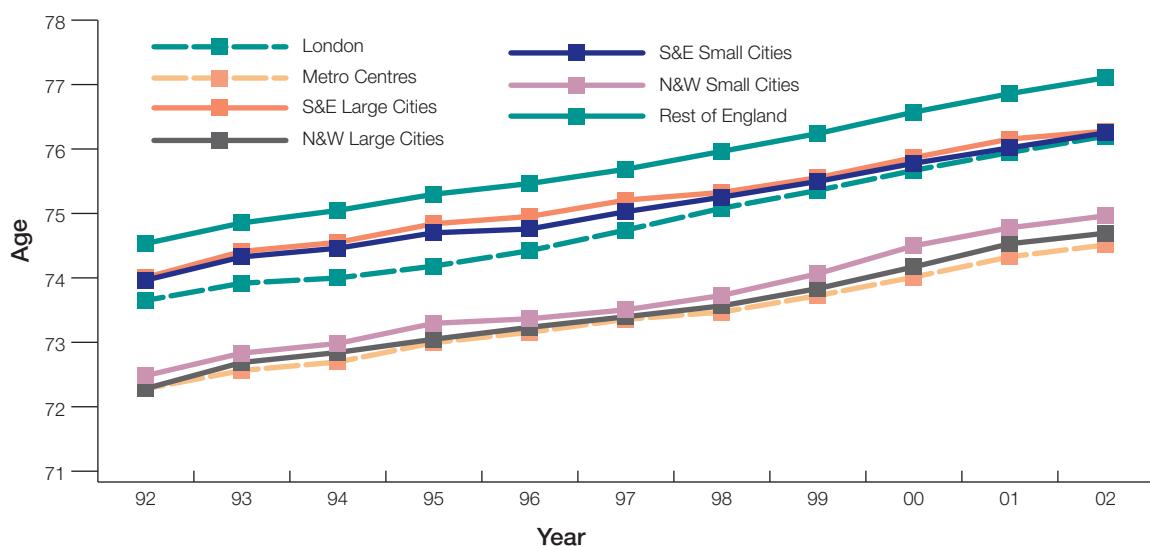
Major cities in the north and west have more than two and a half times their share of neighbourhoods with the highest levels of worklessness. Higher worklessness in these cities disproportionately affects people with disabilities, the over 50s and minority ethnic groups. In other words, it is a general phenomenon reflecting the overall state of the local labour market and the jobs shortfall, rather than a problem confined to particular groups. There are also more people with no qualifications and fewer people with degrees, so human capital is weaker. This is likely to limit the attractiveness of the labour pool as a resource for inward investment compared with cities elsewhere. Overall, the findings show there is a regional as well as urban dimension to the social challenges facing the country.

## Recent social changes in cities

The assumption until recently was that cities would continue declining because of falling transport costs and higher business mobility encouraging decentralisation to space extensive locations with better motorway access. The social and physical scarring effects of deindustrialisation were also thought to deter skilled population and business activity from former industrial cities.

In fact, there has been some improvement in conditions in most cities in recent years. This turnaround to a large extent seems to reflect better national performance in spheres such as employment, health and education. In health, for instance, people are living longer everywhere and there is little sign that the regional or urban-rural gaps have narrowed. Figure 5 shows the improving trend in male life expectancy over the last decade. The pattern for women is similar. In contrast, the gap in school educational attainment appears to have narrowed slightly between cities and the rest of England.

**Figure 5: Male life expectancy by city type**



Employment conditions have also improved faster than average in some of the poorest cities. Table 1 shows the average employment rate for the six different types of city and the rest of England over the last decade. London and the south and east achieved significant gains between 1994 and 2000, but they have fallen back slightly since then. Cities and conurbations in the north and west have continued to make progress, although there is still a big gap with the rest of England. Increased public spending has helped to boost employment in many places.

**Table 1: Employment rate by city type, 1994-2003 (%)**

	1994	1997	2000	2003
London	68.2	71.3	72.7	71.5
South and east large cities	72.0	75.1	77.5	76.6
South and east small cities	73.7	74.8	78.2	77.2
Metropolitan centres	66.1	68.3	69.8	70.6
North and west large cities	67.1	68.7	70.0	71.6
North and west small cities	70.5	70.7	74.4	74.6
Rest of England	75.2	77.3	78.5	78.5

The proportion of people with degrees has risen everywhere in the last decade, especially in prosperous cities that already had many graduates, namely London, Cambridge, Oxford, Reading, Brighton, York and Bristol. The success of some of these cities is likely to have come partly at the expense of other parts of the country through graduate migration. A group of northern and western cities had small increases in graduates, and from a low base, namely Mansfield, Hull, Grimsby, Barnsley, Doncaster, Stoke and Sunderland. There are mixed messages on recorded crime: robberies have increased slightly, while vehicle crime and burglaries have declined slightly.

The improvements in English cities are important although somewhat uneven and incremental. The enduring consequences of deindustrialisation remain significant for many cities in low skills, high levels of economic inactivity and environmental decay and dereliction. The process of city turnaround requires adapting human capabilities, institutions and physical infrastructure to contemporary economic conditions, which is undoubtedly difficult. A start has been made but there is still a considerable way to travel. Public authorities face tough choices about investment priorities in a context of extensive needs and stretched resources.

## The determinants of social change

The dynamics of social change in cities are subject to a range of forces that are not easy to unravel. One of the crucial determinants is paid employment because of its significance as a source of income, self-respect, social interaction and meaningful activity for people. The most successful cities have tight labour markets that attract migrants to live and work and enable local residents with all sorts of characteristics to obtain secure, well-paid jobs. Yet, many cities still have areas vulnerable to a vicious cycle linking worklessness, poverty, low skills and poor health. In some places new economic opportunities are

inaccessible to disadvantaged groups because of skill, spatial or institutional barriers facing them in a context of intense competition for available jobs.

Evidence from the five city case studies suggests that soft assets such as social networks, cultural diversity and tolerance have been less important determinants of economic and social progress to date than human capital and effective physical infrastructure to accommodate economic development. The most successful places have upgraded their skill-sets and physical fabric, and made sure they have a sufficient supply of well-located, serviced land and quality property available for business expansion and inward investment. Ensuring that the transport system enables the city to function well and that the housing stock is progressively modernised in order to retain and attract a mobile population also seem important.

Crime is generally higher in cities than elsewhere, but it seems to have little bearing on their relative success. This is likely to be because the levels of crime are generally below the thresholds at which they would begin to have a significant effect on the location decisions of businesses and households. Localised high spots of crime can also be avoided or displaced by enhanced security and surveillance measures or short distance relocation.

## **The role of government policies**

Government policies contribute to social and economic progress in a wide variety of ways. They can hold back success or promote it, and they can do so both inadvertently and deliberately. The most successful places have addressed the fundamental drivers as well as the more immediate symptoms of social cohesion. They have consistently sought to improve the underlying material circumstances of urban communities and to enhance the less tangible aspects of human relationships and identities.

Sustained policies to expand employment opportunities and help people to access jobs have proved crucial to lift households and communities out of poverty. Cities that have over the years neglected their physical infrastructure and the supply of employment land have paid the price and become less competitive business locations. Similarly, cities that have struggled to improve their education, housing and transport systems have also fallen behind average living standards.

Although there are many common issues of this kind facing cities, they also differ in their challenges and potential, and in the way policies have responded to these differences.

Some places have worked hard over many years to create a climate of tolerance and support for social diversity through establishing all sorts of formal and informal networks, promoting equal opportunities policies and assisting a wide range of voluntary and community organisations. Cities such as Leicester have been rewarded with relative peace, stability and cultural richness. Yet a fragile economy and residential segregation hold back further social integration and create risks associated with people from different groups living separate lives. Targeted neighbourhood initiatives have sometimes provoked tension and discontent from other communities. In a context of scarce jobs and resources it is harder to establish a shared vision for the city and to ensure solidarity rather than resentment towards new migrant communities. Economic development policies have lagged behind social cohesion, though they are now receiving more attention.

Other places have a smaller but more deprived ethnic minority population, a falling overall population and a more uncertain economic future. In cities such as Burnley, public facilities including schools, housing and transport have needed major investment for some time. Following inter-ethnic tensions and street disturbances in Burnley in 2001, a government investigation identified weaknesses in local leadership and a lack of strategic vision for the district. Since then, social cohesion has become a priority with far-sighted policies to encourage cultural interaction and progressive developments in education, housing, employment, community safety and sport for young people. There is also a considerable challenge surrounding Burnley's position and function in the wider city-region.

The physical and economic structure of some other cities presents a bigger obstacle to cohesion than social diversity. A key challenge in places such as Medway is to meld towns that were separate historically into an entity that feels and functions more like a city, with greater coherence as a place to live, work, study and socialise, and less leakage of resources. There is scope for improvement in certain public services (particularly for children and youth), but a bigger challenge for public authorities is to go above and beyond that to build a clearer sense of place and purpose, a stronger economic base and a better reputation to help attract and retain investment and resources. A prosperous regional context in the South East region and a prominent position in the Thames Gateway present a big opportunity to transform local conditions, as long a sustainable balance is maintained between housing, jobs and infrastructure.

In another group of cities, the regional context is far less favourable and there are major tensions and trade-offs facing policy-makers at city and regional levels. Policies in cities such as Sunderland have enabled the city to adapt reasonably well in the circumstances to the collapse of shipbuilding and mining by diversifying into other sectors. However, there is a substantial legacy of involuntary worklessness in the form of sickness and deficient skills for the contemporary labour market that will not be easily resolved in the short-term or through small-scale initiatives. The city's position and function in the wider North East Region also pose considerable challenges for governance and policy.

In a different group of cities, the challenge to cohesion seems to stem not from a lack of growth and investment, but from the form of new development, which appears to have polarising effects. Policies in places such as Leeds have succeeded in establishing a thriving regional service centre. However, the benefits have not filtered through to some of the poorer neighbourhoods and groups, who have suffered from the decline of manual employment. The challenge here is to broaden the opportunities available and to work harder at linking persistent needs and emerging opportunities. Building harmonious communities and narrowing the gap between neighbourhoods are complementary objectives and need stronger connections with economic development strategies. They require broad-based interventions at neighbourhood, city and regional scales, involving the voluntary and community sectors as well as the public and private sectors.

## Policy imperatives for government to address

Broadly speaking, there are three kinds of urban policies: those that target need (such as community-based services); those that seek to expand opportunities (such as city centre marketing initiatives or business growth schemes); and those that seek to link opportunities and needs (for example by improving accessibility to jobs or tackling institutional barriers to inclusion).

The balance between these approaches should differ across different cities depending on local circumstances. In most cities there is considerable experience of neighbourhood programmes and their role in focusing policy efforts on the poorest communities is well understood. In most places the main challenge for government is to provide the additional resources and to facilitate the bending of mainstream programmes to ensure a response that is commensurate to the level of need for improved housing, better personal services and enhanced education and learning facilities. In some cities there are local sensitivities and concerns about being seen to give priority to particular neighbourhoods, so there is scope for further encouragement and advice about the benefits and mechanisms of area targeting and community engagement.

There is also growing recognition among local authorities and their strategic partners that a more outward looking, expansive perspective is important. Concentrations of poverty are often localised symptoms of more generalised city wide problems, in which case it is difficult to provide lasting solutions unless there are more opportunities available that enable general progression. Cities have inherent advantages as economic locations by virtue of their size and infrastructure, and underused assets in vacant land, potentially attractive waterfronts and underemployed labour. There are various ways of exploiting this potential to boost employment and income generation, including attracting private investment, luring resourceful and talented people to study, live and visit, and helping local enterprises to secure a larger share of external markets. Since local powers and resources are geared to welfare services, the main challenge for government is to ensure that city authorities have the incentives and resources to sustain efforts to increase prosperity.

While supporting both approaches, it is also important to avoid the ‘needs’ and ‘opportunities’ policies being pursued independently of each other. Separate organisations are typically responsible, creating a risk of inconsistency and even contradiction between them. If no-one is charged with making the connections, the prospect of creating twin-track cities is reinforced. In some cases deprived neighbourhoods are treated in isolation of their wider housing and labour markets, and the economic strategy amounts to a rather narrow agenda in terms of the direct beneficiaries. New jobs, housing and consumer services have focused on high-level occupations and advantaged locations, often for commercial reasons and a lack of public investment. Few benefits may filter through to disadvantaged communities, especially if the new opportunities are taken by people from elsewhere moving to the city, rather than local residents moving up the job or housing ladders.

The challenge for government, therefore, is to raise awareness of the importance of linking opportunities and needs more deliberately to ensure better functioning cities, and to help devise institutional arrangements and practical ways of reducing the various barriers that prevent this from happening, including discrimination and skill mismatches. New jobs may need to be better located in relation to deprived areas, affordable housing

made a bigger feature of new residential developments, and new amenities planned for a wider spectrum of the population. Programmes to increase labour demand and improve labour supply need closer co-ordination and alignment.

A simple illustration of the imperative to link needs and opportunities stems from the fact that the UK employment rate for non-whites is only 59 per cent compared with 76 per cent for whites. Black and ethnic minorities live disproportionately in cities and currently make up about 8 per cent of the UK population, but they will account for half of the growth in people of working age over the next decade. Consequently, it is important for both economic and social reasons that appropriate employment, training, anti-discrimination and other equal opportunities policies are brought together and focused more strongly on cities than they have been in the past.

## **Other policy implications**

### **Strategic capacity at the local level**

Diverse local problems imply differentiated rather than standard policies. Local bodies need the capacity to respond with confidence and flexibility to local needs and opportunities. Centralised priorities, funding streams, administrative procedures, performance indicators and the like can undermine local problem solving capabilities by eroding civic leadership, local networks and technical capacity, and side-lining accumulated local knowledge.

### **Wider recognition for the role of cities and regions**

The government's new cities agenda is widely welcomed at the local level. Recognition of both the problems and potential of cities is fundamental to effective policy responses. However, the support for cities does not extend consistently across central government departments and agencies, so there is scope for more alignment of agendas. This is particularly clear in terms of the government's goal to raise the low employment rate and reduce the high level of economic inactivity and sickness in cities. Greater attention to the underlying regional disparities is also important in recognition of the quite different contexts within which some cities are situated.

### **Discretionary resources**

The challenges faced are substantial, with heavy demands on public expenditure. Statutory obligations for local authorities in spheres such as social services mean that funds for discretionary facilities and capital projects get squeezed. There is serious deficit, for example, in youth services (including learning facilities, sports clubs, community centres, music venues and detached youth workers). They offer a constructive rather than a punitive response to anti-social behaviour, in keeping with the spirit of community cohesion.

## Mainstream services

Mainstream public services are vital to improve the life chances and living standards of disadvantaged groups, including education, employability, health, public transport and housing. Better targeting and co-ordination remains an issue, particularly for vulnerable communities. More substantial support is required for localities struggling to cope with the special needs of asylum seekers and refugees. Central government often does not respond quickly enough to the pressures new residents impose on local services.

## Special programmes

Special programmes have generated resentment and conflict in some cities. More transparent decisions about resource allocation and communication to explain policies may help to avoid suspicion of bias and unfairness on the part of some communities. Other ways of targeting resources towards particular needs and opportunities also need to be explored. The balance between targeted and more universal provision needs to be kept under regular review.

## Partnership working

Partnership working is an ongoing challenge, although there is progress in many places. Government signals to local organisations about its significance are not always consistent. For instance, financial incentives associated with Public Service Agreements tend to work against the spirit of co-operation. Local Strategic Partnerships struggle with their comprehensive agenda, all-encompassing membership and lack of control over resources. In many cities there seem to be too many partnerships with overlapping functions and memberships, and a lack of clarity about roles, responsibilities and ultimate accountability for ensuring successful delivery.

## Social and community cohesion

There are some ambiguities and differences in the way social and community cohesion are interpreted and acted upon. Although these terms are useful for involving diverse stakeholders in consensus building, there is a danger of glossing over dilemmas, differences and divisions. For instance, the government's community cohesion agenda, which is often couched in racial terms, risks neglecting problems of poverty and economic exclusion. It could usefully be extended since the objectives of social integration and participation in civil society apply equally to people on low incomes, without jobs and living in council housing.

## Tensions between different agendas

Aspects of the government's agenda on education and choice in public services do not sit comfortably with cohesion objectives. The national curriculum takes insufficient account of pupils' diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds. The overwhelming focus on standards and academic qualifications risks excluding and failing disadvantaged young people. The emphasis on parental choice may undermine inner city schools by sending the most able

pupils elsewhere and increasing segmentation. In some places there seems to be insufficient attention given to pre-school provision, where many observers believe a greater difference can be made to the trajectories of children from deprived backgrounds.

## Sustainable communities

The Sustainable Communities Plan is viewed with concern in some parts of the country, such as the East Midlands Region, if settlements to the immediate south of them secure additional investment for infrastructure and public services and become more attractive business and residential locations. Within the South East Region, there is a concern in places such as the Thames Gateway about the emphasis on building homes to serve the needs of London rather than the requirements of existing towns for more jobs, better public services, modern infrastructure and renovation of older housing.

## Introduction

This is one of six thematic reports produced as essential components of the overall State of the English Cities Report. The purpose of this report is to provide an assessment of contemporary social conditions in English cities, taking into account the wider regional context, economic circumstances in the cities and the policies of local and national government and associated agencies. It is based on research undertaken in 2005 and therefore reflects the situation at that time. It focuses on four themes:

- (i) **patterns:** current differences in social conditions between and within cities; and between cities and the rest of the country – or why cities matter to society;
- (ii) **trends:** recent social changes in cities – whether conditions have been getting better or worse;
- (iii) **processes:** what lies behind recent social trends;
- (iv) **policies:** the role of government and outstanding challenges for the future.

The report is in four parts. The first part considers the meaning of social cohesion in cities and unpacks the different dimensions involved. Since cohesion is a novel term, how it is defined and measured has an important bearing on the nature of policy responses and priorities. Part two explores patterns and trends in different dimensions of cohesion and the related concept of exclusion, drawing largely on secondary statistical sources. The main focus is on the level of the city, rather than districts and neighbourhoods within cities, although there is also some examination of social and spatial disparities within cities. This section of the report is more descriptive than explanatory, although there is some statistical analysis of connections between different aspects of cohesion, including employment, income, education, health, crime and residential segregation. The third part provides a more rounded analysis of cohesion at different scales and of its relationship to economic and governance issues. It is based on detailed case studies of five cities in different regional circumstances and includes both quantitative and qualitative information. The case studies also examine what difference policy appears to have made to social conditions in the cities. The final part of the report draws the evidence together and considers the implications for government policy.

## PART 1

### The meaning of social cohesion in cities

- 1.1 Social cohesion is a complex concept that has become popular recently as shorthand for the strength of human relationships and the stability of a more differentiated society. Put simply, it relates to how well people and communities get on together for the benefit of all through such values as tolerance and mutual support. Lack of cohesion may be reflected in a weak social fabric, with the relationships between different groups being exclusive, impermeable and susceptible to tension and conflict. People may be kept apart through fear, resentment, competition for scarce resources, or protection of privilege. Social cohesion is sometimes used casually as a label for social success or stable race relations, without any pretence of understanding what lies behind this. Readers who are not particularly interested in the contrasting definitions of cohesion can move straight to the section called 'Our Preferred Approach' below.
- 1.2 Cities are particularly significant for the cohesion of societies because of the unique size, density and diversity of their populations, as well as their distinctive challenges of poverty and social exclusion. Cities and neighbourhoods are also key spatial units for social relationships and interactions – whether positive or negative – because they dominate the everyday patterns of living and behaviour for much of the population. Lack of engagement between groups in cities can take a highly visible spatial form in residential segregation, whether by race, religion, income or some other social attribute, although one should not read spatial patterns too directly off the underlying social processes.
- 1.3 Social cohesion is clearly a multi-faceted notion and potentially very wide ranging. The social relations and interactions between different groups, communities and institutions can take many different forms and manifest themselves in all sorts of outcomes. They may range from violent disorder, at one extreme, to intense social mixing and integration, at the other. This is simply one of the more tangible dimensions. There are other aspects of the notion of cohesion associated with people's identity, common experience, shared values, trust and respect for each other, as well as support for (public) institutions that can find common cause and promote collective action.
- 1.4 Considering the issues of spatial scale and social unit adds to the complexity, since a social system that is cohesive at one level may not be when considered at a larger or smaller scale. This is highly pertinent to the distinctions between city and neighbourhood, and to the way in which a social group or community is defined. For instance, tolerance and cohesion between different ethnic communities can obscure conflicts within them (eg between young and old, men and women, rich and poor). Highly cohesive neighbourhoods may give rise to a divided or fractured city if they involve segmentation, exclusion and discrimination.

- 1.5 One of the first attempts to define the concept systematically argued that it was too vague and all encompassing to be useful for exploring the complex issues involved in urban social change (Buck et al, 2002). Instead, they identified three distinct dimensions of cohesion that define the structure of a society:
- (i) **Social inequality** refers to disparities in immediate material circumstances (eg wealth or power) or in longer-term opportunities or life chances;
  - (ii) **Social connectedness** refers to social contacts and access to knowledge. It can also refer to the openness or closure of societies in relation to outsiders, and their tolerance of difference;
  - (iii) **Social order** refers to issues around security, trust and uncertainty, as well as the nature and prevalence of social conflict. Maintaining order may be important to protect the existing stakes and interests of different groups.
- 1.6 Buck et al (2002) also argued that each of these dimensions are generated by a variety of economic and social processes affecting cities, including changes in their industrial composition, their labour and housing markets, their demographic structure, and shared norms and attitudes among the population. The combination of multiple causes, processes and outcomes makes for a highly intricate and interlocking system of social development that is difficult to explicate.
- 1.7 Kearns and Forrest (2000) proposed a rather different approach that is somewhat less abstract and more policy oriented. It is closer to the commonplace meaning of cohesion as a stable social arrangement sustained by institutions promoting a shared agenda and solidarity between groups. They aimed to go beyond the very general use of the term by policy-makers to disentangle their basic aspirations. They identified five dimensions, shown below, and observed that there were tensions between some of them, such as social stability and spatial mobility:
- (i) **Common values and a civic culture:** includes common objectives, principles and codes of behaviour; support for political institutions and participation in politics.
  - (ii) **Social order and social control:** includes absence of general conflict and threats to the existing order; effective informal social control; tolerance and respect for difference; inter-group cooperation.
  - (iii) **Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities:** includes harmonious economic and social development and common standards; redistribution of public finances and of opportunities; equal access to welfare services; ready acknowledgement of social obligations and willingness to assist others.
  - (iv) **Social networks and social capital:** includes a high degree of social interaction within communities and families; civic engagement and associational activity; easy resolution of collective action problems.
  - (v) **Place attachment and identity:** includes strong attachment to place; intertwining of personal and place identity.

- 1.8 This framework was subsequently used in the report of an independent review team set up by the Home Office (Home Office, 2001). The team were commissioned to examine the violent disorders that occurred in three northern English cities in 2001. Their report said that the causes were multi-layered and complex and tackling them would require sustained effort. However, a common theme that they stressed across the cities was a lack of interaction between people of different cultural, religious and racial backgrounds; basically people were living separate and parallel lives. They argued that a significant contributory factor to the disturbances was a growing problem of residential segregation. Local ethnic or religious based communities were cohesive in themselves, in that individuals were integrated into closely knit structures. However, there were serious divisions and a lack of shared values and positive interchange across communities. As a result, they coined the term 'community cohesion' to give greater emphasis to the relationships between neighbourhoods and communities.
- 1.9 Working with the Local Government Association (LGA), the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) and the Commission for Racial Equality, the Home Office subsequently developed its own definition of community cohesion (LGA et al, 2002). This has since been widely adopted and used in a series of reports and documents as official guidance to local authorities in their key community leadership role. It defines a cohesive community as one where:
- (i) there is a common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities;
  - (ii) the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and positively valued;
  - (iii) those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities;
  - (iv) strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighbourhoods.
- 1.10 This shares much in common with the Kearns and Forrest framework, although it is simpler and more focused. It makes no mention of social order and lack of conflict, except by implication. It also omits questions of identity, political participation and public services, and plays down the role of social networks. Finally, there is no mention of social inequalities and redistribution, or the issue of spatial scale and the distinction between interactions *within* and *between* communities.

## **Our preferred approach**

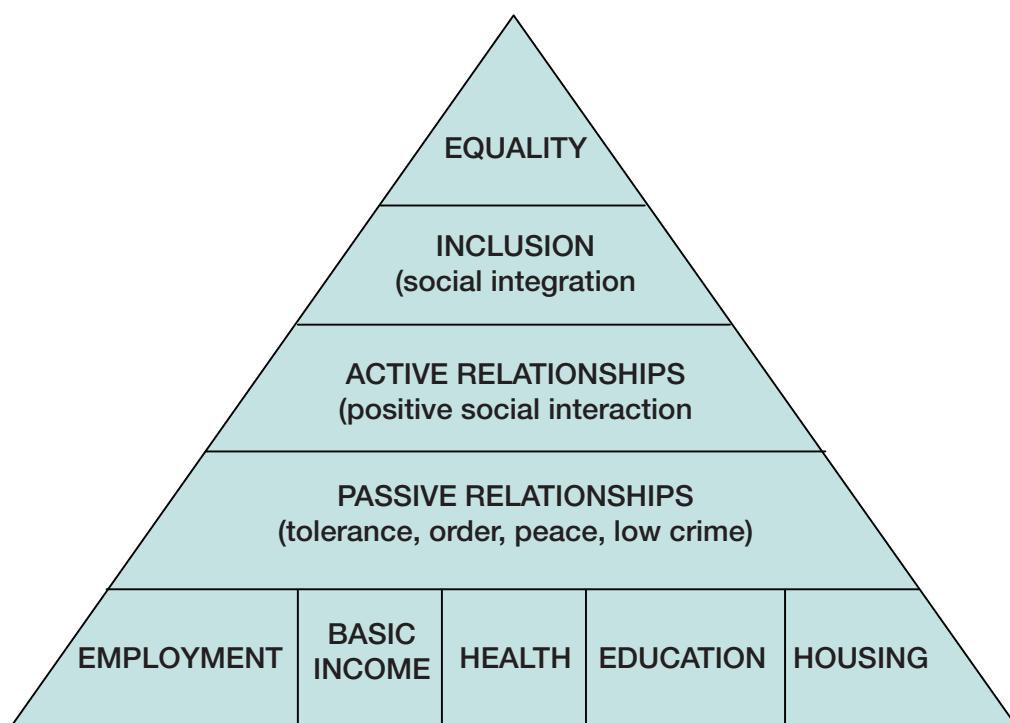
- 1.11 The approach used in this study builds upon previous frameworks in a rigorous but pragmatic way. It simplifies the core dimensions of social cohesion on the grounds that there is some overlap between them (eg between values, identity and place attachment; and between different kinds of social relationships). In addition, not all elements are equally relevant to a study of social conditions in cities (eg principles and codes of behaviour and redistribution of public finances). It also does more to incorporate the related issues of social exclusion (such as unemployment and deprivation) and social inclusion, partly on the grounds that these are important challenges for urban policy and cannot be omitted.

- 1.12 The potential for policy to influence the dynamics of cohesion is also made more explicit than before. The priority accorded to cohesion objectives varies greatly at the local level, as does the range of policy responses. Since the terminology of cohesion is new and there are different ideas in circulation about how best to respond to the challenges, local policies are inevitably influenced by the guidance offered by central government and the choice of performance indicators, in addition to their own evidence and interpretation of social conditions in the locality. In this fluid environment, the way cohesion is defined really matters to what local authorities and other bodies actually do.
- 1.13 There are three dimensions at the heart of our definition of social cohesion, shown below. Each has a positive and a negative side to it. The influence of spatial scale needs to be explored empirically, as does the question of whether relationships within communities complement or conflict with those between communities:
- (i) **Social relationships.** This has a passive aspect that refers to the acceptance of difference between and within communities, which tends to mean a state of order, stability and security. There is also an active aspect that refers to the positive interactions and exchanges between and within communities. Both are potential resources for places (or social capital). Stronger social relationships may, for instance, mean people being more public spirited and willing to commit time and effort to community projects and local improvement. They may be more hospitable and neighbourly to others. The negative side of these relationships is apathy, disaffection, intolerance, conflict or disorder, and therefore instability, insecurity and uncertainty. Policy may seek to foster the positive and counter the negative by, for example, raising awareness of different cultures to reduce ignorance and intolerance; valuing and celebrating diversity to appreciate its positive contribution to society; encouraging more frequent and meaningful contact and dialogue between groups to break down prejudice and overcome other barriers that separate them; and being transparent about the distribution of public resources to avoid perceptions of undue bias and resentment.
  - (ii) **Social inclusion** refers to the involvement or participation of disadvantaged groups in mainstream economic, political and social institutions, including work, schools, media, culture and sport. It includes the degree of civic engagement and representation among elected and appointed civic leaders and partnerships. It also includes people's sense of belonging or attachment to a place. The contrary position is exclusion from the normal activities and institutions of everyday life or perceptions of isolation or detachment. One of the key features of social exclusion is long-term or recurrent poverty or unemployment with low prospects of advancement. It may also encompass exclusion from housing, education, welfare services, community facilities and civic society. Policy may promote inclusion by specifically encouraging participation from disadvantaged groups; tackling the obstacles that limit their access to opportunities; opening up exclusive institutional practices; enforcing laws against discrimination; ensuring a more representative workforce; and promoting a broad and inclusive vision for the neighbourhood or city to include all communities and build a common understanding and sense of collective ownership.

(iii) **Social equality** refers to the level of disparity in access to opportunities or material circumstances, such as income, health or quality of life. The opposite is inequality in living standards and prospects for upward social mobility or life chances. Large and persistent inequalities imply enduring poverty, stress and hardship for those at the lower end of the distribution. They may also matter to society *overall*, through more anxiety, poorer social relationships, more violent crime, less involvement in community life and worse health (Wilkinson, 2000). Policy may tackle inequality and deprivation by positive action to target resources on those most in need; create the stepping stones or ladders of opportunity to enable upward mobility; and address the foundations of inequality in lack of work, powerlessness, or poor educational attainment.

- 1.14 In addition, our approach devotes more attention than previous frameworks to the underlying material conditions of social cohesion, particularly in Part 2 – the quantitative analysis. This part of the report devotes less attention to measuring the other dimensions of cohesion. This is partly for the straightforward practical reason that empirical evidence for the values, perceptions and patterns of behaviour that are at the heart of cohesion is limited, especially at the level of cities and for different points in time to permit analysis of trends. Many of the qualities such as tolerance, trust, disaffection, social interactions and sense of belonging are intangible and therefore difficult to measure. There is some evidence for selected social attitudes presented in the companion thematic report *A Comparison of Public Attitudes in Urban and Non-Urban Areas across Different Regions* by the National Centre for Social Research, based on the British Social Attitudes Survey. It is also summarised in the overall *State of the English Cities Report*. That analysis is not repeated in this report. There is also little analysis of demographic issues in this report, mainly because these are covered comprehensively in another companion report, *The Changing Urban Scene: Demographics and the Big Picture*, by Tony Champion, and also summarised in the overall *State of the English Cities Report*.

**Figure 1: Different dimensions of social cohesion**



- 1.15 Evidence is more readily available for the pre-conditions of cohesion. These include employment, income, education, health and housing (see Figure 1). Relations between and within communities suffer when people lack work and endure hardship, debt, anxiety, low self-esteem, ill health, poor skills and bad living conditions. These basic necessities of life are the foundations of a strong social fabric and important indicators of social progress. The interaction between these conditions is crucial to the performance of cities, eg through the effects of unemployment on poverty and health, or the impact poor schools and perceptions of crime have on residential preferences and urban segregation. In most cases there is sufficient historic data available to allow trends and patterns to be examined. However, these variables have not been selected mainly because of data availability, but rather because of widespread recognition of their importance in shaping social change in cities and neighbourhoods. Indeed, these conditions can be traced directly back to the ‘five giants on the road to reconstruction’ that William Beveridge identified in 1942: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness (Timmings, 2001).
- 1.16 Part 3 of the report compensates for the limited statistical analysis of the core dimensions of cohesion with more rounded, and partly qualitative, analyses of particular cities. These integrated case studies allow the complexity of multiple and interdependent causes and outcomes of social cohesion to be captured in a richer and more effective way than the discussion of particular drivers of cohesion considered on their own. Different dimensions of cohesion and different social structures or divisions (income, class, race, religion, gender, age, etc) acquire different levels of significance in different places. The impact of spatial scale and the relationships within and between communities are also explored in the case studies.
- 1.17 Policy responses differ widely too in terms of the core issues identified by decision makers, the kinds of strategies that are formulated and the vigour with which they are pursued. A broad assessment is made of the contribution of local and national government to social conditions in the cities, based on local interviews, background reports and a variety of social and economic statistics. However, it is beyond the scope of the study to undertake a formal evaluation of policy impacts or cost-effectiveness. What emerges from the case studies is that the challenges of social cohesion and the underlying dynamics can vary greatly depending on the historical development and governance of the city. We return to reflect further on this point in our conclusion, which draws the evidence together and discusses the policy implications.

## PART 2: Patterns and trends in social cohesion

### Introduction

- 2.1 The purpose of this part of the report is to provide a quantitative assessment of contemporary social conditions in English cities. There are three overriding themes addressed: (i) current patterns: differences in conditions between and within cities, and between cities and the rest of the country; (ii) recent trends: whether conditions have been getting better or worse; and (iii) what lies behind these trends.
- 2.2 The analysis is based on a wide range of secondary data sources, including the State of the Cities Database (SOCD), the Population Census, the Labour Force Survey (LFS), the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), official statistics on educational attainment, the Health Survey for England, the English House Condition Survey, recorded crime statistics and data on welfare benefits.
- 2.3 The structure follows the underlying conditions or drivers of social cohesion identified in Part 1:
- (i) income and deprivation;
  - (ii) employment;
  - (iii) education and skills;
  - (iv) health and well-being;
  - (v) housing and residential segregation; and
  - (vi) crime.
- 2.4 The analysis takes place at the level of individual cities and differences within them, and groups of cities in order to compare different settlement types. It also analyses patterns and trends for different socio-economic, demographic and ethnic groups, where the data permits this level of disaggregation. Emerging patterns and trends provide clues to the underlying dynamics and processes of change.
- 2.5 The definition of a city is based on the commonsense view of a city as a continuous built-up area, rather than administrative boundaries. This is defined as the Primary Urban Area (PUA) and it excludes any surrounding settlements that are not physically connected to the main urban area. The PUAs were defined from the official set of Urban Areas based on the 2001 Census built-up areas, with a minimum size cut-off of 125,000 population. This definition produces a list of 56 cities (PUAs) shown in Map 2.1. Where the data was only available for local authority units, these were used as the building blocks of the PUAs. Otherwise wards or Standard Output Areas were used as the building blocks. Note that the larger PUAs are not coterminous with local authority boundaries, even though the names are sometimes the same. Many of the larger PUAs contain several local authorities. The Appendix specifies which individual local authorities are grouped into the 56 PUAs.

## Map 2.1



- 2.6 In order to explore the trends affecting different types of urban area we produced a simple typology of cities. The core typology of the *State of the English Cities* report (SOCR) is based on two key criteria: regional location and settlement size. The regional distinction is between the north and west, on the one hand, and the south and east, on the other. There is no perfect way of dividing the country in this way. Hence we used the boundaries of the official Government Offices in the Regions. The north and west includes the North West, North East, Yorkshire and the Humber, and West Midlands regions. The south and east includes the other four regions. London is treated as a separate case as the capital. We also examine the six metropolitan areas of the north and west as a separate category; they all have a population of over 0.5m. Large cities are defined as having a resident population of between 275,000 and 0.5m and small cities between 125,000 and 275,000. There are 56 cities or PUAs altogether. They contain 58 per cent of the population of England and 63 per cent of its jobs. The full typology of the PUAs is provided in the Appendix. A functional categorisation of cities based on their dominant industries is not possible since most cities have diversified economies with limited specialisation. The resulting categorisation is as follows:
- London;
  - metropolitan centres in the north and west (Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield);
  - large cities in the north and west (between 275,000 and 0.5m population);
  - small cities in the north and west (125,000 – 275,000 population);
  - large cities in the south and east (275,000 – 0.5m population);
  - small cities in the south and east (125,000 – 275,000 population);
  - large towns in the north and west (50,000 – 125,000 population);
  - large towns in the south and east (50,000 – 125,000 population);
  - small towns and rural areas in the north and west (below 50,000 population); and
  - small towns and rural areas in the south and east (below 50,000 population).
- 2.7 Additional analysis of the nine largest cities in England (including Bristol and Nottingham as well as the seven named above) is also undertaken on the grounds that they have been the focus of considerable policy attention; historically because of their problems of decline and deprivation, and more recently because they are being seen as actual or potential sources of regional economic growth (ODPM, 2003).

## PART 2

### Section1: Income and deprivation

2.1.1 Low income and deprivation are key elements of poverty and social exclusion.

These are of course fundamental to the level of social cohesion or lack of cohesion in cities and neighbourhoods and they relate directly to two of the core dimensions discussed in Part 1: social (in)equality and social exclusion/inclusion. Household poverty and neighbourhood deprivation are often associated with personal hardship, high levels of debt, stress and anxiety, chronic illness, drug and alcohol addictions, crime, family breakdown and awkward neighbours (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998; Shaw et al 1999; Donnison, 2000; Hills and Stewart, 2005). It is for these reasons that poverty and deprivation have been important objects of government policy at local and national levels.

2.1.2 The main questions addressed in this section are:

- (i) What is the level of deprivation in English cities and towns?
- (ii) What is the gap between the most and least deprived neighbourhoods?
- (iii) Where are the most, and least, deprived neighbourhoods?
- (iv) How does the level of child poverty vary between cities and towns?
- (v) What is the relationship between ethnicity and deprivation?
- (vi) Have conditions been getting better or worse in different cities?

2.1.3 The main sources of data used to answer these questions are the IMD 2004 and official benefit statistics. These are the most up-to-date and comprehensive sources of information available on income and deprivation at neighbourhood and city levels. The IMD is made up of seven main components called domains that together provide an overall measure of deprivation (Noble et al, 2004). The data is provided at a fine-grained level – Standard Output Areas (SOA). They have a minimum population of 1000 (or 400 households) and a mean of 1500, so they tend to be smaller than neighbourhoods, although we tend to use that term for convenience. In our analysis these areas have been aggregated into wards, which have then been combined to construct the PUAs. This is a more accurate way of building the PUAs than on the basis of local authority units because it matches the definitive smaller scale PUA boundaries more closely. The seven domains of the IMD are:

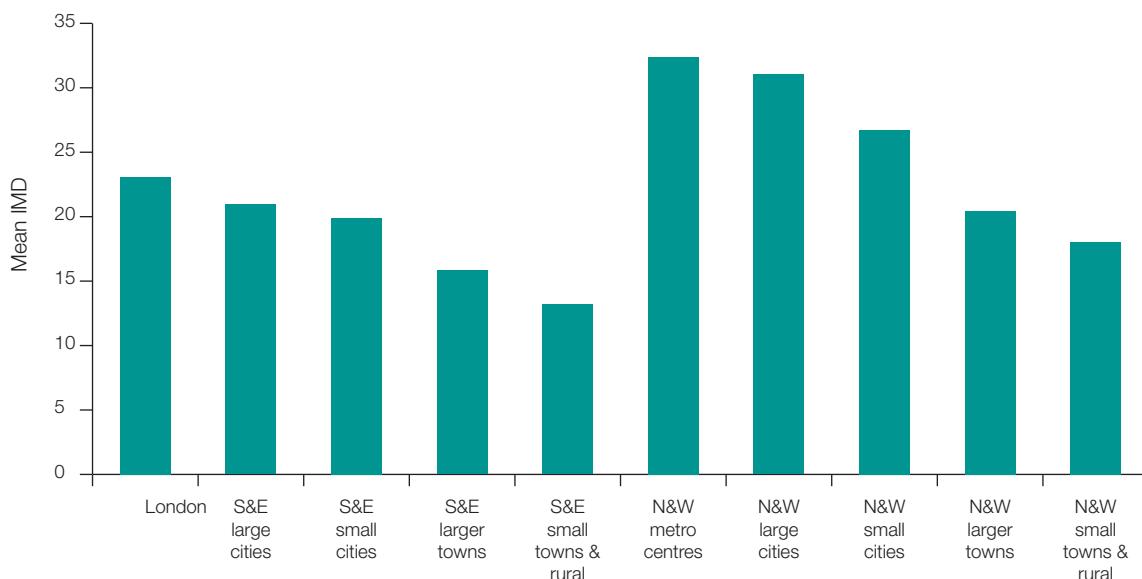
- income deprivation;
- employment deprivation;
- health deprivation and disability;
- education, skills and training deprivation;
- barriers to housing and services;
- crime; and
- living environment.

- 2.1.4 The income and employment domains are weighted more heavily than the others in constructing the overall index, and the housing, crime and environment domains are weighted less.

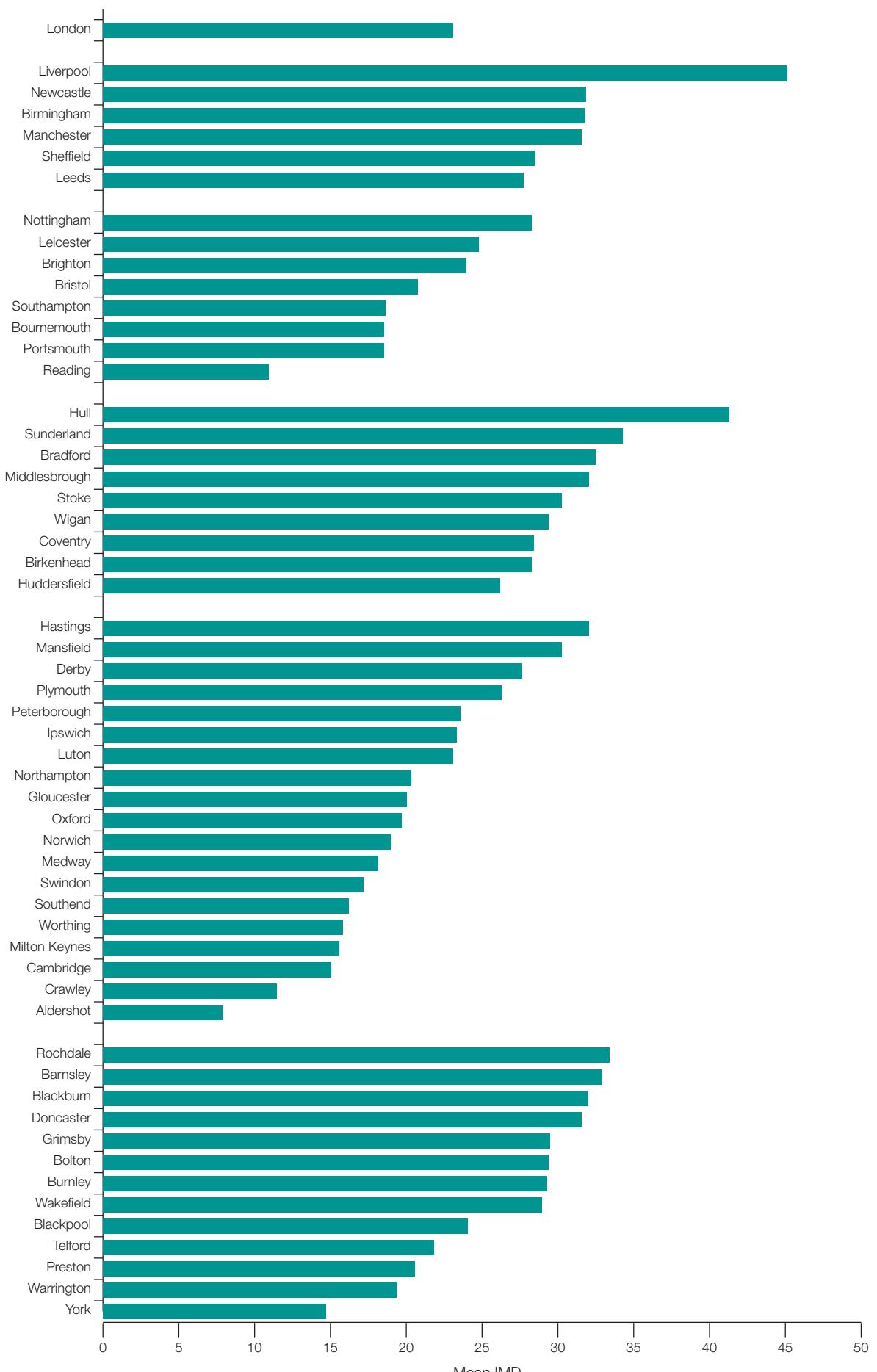
## The overall level of deprivation within each city

- 2.1.5 A simple summary measure of the level or extent of deprivation in each city is the mean overall score of the IMD. The actual statistic does not mean a great deal in itself, but it is a useful indicator of the comparative position of each city. For some of the constituent domains the statistic does mean something; for the income and employment domains the value is an indicator of the percentage of the population affected by income and employment deprivation.
- 2.1.6 Figure 2.1 shows wide disparities in the level of deprivation between different types of settlement. Deprivation is clearly a much bigger problem in the cities than in the towns and rural areas. Metropolitan centres and large cities in the north and west have by far the highest levels of deprivation, and towns and rural areas in the south and east have the lowest. Looked at more closely, both settlement size and region seem to matter, although the regional dimension clearly matters more than urban size. Most types of area in the north and west do worse than most types of area in the south and east. London's position is consistent with its size and regional position.

**Figure 2.1: Level of deprivation by city type, 2004**



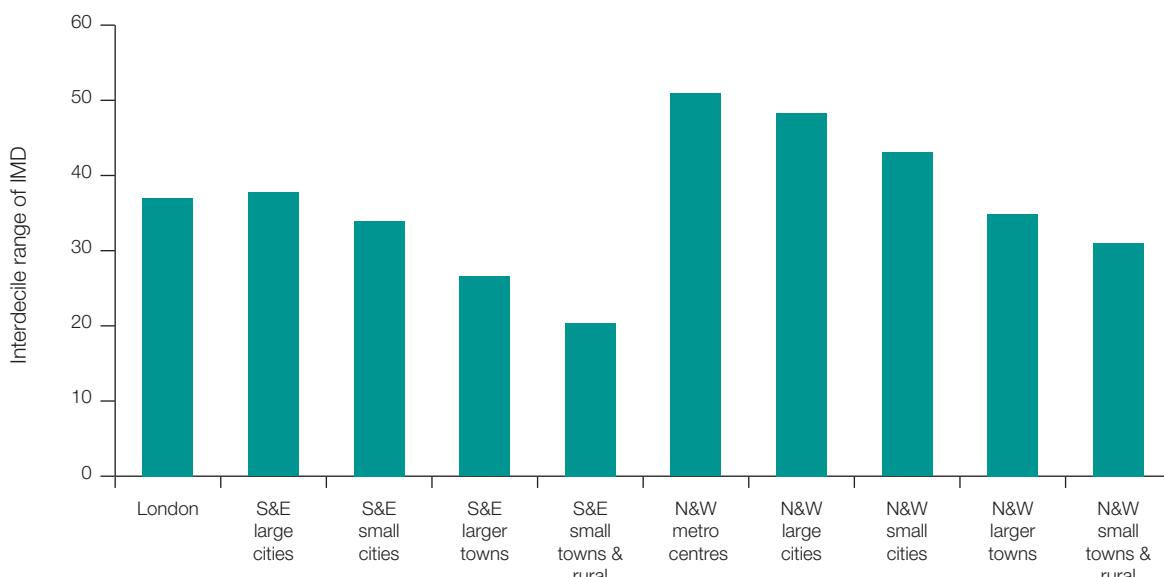
- 2.1.7 Figure 2.2 shows the level of deprivation for individual cities. The disparities are naturally much wider than between different categories of city. Liverpool has by far the highest level of deprivation, followed by Hull. Aldershot has the lowest level of deprivation, followed by Reading and Crawley. Apart from Liverpool, the metropolitan centres have similar levels of deprivation. Nottingham stands slightly apart from the other large cities in the south and east with more deprivation. Similarly, Hastings and Mansfield stand apart from the other small cities in the south and east. York stands apart from small cities in the north and west with relatively low deprivation. London is in the middle of the spectrum with a lower level of deprivation than most cities in the north and west, but higher than most cities in the south and east.

**Figure 2.2: Level of deprivation by individual city, 2004**

## The gap between the most and least deprived neighbourhoods

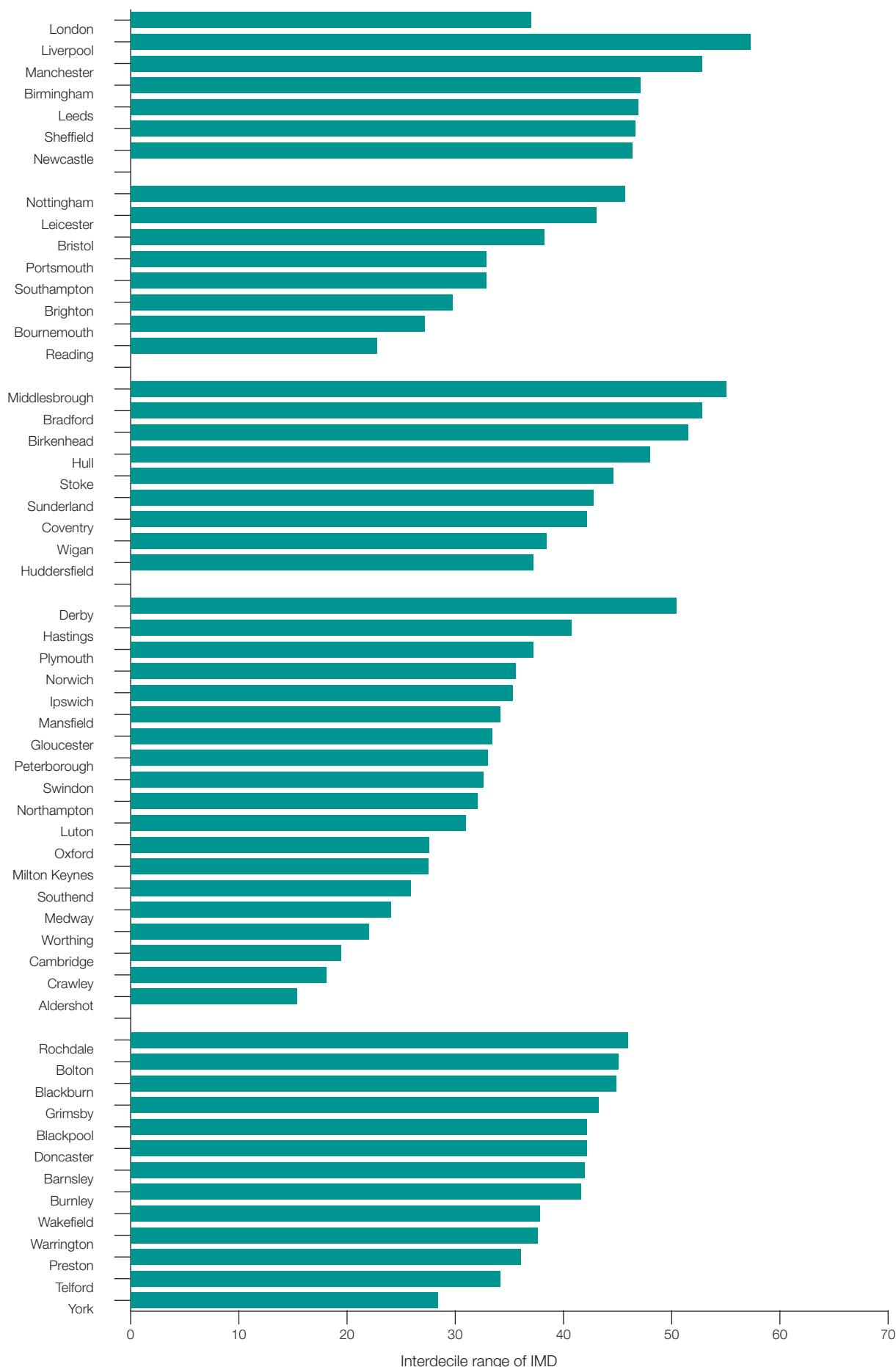
- 2.1.8 A simple measure of the level of dispersion or inequality between the most deprived and least deprived neighbourhoods within each city is the inter-decile range, ie the difference between the first and the ninth deciles of the IMD. Once again the statistic does not mean much in itself, but it is useful for comparative purposes. One qualification is that the IMD is designed primarily to identify the most deprived areas, which means it is less accurate at identifying the least deprived areas. It can be used to indicate the gap between the most and least deprived areas, although since this is not its main purpose, it is an imperfect measure.
- 2.1.9 Figure 2.3 shows a wider gap between the most and least deprived neighbourhoods within the cities than in the towns and rural areas, especially when comparing the metropolitan centres and large cities in the north and west with places in the south and east. Cities in the north and west seem to be more unequal on this measure than those in the south and east. These are important findings, albeit tentative at this stage. Bearing in mind how the IMD is constructed, the immediate explanation appears to be that the poorest 10 per cent of neighbourhoods in cities in the north and west are more intensely deprived than their equivalent neighbourhoods in cities and towns elsewhere, rather than because they have particularly wealthy neighbourhoods.

**Figure 2.3: Gap between most and least deprived areas by city type, 2004**

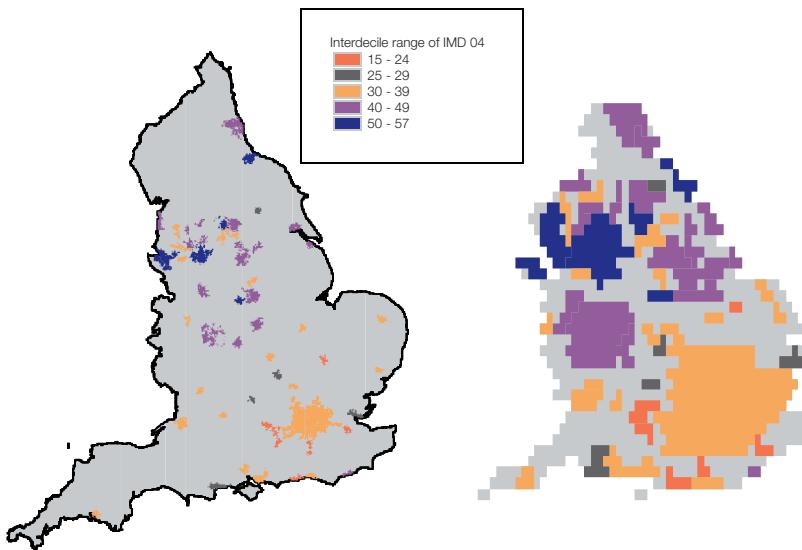


- 2.1.10 Figure 2.4 and Map 2.2 show the gap between the most and least deprived neighbourhoods for individual cities. The disparities are naturally wider than between different categories of city. Liverpool has the highest gap, followed by Middlesbrough, Manchester and Bradford. Aldershot has the smallest gap, followed by Crawley and Cambridge. Apart from Liverpool and Manchester, the metropolitan centres have similar large gaps. Nottingham and Leicester stand slightly apart from the other large cities in the south and east. Derby stands apart from the other small cities in the south and east. York stands apart from small cities in the north and west with a relatively small gap. London is roughly in the middle of the spectrum with a smaller gap than most cities in the north and west.

**Figure 2.4: Gap between most and least deprived areas by individual city, 2004**



## Map 2.2: Gap between most and least deprived areas in each city, 2004



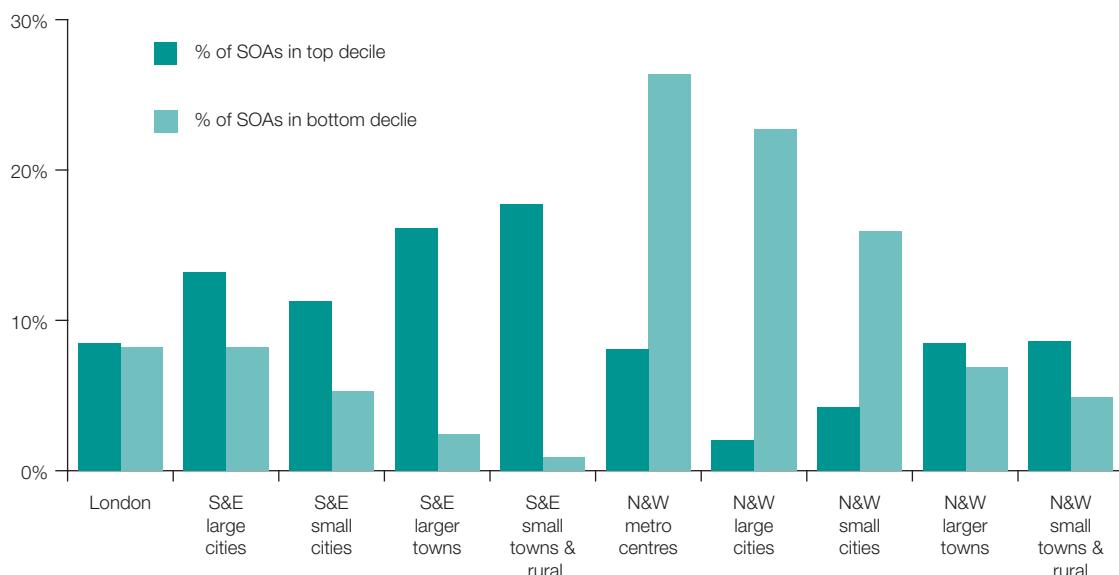
### The location of the most and least deprived neighbourhoods

2.1.11 The overall level of deprivation and the gap between the most and least deprived neighbourhoods are both highest in major cities in the north and west. How are the poorest neighbourhoods actually distributed across England? How many more of the country's poorest neighbourhoods are located in the cities in the north and west compared with the south and east? How many more of the country's least deprived neighbourhoods are located in towns and rural areas in the south and east? These questions are addressed by looking at the incidence of England's most and least deprived 10 per cent of neighbourhoods.

2.1.12 Figure 2.5 shows the proportion of neighbourhoods in each type of city that fall within the country's most and least deprived 10 per cent of neighbourhoods. Every bar in the graph would be 10 per cent if these places had their proportionate share of England's poorest and least deprived areas. In fact, the metropolitan centres have more than two and a half times their share of the poorest neighbourhoods and less than half their share of the least deprived areas. Towns and rural areas everywhere have less than their share of the poorest areas and every category of city or town in the south and east has less than its share of the poorest areas. So region seems to matter most to the location of deprived neighbourhoods. Settlement size also matters, particularly in the north and west, in that larger cities have more of the most deprived areas than smaller cities and towns. Once again, London's pattern is consistent with its size and regional location.

2.1.13 The incidence of least deprived neighbourhoods is essentially the inverse of the most deprived neighbourhoods. For instance, towns and rural areas in the south and east have far more than their proportionate share, whereas metropolitan centres have far less. An important implication of the offsetting effect of most and least deprived neighbourhoods is that cities do not appear from this to be much more strongly polarised than towns and rural areas. They certainly have far more poor neighbourhoods, but they also appear to have far fewer prosperous neighbourhoods. So the main difference is that cities generally have more deprivation than towns and rural areas, not that they have more of both poor and well-off neighbourhoods.

**Figure 2.5: Incidence of the most and least deprived neighbourhoods by city type, 2004**



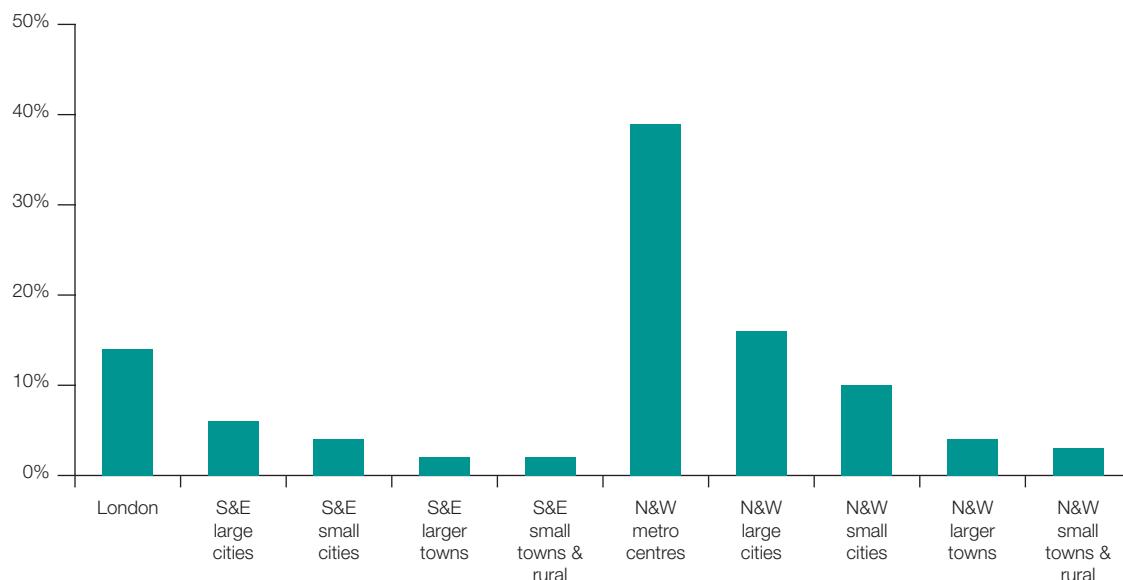
2.1.14 This also holds true when individual cities are considered (Figure 2.6). Almost half of the neighbourhoods in Liverpool are in the poorest 10 per cent in the country. This is double the proportion in Birmingham and Manchester. Liverpool also has none of the least deprived neighbourhoods in England. London is more balanced than any of the other major cities, and apparently less polarised than one might have anticipated, with almost its proportionate share of the most and least deprived neighbourhoods. Bristol is quite unlike the other major regional cities with less than its share of poor neighbourhoods and more than its share of least deprived areas.

**Figure 2.6: Incidence of the most and least deprived neighbourhoods by major city, 2004**



2.1.15 If the government wanted to target the most deprived neighbourhoods in England, where would it find them? We have shown that the major cities in the north and west have more than their share, but they are each much smaller settlements than London. Towns may have fewer than their share, but put together they may add up to something significant. Figure 2.7 addresses this issue by showing how the most deprived 10 per cent of neighbourhoods are distributed across the different types of urban area. Almost 40 per cent of them are to be found in the six metropolitan centres, a much higher proportion than anywhere else. Almost two-thirds are to be found in the three types of city in the north and west if they are considered together. London has 14 per cent and only just over 10 per cent are found outside the cities. So deprived neighbourhoods are strongly concentrated in England's cities, especially in the north and west.

**Figure 2.7: Distribution of the most deprived neighbourhoods by city type, 2004**

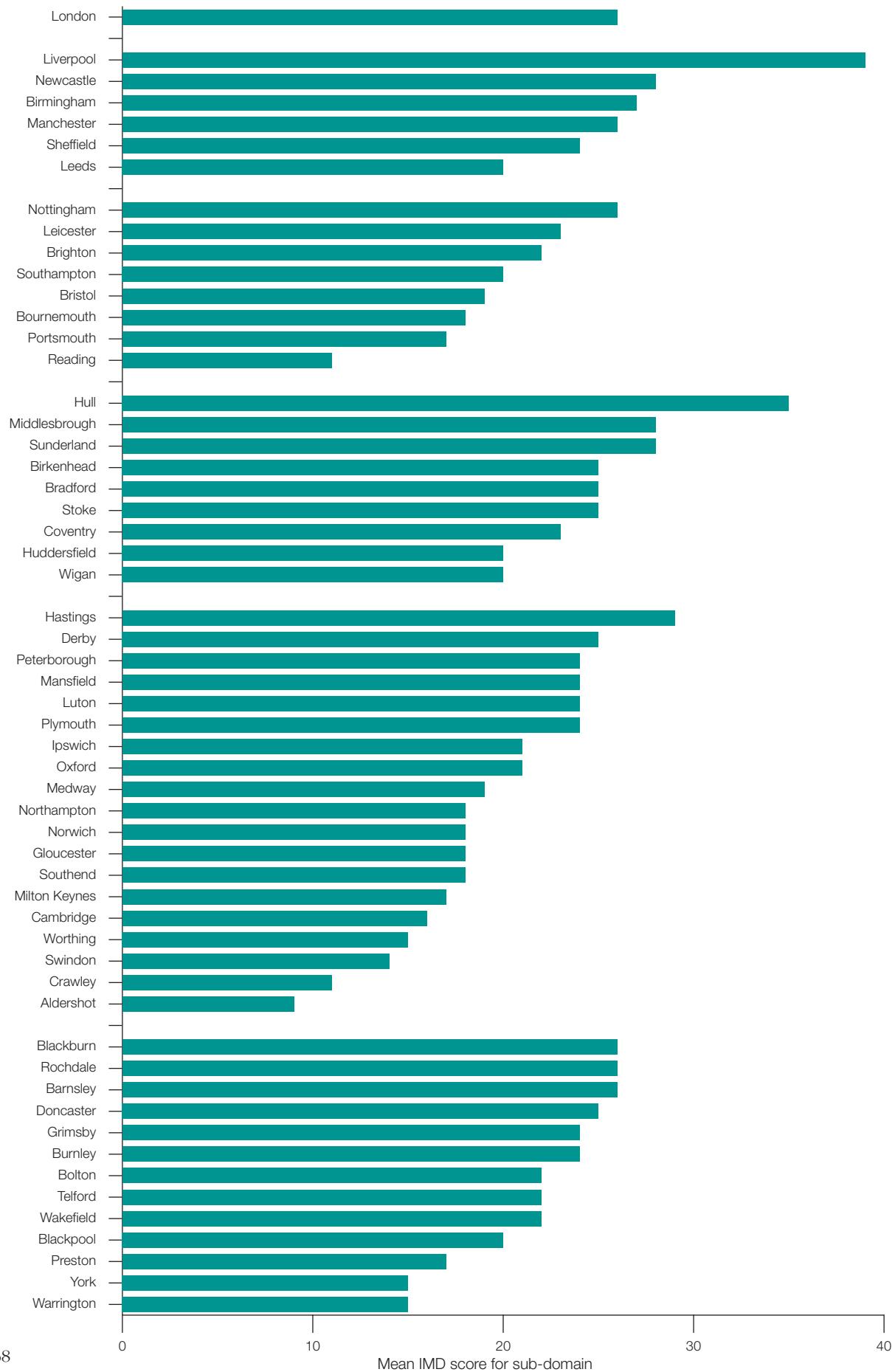


## Income deprivation affecting children

2.1.16 The patterns that emerge from analysing the income domain of the IMD are generally very similar to the overall index presented above, so there is little point in duplicating the figures and commentary since the messages are almost identical. The implication is that income is a crucial concomitant of deprivation.

2.1.17 One variable where there is a slight difference is in the level of income deprivation affecting children. Reducing child poverty is a major objective of the government, so the geographical pattern is important. Figure 2.8 shows that child poverty is generally a much bigger problem in the cities than in the towns and rural areas. There are also wide disparities in the level of child poverty for individual cities. Metropolitan centres and large cities in the north and west tend to have the highest levels, and smaller cities in the south and east the lowest. The biggest difference between the geography of child poverty and the overall level of deprivation (Figure 2.2) is the position of London. London has the 10th highest level of child poverty in England but only the 34th highest level of deprivation overall. Another difference is that the gap between most cities in the south and east and those in the north and west is narrower for child poverty than for deprivation overall. The extreme positions of Liverpool, followed by Hull, are also very striking.

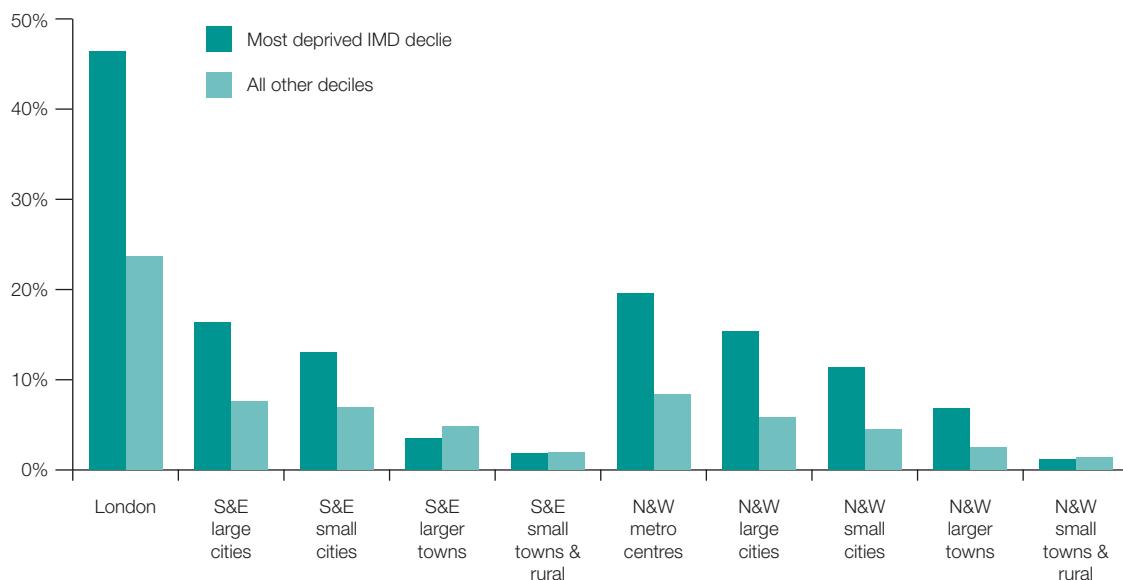
**Figure 2.8: Level of income deprivation affecting children by individual city, 2004**



## Deprivation among black and minority ethnic groups

2.1.18 In order to explore the relationship between deprivation and ethnic status we linked ethnicity data from the Census with deprivation data from the IMD. The summary findings are shown in Figure 2.9. It reveals that the proportion of the population living in the poorest neighbourhoods that are members of ethnic groups other than white (hereafter referred to as ‘non-whites’) is higher than elsewhere; the percentage living there is roughly twice as high as the percentage living in the rest of the city. In London there are many more non-whites living in the poorest areas simply because there are many more non-whites in the city as a whole. Looking more closely at the ratio between the two bars for each settlement type, Figure 2.9 shows that non-whites are more likely to live in the poorest neighbourhoods in cities in the north and west compared with the south and east.

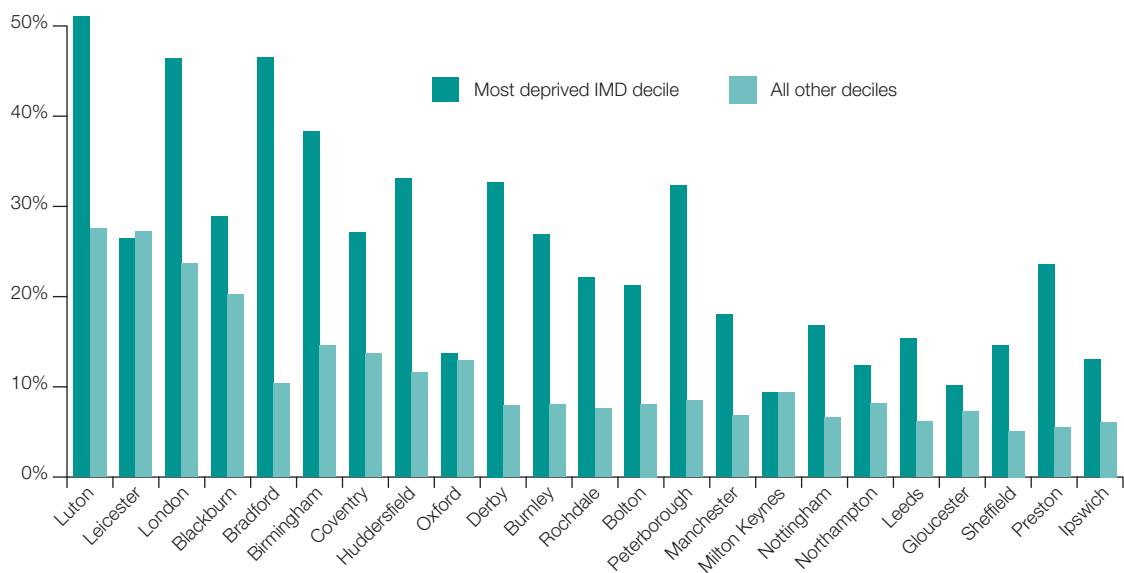
**Figure 2.9: Percentage of non-whites in the most deprived neighbourhoods and rest of the city, 2001**



2.1.19 In London the correspondence between the most deprived neighbourhoods and the Black Caribbean population was much stronger than for the Asian population, suggesting that Asians tend to be better off in the capital. Elsewhere in the south east there was not much difference between the Black Caribbean and Asian populations. The pattern was reversed for cities in the north and west, with a much stronger correspondence between the most deprived neighbourhoods and the Asian population.

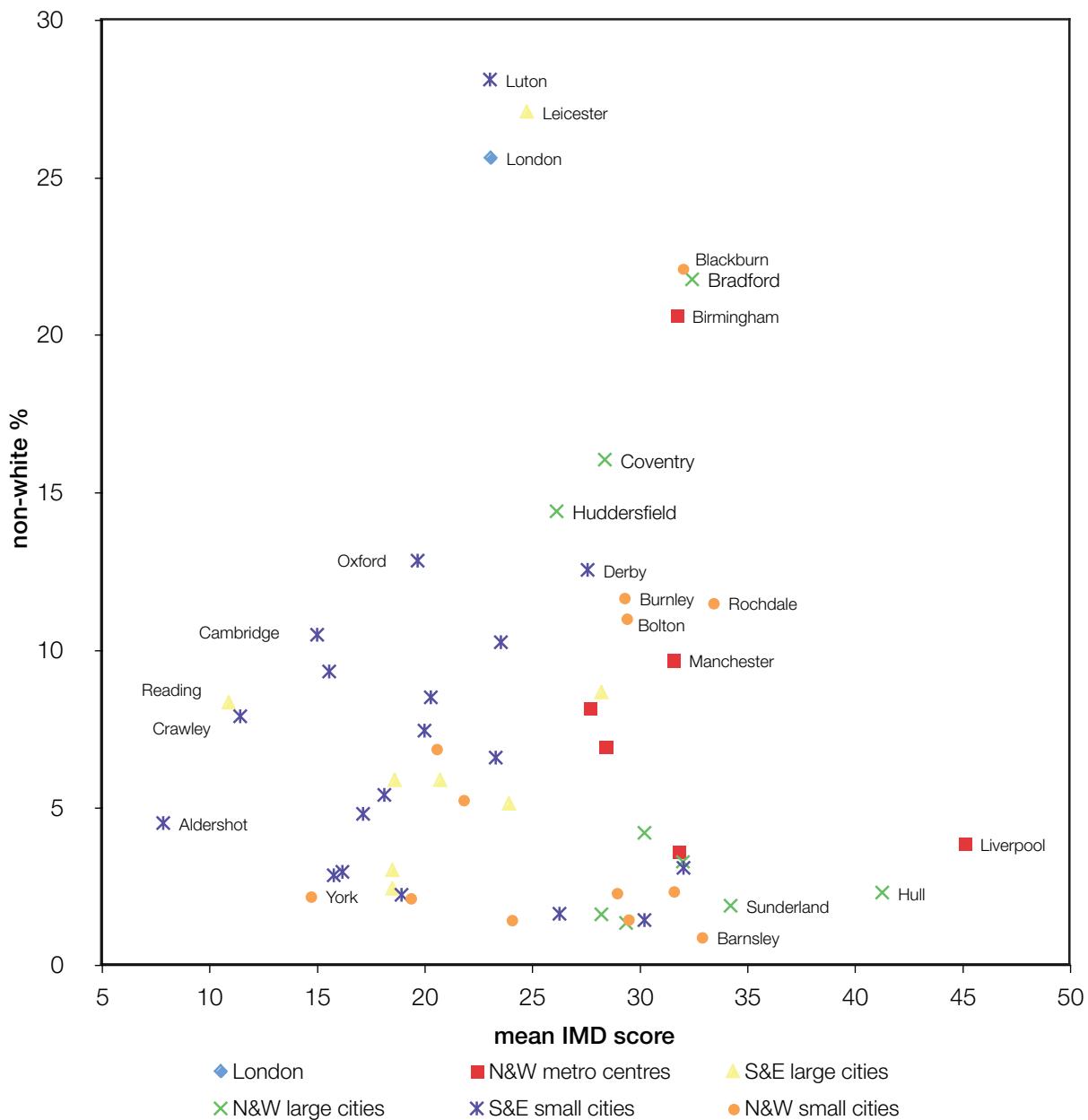
2.1.20 Figure 2.10 shows the data for individual cities in England, limited to those with non-white populations of over 6 per cent of their total populations. There are three cities where non-whites are not much more likely to live in the most deprived neighbourhoods: Leicester, Milton Keynes and Oxford. Leicester is one of our case studies discussed later. In contrast, there are five cities where non-whites are very much more likely to live in the most deprived neighbourhoods: Bradford, Preston, Derby, Peterborough and Burnley (another of our case studies). We show later in the report that four of these are among the nine most segregated cities in England.

**Figure 2.10: Percentage of non-whites in the most deprived neighbourhoods and rest of the city, by individual city, 2001**



2.1.21 The greater prevalence of the non-white population in the most deprived neighbourhoods in many cities does not mean that there is a more general relationship between cities with a large non-white population and cities with a high level of deprivation. Figure 2.11 shows a scatter plot comparing the proportion of the population of the 56 cities that is non-white with the deprivation level as measured by the IMD. The most deprived cities have small non-white populations and the cities with the largest non-white populations have below average IMD scores.

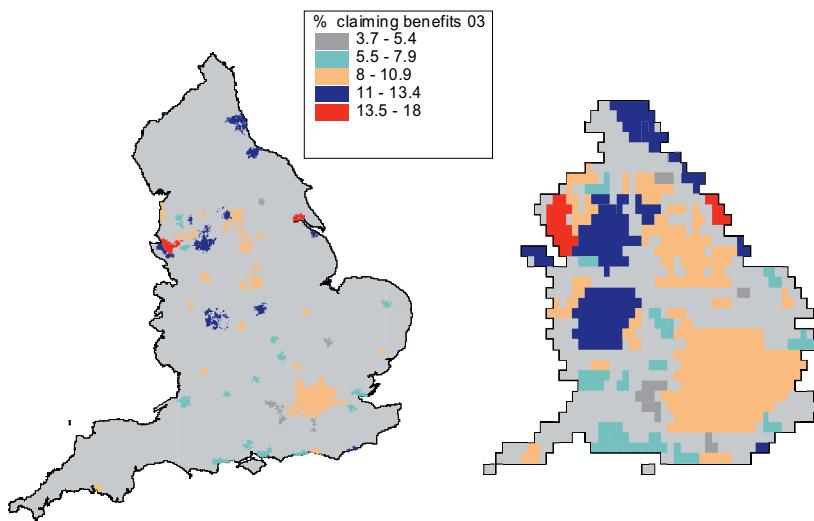
**Figure 2.11: Relationship between non-white population and level of deprivation, 2001**



## Reliance on welfare benefits

2.1.22 The principal source of income for deprived groups is state benefits. Income Support (IS) is the most important of these. It is paid to people under 60 who are on low incomes, have less than £8000 in savings, are lone parents, sick or disabled, blind, home carers and who are not registered unemployed. Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) is the key benefit for people who are registered unemployed. The combination of these two benefits provides one of the longest reliable time series available for small areas. Map 2.3 shows the proportion of working age adults claiming IS or JSA in August 2003. The highest figure was for Liverpool at 18 per cent, followed by Hull at 17 per cent. The next four cities with claimant rates of 13 per cent were Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Newcastle and Hastings.

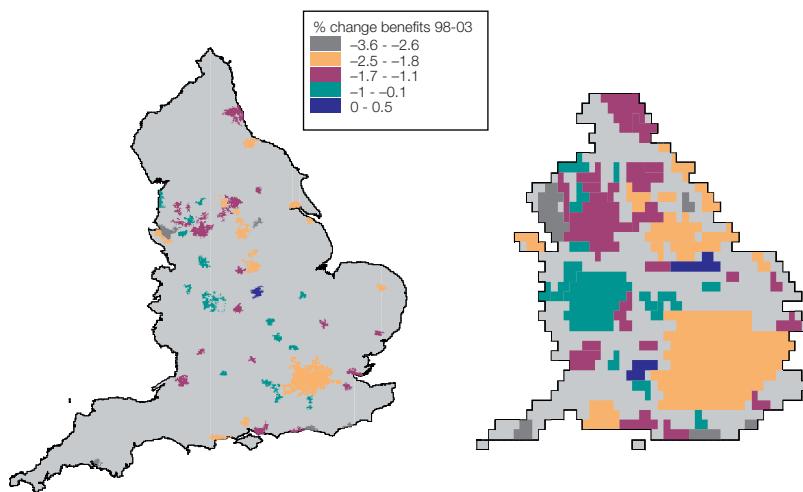
### Map 2.3: Adults claiming Income Support or JSA in 2003



2.1.23 Other cities with more than 11 per cent of their working age populations living on these benefits include: Blackburn, Sunderland, Birkenhead, Rochdale, Manchester, Bradford and Grimsby. The figure for London is 10.3 per cent. Rates below 6.5 per cent are found only in Aldershot, Reading, Cambridge, Crawley, Oxford, Worthing, and in the north, York. People on sickness benefits are not included, which would otherwise inflate these numbers substantially and reinforce the disparities.

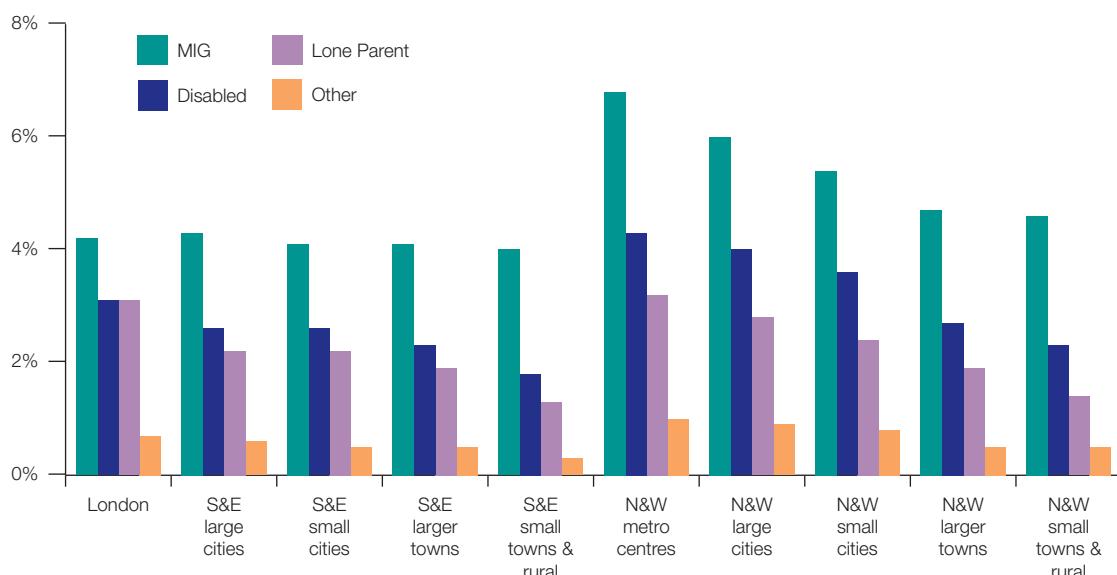
2.1.24 There have been large falls in recorded unemployment in the last decade. We can obtain an indication of how this has affected the level of income deprivation in the cities by considering changes in the rate of IS and JSA benefit claims. Map 2.4 shows the change in the proportion of working age adults claiming IS or JSA between August 1998 and August 2003. The proportion has fallen almost everywhere, and by most where it was highest. In Liverpool it fell by 3.6 per cent and the other big falls have been along the south coast (Hastings, Brighton and Plymouth), followed by selected cities in the north (including Doncaster, Barnsley, Hull, Wakefield, Nottingham and Mansfield). There were two places where the number of claimants rose slightly,: Reading and Leicester. Changes in benefit claimants are too complex to describe in terms of either regional location or city size, although there are clear regional clusters on the maps.

## Map 2.4: Changes in adults claiming IS or JSA, 1998- 2003



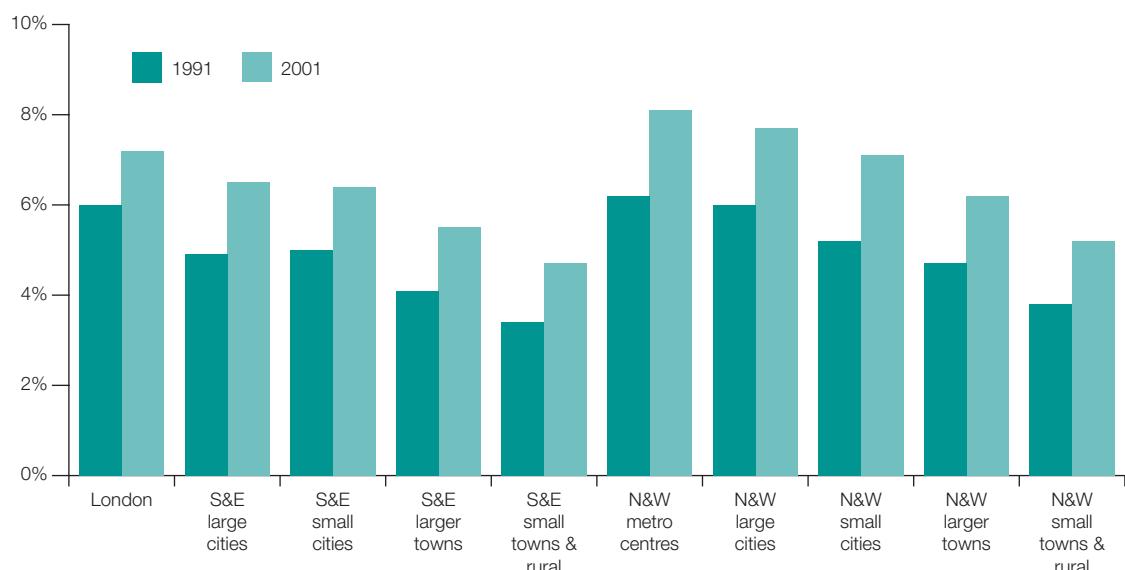
2.1.25 There are different groups among the population reliant on welfare benefits, including people with disabilities and lone parents. Both of these are targets of special government programmes to help them get off welfare and into work. Figure 2.12 shows the breakdown of IS benefit claims as a percentage of the working age population according to the specific type received (Minimum Income Guarantee, Disabled premium, Lone Parents premium or other premium). The proportion of adults claiming each of these is much higher in the cities in the north and west than elsewhere. Interestingly, the basic pattern of benefit claims within each city type is very similar, suggesting that these are not completely independent phenomena driven by separate dynamics, but rather that they are influenced by some more general condition. This is probably the state of the labour market in each type of area. London is the only exception, with a relatively high proportion of lone parents.

**Figure 2.12: IS claimants by benefit type and city type as a proportion of the working age population, August 2003**



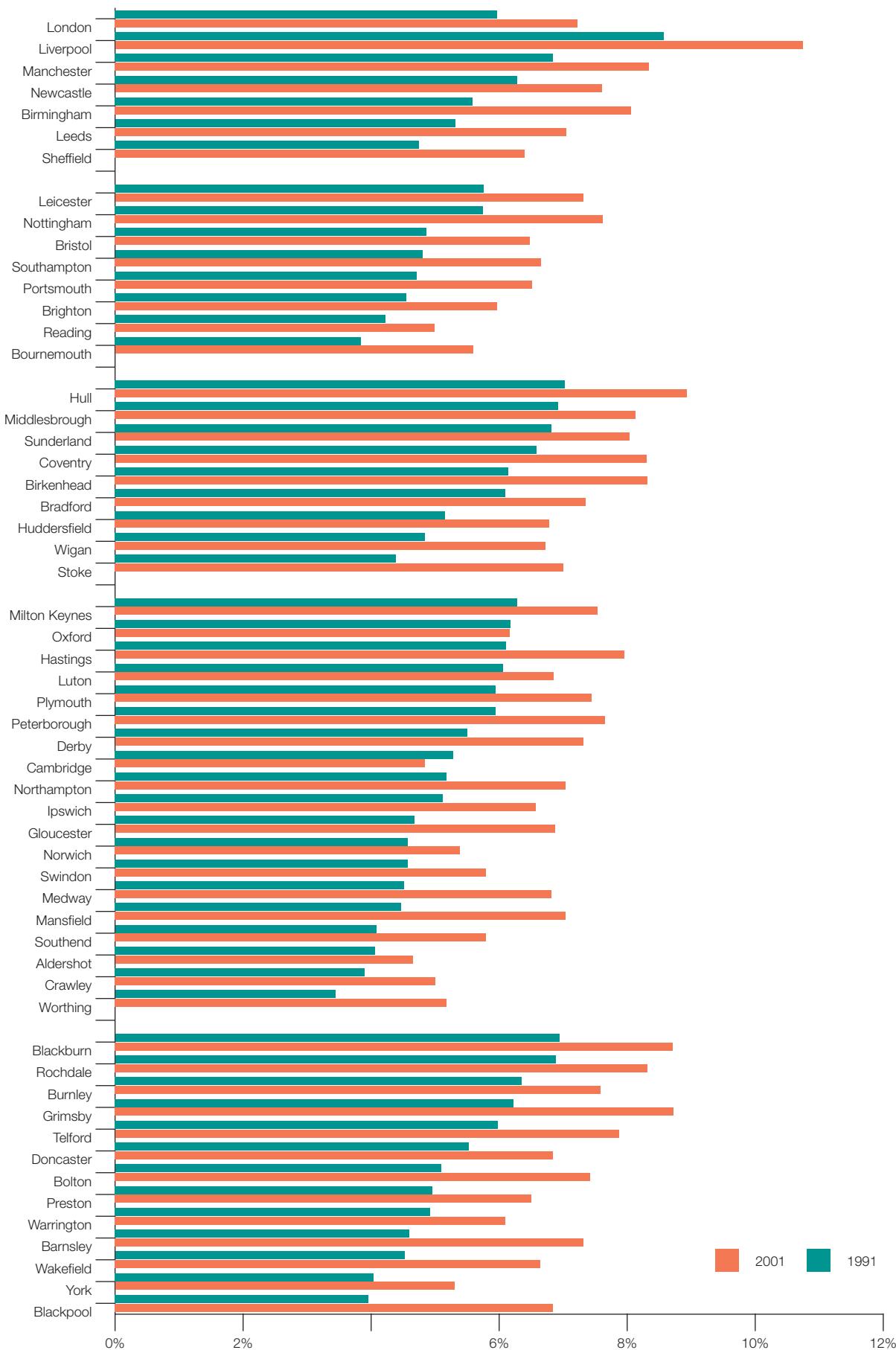
2.1.26 Figure 2.13 shows the distribution of lone parents based on Census data rather than benefit claims. It also allows for a comparison of trends over time. The Figure 2.13 confirms that cities have higher rates of lone parenthood than towns and rural areas, and that major cities in the north and west have the highest rates. It also shows a sizeable – and general – increase in lone parenthood between 1991 and 2001.

**Figure 2.13: Lone parents as a percentage of all households, by city type, 1991 & 2001**

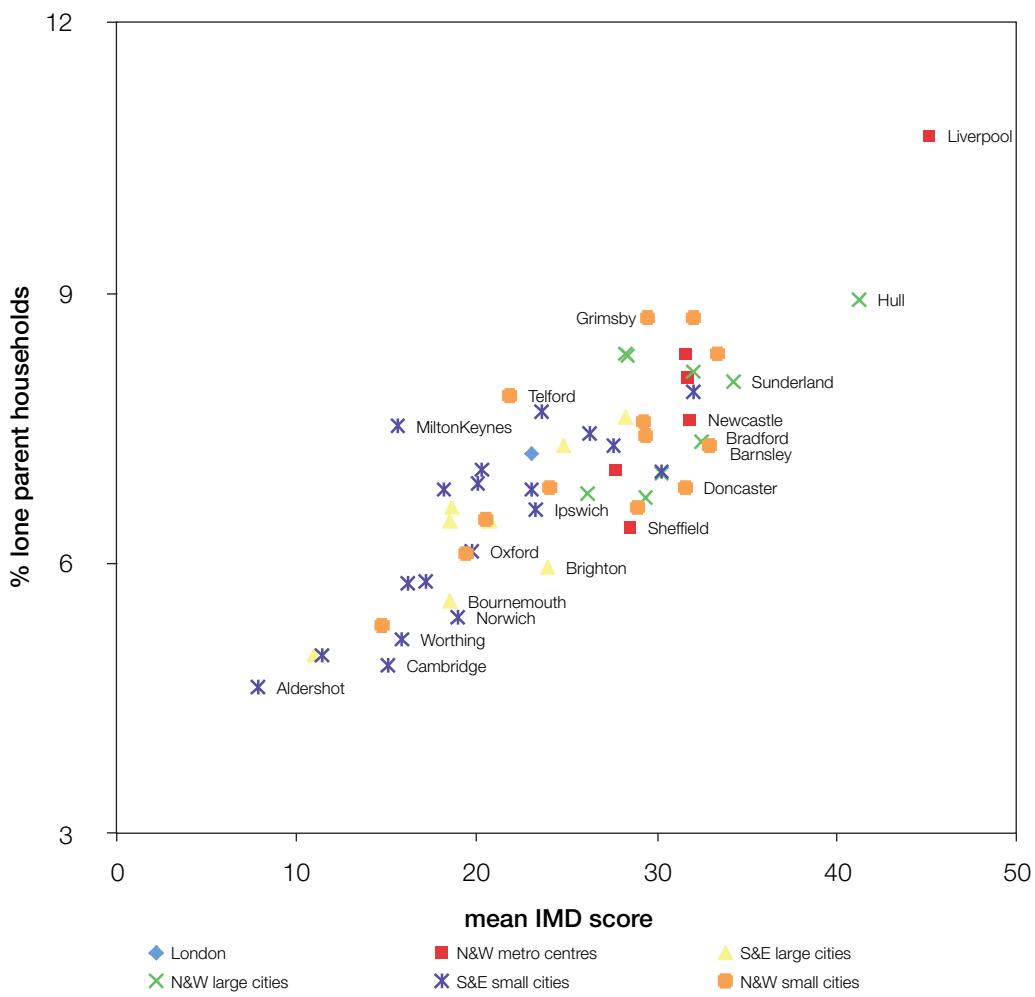


2.1.27 Figure 2.14 shows the detailed breakdown of the same data for individual cities. Liverpool has by far the highest rate of lone parenthood, followed by Hull, Blackburn and Grimsby. Among the cities, Aldershot has the lowest rate, followed by Reading, Crawley and Worthing. York has a much lower rate than any other city in the north. It also shows that every city experienced an increase in lone parenthood between 1991 and 2001 except Oxford and Cambridge. There appears to be a clear link between lone parenthood and deprivation. This is confirmed by Figure 2.15 which shows a scatter plot of the relationship between the proportion of lone parent households and the level of deprivation as measured by the IMD. The correlation coefficient is 0.84.

**Figure 2.14: Lone parents as a percentage of all households, by individual city, 1991 & 2001**

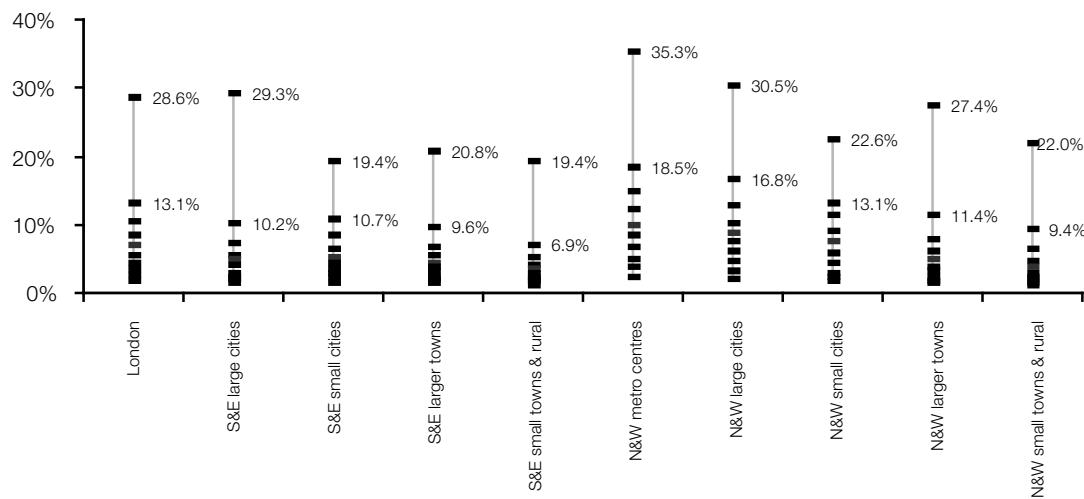


**Figure 2.15: Relationship between lone parent households and level of deprivation**



2.1.28 We know that the proportion of adults reliant on benefits is higher in some cities than elsewhere, but nothing about the geography of benefit reliance within cities. The pattern may be highly concentrated in particular neighbourhoods within the city or widely dispersed across the city, or something in between. Figure 2.16 shows the breakdown of ward level data on Income Support claimants by deciles for the city types. The claimant rate for the ward with the highest rate is shown, along with the claimant rate for the 9th decile. The figure shows that cities in the north and west not only have some wards with extremely high IS claimant rates, but also a more even spread across the city. In contrast, towns and rural areas, and to a lesser extent, cities in the south and east, appear to have a more concentrated geography of deprivation. This may have implications for the relative importance of small area-based versus city-wide approaches to tackling deprivation. Put simply, towns and cities in the south and east may have a few localised pockets of poverty whereas large cities in the north and west appear to have more extensive deprivation that requires a broader approach to regeneration.

**Figure 2.16: Income Support claimants as a proportion of the working age population by ward, decile and city type, 2004**



### Income and deprivation patterns in summary:

- The extent and intensity of deprivation are much greater in cities than in the rest of England. The poorest neighbourhoods are most likely to be in the largest cities of the north and west.
- The gap between the most and least deprived neighbourhoods is also bigger in cities, especially in the largest cities of the north and west.
- Child poverty and lone parenthood are highest in the major cities of the north and west.
- The proportion of the population living in the poorest neighbourhoods that is non-white is higher than elsewhere, although cities with a large non-white population are not more deprived.
- Reliance on welfare benefits is highest in the major cities of the north and west.
- The proportion of people on welfare benefits has been falling in most cities in recent years, especially in some of the least prosperous cities.
- The proportion of lone parent households has been rising almost everywhere. The proportion of lone parent households is highest in the most deprived cities, such as Liverpool.
- London's position is consistent with its size and region – middle-ranking – although it has more child poverty and lone parents than expected.

## PART 2

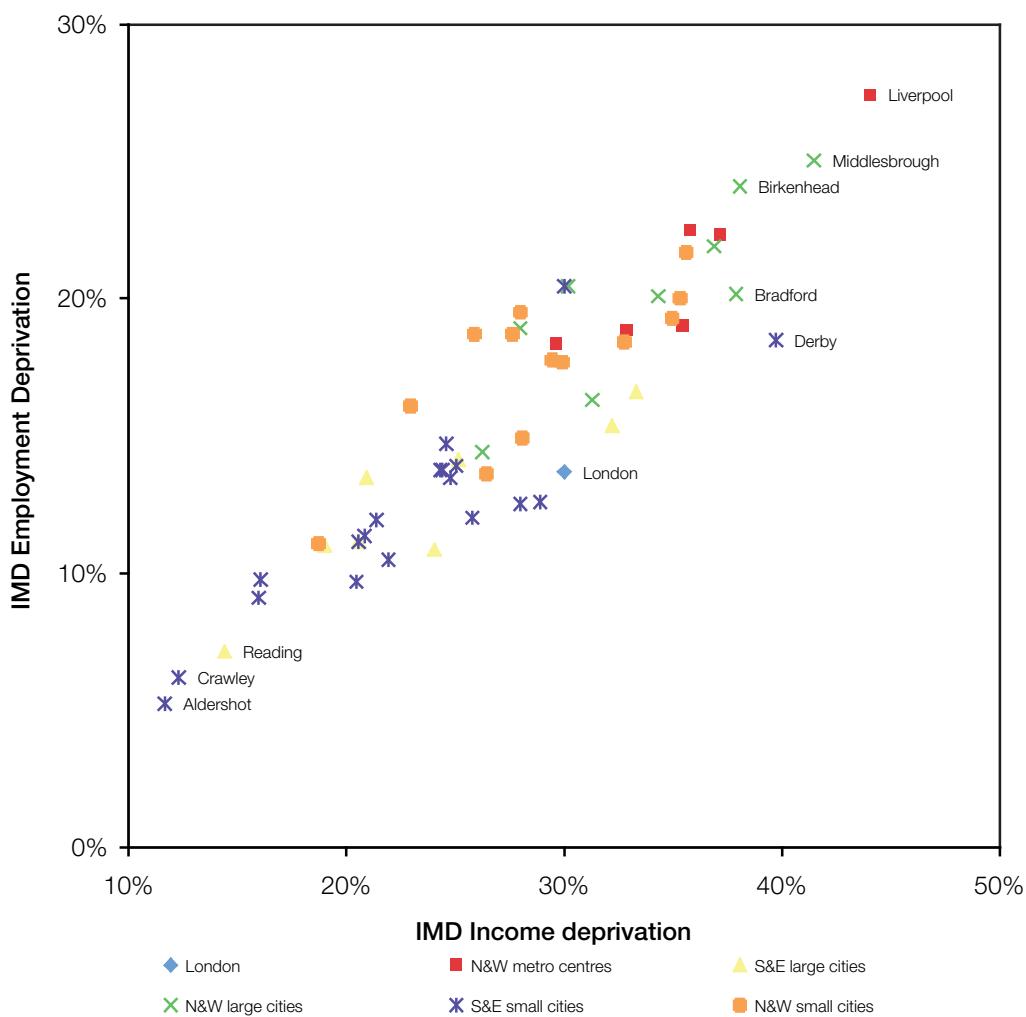
### Section 2: Employment

- 2.2.1 Employment is fundamental to the general well being of communities and to the level of social cohesion in cities. It relates directly to all three dimensions discussed in Part 1: social equality, inclusion and relationships. Involuntary exclusion from employment is the principal cause of poverty and disaffection in advanced economies, where paid jobs are the main source of income, social status, personal identity, morale and self-esteem, social interaction outside the family, daily time structure and meaningful activity (Jahoda, 1982; Gallie et al, 1994; Castells, 1998; Turok et al, 1999). Long-term or recurrent unemployment with low expectations of progress is often synonymous with social exclusion.
- 2.2.2 Getting a job can probably do more for a person's social position than anything else, and it is widely agreed that this is the best way for people of working age to escape poverty (Sutherland et al, 2003). A longitudinal study using the British Household Panel Survey confirmed that: "Changes in a household's labour earnings accounted for the largest share of exits from poverty" (Jenkins and Rigg, 2001, p.107). Unsurprisingly, access to employment opportunities is one of the two key pillars of the EU's model of social cohesion (European Commission, 1996). It is for similar reasons that welfare to work and full employment are key objectives of UK government policy (HM Treasury, 2001; DWP, 2006). A range of national labour market reforms and programmes targeted at particular groups have been introduced in recent years. However, the geographical dimension has been neglected.
- 2.2.3 The main questions addressed in this section are:
- (i) Is there a strong link between employment and income at the level of the city?
  - (ii) How does the level of worklessness vary between cities and towns?
  - (iii) Where are the neighbourhoods with the highest and lowest worklessness?
  - (iv) How does the employment gap vary between different groups in different cities?
  - (v) Have employment conditions been getting better or worse in different cities?
- 2.2.4 The main sources of data used to answer these questions are the LFS, the IMD and the Census.

#### The relationship between employment and income

- 2.2.5 The relationship between employment and household income can be tested at the level of the city using data from the IMD. Figure 2.17 shows a scatter plot comparing the proportion of the population of the 56 cities that have a low income as measured by the IMD with the proportion that have a high level of employment deprivation. Low income is defined as below 60 per cent of the national median income, excluding housing benefit and before housing costs. Figure 2.17 shows a very strong, statistically significant relationship, demonstrating that places with a high rate of unemployment and worklessness have a high level of low income. Liverpool and Middlesbrough feature at one end of the spectrum, and Aldershot, Crawley and Reading at the other.

**Figure 2.17: Relationship between income and employment deprivation by city, 2004**

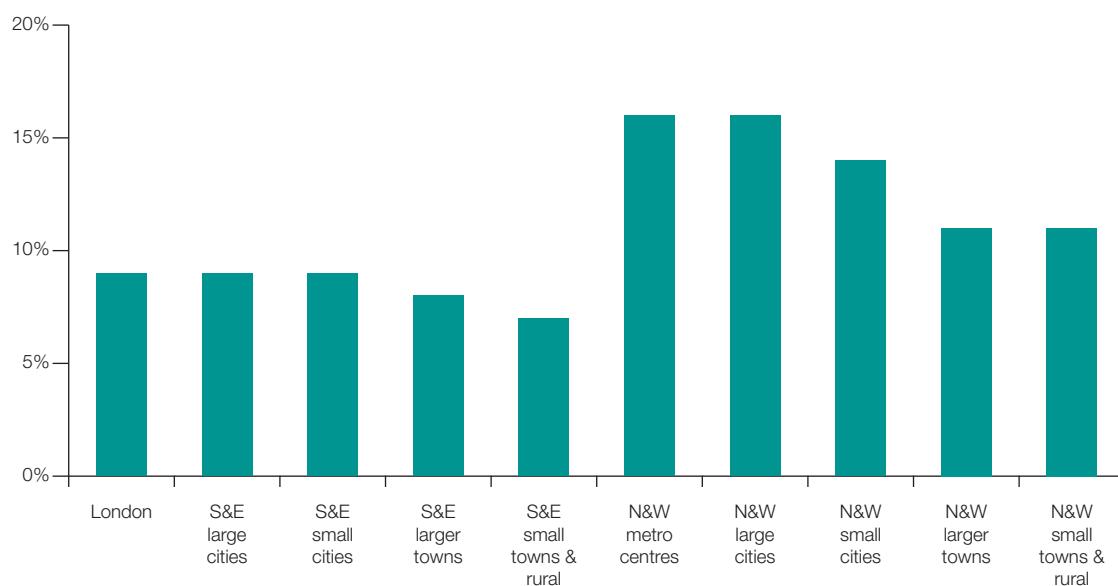


## The overall level of worklessness in cities

- 2.2.6 It is now widely accepted in the UK that registered unemployment is an incomplete measure of labour market conditions because of the substantial growth in recorded economic inactivity at the expense of the 'claimant count' as people registered for sickness and disability benefits (Turok and Edge, 1999; Alcock et al, 2003). Consequently it has become common in recent years to refer instead to the broader concepts of non-employment, joblessness or worklessness (ODPM, 2004). This includes people of working age who are out of work but most of whom are not actively looking for work, such as the 2.7 million UK claimants of sickness benefits. With the improvement in the UK labour market over the last decade, the government has acknowledged the broader challenge of reducing worklessness (HM Treasury, 2001; DWP, 2006).
- 2.2.7 The IMD's employment domain measures the proportion of each neighbourhood's workforce "involuntarily excluded" from the world of work. This is measured by combining everyone in receipt of relevant benefits: JSA claimants, IB/SDA recipients and people participating in the New Deal for the 18-24s, New Deal for 25+ and

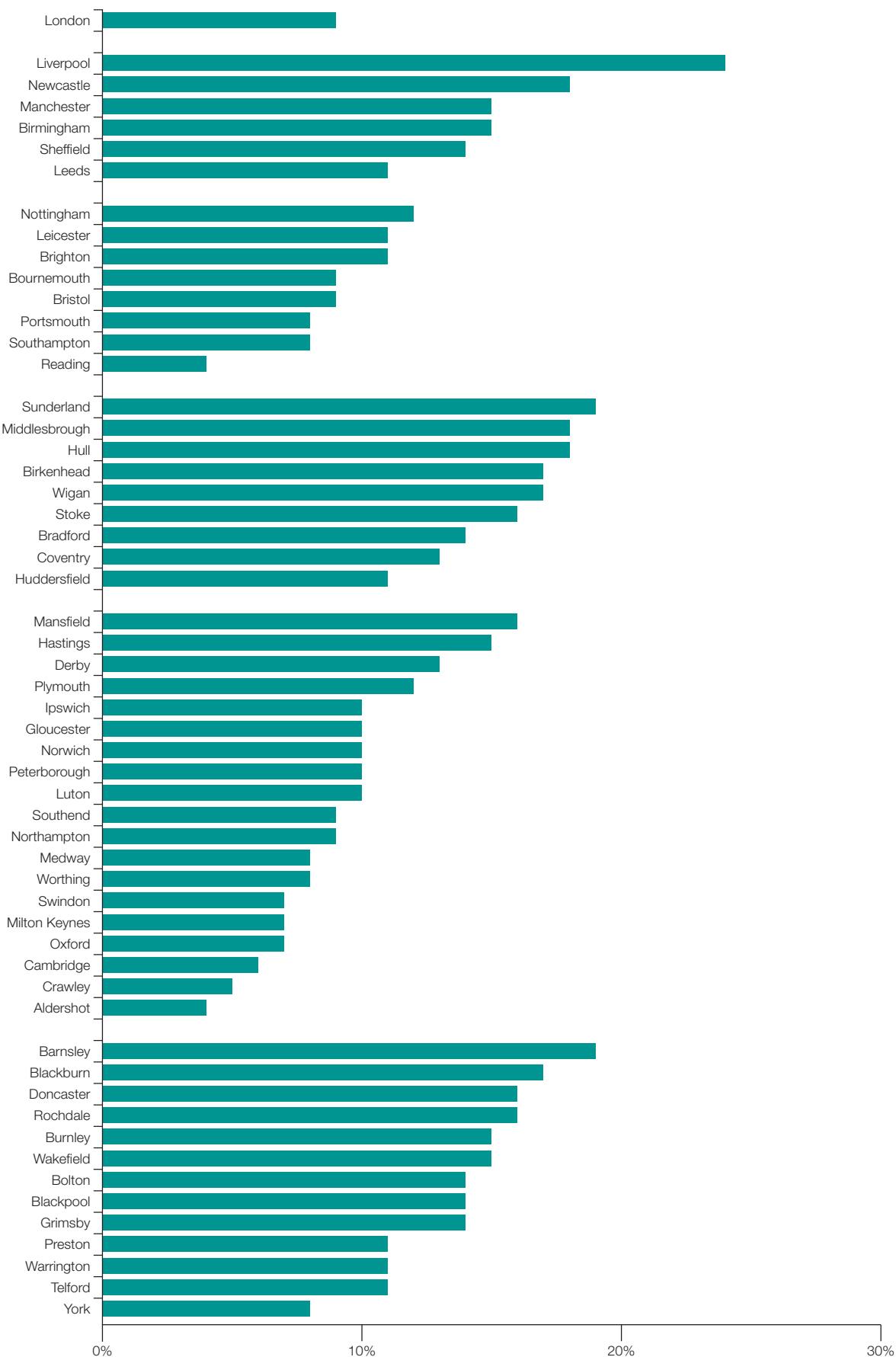
New Deal for Lone Parents aged 18 and above, and expressing this as a percentage of the population aged 18-59 plus men aged 60-64. Figure 2.18 shows the overall level of involuntary worklessness for the different settlement types. It shows that the problem is much bigger in cities in the north and west than in the south and east. Looked at more closely, both urban size and region seem to matter, although the regional dimension matters more. Every type of settlement in the north and west does worse than every type in the south and east. London's position is consistent with its size and region.

**Figure 2.18: Level of involuntary worklessness as a proportion of the working age population by city type, 2004**



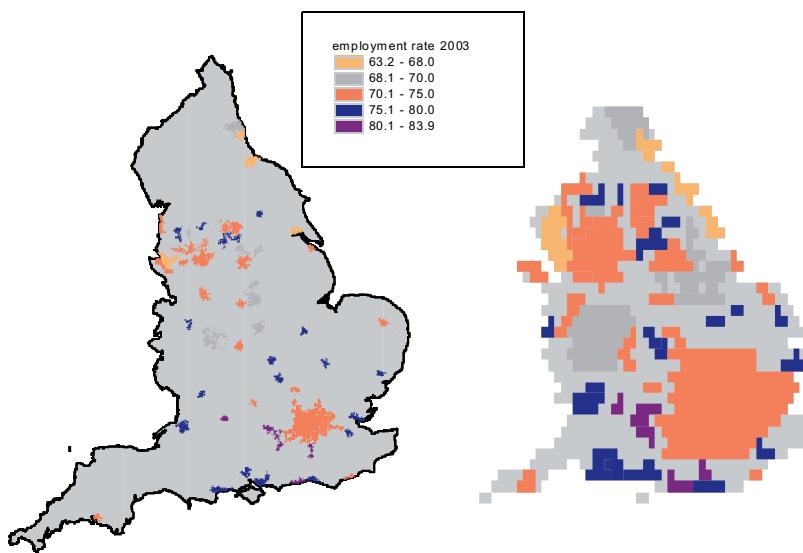
- 2.2.8 The disparities in the levels of involuntary worklessness between individual cities are naturally much wider than between different categories of city (Figure 2.19). Liverpool has by far the highest level, followed by Sunderland and Barnsley. Aldershot has the lowest level, followed by Reading and Crawley. The metropolitan centres vary quite widely, with Leeds the best performing. Hastings and Mansfield stand apart from the other cities (large and small) in the south and east for relatively high worklessness. York stands apart from everywhere else in the north and west with low worklessness. London is in the middle of the spectrum – well below levels in the north and west, but above most places in the south and east.

Figure 2.19: Level of involuntary worklessness as a proportion of the working age population by individual city, 2004



- 2.2.9 The employment rate measures the proportion of the working age population in paid work. It is almost the inverse of worklessness rate, ignoring the impact of full-time students, people with family and caring responsibilities, and early retired. Map 2.5 shows the employment rate for different cities. The importance of the regional dimension is clear. Cities with the lowest employment rates in England are Liverpool, Hull, Middlesbrough and Sunderland. Cities with a relatively high employment rate in the north and west include York, Burnley, Preston and Telford. Cities with the highest employment rate are all west and south of London: Swindon, Reading, Aldershot, Crawley and Worthing.

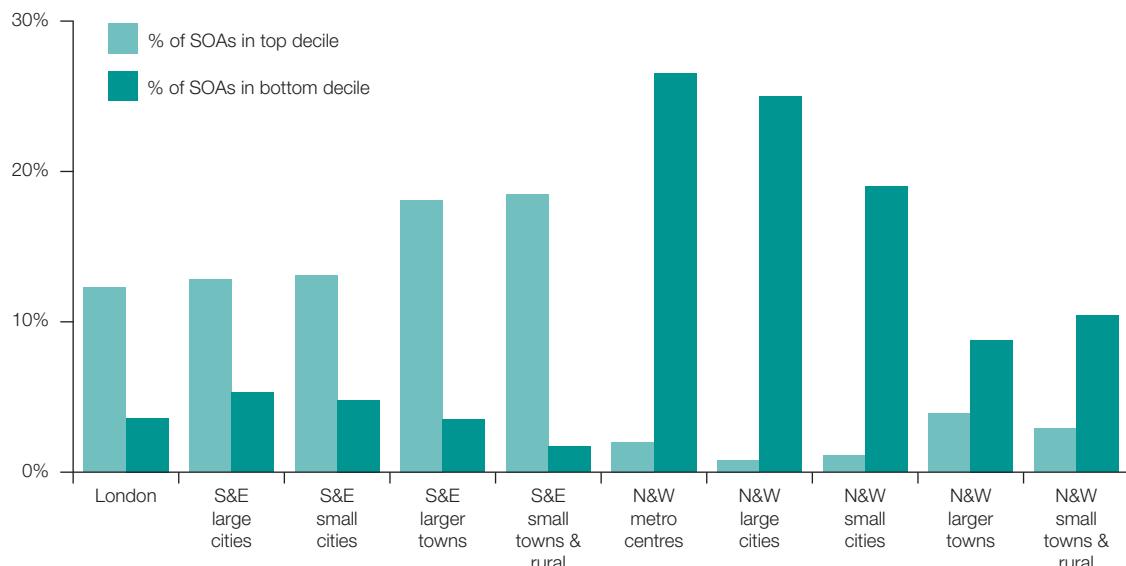
**Map 2.5: Employment rate by individual city, 2003**



### The location of workless neighbourhoods

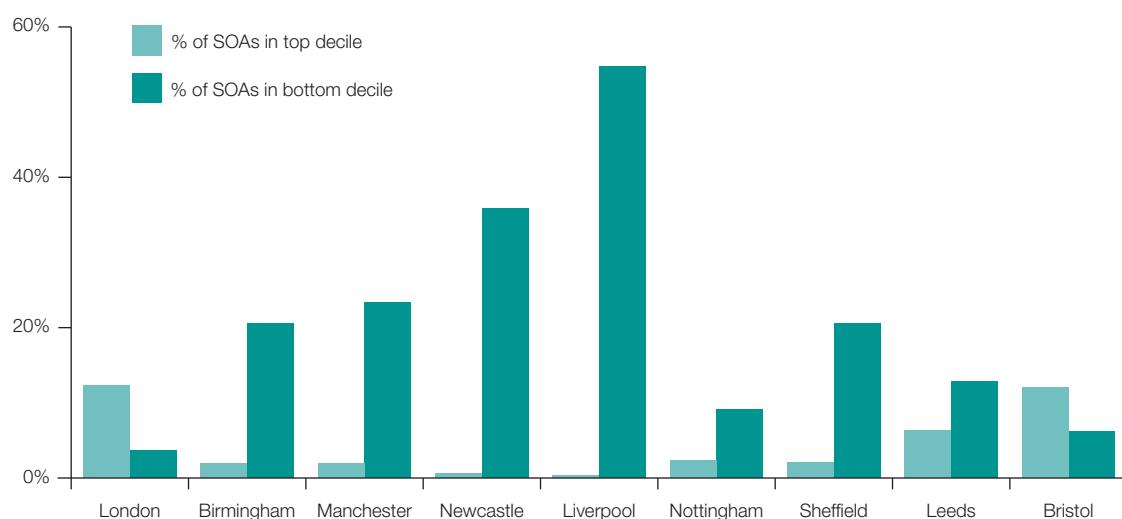
- 2.2.10 The overall level of worklessness is clearly highest in major cities in the north and west. Where are the *neighbourhoods* with the highest and lowest levels of worklessness? Figure 2.20 shows the proportion of neighbourhoods in each type of city that fall within the country's top and bottom 10 per cent of neighbourhoods defined by worklessness. Every bar in the graph would be 10 per cent if every settlement type had its proportionate share of these areas. In fact, the major cities in the north and west have more than two and a half times their share of workless neighbourhoods and very few of the well-off areas. Cities, towns and rural areas in the south and east have less than half their share of workless neighbourhoods and more than their share of well-off areas. The regional dimension therefore seems to be crucial. Settlement size also matters, particularly in the north and west. London actually has a slightly smaller share of workless neighbourhoods than other cities in the south and east.

**Figure 2.20: Incidence of high and low workless neighbourhoods by city type, 2004**



2.2.11 The regional contrast is very striking when individual cities are considered (Figure 2.21). London and Bristol are quite unlike the major northern cities in having a larger share of well-off neighbourhoods than workless neighbourhoods. In complete contrast, more than half of the neighbourhoods in Liverpool come into the category of the highest workless neighbourhoods in the country. This is far higher than anywhere else.

**Figure 2.21: Incidence of high and low workless neighbourhoods by major city, 2004**



## The employment gap between different groups

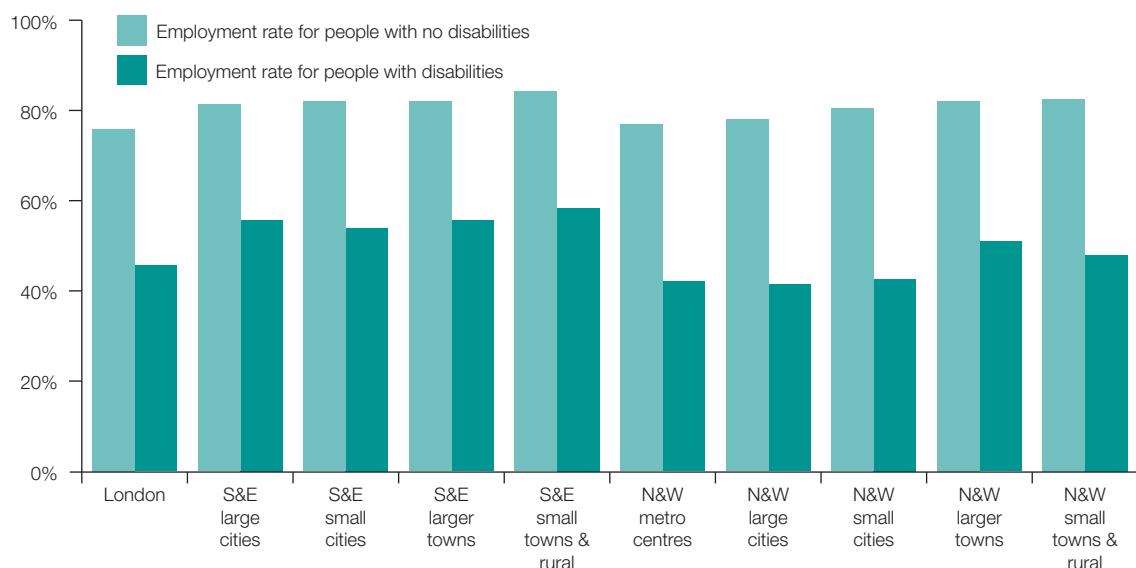
### *People with disabilities*

2.2.12 The pattern of worklessness varies between population groups as well as cities and neighbourhoods. There has been increasing policy attention focused on people with a

long-term health problem or disability in recognition of the high and rising levels of worklessness among this group in the last two decades (DWP, 2006). Yet, contrary to the impression sometimes given in the media, roughly half (49 per cent) of the adults in this category are actually in paid work. This is based on the LFS definition that includes people who have a long-term health problem or disability which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on their ability to carry out normal daily activities, or which simply affects the kind or amount of paid work that the person might do.

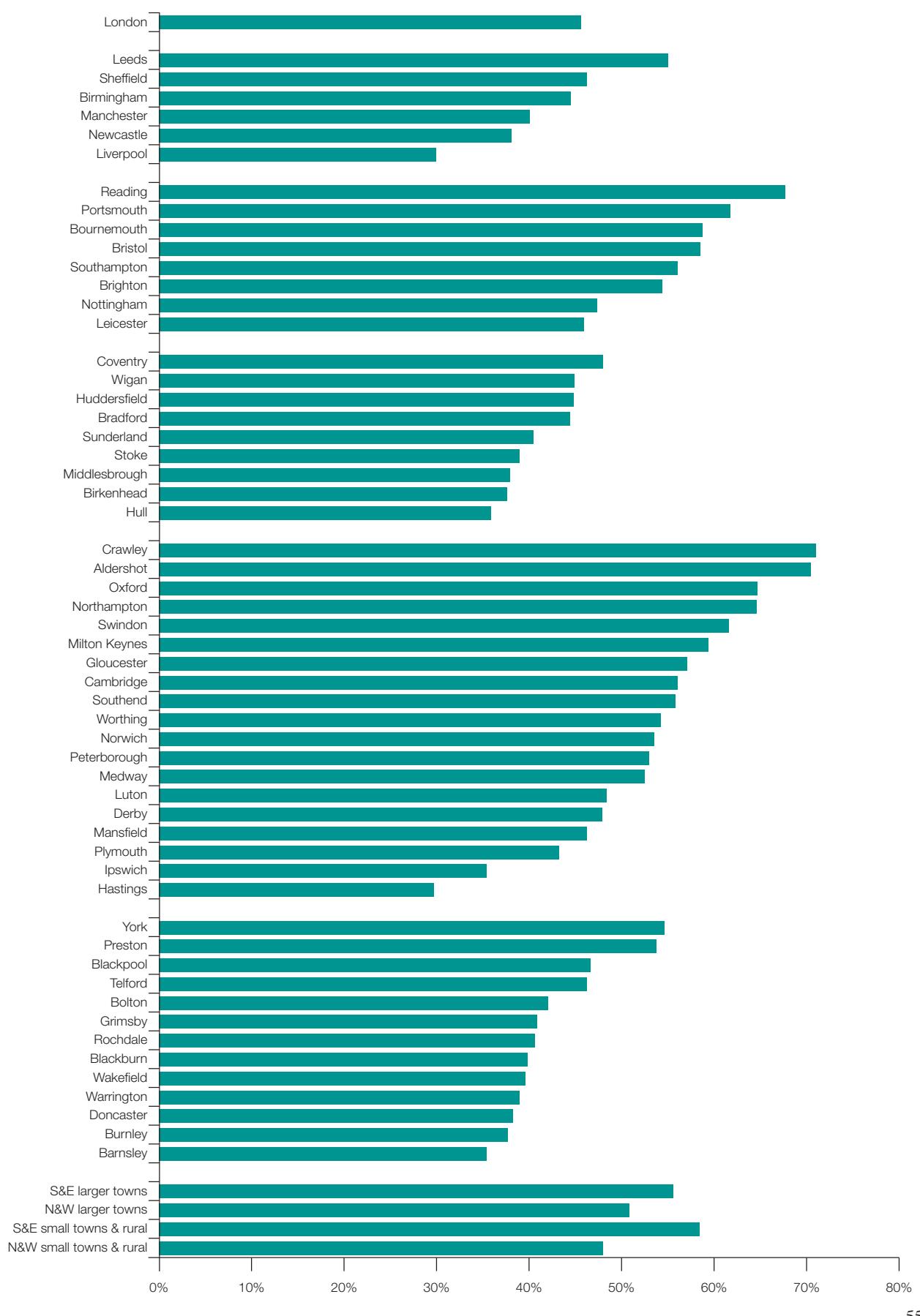
2.2.13 Figure 2.22 shows the employment rate for people with disabilities in different types of city. The employment rate measures the proportion of the relevant working age population in paid work. It has become more widely used as the limitations of recorded unemployment have been recognised. Figure 2.22 shows that a much higher proportion of people with disabilities living in towns and rural areas in the south and east are in work compared with major cities, especially in the north and west, where their chances of being in work are much worse. The disparity is about 15 per cent. The basic pattern broadly matches the variations in the employment rate for the rest of the population, although the differences between areas are greater for the disabled. London is closer to the cities in the north and west than to those in the south and east.

**Figure 2.22: Employment rate for people with disabilities as a proportion of the working age population by city type, 2003**



2.2.14 Figure 2.23 shows the employment rate for people with disabilities by individual city. The disparities are particularly striking. Liverpool, Hastings and Ipswich have the lowest employment rates. Crawley, Aldershot and Reading have the highest employment rates. The differences between cities in the north and west compared to those in the south and east are sizeable, with London an apparent anomaly. Leeds, York and Preston stand out from other cities in the north and west.

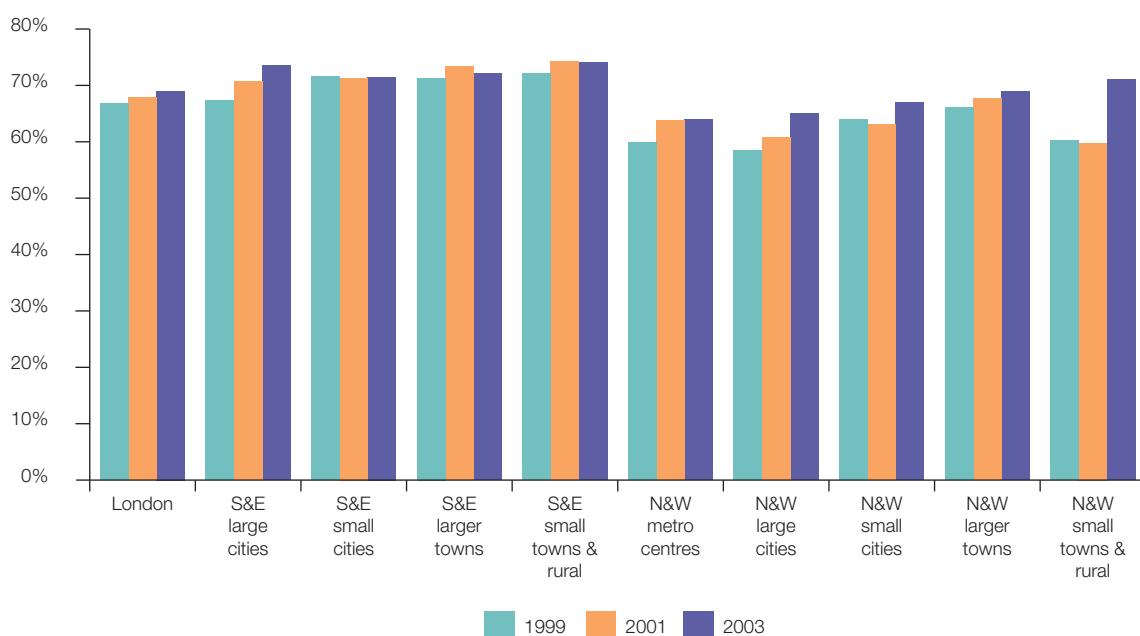
**Figure 2.23: Employment rate for people with disabilities as a proportion of the working age population by individual city, 2003**



## People over 50

2.2.15 Another group that has received increasing policy attention are people aged between 50 and the state pension age. The employment rate among this group fell during the 1980s and early 1990s, mainly because of a lack of employment opportunities. Figure 2.24 shows the employment rate for people over 50 in different types of city at three points in time, based on the LFS. The first point is that the employment rate for the over 50s is lowest in the major cities of the north and west and highest in the towns and rural areas of the south and east. The disparity is roughly 10 per cent. The second point is that there has been a recovery between 1999 and 2003 almost everywhere, but especially in various parts of the north and west.

**Figure 2.24: Employment rate for people over 50 as a proportion of the working age population by city type, 1999-2003**



## Ethnicity

2.2.16 The employment rate for non-whites in the UK was 58.4 per cent in 2003-04 compared with 75.6 per cent for whites. This is a sizeable disparity, attributable to a range of factors including lower average skills and qualifications, cultural differences among some ethnic groups (for example, in attitudes to women working) and workplace discrimination. Together with lower average earnings for non-whites, this employment gap is a very important influence on social cohesion (including social integration, perceptions of fairness and inequalities in life chances) and economic growth (including making better use of a changing labour force and removing barriers to economic inclusion and upward mobility). Black and minority ethnic groups currently make up about 8 per cent of the UK population but are expected to account for half the growth in the working age population over the next decade.

2.2.17 Data on the employment rate for non-whites is unavailable for the PUAs because of the small LFS sample sizes in many areas. Indeed it is only available for a small number of urban local authorities outside London. Table 2.1 compares the employment rate for the whole population of each area with the employment rate for non-whites. In general the rates are higher for both groups in the south and east than in the north and west. In London, the biggest problems are in the boroughs of inner and east London. Elsewhere in the south and east, Nottingham and Leicester have low overall employment rates and Nottingham and Luton have very low rates for non-whites. In the north and west, every area has employment rates below the national average for both groups. Major cities like Manchester and Birmingham have very low employment rates for non-whites. Across England, the gap ranges from no less than 26.4 per cent in Blackburn to -1 per cent in Sutton, where the employment rate for non-whites was higher than for whites. The size of the gap is likely to be affected a range of factors, including the proportion of the population that is non-white, the composition of different ethnic groups, some of whom – like Indians and Chinese – perform better in the labour market than others, the relative skills and qualifications of the populations, and the state of the local labour market.

**Table 2.1: Employment rate for non-whites and all groups for selected local authorities, 2003**

<b>London</b>		
Working age employment rate for:		
<b>London boroughs</b>	All (%)	Non-white (%)
Sutton	79.6	80.6
Merton	79.1	69.6
Croydon	75.8	69.5
Barnet	74.9	68.7
Enfield	69.4	67.58
Hillingdon	77.4	66.3
Harrow	70.3	65.5
Redbridge	70.9	64.7
Greenwich	64.8	61.1
Hounslow	71.6	60.6
Ealing	70.2	60.2
Barking & Dagenham	64.5	59.6
Lewisham	69.4	59.4
Lambeth	68.3	58.9
Wandsworth	74.6	58.3
Waltham Forest	68.7	58.3
Brent	62.7	56.5
Southwark	64.1	54.3
Hammersmith & Fulham	69.4	54.3
Westminster	64.1	49.9
Camden	66.4	48.8
Kensington & Chelsea	64.0	47.3
Newham	52.7	47.0
Haringey	63.4	46.9
Hackney	60.0	44.0
Islington	62.7	44.0
Tower Hamlets	52.5	33.4

Source: Annual local area labour force survey, 2002/03

**Table 2.1: Employment rate for non-whites and all groups for selected local authorities, 2003**

**Outside London**

Working age employment rate for:

Cities in S & E	All (%)	Non-white (%)
Bristol	77.2	69.8
Peterborough	77.1	67.2
Reading	77.8	64.8
Leicester	63.8	57.4
Luton	70.7	51.8
Nottingham	62.4	48.9

**Cities in N&W**

Coventry	71.3	58.3
Leeds	73.9	56.8
Derby	72.0	54.6
Birmingham	64.1	48.5
Rochdale	69.1	47.9
Bradford	67.8	45.2
Manchester	58.9	43.6
Blackburn	67.4	41.0

Source: Annual local area labour force survey, 2002/03

## Recent employment trends

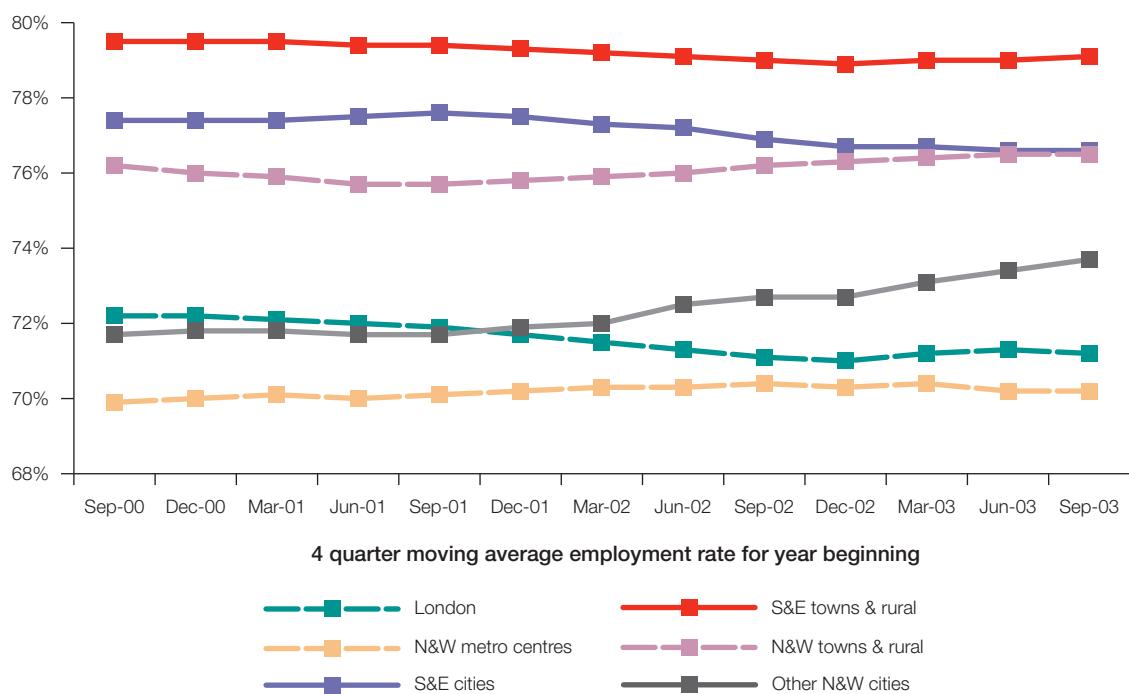
2.2.18 Changes in the employment rate provide an insight into whether conditions have been improving in different cities. Table 2.2 shows the overall employment rate for the six different types of city and the rest of England over the last decade. Although towns and rural areas have consistently had the highest employment rates, the general trend in all categories has been one of improvement, including cities in the north and west. This is an important turnaround from the two previous decades. London and the south and east achieved significant gains between 1994 and 2000, but they have fallen back slightly since then. In contrast, cities in the north and west have continued to make progress. Given the legacy of industrial decline and deconcentration discussed above, it is clearly important that this is sustained.

**Table 2.2 Employment rate by city type, 1994-2003 (%)**

	<b>1994</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2003</b>
London	68.2	71.3	72.7	71.5
South and east large cities	72.0	75.1	77.5	76.6
South and east small cities	73.7	74.8	78.2	77.2
Metropolitan centres	66.1	68.3	69.8	70.6
North and west large cities	67.1	68.7	70.0	71.6
North and west small cities	70.5	70.7	74.4	74.6
Rest of England	75.2	77.3	78.5	78.5

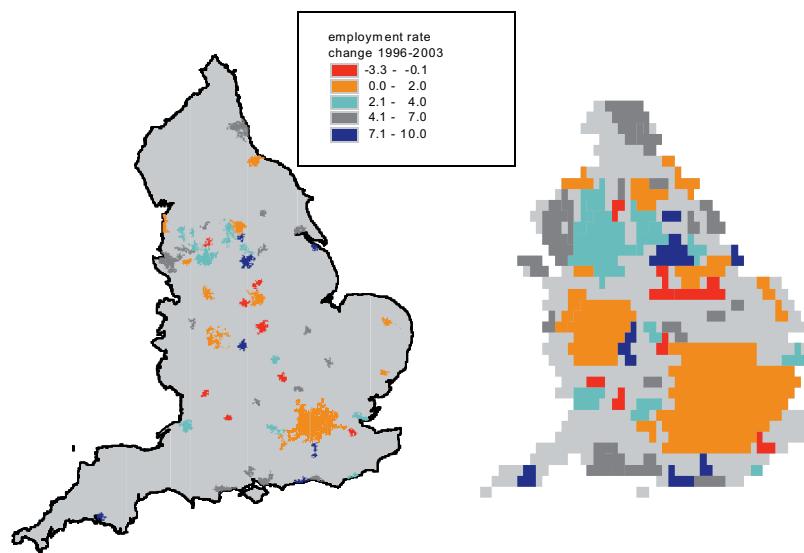
Source: Labour Force Survey, quarterly unweighted data.

2.2.19 Figure 2.25 shows the employment rate trends in more detail over the last four years. It uses the four-quarter moving average to smooth out quarterly fluctuations that may reflect sampling factors in the LFS. The data for large and small cities is combined for ease of interpretation. Figure 2.25 confirms the slight downturn in employment conditions in all areas of the south and east over the last two years or so, compared with a small upturn in all areas of the north and west. The improvement in the position of cities in the north and west is better than the metropolitan centres. The greatest employment challenges remain here.

**Figure 2.25: Employment rate trends by city type, 2000-2004**

2.2.20 Map 2.5 shows the change in the employment rate for individual cities over the period 1996-2003. The pattern of improvement is very patchy, making generalisation difficult. Eight cities in different parts of the country have not improved their employment rate over this period of relative prosperity for England, including three in the East Midlands, two in the South West and two in the South East. Seven cities have increased their employment rate over this period by 7 per cent or more, including three in Yorkshire and Humberside and one in the West Midlands.

**Map 2.5 Change in employment rate by individual city, 1996-2003**



### Employment Patterns in Summary

- Cities with high worklessness have low incomes, so increasing employment is a key to tackling deprivation.
- Involuntary worklessness among households and neighbourhoods is much higher in cities in the north and west than elsewhere.
- The employment rates for people with disabilities and for the over 50s are lower than average, but the geography is the same, with cities in the north and west worst off.
- The employment rate for non-whites is much lower than for whites. The detailed geography is quite complex, but the basic regional pattern seems consistent with every other group.
- Conditions have improved across urban and rural England over the last decade, although there is considerable variation between individual cities. The improvement needs to be extended and sustained to increase the impact on disadvantaged groups and areas.

## PART 2

### Section 3: Education and skills

2.3.1 Learning and earning were not always intimately connected in Britain. During the industrial era and until fairly recently there were many well-paid manual jobs available in manufacturing that required no formal qualifications. However, circumstances have changed. Education and skills now have a big influence on career prospects and lifetime earnings. Low skills limit people's chances of gaining secure employment and are associated with household poverty and neighbourhood deprivation. They relate directly to two of the three core dimensions of social cohesion: social inequality and social exclusion. The quality of schools also influences where people with a choice decide to live and contributes to selective out-migration from cities and segregation within them. In addition, human capital influences the productivity and performance of the local and national economy. This is another reason why improving people's skills and qualifications has become a major objective of government policy at local and national levels.

2.3.2 The main questions addressed in this section are:

- (i) How does the skills base vary between regions, cities and towns?
- (ii) Is settlement size or regional location a stronger source of differentiation?
- (iii) Has the proportion of people with degrees been increasing faster in some places than in others?
- (iv) Where are the neighbourhoods with the lowest and highest educational performance?
- (v) How do school results vary across the country and have recent improvements been spread evenly?

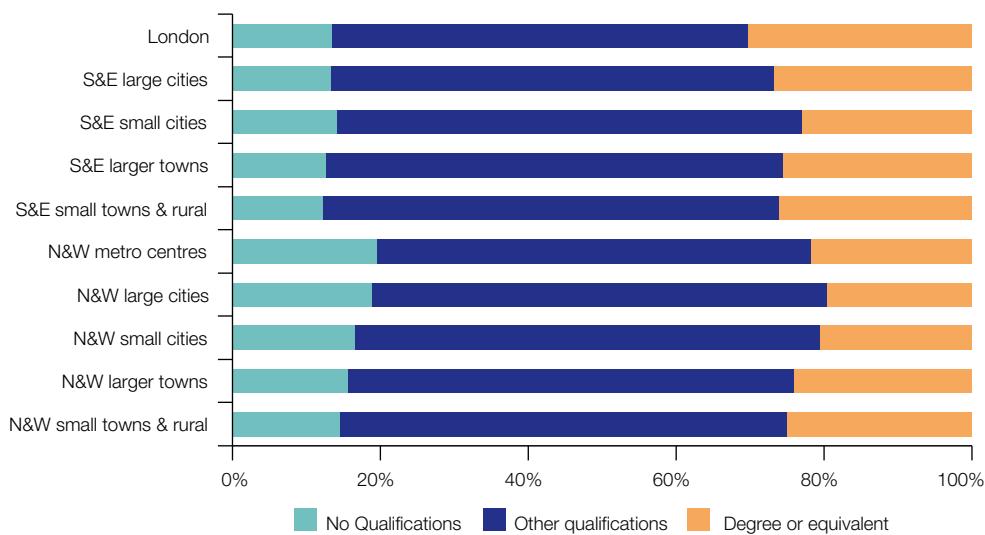
2.3.3 The main sources of data used to answer these questions are the LFS, IMD, Census and national education statistics. All these sources have limitations in attempting to analyse historical trends. Until recently, the sample size of the LFS was too small to provide coverage of most of the 56 cities. The 1991 Census yielded no data for people with no qualifications and the IMD 2004 was a one-off.

#### The skills base of cities

2.3.4 The level of skills and qualifications varies significantly across the country. Figure 2.26 summarises a complex picture by distinguishing between people of working age with no qualifications, people with degrees or equivalent qualifications, and people in between. The latter includes people with NVQ1, NVQ2, NVQ3 and trade apprenticeships. The qualifications that are described as equivalent to degrees are mostly medical qualifications.

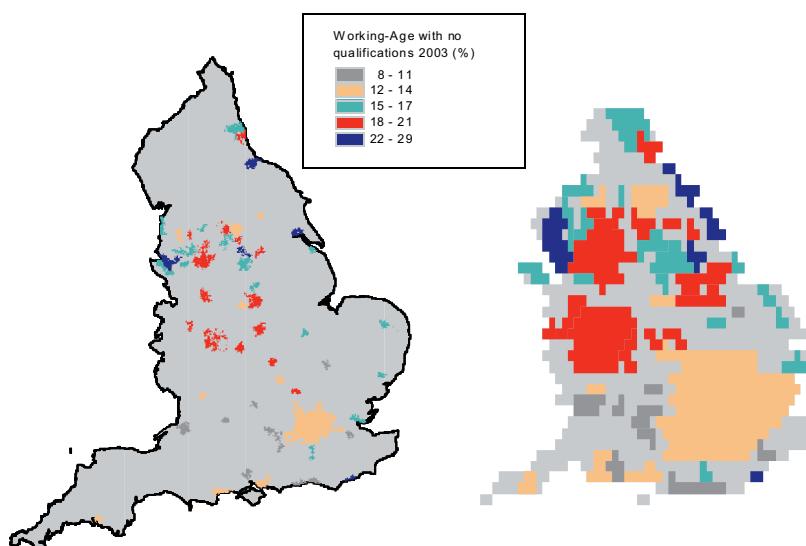
- 2.3.5 The first and most important observation is that cities in the north and west have substantially more people with no qualifications than places in the south and east. There is little variation between types of settlement in the south and east in this respect. In contrast, there is an apparent connection between city size and the proportion of the population with no qualifications in the north and west – the larger the city the more unqualified people there are. This is likely to reflect the historical development of former industrial cities – the larger they were, the more successful they were, but the bigger the legacy of low qualifications.

**Figure 2.26: Skills of the working age population by city type, 2003**



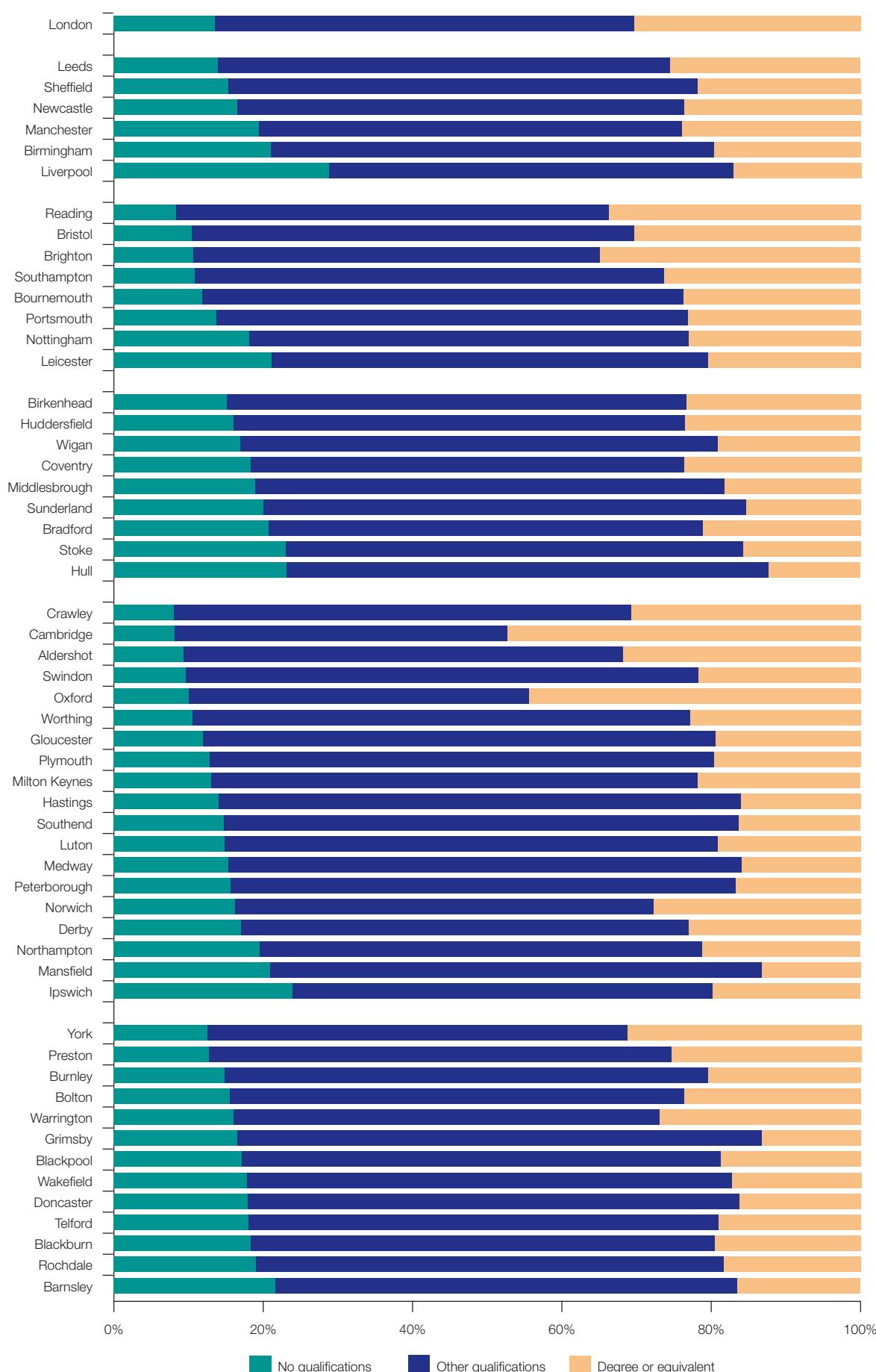
- 2.3.6 Map 2.6 shows the detailed geography of people with no qualifications, confirming the significance of the regional dimension and city size in the north and west.

**Map 2.6: Proportion of working age population with no qualifications, 2003**



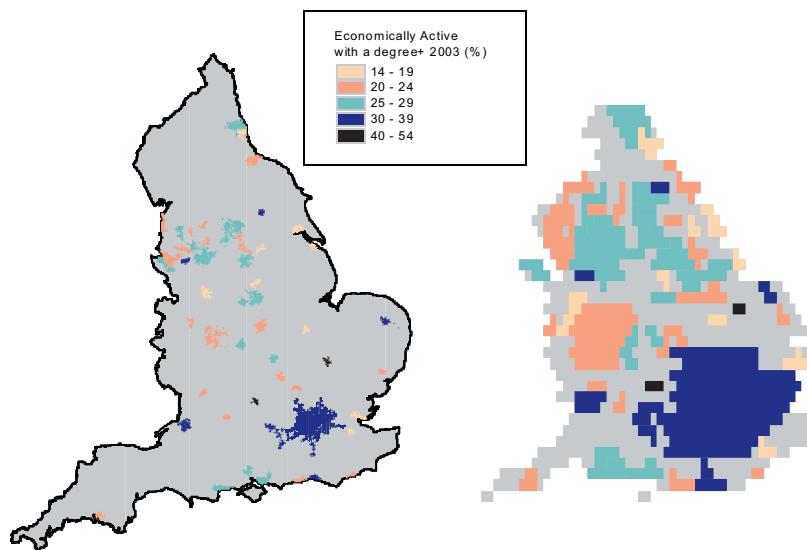
- 2.3.7 Turning to the graduate population, cities in the north and west have fewer people with degrees than elsewhere in the country. London has the highest proportion of graduates, followed by other large cities in the south and east. It appears from this that large cities in the south and east are slightly more attractive to graduates than smaller cities, towns and rural areas, but the opposite seems to be the case in the north and west.
- 2.3.8 Figure 2.27 presents the same data for individual cities. Four of the six cities with the largest proportion of people with no qualifications are in the north and west (Liverpool, Hull, Stoke and Barnsley). Ipswich and Leicester are the other two. The cities with fewest people with no qualifications are Crawley, Cambridge, Reading and Aldershot – all in the south and east.
- 2.3.9 In terms of graduates, the cities with fewest people with degrees are all in the north – Hull, Mansfield, Grimsby and Sunderland and Stoke. The cities with most people with degrees are Cambridge, Oxford, Brighton and Reading. There is generally a close relationship between places where few people have no qualifications and many have degrees, and vice versa. Places without a university may depart from the pattern, such as Grimsby, Mansfield, Swindon and Wigan. York has the fewest people with no qualifications in the north and west, and the most with degrees.

Figure 2.27: Skills of the working age population by individual city, 2003



2.3.10 Map 2.7 shows the distribution of people with degrees on a slightly different, narrower basis – the economically active population. The pattern is still very similar to that shown in Figure 2.27, with the regional and city size dimensions figuring quite strongly.

### Map 2.7: Proportion of people with degrees, 2003

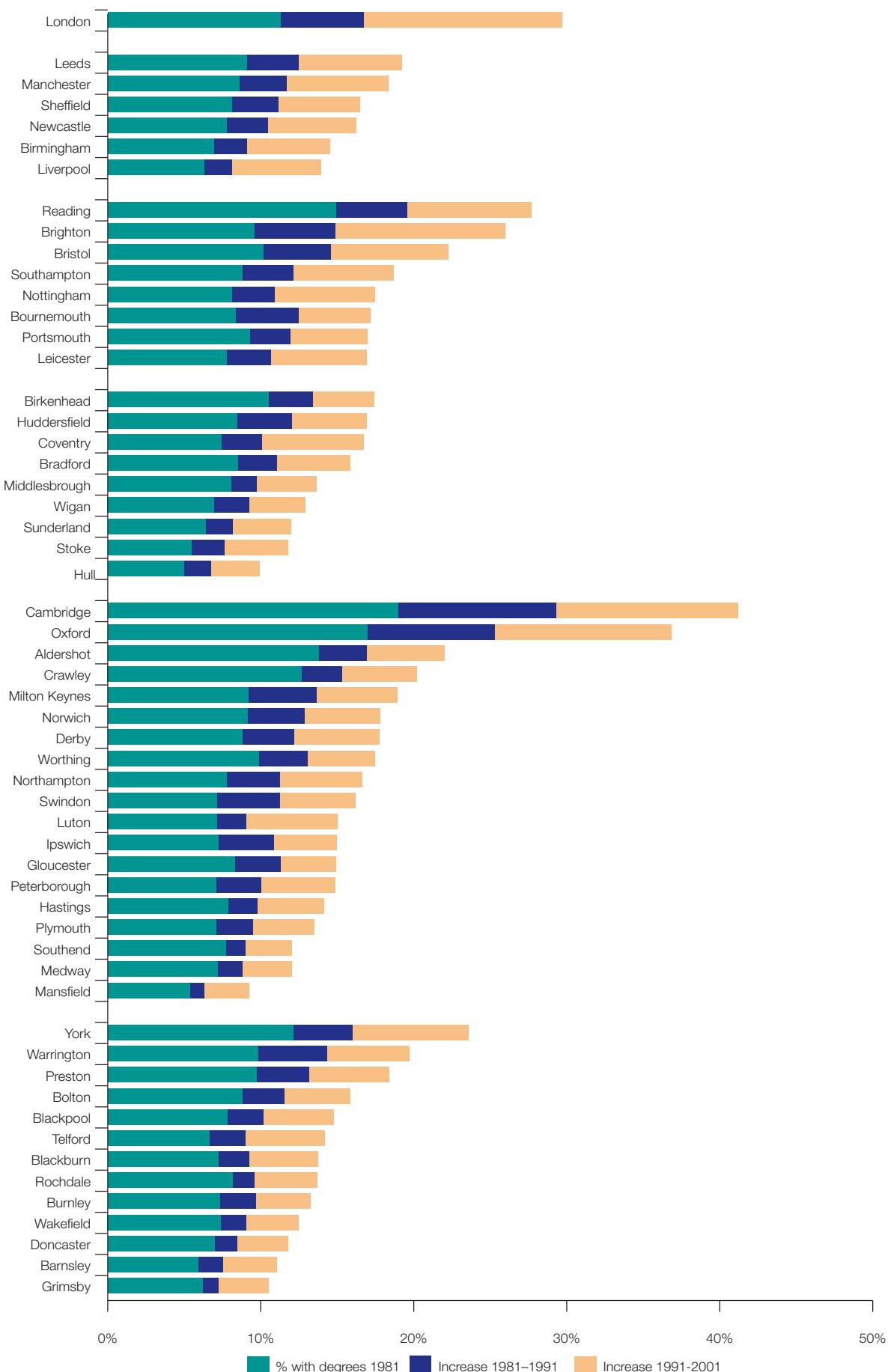


### Trends among the population with degrees

2.3.11 There has been a big increase in the proportion of people in England with degrees in the last two decades. Figure 2.28 shows how the increase has been distributed across cities and towns. The first and most important point is that the disparity has been widening between cities that already had many graduates in 1981 and those that did not. Cities such as Cambridge, Oxford, London, Reading, Brighton, York and Bristol (all in the south and east except for York) have experienced dramatic increases from a strong position to begin with. London's increase between 1991 and 2001 is very striking. At the other end of the spectrum, cities such as Mansfield, Hull, Grimsby, Barnsley, Doncaster, Stoke and Sunderland (all physically in the north and west) have had much smaller increases, and from a low base.

2.3.12 The metropolitan centres performed quite well between 1991 and 2001, although less well than some of the large cities in the south and east. Three of our case studies (Medway, Sunderland and Burnley) have relatively low graduate populations and had only modest increases between 1981 and 2001.

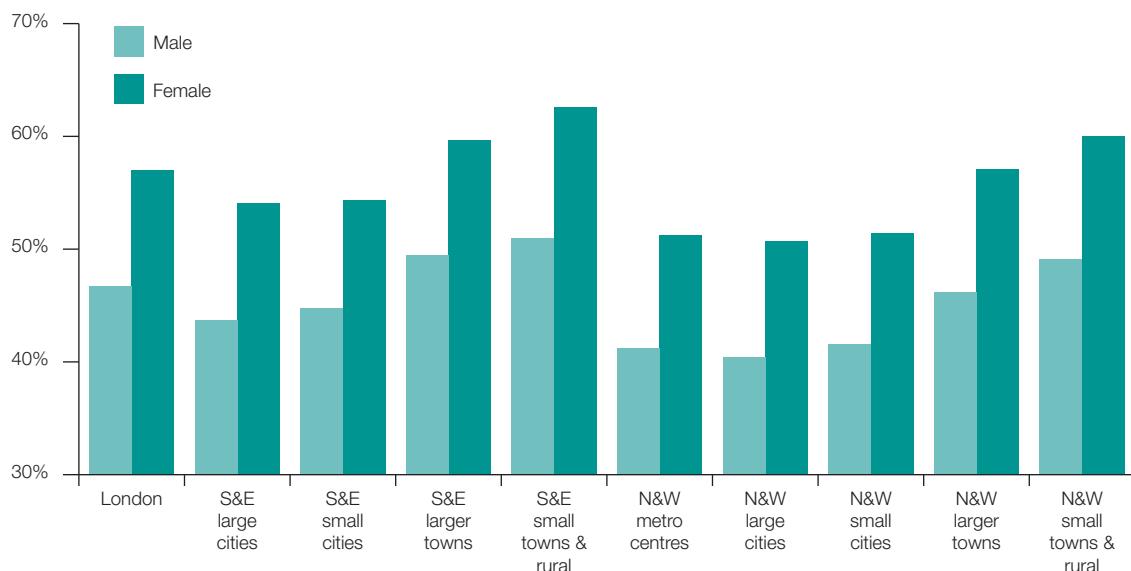
Figure 2.28: Proportion of the population with degrees, 1981-2001



## Variations in educational attainment

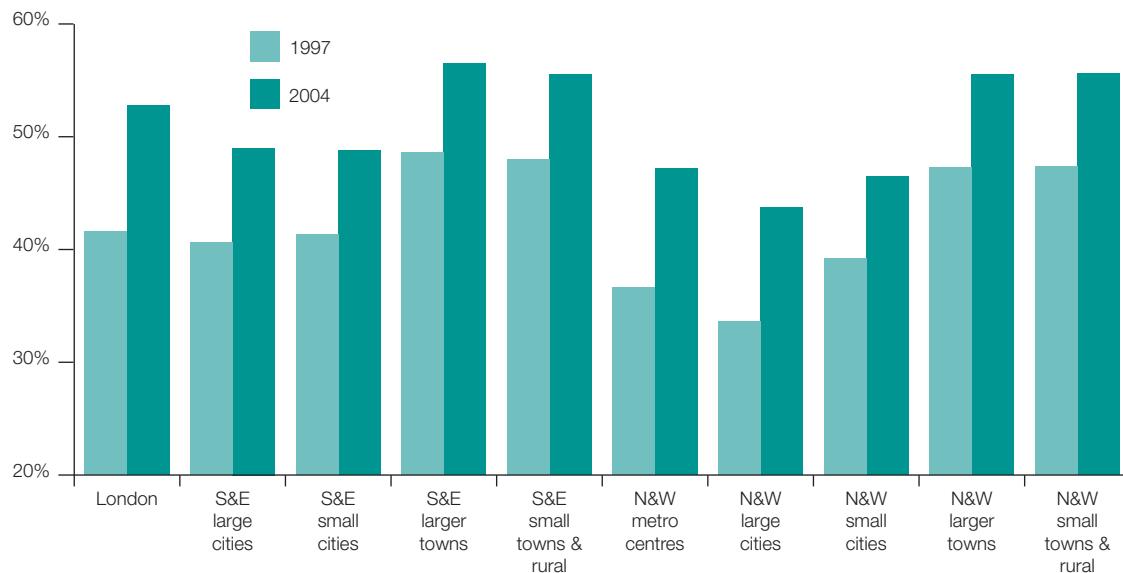
2.3.13 Schooling is the foundation for high-level skills and qualifications. One of the key measures of educational performance is the proportion of 15 year olds who achieve five or more GCSEs with grades A\*-C. Figure 2.29 shows the results for 2002/03 for different places by gender. It is clear that females consistently perform better than males. Beyond this there are wide variations in the results achieved in different settlement types. The biggest variation is between cities, on the one hand, and towns and rural areas, on the other. In addition, places in the south and east tend to achieve better results than equivalent places in the north. London's position is better than the other city types, but worse than towns and rural areas.

**Figure 2.29: GCSE results by gender – 15 year olds with 5+ grades A\*-C, 2003**



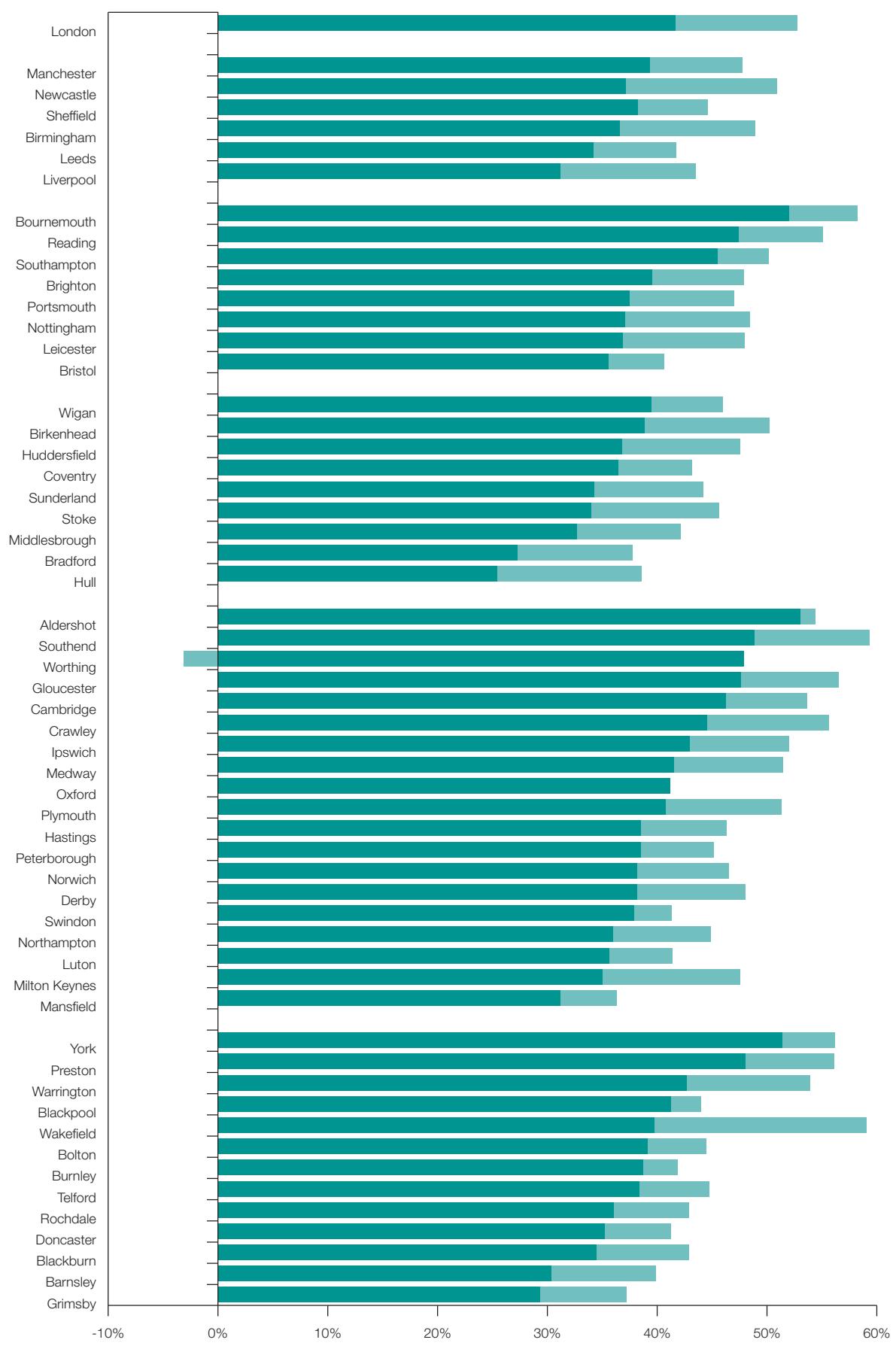
2.3.14 Figure 2.30 shows the results for females and males combined, in 1997 and 2004. There has clearly been a big improvement all round, particularly in the major cities of the north and west and in London. They have narrowed the gap slightly with the rest of the country.

**Figure 2.30: GCSE results for 1997 and 2004 – 15 year olds with 5+ grades A\*-C**

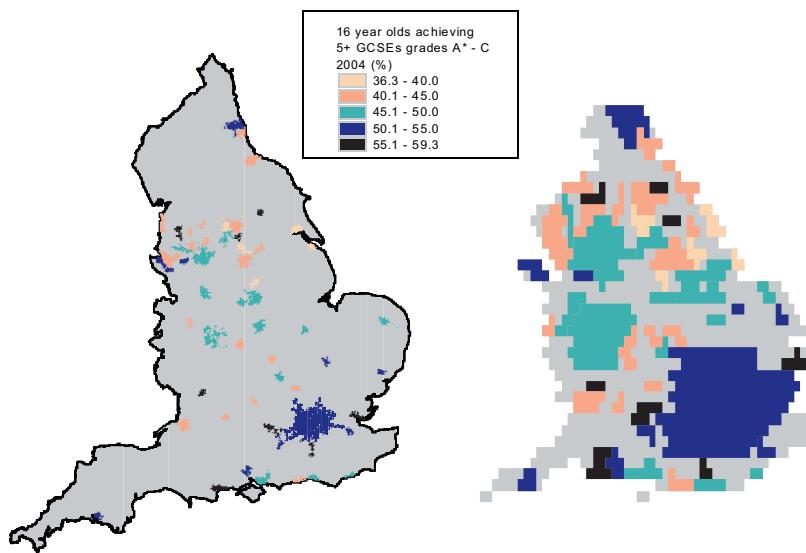


2.3.15 Figure 2.31 shows the same results for individual cities. The variations between cities are clearly very wide, both within categories and between them. The pass rate in Southend in 2004 was 60 per cent higher than in Mansfield. Other poor results were in Bradford, Hull and Barnsley. Good results were in Bournemouth, Gloucester, York, Preston, Wakefield and generally in towns and rural areas. London's position is better than all the other large cities except Bournemouth and Reading. The big all-round improvement is clear from Figure 2.31, with some apparent catch-up between many major cities in the north and west and the rest. Nevertheless, the gap remains, as shown in Map 2.8.

**Figure 2.31: GCSE results for 1997 and 2004 – 15 year olds with 5+ grades A\*-C**



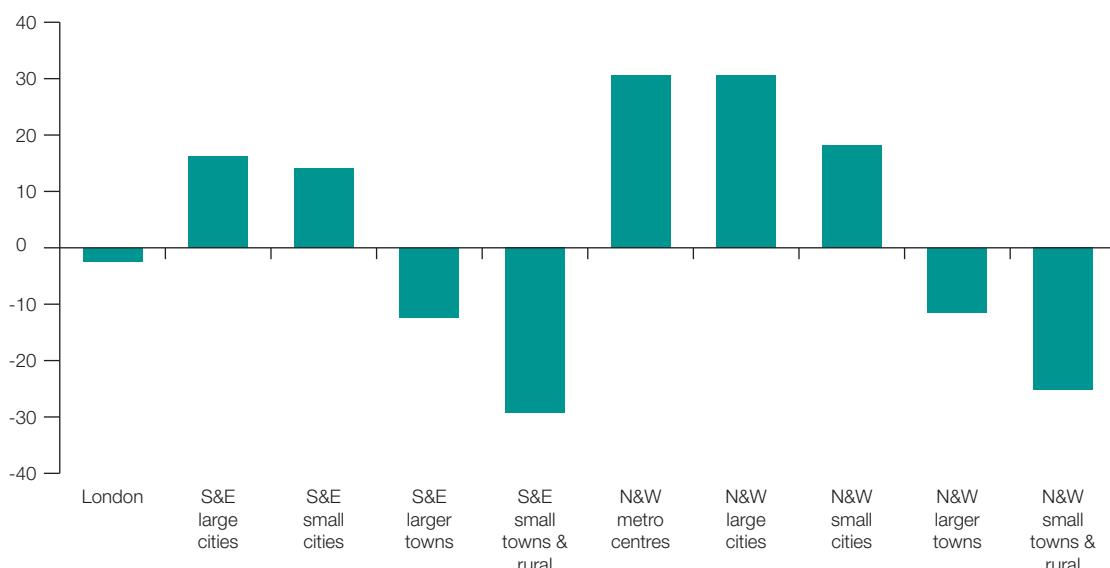
## Map 2.8: GCSE results for 2004



## More comprehensive measures of education

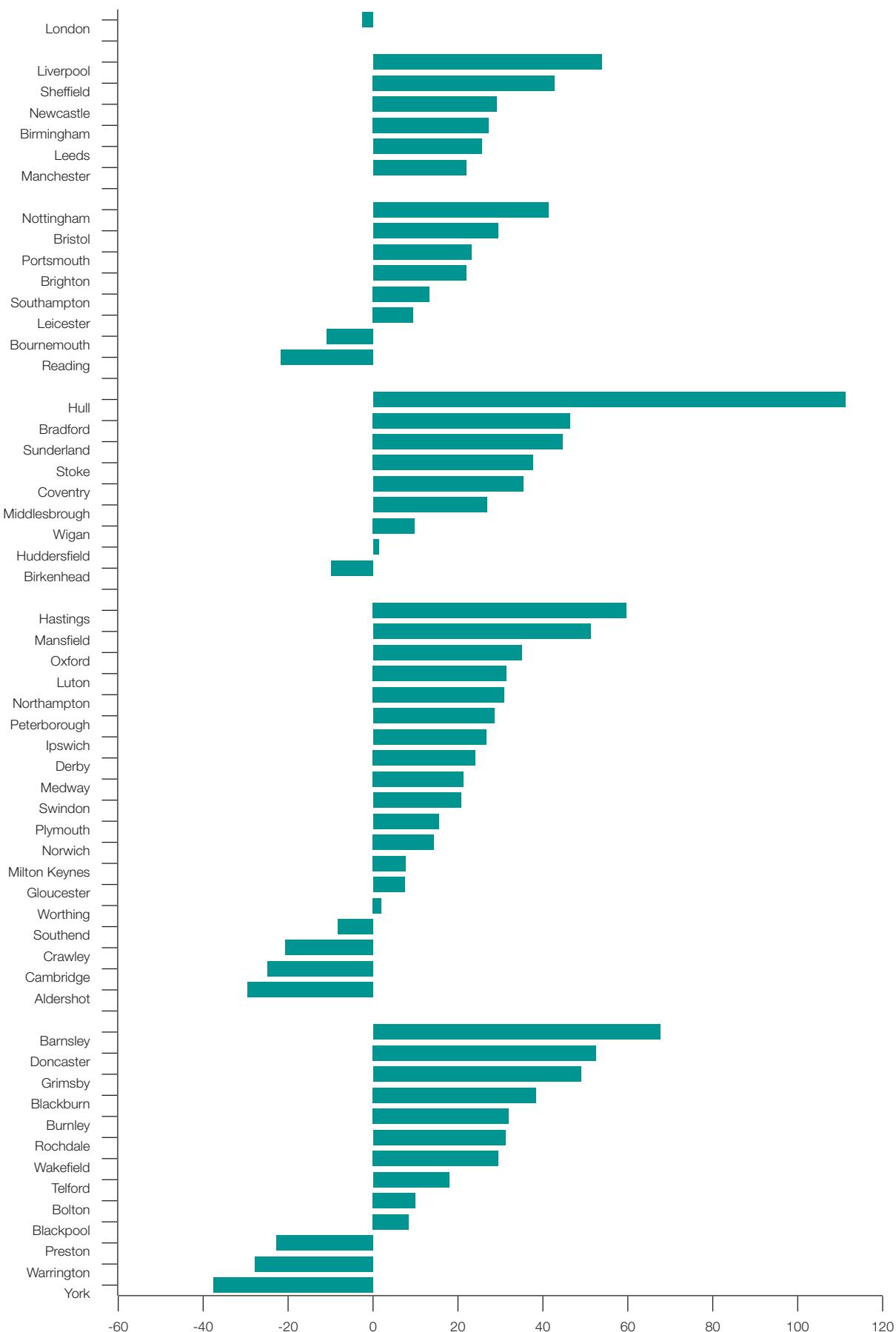
2.3.16 The educational attainment of 15-year-olds is only one of many measures of educational performance. The IMD provides a broader basket of measures of educational deprivation, including the average points score of pupils at Key Stages 2, 3 and 4, secondary school absence rates, the proportion of people not staying on in school after 16 and the proportion of those under 21 not entering higher education. Figure 2.32 shows the mean score of this indicator for different settlement types. All city types perform considerably worse than towns and rural areas, with London in between. Major cities in the north and west are the most deprived in educational terms on this measure.

**Figure 2.32: Educational deprivation of children, 2004 (mean IMD score)**



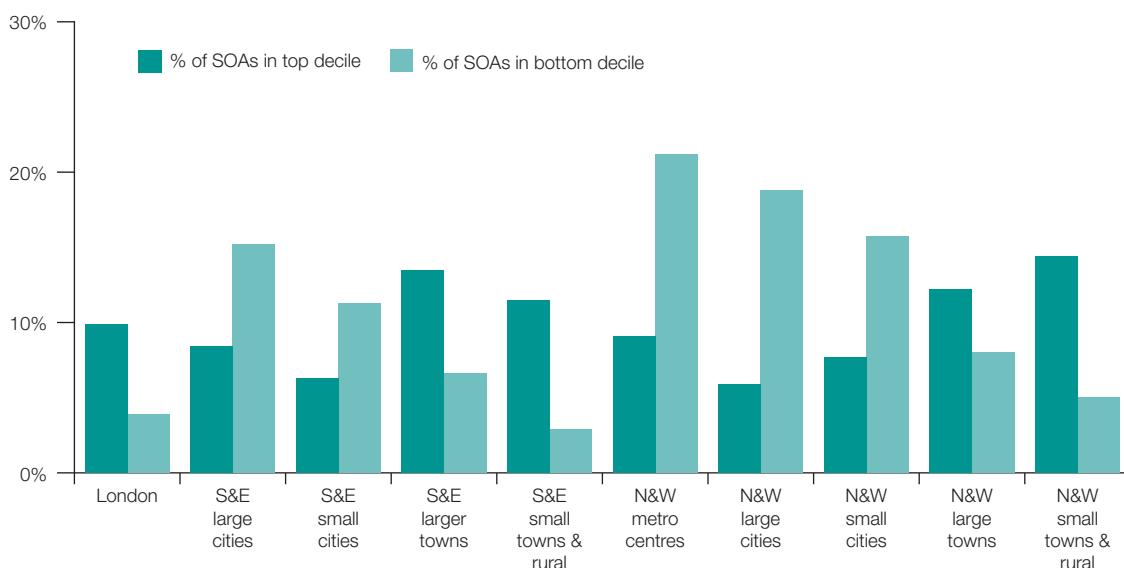
2.3.17 Figure 2.33 shows the same indicator for individual cities. Once again the variations are very wide within and between categories. None of the metropolitan centres perform well. The city with the poorest educational performance for children is Hull, followed by Barnsley, Hastings, Liverpool, Doncaster and Mansfield. Cities with strong performance include Aldershot, Reading, Crawley, York, Warrington and Preston. The last three of these are exceptional among cities in the north and west.

**Figure 2.33: Educational deprivation of children, 2004 (mean IMD score)**



2.3.18 The neighbourhoods with the poorest and best performance according to the same basket of education indicators can be mapped onto the settlement typology to see where they are located. Figure 2.34 shows the distribution of the most and least deprived deciles. All city types except London have an above average number of the most deprived neighbourhoods in educational terms. Major cities in the north and west have more than the rest. All categories of towns and rural areas have an above average number of the least deprived neighbourhoods in educational terms.

**Figure 2.34: Distribution of the most and least educationally deprived neighbourhoods, 2004**



### The link between education and deprivation

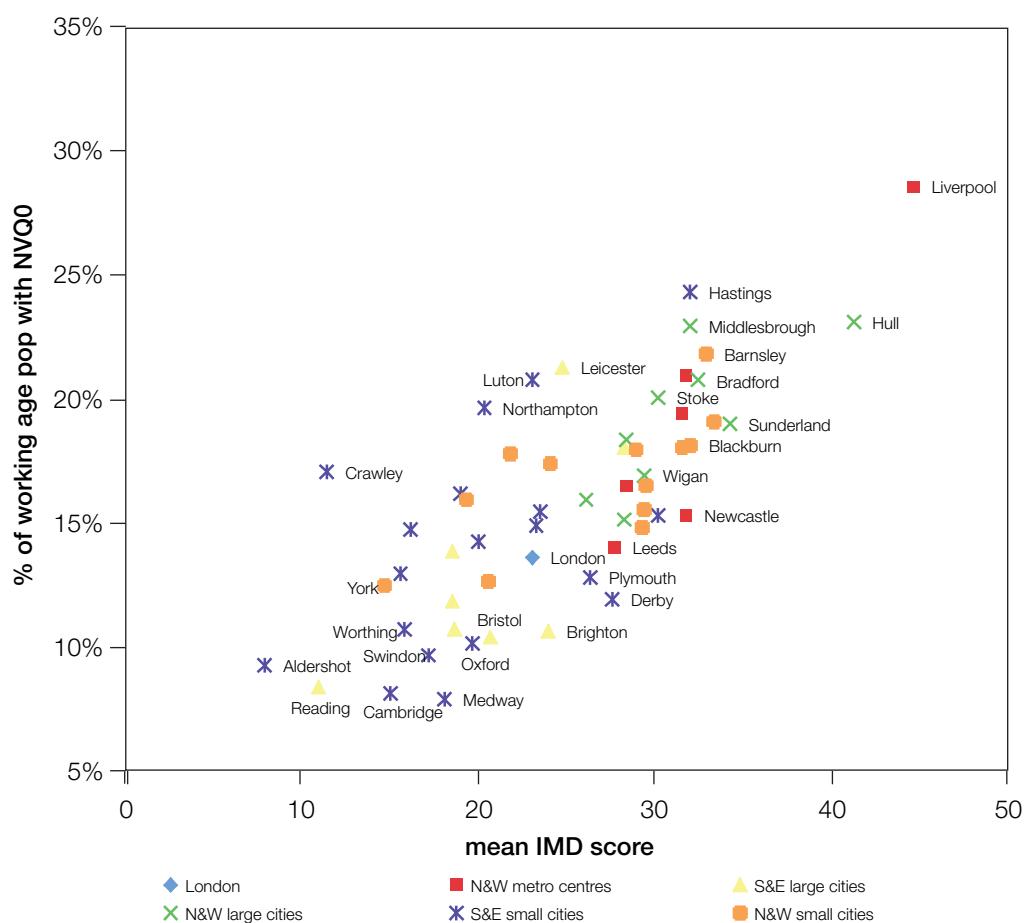
2.3.19 A link between deprivation and educational attainment for individuals and neighbourhoods is well established. Unemployment and poverty undermine educational aspirations and expectations, which are reinforced by peer group pressure (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004). Education may be less highly valued in poor areas as a result of socialisation within families and communities where qualifications were not important historically, perhaps because most of the jobs people had did not require doing well at school. A perception of poorer job prospects on leaving school nowadays may compound negative attitudes. And of course the whole process may be self-reinforcing since poor educational performance is bound to undermine personal employability and career opportunities.

2.3.20 In addition, schools don't necessarily have an appropriate range of learning options available to motivate pupils who are not academically inclined, and excluding disruptive pupils could exacerbate the situation. Vocational and core transferable skills may receive inadequate recognition in the modern curriculum with the pressure on exams and standards, especially bearing in mind that many contemporary employers emphasise soft skills, ie handling customers, verbal

communication, team working and problem solving. Some of these attributes could be tied up with social class and gender in employers' stereotypes of what makes a good employee. Young working class men may be less willing to assume the image wanted by service sector employers if this conflicts with their own ways of maintaining self-respect and identity.

2.3.21 Such processes could easily be aggregated and become apparent on a wider urban scale, partly reflecting the past industrial structure and changing labour market of the city. Figure 2.35 shows a strong relationship (correlation co-efficient 0.75) between the overall level of deprivation in a city and the proportion of its population with no qualifications. Cities in the north and west tend to be concentrated in the top right end of the distribution and cities in the south and east in the bottom left. There are complex two-way causal processes at work suggesting that improved educational performance is unlikely to be a quick fix for wider urban problems.

**Figure 2.35: Relationship between deprivation and lack of qualifications, 2004**



## Education and skill patterns in summary

- Cities in the north and west have more people with no qualifications and fewer people with degrees than elsewhere.
- There is a strong relationship between deprivation and people with no qualifications at city level.
- There is a big variation in the level of educational attainment between cities and the rest of the country, although the gap has narrowed slightly in recent years.
- The proportion of people with degrees has risen everywhere in the last decade, particularly in cities that already had many graduates.
- Graduates may be attracted to large cities in the south and east more than to smaller cities, towns and rural areas, but the opposite appears to hold true in the north and west.

## PART 2

### Section 4: Health

- 2.4.1 Health is a crucial aspect of the quality of life and a reflection of underlying social and economic conditions. Inequalities in life expectancy – premature mortality – and other health outcomes are among the most striking features of social cohesion or lack of cohesion. The state of health of individuals can be related to a variety of tangible and less tangible neighbourhood and community characteristics, including housing conditions, feelings of safety and security, involvement in physical activity and voluntary work, as well as unemployment, income, education and socio-economic status (Shaw et al, 1999; Kearns and Parkes, 2005).
- 2.4.2 Health can also contribute to the state of cohesion in various ways. People who are unhealthy or have a limiting long-term illness tend to be disadvantaged in the labour market and have lower incomes. They are likely to be less involved in social, community and political activities. Consequently, they may feel more isolated and excluded from the normal day-to-day activities of civic society. Poor health also contributes to absenteeism from work, reduces the size of effective workforce and can thereby constrain the performance of the economy.
- 2.4.3 The main questions addressed in this section are:
- (i) How does health vary between regions, cities and towns?
  - (ii) Is settlement size more significant than regional location?
  - (iii) What has been the rate of improvement in different aspects of health in recent years?
  - (iv) Which cities have experienced the greatest and least improvements?
  - (v) Are health patterns related to socio-economic conditions at city level?
- 2.4.4 Three sources of data have been used to derive a reasonably comprehensive perspective on health over the decade 1992-2002. Data on long-term and limiting long-term illness, self-assessed health, minor mental health problems and obesity were obtained from the Health Survey for England (HSE) from years 1991-92, 1997, 2001 and 2002. The health deprivation and disability domain of the IMD<sup>2</sup> was also used for data on mortality, physical and mental health, and accidents and emergencies. Data on life expectancy and limiting long-term illness were based on the Census.

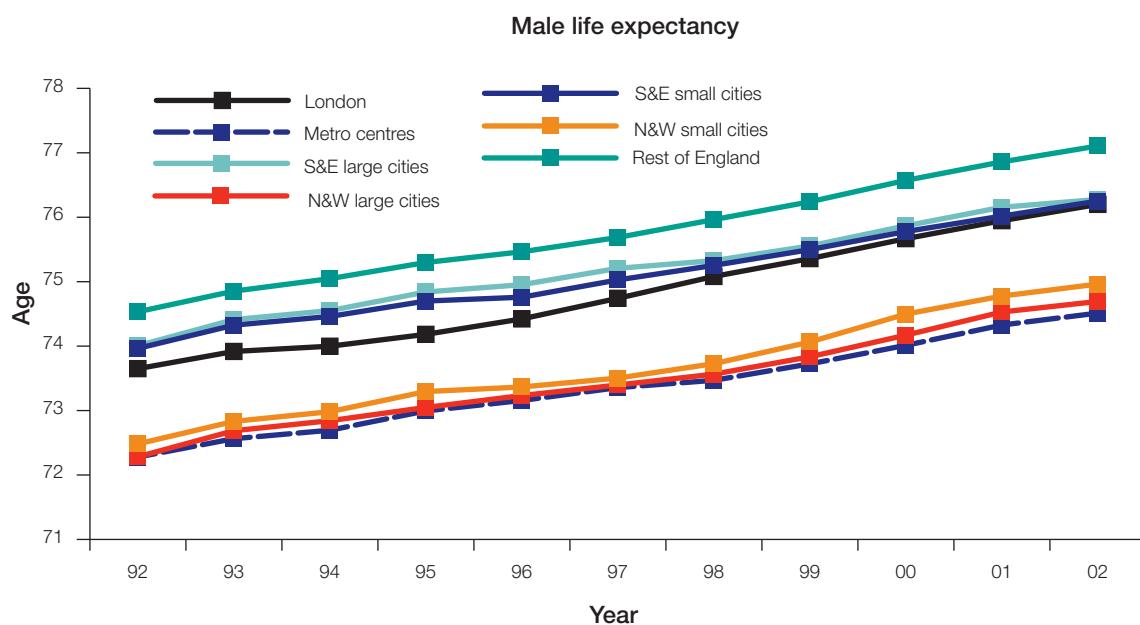
<sup>2</sup> The health deprivation and disability score of the IMD has four component variables: Years of Potential Life Lost (1997-2001), Comparative Illness and Disability Ratio (2001), Measures of emergency admissions to hospital (1999-2002), and Adults under 60 suffering from mood or anxiety disorders (1997-2002). 'Years of potential life lost' is a measure of premature death, with a younger person's unexpected death having a greater impact on the index than an older person's. The 'comparative illness and disability ratio' is a claimant count for welfare benefits related to disablement or incapacity to work. 'Emergency admissions to hospital' measures grave health problems by computing all hospital episodes beginning as an emergency admission. The component variable 'mood or anxiety disorders' was itself derived from four measures, with the following weights: hospital admission for depression or anxiety 0.37, rate of suicide 0.11, prescribing of anti-depressant and anxiolytic drugs 0.15, receipt of incapacity benefit and severe disablement allowance because of anxiety or depression 0.37.

## Trends in Different Aspects of Health

### *Life expectancy*

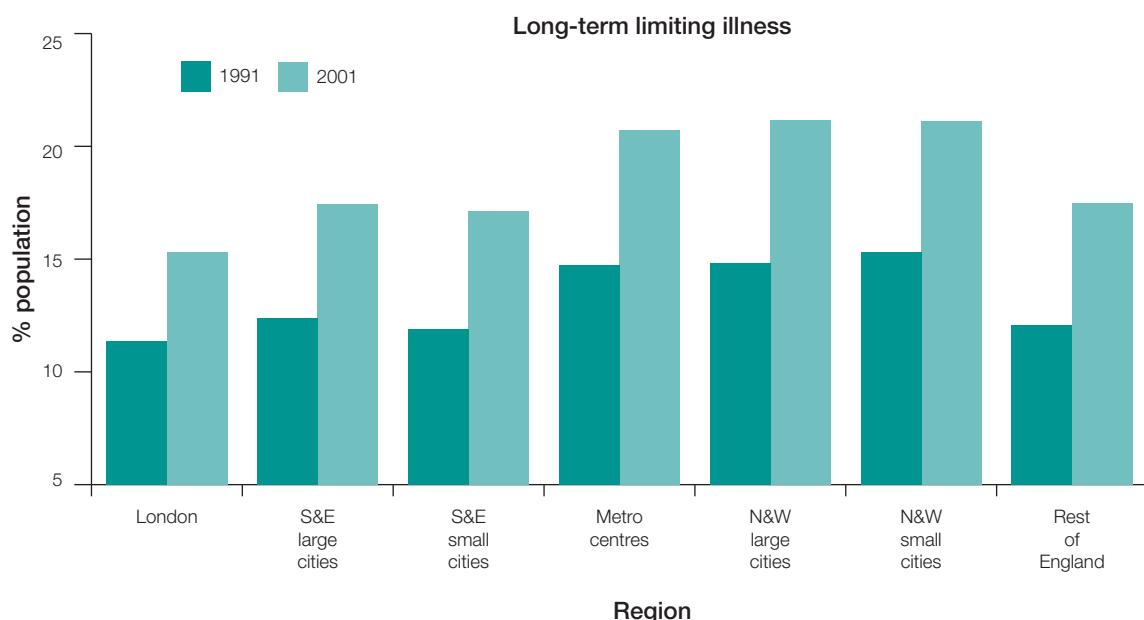
- 2.4.5 Life expectancy varies greatly between different parts of the country. People living in the south and east live longer than those in the north and west. People living in towns and rural areas also live longer than those in cities. Life expectancy has increased steadily over the decade 1992-2002 (Figure 2.37). This increase is faster among men – two to three years – than women – one to two years, although women had a higher starting point. The gap between different parts of the country has not changed significantly over the last decade.

**Figure 2.37: Male life expectancy by city type, 1992-2002**



- 2.4.6 Life expectancy also varies greatly between different major cities (Figure 2.38). Men in Bristol and London can expect to live three years longer than men in Liverpool. People everywhere are living longer than they were a decade ago, although the gap between different cities not changed significantly.

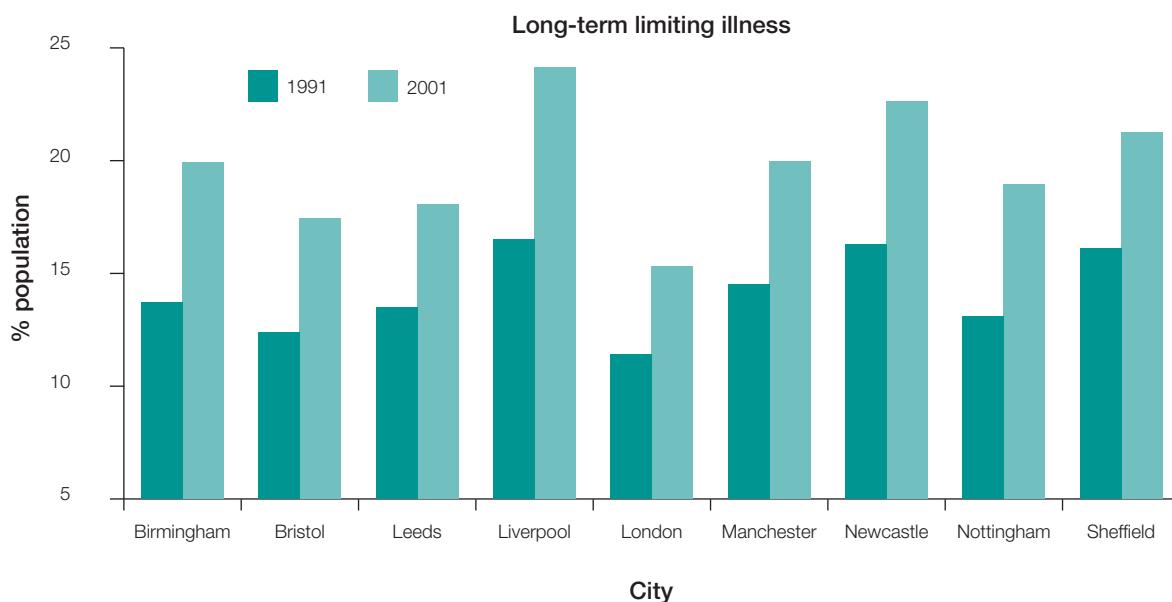
**Figure 2.38: Male life expectancy by individual city, 1992 and 2001**



### *Long-term limiting illness*

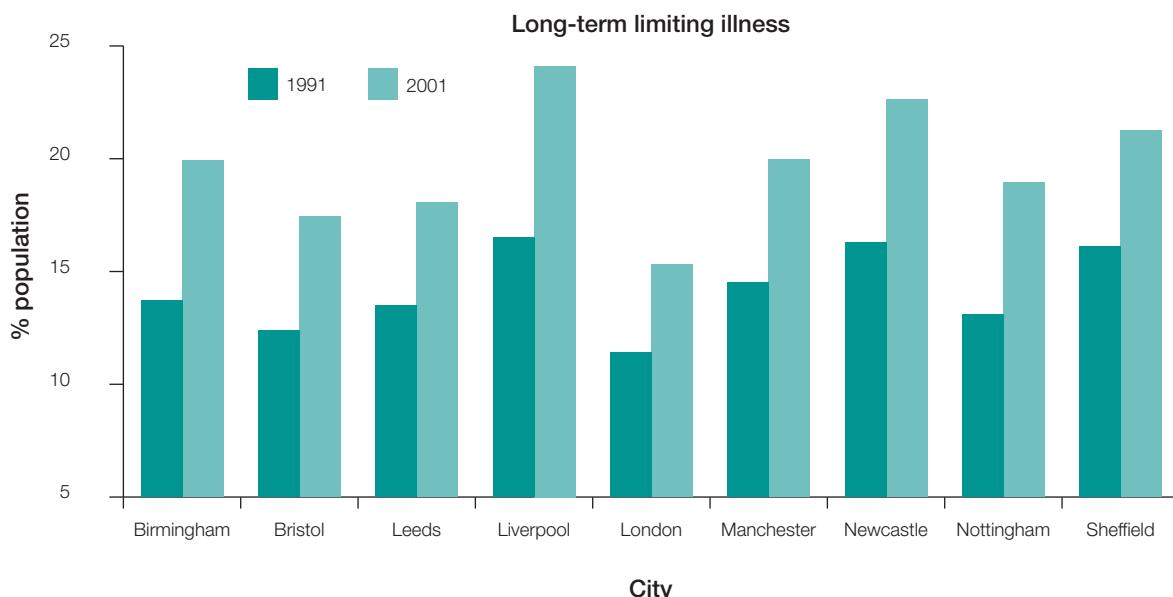
- 2.4.7 A much higher proportion of people in the north and west suffer from a long-term limiting illness than in the south and east (Figure 2.39). The size of cities or towns does not seem to affect the incidence of long-term limiting illness. London has the lowest rate. There was an increase in long-term limiting illness across the country between 1991 and 2001.

**Figure 2.39: Long-term limiting illness by city type, 1991 and 2001**



- 2.4.8 Long-term limiting illness also varies greatly between different major cities (Figure 2.40). Liverpool has the highest level, followed by Newcastle, and London has the lowest. The biggest increase in absolute terms between 1991 and 2001 was in Liverpool and the smallest in London.

**Figure 2.40: Long-term limiting illness by major city, 1991 and 2001**



### *Obesity*

- 2.4.9 Obesity is becoming a more serious health concern in England. Clinical obesity is measured according to the proportion of the population with a body mass index in excess of 30. Interestingly, rural areas are more prone to obesity than urban areas, although the gap has narrowed over the last decade as obesity has risen more quickly in urban areas (Table 2.3). The Health Survey for England only permits a geographical classification by urban, suburban and rural areas.

**Table 2.3: Percentage of population clinically obese by type of area, 1992-2002**

Type of area	1991/1992	1997	2002	per cent
Urban	12.7	18.2	20.2	
Suburban	14.4	19.0	21.1	
Rural	16.4	19.4	22.5	
All England	14.7	18.9	21.2	

### ***Mental health***

2.4.10 Mental health is quite a different health concern. It is commonly measured according to the GHQ score, with a threshold of 4+ conventionally taken as an indication of minor mental illness. Table 2.4 presents the proportion of the population with this score from the HSE for different years. Urban areas have consistently higher rates of mental illness than rural areas. The situation appeared to improve slightly between 1991-92 and 1997, but then deteriorated again by 2002. In rural areas, the situation improved more substantially, but then fell back somewhat. Overall, the urban-rural disparity was wider in 2002 than in 1991-92.

**Table 2.4: Percentage of adults with GHQ score 4+ by type of area, 1992-2002**

Type of area	1991/1992	1997	2002	per cent
Urban	19.8	18.2	19.9	
Suburban	16.5	17.1	16.9	
Rural	16.7	13.6	15.1	
All England	17.0	16.5	17.1	

### ***Self-assessed health***

2.4.11 One of the more straightforward health measures is self-assessed health, taken from the HSE. The proportion of people assessing their health as fair, bad or very bad has consistently been higher in urban than rural areas. It deteriorated markedly between 1991 and 1997 in urban and suburban areas, followed by a smaller improvement (Table 2.5). In contrast, self-assessed health has barely changed in rural areas. As a result the health gap widened between 1991-92 and 2002.

**Table 2.5: Adults with fair, bad or very bad self-assessed health by type of area, 1992-2002**

Type of area	1991/1992	1997	2002	per cent
Urban	21.0	25.4	24.8	
Suburban	18.4	23.0	20.1	
Rural	18.1	17.7	18.4	
All England	18.6 per cent	22.2 per cent	20.7 per cent	

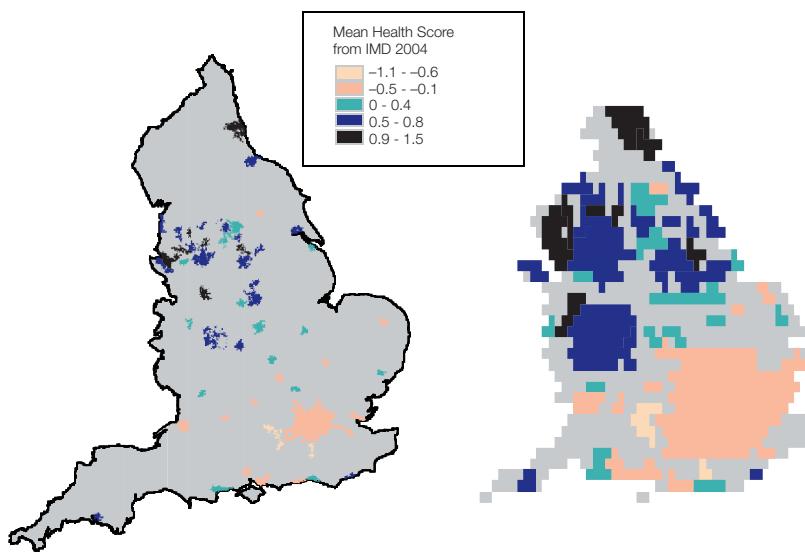
## Health variations between cities

2.4.12 It appears from the above that the geography of health differs to some extent according to the particular aspect of health being considered. In order to provide a more fine-grained spatial analysis, the HSE for 2001 was linked with the detailed geographical identifiers of the SOCR typology. Four of the health conditions mentioned above were analysed for adults aged 20-64. The regional dimension emerges particularly strongly from this analysis (Table 2.6). All three categories of cities in the north and west have substantially worse health, across the board, than cities in the south and east, and towns and rural areas. The significance of the regional dimension is confirmed by the measures of health deprivation in the IMD and shown in Map 2.9. Liverpool has almost two thirds of its neighbourhoods in the most deprived decile for health. Sunderland is the next most deprived city, with just under half of its neighbourhoods in the most deprived category. York and Telford stand out among cities in the north and west with limited health deprivation.

**Table 2.6: Percentage of adults with health problems by region, 2001**

Health problem	Long-term limiting illness	GHQ score 4+	Fair, bad or v.bad self-assessed health	Obese	per cent
Region					
London	19.5	14.9	20.3	20.0	
S&E large cities	21.9	14.0	20.4	20.6	
S&E small cities	19.4	15.8	23.7	21.4	
Metropolitan centres	25.0	16.3	24.6	22.6	
N&W large cities	26.4	15.0	25.9	25.1	
N&W small cities	24.1	13.2	24.1	23.2	
Rest of England	20.8	12.2	19.2	23.9	

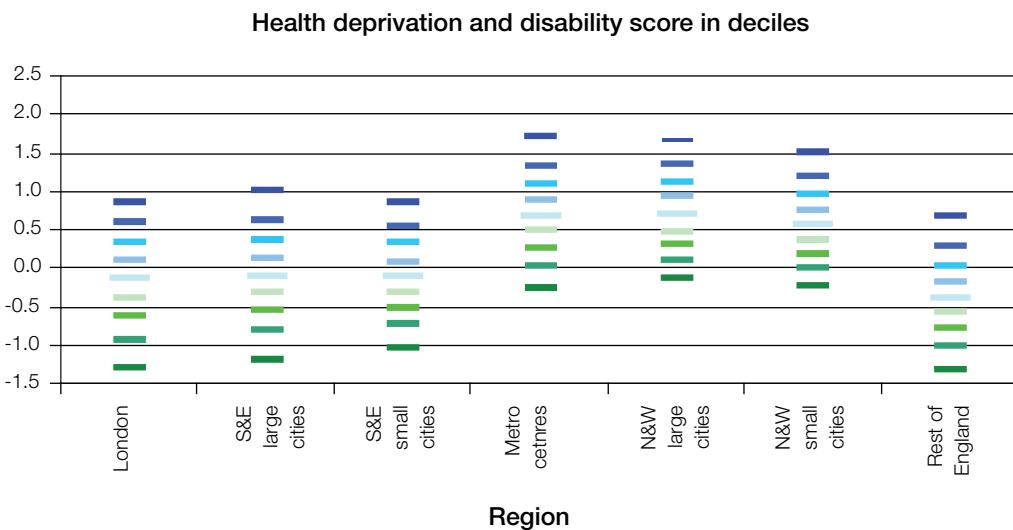
Map 2.9: Level of health deprivation, 2004 (mean IMD score)



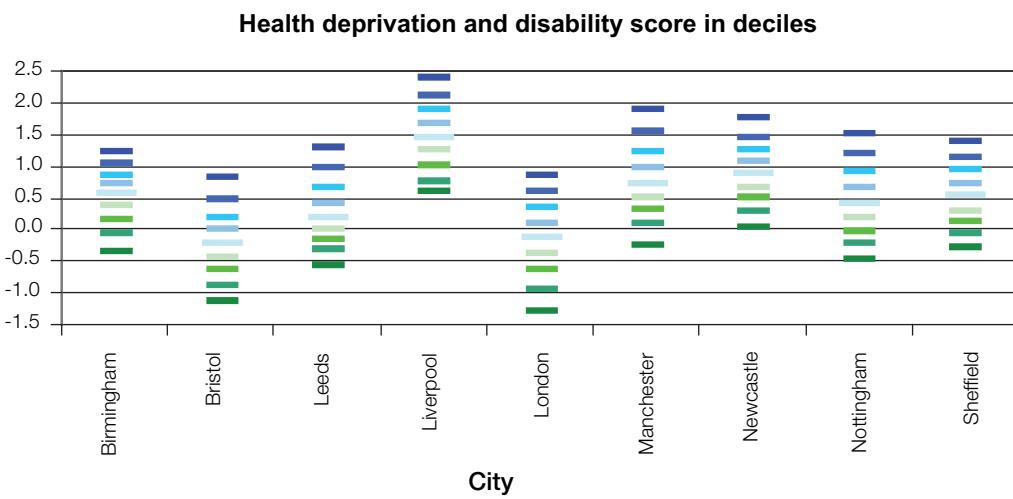
## Health inequalities

2.4.13 The differences in health between people are modest in some places but quite striking in others. These inequalities can be examined using the health deprivation and disability domain of the IMD 2004. It identifies areas with high rates of people who die prematurely, whose quality of life is impaired by poor health, or who are disabled. A high positive value of the health domain indicates poor health. Figures 2.41 and 2.42 show the health score split into deciles within each area, which provides an assessment of health inequality in the context of its relative health. The healthier half of the area's population is depicted by a green line at each decile and the less healthy half is shown by blue lines.

2.4.14 The significance of the basic regional dimension is reaffirmed by this analysis, with poorer overall health in the north and west. However, health inequalities appear wider in the south and east. The first decile (lowest and darkest green line – representing their healthiest neighbourhoods) in each of the north and west city types is almost at the same level as the median (widest and palest line – representing the average health status of neighbourhoods in these areas) in the south and east.

**Figure 2.41: Health inequalities by city type, 2004**

2.4.15 Figure 2.42 shows health status and inequality in the nine major cities. Liverpool's position is stark, with its healthiest 10 per cent of neighbourhoods failing to reach the English average (score zero), although its inequalities are modest. Manchester and Newcastle also have poor health profiles, and Manchester also shows quite high inequalities. Bristol and London are the healthiest of the nine cities, and London has the highest inequalities. The narrowest inequalities are in Birmingham and Sheffield.

**Figure 2.42: Health inequalities by major city, 2004**

## Aspects of poor health

2.4.16 The individual components of the IMD health domain were examined to ascertain the percentage of neighbourhoods in the worst decile for each city type. This permits analysis of the variability of health conditions across areas. Table 2.7 shows that health conditions are in fact quite consistent across most types of area. Cities in the north and west have generally poor health, while small cities in the south and east and towns and rural areas have relatively few neighbourhoods with poor health. Large cities in the south and east have a proportionate number of neighbourhoods with poor health. Among these cities Nottingham has the poorest profile and Bristol the best. London is slightly better off than average

2.4.17 Among all cities, Liverpool has the worst health problems, with 71 per cent of its neighbourhoods in the worst decile of the comparative illness and disability ratio, 51 per cent in the worst decile for anxiety and depression, 44 per cent in the worst decile for years of potential life lost and 38 per cent in the worst decile for emergency hospital admissions. Newcastle and Manchester are also fairly badly off.

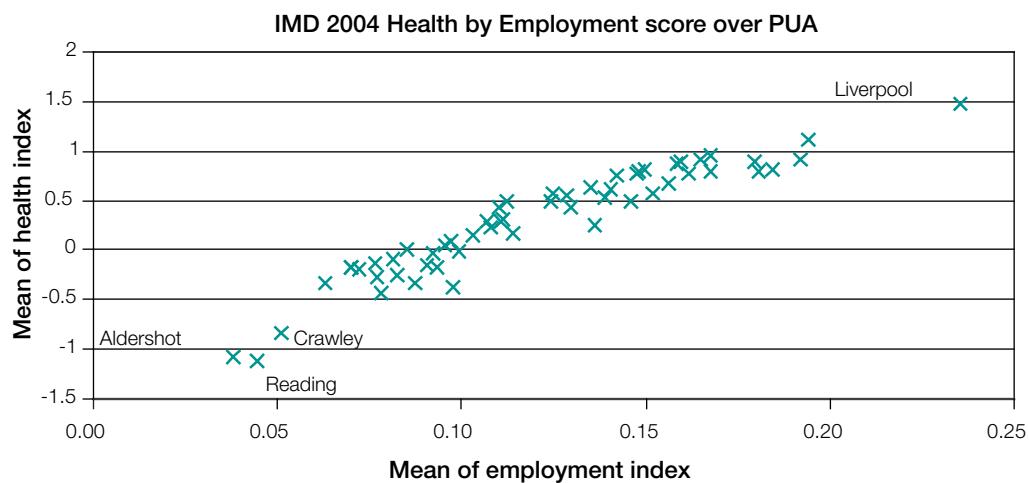
**Table 2.7: Percentage of areas in the worst health decile by city type, 2004**

Component	Years of potential life lost	Comparative illness and disability ratio	Emergency hospital admissions	Anxiety and depression	per cent
Region					
London	11	2	10	1	
SE large cities	12	6	8	11	
SE small cities	5	5	5	9	
NW metropolitan	24	27	21	22	
NW large cities	19	29	28	19	
NW small cities	18	23	12	22	
Rest of England	3	4	4	7	

## Influences on health

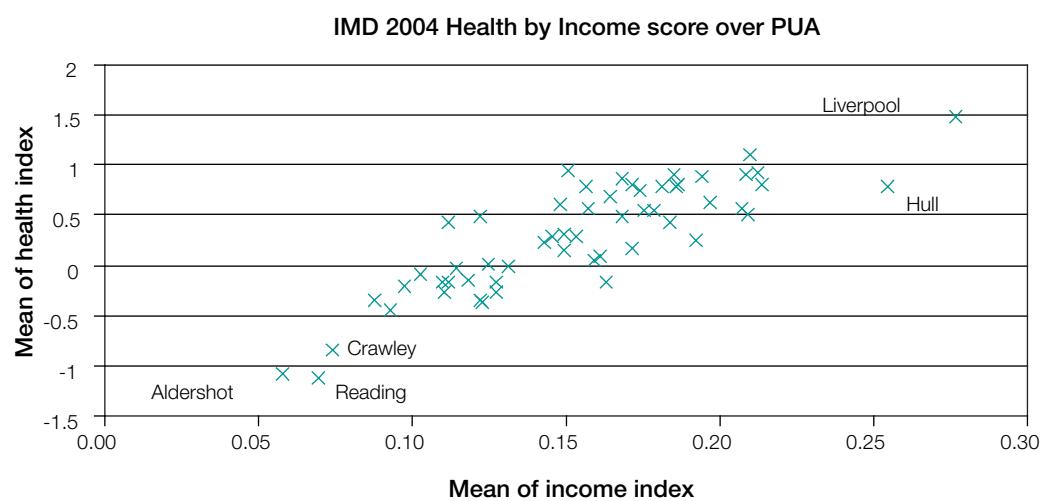
2.4.18 Many factors influence the health of individuals and therefore the wider population. Simple statistical analyses of the relationship between health and various socio-economic factors can provide clues to the underlying processes. Figure 2.43 shows the relationship between health and employment using the respective domains of the IMD. The correlation coefficient is 0.95, indicating a very strong positive relationship. It seems convincing evidence that cities with high levels of unemployment have poor health.

**Figure 2.43: Relationship between health and unemployment, 2004**



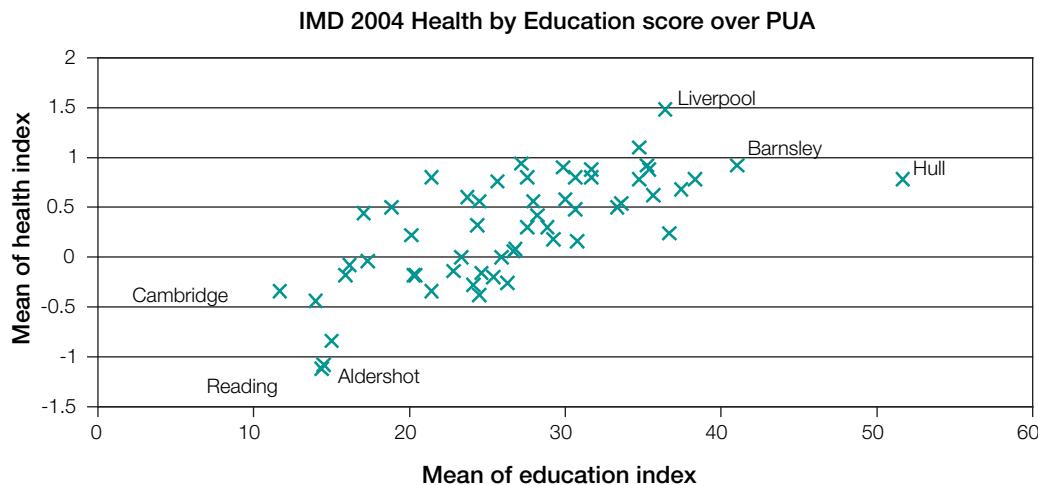
2.4.19 Figure 2.44 shows the equivalent relationship between health and income. The correlation coefficient is 0.85, again indicating a very strong positive relationship. Cities with lower incomes have poorer health conditions.

**Figure 2.44: Relationship between health and income, 2004**



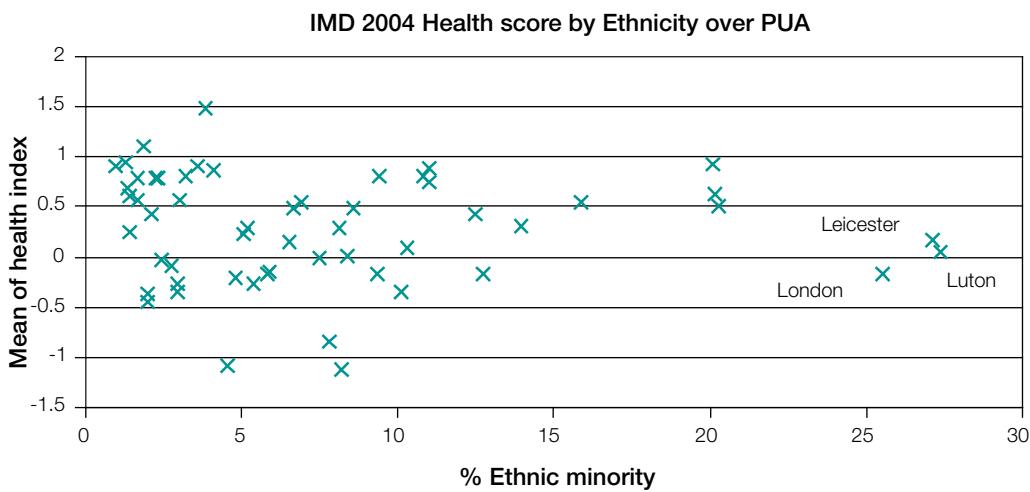
2.4.20 Figure 2.45 shows the equivalent scatter graph for health and education. The correlation coefficient is 0.71, indicating a reasonably strong relationship, with higher educational attainment associated with better health. Hull is an outlier, with better health than expected given its overall education level.

**Figure 2.45: Relationship between health and education, 2004**



2.4.21 Figure 2.46 shows the relationship between ethnicity (defined as the proportion of the population that is non-white) and health. The correlation coefficient is -0.1, indicating no relationship. The ethnic minority population of a city appears to have no bearing on its health profile.

**Figure 2.46: Relationship between health and ethnicity, 2004**



## Health Patterns in Summary

- Health conditions are generally improving and people everywhere are living longer.
- There are some exceptions such as obesity, mental health and long-term limiting illness (at least between 1991-2001).
- The rate of increase in obesity appears to have slowed down since 1997 and self-assessed health seems to have improved. However, the trajectory of mental health appears to have deteriorated.
- Cities and towns in the south and east have better all-round health profiles than the north and west. There is little sign that this gap has narrowed during the last decade.
- Larger cities tend to have worse health than towns and rural areas.
- London is an exception to this pattern; its health profile is relatively good, although there appear to be wide inequalities.
- Liverpool suffers extreme health deprivation.
- York and Telford stand out from the rest of the north and west as having better health.
- Employment, income and education seem to be closely linked to health conditions in cities.

## PART 2

### Section 5: Housing and residential segregation

- 2.5.1 Housing is related to social cohesion in a variety of ways. It is a reflection of wider urban social trends as well as an influence on social conditions and relationships. The quality of people's housing and residential environments clearly reflects their income and socio-economic status above all. With the decline of social housing, segmentation of the housing system is an inevitable consequence, with disadvantaged households tending towards deprived neighbourhoods where the lowest quality, least desirable housing is. Housing and neighbourhood conditions obviously influence the residential location decisions of those with a choice about where to live. Former industrial urban cores with an old private housing stock and low quality post-war public housing can find it difficult to compete with more modern suburbs and surrounding towns.
- 2.5.2 This chapter looks first at the relative physical condition of urban housing and the surrounding environment, and then at the issue of residential segregation.

#### Housing

##### *Decent homes*

- 2.5.3 The Government's Decent Homes programme (and its decent homes target PSA7) aims to ensure that all of England's stock of 4.1 million social housing units meets the Decent Homes Standard (defined at [www.communities.gov.uk/housing](http://www.communities.gov.uk/housing)). Two-thirds (67 per cent) of social housing in England is in the 56 cities analysed in this report. Table 2.8 shows that more than a third (36.6 per cent) of social housing is not considered decent, affecting almost a million homes. The proportion of non-decent social housing in the rest of the country is somewhat lower at 32.7 per cent. In the city cores (excluding suburbs), the proportion of non-decent social housing is 40 per cent. Therefore the challenge is greatest in the city cores.

**Table 2.8: Decent homes by cities and other areas, 2003**

	56 cities			Other areas		
	decent	not decent	all	decent	not decent	all
<b>social housing stock:</b>						
number (000s)	1,726	995	2,721	913	444	1,357
%	63.4	36.6	100	67.3	32.7	100.0
<b>vulnerable private sector households:</b>						
number (000s)	1,027	639	1,666	756	417	1,173
%	61.6	38.4	100	64.5	35.5	100.0

Source: 2003 English House Condition Survey

- 2.5.4 Of course housing quality is also relevant in the private sector, especially where households have low incomes. It is estimated that 639,000 vulnerable households (those in receipt of means tested or disability related benefits) live in non-decent private homes in the 56 cities. This represents 38.4 per cent of all such households in these areas, and compares with the 35.5 per cent of such households elsewhere (Table 2.8). The Government's Decent Homes programme also aims to reduce these proportions. It seeks to do so through local authority targeted housing renewal, area regeneration initiatives that include housing improvements, and measures to tackle fuel poverty by improving energy efficiency in the homes of vulnerable groups.

### Thermal comfort

- 2.5.5 One of the key dimensions of the decent homes standard is thermal comfort. Just over a quarter of all social housing and vulnerable households in the private sector do not meet this standard. There is little difference between the proportions that fail in the cities and elsewhere (Table 2.9). This is true for both social housing and vulnerable private sector households.

**Table 2.9: Homes failing thermal comfort by cities and other areas, 2003**

	56 cities			elsewhere		
	pass	fail	all	pass	fail	all
<b>social sector stock:</b>						
number (000s)	2,024	697	2,721	999	358	1,357
%	74.4	25.6	100.0	73.6	26.4	100.0
<b>private sector vulnerable households:</b>						
number (000s)	1,223	443	1,666	857	316	1,173
%	73.4	26.6	100.0	73.1	26.9	100.0

Source: 2003 English House Condition Survey

### Poor quality environment

- 2.5.6 The quality of the surrounding environment also affects residential preferences and quality of life. Table 2.10 shows that roughly double the proportion of households in the 56 cities live in poor quality environments than elsewhere. This is measured across 16 separately measured indicators (summarised into three categories of problems: poor upkeep/neglect of buildings and public space, low utilisation or abandonment of property, and heavy traffic). Furthermore, almost half of English households living in poor quality environments live in the 30 per cent most deprived local authority areas (and these are concentrated in the cities).

**Table 2.10: Poor quality environments by cities and other areas, 2003**

	per cent					
	56 cities			Other areas		
	no problems	problems	total	no problems	problems	total
Upkeep/neglect of buildings	14	86	100	6	94	100
Heavy traffic	10	90	100	5	95	100
Utilisation of property	3	97	100	1	99	100
Poor quality environments	21	79	100	10	90	100

Source: 2003 English House Condition Survey

- 2.5.7 Other aspects of the residential environment have become more prominent in recent years. Table 2.11 shows that households living in the cities are much more likely to report a wider set of problems relating to anti-social and criminal behaviour. Many of the differences are very striking and the high proportion of households reporting some of these problems is a source of considerable concern.

**Table 2.11: Households reporting problems in the area around their home, 2003**

	per cent	
	56 cities	elsewhere
General level of crime	41.9	25.4
Fear of being burgled	48.3	35.4
Vandalism and hooliganism	35.0	23.4
Presence of drug dealers	22.7	16.0
Poor state of open space/gardens	22.6	14.2
Problems with dogs/dog mess	36.8	35.0
Graffiti	21.8	9.3
Litter and rubbish in the streets	46.8	33.1
Problems with street parking	49.4	42.0
Heavy traffic	37.1	29.9
Problems with neighbours	14.1	11.1
Troublesome teenagers/children	30.4	21.0
Pollution	25.3	14.9

Source: 2003 EHCS. Base: all households

2.5.8 Overall, households in the 56 cities are almost twice as likely as those living elsewhere to be dissatisfied with their neighbourhood as a place to live (Table 2.12).

**Table 2.12: Households dissatisfied with their neighbourhood as a place to live, 2003**

	<b>56 cities</b>	<b>elsewhere</b>
number dissatisfied (000s)	1,714	722
% dissatisfied	14.9	7.9

Source: 2003 EHCS. Base: all households

## Residential segregation

2.5.9 A more specific concern around housing has emerged in recent years, directly relevant to the issues of social and community cohesion. The independent review team set up by the Home Office to examine the violent disorders in three northern English cities in 2001 concluded that housing, and in particular, residential segregation, were responsible for the disconnection between people of different cultural, religious and racial backgrounds (Home Office, 2001). This section reviews the arguments and evidence around segregation and provides a new analysis of the nature, extent and significance of this phenomenon in England.

### 2.5.10 The main questions addressed in this section are:

- (i) What is known about segregation in the UK from previous research?
- (ii) What are the patterns and trends in racial segregation between whites and non-whites, and between whites, Blacks and Asians?
- (iii) How does this compare with other forms of segregation, for example by social class?
- (iv) Is segregation associated with other social outcomes in cities?

#### *The meaning of segregation for ethnic minorities*

2.5.11 Debates about segregation can be considered from the point of view of ethnic minority groups or the wider society. Much of the comment on segregation has stemmed from the latter, particularly the issue of social inequality. Segregation is seen to represent a lack of choice in the housing market, which results in a lack of opportunity to participate in other aspects of social life. Lack of choice may reflect a lack of housing affordability for ethnic minorities, institutional racism in the housing market (and labour market) and wider racism and harassment in society causing ethnic minorities to cluster due to fear.

2.5.12 Skifter Anderson (2003) explains the development of ‘excluded places’ in European cities as a result of mutually reinforcing interactions between the segregation of disadvantaged groups and spatial inequalities between areas. Excluded places diverge from the rest of the city in social, cultural, physical and economic terms, causing more advantaged people to avoid them, leading to the further concentration of excluded groups. The effect is even more serious when looking at the segregation of ethnic minorities where the forces at work are much stronger. External perceptions can lead to areas of ethnic minority settlement being stigmatised and experiencing hostility.

2.5.13 Yet, the positive attributes of ethnic minority neighbourhoods often go unacknowledged. New migrants are attracted to such areas either as a result of chain migration to live with those who helped them move or to get benefits of cultural security and mutual aid in a strange environment. The presence of a strong community in a segregated area ‘allows individuals to cope with change, as ties of locality, familiarity and collectivity compensate for inequality’ (Pacione 1998). Later benefits stem from maintaining the viability of ethnic institutions and businesses, and social support, informal exchange and preservation of the ethnic minority culture. These can be seen as social capital.

## The meaning of segregation for cities and society

2.5.14 There are several ways in which segregation may be beneficial or harmful for cities and society as a whole. Following the 2001 riots, segregation was identified as a cause of conflict. The independent review team ‘was particularly struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities’ and that ‘many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives’ (Home Office, 2001, p.9). The fact that ‘these lives do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchange’ was seen to permit the growth of fear between groups, to ‘undermine community harmony’ and to ‘foster divisions’. Segregation was also identified by the Ministerial Group on Public Order (MGPO):

“The disturbances occurred in areas which had become fractured on racial, generational, cultural and religious lines and where there was little dialogue, or much contact, between the various groups across those social divides” (MGPO, 2001, p.8).

2.5.15 Segregation is also seen as damaging because it inhibits the integration of ethnic minority groups into wider society. For instance, the riots prompted a claim that Asian communities were engaged in a ‘very worrying drift towards self segregation’ (Ouseley 2001). There is a growing belief that Asian, and especially Muslim, communities are withdrawing from wider society and tending towards isolationism (Russell 2002), although this is disputed by ethnic minorities themselves and by independent observers. However, the concern has resulted in more policy interest in promoting aspects of British citizenship among ethnic minorities that will support social engagement, including speaking English in public and at home.

2.5.16 At a higher level, the persistence of segregation and the belief that a range of negative social consequences stem from it, has led to a questioning of the whole notion of multiculturalism, especially of a pluralistic form. The Chair of the CRE refuted the notion that ‘immigrants are doomed to become ghetto-bound minorities,

a divisive presence threatening Britain's underlying social fabric', but also condemned '80s style multiculturalism', which recognised difference but did little about either equality or the promotion of 'one culture integrating many faiths and traditions' (Phillips 2004).

2.5.17 Segregation may also impede upward social mobility and hold back the full creative and productive potential of new talented entrants to the labour market from other nations. Segregated cities may be the antithesis of the vibrant, culturally diverse, tolerant places that various commentators suggest are important for competitive cities in the 21st century.

### *Past evidence on segregation*

2.5.18 Most published analysis of segregation in the UK is based on data from the 1981 and 1991 censuses, which were the first to contain a question about ethnicity. Mason (2003) calculated segregation across England and Wales for all ethnic groups for 1981 and 1991 and found that taking all ethnic groups together: (i) segregation was high (62 out of 100 on an index of dissimilarity – see below) and (ii) had changed very little over the decade (a reduction of 0.3 points). Segregation was highest for Bangladeshis and Pakistanis (IDs of 77), closely followed by Black Caribbeans and Africans (IDs in the low 70s), then Indians (ID of 67) and lowest for the Chinese (ID of 45). Segregation had decreased by up to 20 points in some places, but not in the cities where it was highest. Mason's most segregated districts included: Burnley, Rotherham, Bolton, Rochdale, Blackburn, Oldham, Pendle, Bradford and Derby.

2.5.19 Peach (1996) calculated segregation using the ID for cities in Britain with specific ethnic minority populations of over 1,000. The results, represented in a different form in Table 2.13 show that in those cities with the largest ethnic minority populations, Bangladeshis are the most segregated, followed by Pakistanis and then Black Caribbeans. Black Caribbeans were more segregated from Bangladeshis than from whites.

**Table 2.13: Segregation of ethnic minorities from whites in British cities, 1991**

Ethnic minority	No. of cities with 1,000+	Average ID value	No. of cities with high ID (60+)	No. of cities with very high ID (70+)	Cities with highest segregation
Bangladeshis	11	73	11	7	Very High: Birmingham, Oldham, Luton, Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, Leicester
Pakistanis	20	61	13	4	Very High: Birmingham, Oldham, Sheffield, Wolverhampton
Caribbeans	17	45	2	0	High: Leeds, Kirklees

Source: Derived from Peach (1996)

2.5.20 Concentrations of ethnic minorities can vary for places with similar values on segregation indices. Johnston et al (2002) assessed the significance of ethnic minority ‘enclaves’ and ‘ghettos’ within 18 English cities in 1991. Enclaves were defined as small areas where ethnic minorities comprised at least 50 per cent of the population and polarised enclaves and ghettos were areas where one ethnic minority group comprised 60 per cent or more of the population (ie special types of enclaves). For each ethnic minority group in each city, the analysis reported the proportion of the group that lived in enclaves, ghettos or host (majority white) communities. Table 2.14 summarises the findings.

**Table 2.14 Ethnic minorities living in enclaves, ghettos or host communities, 1991**

Ethnic minority	Number of cities (max 18)			
	Most minorities in majority white areas	>10% of minorities in polarised enclaves or ghettos	Most minorities in majority ethnic areas	Cities with most minorities in majority ethnic areas
Black Caribbean	15	2	0	
Black African	13	2	0	
Indian	10	3	4	Leicester, Birmingham, Kirklees, Blackburn
Pakistani	6	6	9	Birmingham, Bradford, Luton, Oldham, Blackburn, Sandwell, Coventry, Leicester, Wolverhampton
Bangladeshi	6	7	8	Birmingham, Oldham, Luton, Bradford, Sandwell, Leeds, Coventry, Leicester
Chinese	17	0	0	

Source: Derived from Johnston et al (2002)

2.5.21 The conclusion was that residential concentration was lowest for the Irish and greatest for Asian groups. However, there were few polarised enclaves or ghettos for Asians in London and Birmingham. Elsewhere, concentration was greatest where the group was largest: Leicester for Indians; Bradford for Pakistanis; Oldham for Bangladeshis. Thus, ethnic minorities did cluster, but not in exclusive areas like ghettos; more in mixed areas.

2.5.22 To put British levels of segregation into an international context, we start with the observation that: ‘The proportion of the ethnic minority populations found at ... high concentrations is low by the standards of African American levels’ (Peach,

1996, p.221). This is confirmed if we compare Peach's findings for 20 or so UK cities, with findings reported by Darden (2001) for 45 US cities (Table 2.15). Whilst it is true that the segregation of Blacks is much lower on average in UK cities (21 points lower), it is also true that the segregation of Asians is much higher. There are no US cities with high segregation of Asians, but in the UK around a dozen cities exhibit high levels of segregation for Bangladeshis or Pakistanis. The level of segregation of Hispanics in US cities lies somewhere between that of Blacks and Asians, even though the average size of the Hispanic population within major US cities lies only slightly above that of Asians.

**Table 2.15: Racial segregation in US cities, 1990**

Ethnic minority	Mean ID Score	Number of cities (Max 45)	
		High ID (>60)	Very High ID (<70)
Black	66	33	16
Asian	38	0	0
Hispanic	42	5	0

Source: Darden (2001)

2.5.23 Next we compare British levels of segregation with a variety of published statistics for European cities, accepting that such comparisons can be problematic due to different spatial scales of analysis and categorisations of ethnic minority groups. From Table 2.16 we see that segregation is generally higher in Britain for all major ethnic groups than in most western European cities. Among ethnic minorities in Europe, Turks are most likely to experience levels of segregation approaching those for some Asian groups in Britain. German and Scandinavian cities are the least segregated (except for some groups in Stockholm such as Turks and Somalians). Dutch cities lie somewhere in between. Furthermore, segregation is reported to be declining in many European cities, eg down 2 points in a decade in Cologne; down 2 points in five years in West Berlin, 7 points down in East Berlin; down 5 points in a decade in Eindhoven, 9 points in Nijmegen. However, there are also slight increases in the larger Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht (up by 5-9 points between the early 1980s and early 1990s) and in Stockholm. These changes appear to contrast with the fairly stable position or in some cases reductions in segregation reported for British cities over the same period (see Mason 2003).

**Table 2.16: Racial segregation in European cities, 1990s**

Country/City	Year	Ethnic Group(s)	ID/IS Score
<b>Austria:</b>			
Vienna	1996	Foreign Population (Turks; Yugoslavs)	30
<b>Belgium:</b>			
Brussels	1991	Moroccans	59
<b>Germany:</b>			
Berlin	1996	Foreign Population (mostly Turks; Yugoslavs)	30
Cologne	1994	Foreign Population (mostly Turks; Italians)	23
Frankfurt	1995	Turks	17
		Moroccans	21
<b>The Netherlands:</b>			
Amsterdam	1995	Turks and Moroccans	42
Eindhoven	1994	Moroccans	38
		Turks	50
Rotterdam	1993	Moroccans	50
		Turks	54
Utrecht	1993	Moroccans	43
		Turks	45
<b>Norway:</b>			
Oslo	1998	Third world migrants	29
<b>Sweden:</b>			
Stockholm	1995	All foreign population	39
		Finns	19
		Turks	60

Sources: Musterd 2003; Freidrichs 1998; Kemper 1998; Giffinger 1998; Van Kempen and Van Weesep 1998; Murdie and Borgegard 1998.

Note: Some caution is required in comparing segregation scores across countries as the spatial units of analysis will differ.

2.5.24 Of course, segregation is not necessarily static; Harrison and Phillips (2003) report that there is very little redistribution of ethnic minorities occurring across the regions, and indeed some evidence of increasing metropolitan concentration. At a local scale 'Segregation is still a striking feature of minority ethnic settlement' (p.39). Leeds and Bradford have 'a persistence of clustering in established areas of Asian settlement' (p.40). They also refer to 'modest deconcentration' and 'dispersal' firstly to middle ring areas of cities and secondly to suburbs. This has occurred most in London and is more common among Indians and British-born Black Caribbeans than among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Within larger ethnic minority settlements there is evidence of local level segregation between Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, and between Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Even within outward movements to inner rings and suburbs, there is evidence of re-clustering along religious lines. Thus, segregation is not the whole story and some new patterns of separation are appearing.

### ***Methods and data sources***

2.5.25 Three sources of data were used for the present analysis: the Census 2001, the IMD and the SOCR database. Ethnicity was defined by the main categories in the Census, ie visible minorities or non-white groups, and sub-divided for some analyses into Black (including Black Caribbean, Black African and Black Other), Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Other Asian), Chinese, and Other. The Index of Dissimilarity (ID) is used to measure segregation. It measures the unevenness in distribution between two social groups, eg a minority and a majority group. The ID score indicates the proportion of one group which would have to move in order for there to be no segregation between the groups, ie for the distribution of the two groups across space to be the same. The index varies in value between 0.0 and 1.00, with values under 0.40 generally considered as low segregation, 0.40 –0.59 moderately high, 0.60-0.69 high, and 0.70+ very high.

2.5.26 Segregation has been analysed at the spatial scale of Lower Level Super Output Areas (SOAs), which have a mean population size of 1,500. These are more akin to the scale of a neighbourhood whose composition and function could be affected by the predominance of one social group or another. Enumeration districts and output areas are too small to reflect the impact of group dominance or to give a true picture of group separation from the rest of the community, and wards are too large to contain such impacts.

### ***Levels and patterns of segregation 2001***

2.5.27 Table 2.19 shows the ID scores for all 56 cities for three types of segregation: white versus non-white; white versus Asian; and white versus black residents. In each case, the largest group of cities have moderately high segregation (ID 0.4-0.59) rather than high or very high segregation (ID 0.60+). However, there are more cities with high or very high segregation between whites and Asians than between whites and Blacks or whites and non-whites (all non-white minority groups).

2.5.28 Cities in the north and west dominate the group of places with the highest levels of segregation: the top 8 cities on white/non-white segregation are all from this part of the country; all the places with high or very high segregation are Pennine towns crossing from West Yorkshire into Lancashire, north of Greater Manchester; 5 of the top 10 most segregated places are small cities in the north and west; 17 of the top 20 most segregated cities are in the north and west. In contrast, 17 of the 26 cities with low segregation between whites and non-whites are in the south or east. Map 2.10 shows this clearly.

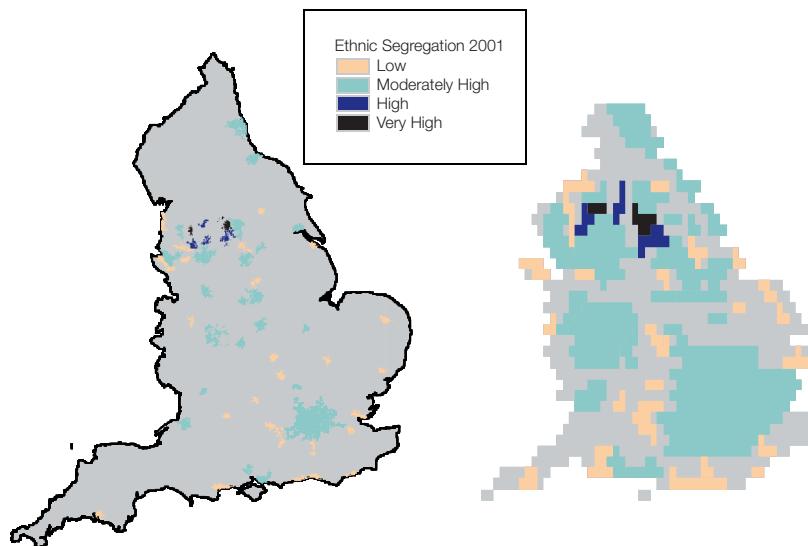
**Table 2.17 Segregation between whites and ethnic minority groups, 2001**

White/Non-White		White/Asian		White/Black	
City	ID Score	City	ID Score	City	ID Score
Blackburn	0.72	Blackburn	0.73	Barnsley	0.73*
Bradford	0.71	Bradford	0.73	Sunderland	0.65
Burnley	0.68	Rochdale	0.71	Burnley	0.63*
Rochdale	0.67	Burnley	0.70	Middlesbrough	0.62
Huddersfield	0.62	Derby	0.68	Leeds	0.60
Bolton	0.62	Huddersfield	0.66	Liverpool	0.59
Sheffield	0.59	Preston	0.66	Blackpool	0.59
Preston	0.59	Bolton	0.65	Manchester	0.59
Derby	0.59	Sheffield	0.64	Wakefield	0.58
Leicester	0.59	Manchester	0.63	Huddersfield	0.57
Birmingham	0.58	Birmingham	0.63	Grimsby	0.56*
Middlesbrough	0.57	Middlesbrough	0.62	Sheffield	0.56
Manchester	0.57	Leicester	0.62	Bristol	0.54
Stoke	0.54	Wakefield	0.62	Birkenhead	0.53
Leeds	0.54	Stoke	0.61	Newcastle	0.53
Wakefield	0.52	Gloucester	0.59	Blackburn	0.52
Doncaster	0.49	Leeds	0.57	Birmingham	0.52
Liverpool	0.49	Doncaster	0.56	London	0.51
Newcastle	0.48	Peterborough	0.55	Warrington	0.51
Nottingham	0.48	Nottingham	0.55	Doncaster	0.50
Peterborough	0.47	Newcastle	0.53	Bradford	0.49
Hull	0.45	Liverpool	0.52	Nottingham	0.49
Sunderland	0.44	Hull	0.51	Preston	0.48
London	0.44	Luton	0.51	Plymouth	0.47
Gloucester	0.43	London	0.50	Leicester	0.47
Southampton	0.42	Portsmouth	0.49	Stoke	0.47
Bristol	0.42	Southampton	0.49	Reading	0.47
Luton	0.41	Sunderland	0.48	York	0.47
Portsmouth	0.41	Wigan	0.47	Southend	0.46
Coventry	0.40	Plymouth	0.47	Hull	0.46
Telford	0.39	Barnsley	0.47	Bolton	0.45
Barnsley	0.39	Grimsby	0.47	Portsmouth	0.45
Plymouth	0.38	Ipswich	0.47	Bournemouth	0.45
York	0.37	Telford	0.45	Derby	0.44
Reading	0.36	Coventry	0.45	Norwich	0.44
Norwich	0.35	Mansfield	0.44	Wigan	0.43
Wigan	0.34	Blackpool	0.43	Mansfield	0.42
Grimsby	0.34	Bristol	0.43	Rochdale	0.41
Mansfield	0.33	Birkenhead	0.43	Worthing	0.40
Ipswich	0.33	York	0.42	Southampton	0.40
Southend	0.33	Warrington	0.39	Telford	0.39
Bournemouth	0.32	Crawley	0.39	Gloucester	0.39
Crawley	0.32	Southend	0.39	Aldershot	0.38

**Table 2.18: Segregation between whites and ethnic minority groups, 2001 (continued)**

White/Non-White		White/Asian		White/Black	
City	ID Score	City	ID Score	City	ID Score
Warrington	0.31	Norwich	0.38	Brighton	0.35
Blackpool	0.31	Reading	0.38	Swindon	0.35
Swindon	0.29	Bournemouth	0.36	Coventry	0.33
Chatham	0.28	Northampton	0.36	Crawley	0.33
Northampton	0.28	Swindon	0.34	Ipswich	0.32
Birkenhead	0.28	Chatham	0.32	Chatham	0.32
Milton Keynes	0.25	Oxford	0.28	Hastings	0.31
Brighton	0.24	Milton Keynes	0.28	Northampton	0.30
Worthing	0.21	Brighton	0.26	Peterborough	0.29
Aldershot	0.20	Worthing	0.26	Luton	0.29
Hastings	0.20	Hastings	0.26	Oxford	0.28
Oxford	0.18	Aldershot	0.25	Milton Keynes	0.28
Cambridge	0.17	Cambridge	0.19	Cambridge	0.18

Note: Some of the ID scores are partly a function of low numbers of ethnic minorities within the city concerned. This is especially true of the white/black scores: these places marked with '\*' had less than 250 black people resident in 2001.

**Map 2.10: Levels of ethnic minority segregation, 2001**

2.5.29 There appears to be a relationship between size of ethnic minority population and level of segregation, as shown in Table 2.19. As the proportionate size of the non-white population increases the mean Index of Dissimilarity score rises; however, further analysis would be required to confirm this relationship, and for particular ethnic groups.

**Table 2.19: Segregation by size of ethnic minority population, 2001**

Non-White Population as % of Total City Population	Number of Cities	Mean Segregation (ID) Score (Whites vs. Non-whites)
Less than 5.0%	31	0.37
5.0 – 9.9%	12	0.42
10.0 – 19.9%	8	0.51
20.0% +	5	0.57

Mean ID scores for cities within each grouping.

2.5.30 Table 2.20 shows three further sets of ID scores for all 56 cities; these measure intra-minority segregation between Blacks and Asians, Black Caribbeans and Black Africans, and between Indians and Pakistanis. Many of these scores will partly reflect small numbers of each minority group: this is especially true for intra-Black scores, as indicated in Table 2.20.

2.5.31 In the case of Intra-Black and Intra-Asian segregation, we see more cities exhibiting high levels of segregation than when examining white/ethnic minority segregation: 22 of the 56 cities have high or very high segregation between Black Caribbeans and Black Africans, and 20 cities similarly exhibit high or very high segregation between Indians and Pakistanis. Northern and western cities dominate the group of places with very high intra-Black segregation. Those places with the lowest intra-Black segregation are London and a set of small cities in the south and east such as Luton and Northampton.

2.5.32 In the case of intra-Asian segregation, southern and eastern cities feature more prominently than previously: whilst only 2 of the 15 cities with high or very high segregation between whites and Asians are in the south or east, this is true of 9 of the 20 cities exhibiting high or very high segregation between Indians and Pakistanis, illustrating the fact that intra-ethnic segregation follows different patterns to white/non-white segregation. We can also see that of the 13 cities with an Indian/Pakistani population of 6 per cent or more (ie twice the national average), three have high levels of segregation between the two Asian groups (Peterborough, Birmingham and Derby); seven have moderately high intra-Asian segregation, including many of the Pennine towns (Rochdale, Burnley, Huddersfield, Luton, Bolton, Coventry, and Bradford); and three have low Indian/Pakistani segregation (London, Leicester and Blackburn).

**Table 2.20: Segregation between ethnic minority groups, 2001**

White/Non-White		White/Asian		White/Black	
City	ID Score	City	ID Score	City	ID Score
Barnsley*	0.73	Sunderland*	0.89	Plymouth*	0.81
Rochdale	0.65	Barnsley*	0.86	Birkenhead*	0.81
Wakefield	0.64	Grimsby*	0.82	Wakefield	0.78
Huddersfield	0.61	Mansfield*	0.80	Barnsley*	0.75
Blackpool	0.59	Wigan*	0.80	Telford	0.75
Birkenhead	0.59	Burnley*	0.79	Worthing*	0.71
Wigan	0.58	Blackburn*	0.75	Stoke	0.70
Grimsby*	0.57	York*	0.74	Bournemouth*	0.70
Sunderland	0.56	Birkenhead*	0.73	Mansfield*	0.70
Warrington	0.55	Warrington*	0.73	Blackpool	0.67
Middlesbrough	0.55	Newcastle	0.72	Hastings*	0.67
Manchester	0.54	Blackpool*	0.71	Ipswich	0.66
Burnley*	0.52	Rochdale	0.70	Portsmouth	0.66
Mansfield	0.52	Plymouth*	0.70	Sheffield	0.65
Newcastle	0.52	Wakefield*	0.69	Peterborough	0.63
York	0.51	Norwich*	0.66	Birmingham	0.62
Plymouth	0.51	Worthing*	0.64	Middlesbrough	0.62
London	0.49	Stoke	0.63	Wigan	0.62
Peterborough	0.48	Doncaster*	0.63	Derby	0.61
Sheffield	0.48	Portsmouth	0.62	York*	0.61
Bradford	0.48	Southend	0.60	Norwich	0.59
Blackburn	0.48	Middlesbrough*	0.59	Sunderland	0.58
Doncaster	0.47	Hull	0.59	Warrington	0.58
Stoke	0.46	Huddersfield	0.58	Aldershot	0.57
Leicester	0.46	Preston	0.57	Rochdale	0.56
Liverpool	0.46	Hastings*	0.56	Burnley	0.54
Norwich	0.46	Bournemouth	0.55	Southend	0.54
Preston	0.45	Gloucester*	0.54	Manchester	0.54
Gloucester	0.44	Bradford	0.51	Brighton	0.53
Worthing	0.44	Telford	0.50	Grimsby*	0.53
Portsmouth	0.44	Swindon	0.50	Doncaster	0.52
Leeds	0.43	Brighton	0.50	Hull	0.52
Nottingham	0.43	Aldershot	0.48	Newcastle	0.51
Bournemouth	0.43	Ipswich*	0.48	Leeds	0.51
Hull	0.42	Derby	0.48	Huddersfield	0.50
Birmingham	0.41	Crawley	0.48	Chatham	0.50
Bolton	0.41	Leeds	0.48	Northampton	0.49
Southampton	0.41	Bolton	0.47	Bristol	0.49
Telford	0.40	Southampton	0.47	Liverpool	0.49
Derby	0.40	Chatham	0.44	Reading	0.48
Southend	0.40	Sheffield	0.43	Luton	0.48
Luton	0.38	Liverpool	0.41	Nottingham	0.48
Ipswich	0.37	Nottingham	0.40	Bolton	0.47

**Table 2.20: Segregation between ethnic minority groups, 2001  
(continued)**

White/Non-White		White/Asian		White/Black	
City	ID Score	City	ID Score	City	ID Score
Coventry	0.37	Manchester	0.39	Coventry	0.47
Crawley	0.37	Leicester	0.39		Milton Keynes
Hastings	0.37	Cambridge	0.39		Bradford
Chatham	0.36	Bristol	0.39		Southampton
Aldershot	0.36	Birmingham	0.38		Oxford
Swindon	0.33	Coventry	0.36		Swindon
Oxford	0.32	Oxford	0.36		London
Reading	0.32	Reading	0.36		Gloucester
Bristol	0.31	Peterborough	0.35		Preston
Brighton	0.31	Milton Keynes	0.33		Leicester
Northampton	0.30	Northampton	0.32		Cambridge
Milton Keynes	0.29	London	0.28		Crawley*
Cambridge	0.21	Luton	0.26		Blackburn*

\* Black population is <250

\*\* One or both ethnic groups number <250

2.5.33 The variations between different forms of segregation are also shown by analysis of segregation at SOA level within regional urban groupings as shown in Table 2.22. In the case of 6 out of the 10 groupings, segregation between whites and Asians is higher than that between whites and Blacks. This gap appears to be largest in the case of larger towns in all regions. Within these groupings there are three places where white/Asian segregation is at least 20 points higher than white/Black segregation: Rochdale (+0.30); Bradford (+0.24); and Bolton (+0.20). In contrast, there are also three cities in the north/west where white/Black segregation is at least 10 points higher than white/Asian segregation – Sunderland, Blackpool and Warrington – though in each case the black population is relatively small.

2.5.34 For both large and small cities in the south and east, the highest level of segregation is that between Indians and Pakistanis. However, the highest levels of segregation anywhere are those recorded between Indians and Pakistanis in northern and western large and small towns (with ID scores of 0.80+).

**Table 2.22: Segregation levels by city type, 2001**

	<b>White/ Non-white</b>	<b>White/ Asian</b>	<b>White/ Black</b>	<b>Black/ Asian</b>	<b>Indian/ Pakistani</b>	<b>Black Caribbean/ Black African</b>
London	0.44	0.50	0.51	0.49	0.38	0.28
NW Metros	0.54	0.59	0.56	0.47	0.55	0.47
S/E Large Cities	0.41	0.45	0.45	0.39	0.51	0.46
NW Large Cities	0.48	0.55	0.50	0.51	0.59	0.63
S/E Small Cities	0.32	0.39	0.35	0.38	0.54	0.49
NW Small Cities	0.49	0.56	0.53	0.54	0.57	0.69
S/E Larger Towns	0.51	0.61	0.54	0.41	0.58	0.50
NW Larger Towns	0.51	0.62	0.52	0.62	0.83	0.74
S/E Smaller Towns & Rural	0.41	0.50	0.52	0.52	0.70	0.68
NW Smaller Towns & Rural	0.45	0.57	0.64	0.62	0.81	0.80

Mean ID scores for cities within each grouping.

### *Variations in segregation by spatial scale*

2.5.35 We examined the ID scores for whites versus non-whites for each of the 56 cities at ward level as well as SOA level. In the case of every city, the ID score is higher at SOA level than at ward level but generally not by much (typically a rise of 0.02 – 0.05). There are six cities (five in the north/west) where the ID score is higher by at least ten points (0.10) at SOA level: Bradford, Huddersfield, Barnsley, Blackpool, Birkenhead and Worthing.

2.5.36 The ID scores are also affected by the fact that we have computed them for built up areas rather than for single local authorities – a deliberate choice in order to assess the functional city region. In some cases this has lowered the ID score, but in most cases it has led to a slight increase in measured segregation. Thus, of the six northern/western conurbations, Birmingham's ID score is 3 points (0.03) lower as we have calculated it including six local authority areas, than if we had simply calculated it for the administrative district of Birmingham; Leeds score is unchanged; and the ID scores of Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle and Sheffield are increased – in Manchester's case rising 9 points from 0.48 for the district of Manchester to 0.57 for the built up area of Manchester. Other notable increases in segregation as measured by the ID for built up areas rather than for single local authority districts include: Nottingham (+0.14); Portsmouth (+0.11); Reading (+0.09); and Preston (+0.08). These places probably have disproportionately white suburban districts in order to affect the ID scores in this way when a wider spatial definition of the city is used.

### ***Changes over time***

- 2.5.37 Measuring changes in segregation over time is a difficult task as the boundaries of the spatial units of analysis rarely stay the same. Wards, the usual spatial unit used for this type of analysis, are subject to regular review by the Boundary Commission. In this research, we have not been able to assess the effects of ward boundary changes within each city over the inter-Census period.
- 2.5.38 Taking wards as they existed at the time of each census (1991 and 2001), we found that segregation between whites and non-whites, measured at ward level, had fallen in the vast majority of cities, 46 out of 56. In the largest number of cases (28 cities) this was a reduction of 1-5 points in the segregation score; though in 18 cities the recorded reduction was 6-10 points; in two cases the scores were unchanged. There were eight cities (four each in the north/west and south/east) where segregation appeared to have increased over the past decade, usually by very small amounts. In the two cases where the largest increases were noted, there were statistical explanations for this: an increase in the number of wards in one case; and the recording of students at their term time address in 2001 in the other case.
- 2.5.39 Although a more thorough analysis would be required to be certain, the evidence so far indicates that residential segregation by ethnicity fell across the vast majority of English cities over the last decade of the twentieth century, possibly by more than it had fallen in the decade before (if we compare with the findings reported by Mason, 2003).

### ***Segregation in London***

- 2.5.40 Our definition of London as a built up area includes all the London boroughs plus 13 other local authority areas; 23 per cent of the population of this enlarged area is non-white (excluding those of mixed ethnicity). Of the 46 districts involved, the vast majority have low levels of white/non-white segregation, with only 5 districts having moderately high segregation: three London boroughs (Hounslow, Redbridge and Ealing); and two outer districts (Gravesend and Woking).
- 2.5.41 However, in view of the fact that the ethnic minority population varies greatly between boroughs and that the borough divisions are rather arbitrary across the London space, we have divided London up in two other ways in order to assess segregation. London was firstly divided into four quadrants (north, south, east and west); and secondly into three concentric rings (inner, outer and peripheral London).
- 2.5.42 IDs were calculated for each of these configurations and the results are shown in Table 2.23. For overall white/non-white segregation, there is more variation between London's four quadrants than between its concentric rings. Overall segregation is lower in North London and in Inner London. High segregation is recorded for whites/Asians in East London; whites/Blacks in South London; and for Blacks/Asians in Peripheral London.

**Table 2.23: Segregation in London (indices of dissimilarity at SOA level), 2001**

	<b>White/Non-White</b>	<b>White/Asian</b>	<b>White/Black</b>	<b>Black/Asian</b>
<b>Quadrants:</b>				
East London	0.56	0.64	0.45	0.48
North London	0.37	0.40	0.46	0.41
South London	0.45	0.41	0.66	0.53
West London	0.62	0.56	0.49	0.49
<b>Rings:</b>				
Inner London	0.34	0.46	0.41	0.54
Outer London	0.47	0.52	0.53	0.46
Periphery	0.41	0.49	0.58	0.61

### ***Ethnic minority clusters and concentrations***

2.5.43 Simpson (2004) has shown how changes in segregation and in ethnic concentration (the proportion of an area comprised of non-whites) may not be synonymous; for example, concentration may increase due to population growth whilst the segregation index remains unchanged (pp.666-667). Thus, here we wish to look at what Peach (1996) has termed ‘ghettos’ and Johnston et al (2002) have termed ‘enclaves’, using the three thresholds utilised in their work, namely places where the ethnic minority population of an area reaches 30 per cent, 50 per cent or 60 per cent.

2.5.44 Table 2.24 shows the degree to which the non-white population of each city resides in neighbourhoods (SOAs) containing concentrations of ethnic minorities, rank ordered according to the city’s ID score. At the lower end of the scale, very few cities with low scores on the ID contain ethnic minority clusters of any size. Within the middle group of 24 cities exhibiting moderately high segregation (ID scores of 0.40 – 0.59), the position is much more variable. Thus, some cities (such as Doncaster and Portsmouth) do not contain any ethnic minority clusters as defined here, yet others have substantial clusters, most notably Leicester, Birmingham and Derby where 50 per cent, 42 per cent and 32 per cent of the non-white population respectively live in neighbourhoods consisting of 60 per cent or more minorities. The variability is illustrated by the fact that of the 14 cities with ID scores of between 0.40 and 0.50, nine have no minorities living in areas of highest ethnic minority concentration (60 per cent +), whilst London has nearly a fifth of its minorities living in such concentrations, Peterborough a quarter and Luton a third. All the cities with high or very high ID scores (0.60+) have at least half their minority populations living in areas comprising 30 per cent or more non-whites. The two cities exhibiting very high segregation, Blackburn and Bradford, have three-in-five of their minority populations living in concentrations of at least 60 per cent non-white residents.

**Table 2.24: Residential concentration in ethnic minority clusters, 2001**

City	Grouping	ID Score White/ Non-White	Concentration (%) of Ethnic Minorities in Neighbourhoods With Different Levels of Non-White Clustering		
			30%+ Cluster	50%+ Cluster	60%+ Cluster
Blackburn	N/W: Small Cities	0.72	83	68	60
Bradford	N/W: Large Cities	0.71	82	65	61
Burnley	N/W: Small Cities	0.68	67	51	37
Rochdale	N/W: Small Cities	0.67	70	42	35
Huddersfield	N/W: Large Cities	0.62	64	38	30
Bolton	N/W: Small Cities	0.62	48	37	26
Sheffield	N/W: Metros	0.59	41	16	5
Preston	N/W: Small Cities	0.59	44	20	12
Derby	S/E: Small Cities	0.59	53	40	32
Leicester	S/E: Large Cities	0.59	73	56	50
Birmingham	N/W: Metros	0.58	65	49	42
Middlesbrough	N/W: Large Cities	0.57	20	0	0
Manchester	N/W: Metros	0.57	46	28	18
Stoke	N/W: Large Cities	0.54	14	0	0
Leeds	N/W: Metros	0.54	32	17	15
Wakefield	N/W: Small Cities	0.52	10	0	0
Doncaster	N/W: Small Cities	0.49	0	0	0
Liverpool	N/W: Metros	0.49	9	4	0
Newcastle	N/W: Metros	0.48	10	0	0
Nottingham	S/E: Large Cities	0.48	13	2	0
Peterborough	S/E: Small Cities	0.47	39	24	24
Hull	N/W: Large Cities	0.45	0	0	0
Sunderland	N/W: Large Cities	0.44	0	0	0
London	London	0.44	64	31	18
Gloucester	S/E: Small Cities	0.43	27	0	0
Southampton	S/E: Large Cities	0.42	17	17	7
Bristol	S/E: Large Cities	0.42	15	0	0
Luton	S/E: Small Cities	0.41	57	43	33
Portsmouth	S/E: Large Cities	0.41	0	0	0
Coventry	N/W: Large Cities	0.40	36	20	15
Telford	N/W: Small Cities	0.39	9	0	0
Barnsley	N/W: Small Cities	0.39	0	0	0
Plymouth	S/E: Small Cities	0.38	0	0	0
York	N/W: Small Cities	0.37	0	0	0
Reading	S/E: Large Cities	0.36	6	0	0
Norwich	S/E: Small Cities	0.35	0	0	0
Wigan	N/W: Large Cities	0.34	0	0	0
Grimsby	N/W: Small Cities	0.34	0	0	0
Mansfield	S/E: Small Cities	0.33	0	0	0

**Table 2.24: Residential concentration in ethnic minority clusters, 2001 (continued)**

City	Grouping	ID Score White/ Non-White	Concentration (%) of Ethnic Minorities in Neighbourhoods With Different Levels of Non-White Clustering		
			30%+ Cluster	50%+ Cluster	60%+ Cluster
Ipswich	S/E: Small Cities	0.33	0	0	0
Southend	S/E: Small Cities	0.33	0	0	0
Bournemouth	S/E: Large Cities	0.32	0	0	0
Crawley	S/E: Small Cities	0.32	5	5	0
Warrington	N/W: Small Cities	0.31	0	0	0
Blackpool	N/W: Small Cities	0.31	0	0	0
Swindon	S/E: Small Cities	0.29	0	0	0
Chatham	S/E: Small Cities	0.28	0	0	0
Northampton	S/E: Small Cities	0.28	0	0	0
Birkenhead	N/W: Large Cities	0.28	0	0	0
Milton Keynes	S/E: Small Cities	0.25	0	0	0
Brighton	S/E: Large Cities	0.24	0	0	0
Worthing	S/E: Small Cities	0.21	0	0	0
Aldershot	S/E: Small Cities	0.20	0	0	0
Hastings	S/E: Small Cities	0.20	0	0	0
Oxford	S/E: Small Cities	0.18	0	0	0
Cambridge	S/E: Small Cities	0.17	0	0	0

### *Ethnicity and deprivation*

2.5.45 By linking the Census with the IMD at SOA level, we are able to compare the ethnicity of the most deprived decile of neighbourhoods (SOAs) with the ethnicity for all other neighbourhoods (less and non-deprived). The results for our regional urban groupings are shown in Table 2.25. Here we see that in many cases, the Non-white population is more than twice as prevalent in the most deprived as in other neighbourhoods, most notably in northern/western large cities and larger towns, such as Carlisle, Darlington, Lancaster and Stafford. However, this is not the case in smaller towns and rural areas; nor in southern/eastern larger towns such as Basildon, Guildford, Lincoln, Stevenage, where the ethnic minority presence is in fact lower in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

**Table 2.25: Ethnicity and deprivation, 2001**

Urban Grouping	Ethnicity in Most Deprived Areas (IMD Bottom Decile (% Non-White) – (A)	Ethnicity in All Other Areas (% Non-White) (B)	Ratio of Ethnic Prescence (A/B)
London	46.4	23.7	1.96
North/West Metros	19.6	8.4	2.33
South/East Large Cities	16.3	7.6	2.14
North/West Large Cities	15.3	5.8	2.69
South/Eastern Small Cities	13.0	6.9	1.88
North/West Small Cities	11.4	4.5	2.53
South/East Larger Towns	3.5	4.8	0.73
North/West Larger Towns	6.8	2.5	2.72
S/E Smaller Towns & Rural	1.8	1.9	0.95
N/W Smaller Towns & Rural	1.2	1.4	0.86

2.5.46 Taking this analysis further, we have looked at the position of specific ethnic groups in individual cities with a non-white population of at least six per cent. Table 2.26 shows the position for Asians and Table 2.27 that for Blacks. Comparing the two tables we can see that concentration in deprived areas reaches higher levels for Asians than for Blacks; there are four cities where five times as many Asians live in the most deprived neighbourhoods as live in all other neighbourhoods: Derby, Peterborough, Bradford and Preston. However, at the other end of the spectrum, there are also four cities where fewer Asians live in the most deprived neighbourhoods as live in other areas – Milton Keynes, Northampton, Leicester and Oxford – which is not the case for Blacks in any city.

2.5.47 Concentrations in deprived areas for both groups are more marked in northern and western cities than in southern and eastern cities: eight of the top ten cities for concentrations of Asians in deprived areas are in the north/west as are seven of the top ten cities for concentrations of Blacks in deprived areas.

2.5.48 Some cities exhibit marked differences in the situation of Asians and Blacks. The top three cities for degree of concentration of Blacks in deprived areas – Manchester, Leeds and Nottingham – all have a concentration index for Blacks which is approximately twice that for Asians in the same places. Similarly, in Leicester Blacks are relatively concentrated in deprived areas whilst Asians are relatively deconcentrated from deprived areas. Other southern and eastern small cities exhibit lower levels of concentrations of Asians in deprived areas. Six of the bottom ten cities on the Asian concentration index come from this grouping.

**Table 2.26: Asian concentration in deprived areas, 2001**

<b>City</b>	<b>Grouping</b>	<b>Asian presence in most deprived areas (%) – A</b>	<b>Asian presence in all other areas (%) – B</b>	<b>Concentration Index: ratio of Asian presence (A/B)</b>
Derby	S/E: Small Cities	24.8	4.6	5.4
Peterborough	S/E: Small Cities	27.9	5.2	5.4
Bradford	N/W: Large Cities	42.1	8.3	5.1
Preston	N/W: Small Cities	19.4	3.8	5.1
Burnley	N/W: Small Cities	25.4	7.1	3.6
Rochdale	N/W: Small Cities	20.0	6.1	3.3
Sheffield	N/W: Metros	8.4	2.7	3.1
Huddersfield	N/W: Large Cities	25.8	9.3	2.8
Bolton	N/W: Small Cities	18.2	6.5	2.8
Birmingham	N/W: Metros	25.8	9.6	2.7
Manchester	N/W: Metros	10.3	3.9	2.6
Ipswich	S/E: Small Cities	4.1	1.6	2.6
Leeds	N/W: Metros	8.3	3.5	2.4
Coventry	N/W: Large Cities	19.3	9.6	2.0
Nottingham	S/E: Large Cities	6.1	3.1	2.0
Luton	S/E: Small Cities	34.6	17.9	1.9
Blackburn	N/W: Small Cities	27.3	18.8	1.5
London	London	15.6	10.4	1.5
Gloucester	S/E: Small Cities	3.7	2.7	1.4
Milton Keynes	S/E: Small Cities	3.1	3.7	0.8
Northampton	S/E: Small Cities	2.7	3.3	0.8
Leicester	S/E: Large Cities	17.2	23.1	0.7
Oxford	S/E: Small Cities	2.9	4.8	0.6

**Table 2.27: Black concentration in deprived areas, 2001**

City	Grouping	Black presence in most deprived areas (%) – A	Black presence in all other areas (%) – B	Concentration Index: ratio of Black presence (A/B)
Manchester	N/W: Metros	3.7	0.8	4.6
Leeds	N/W: Metros	3.7	0.8	4.6
Nottingham	S/E: Large Cities	5.7	1.4	4.1
Preston	N/W: Small Cities	1.6	0.4	4.0
Huddersfield	N/W: Large Cities	3.9	1.0	3.9
Sheffield	N/W: Metros	2.9	0.9	3.2
Leicester	S/E: Large Cities	5.2	1.7	3.0
Bolton	N/W: Small Cities	1.2	0.4	3.0
Birmingham	N/W: Metros	7.9	2.7	2.9
London	London	23.2	8.2	2.8
Derby	S/E: Small Cities	3.7	1.3	2.8
Bradford	N/W: Large Cities	1.6	0.6	2.7
Northampton	S/E: Small Cities	5.6	2.3	2.4
Ipswich	S/E: Small Cities	3.9	1.7	2.3
Coventry	N/W: Large Cities	3.5	1.5	2.3
Burnley	N/W: Small Cities	0.2	0.1	2.0
Oxford	S/E: Small Cities	4.7	2.5	1.9
Luton	S/E: Small Cities	11.3	6.2	1.8
Rochdale	N/W: Small Cities	0.5	0.3	1.7
Peterborough	S/E: Small Cities	1.9	1.2	1.6
Gloucester	S/E: Small Cities	3.3	2.2	1.5
Blackburn	N/W: Small Cities	0.3	0.2	1.5
Milton Keynes	S/E: Small Cities	3.4	2.4	1.4

### **Racial segregation in the context of other social divisions**

2.5.49 Our next task is to see whether racial segregation is a very specific form of division within British patterns of residence, or whether it is merely reflective of a more general aversion to living with difference. To do this we have measured other forms of segregation for the same cities, at the same spatial scale. These other dimensions of segregation reflect two phenomena: firstly the search for cultural distinction in residence; and secondly social exclusion or the incubation of the successful from those without many opportunities or resources. The five measures used are summarised below:

Distinction:

- i. segregation of those people in social classes A and B from others;
- ii. segregation of those people with degrees from people with no qualifications;

Exclusion/Incubation:

- iii. segregation of the employed from people who have never worked;
- iv. segregation of children in low income households from all other children;
- v. segregation of owner occupiers from council tenants.

2.5.50 Table 2.28 shows the mean ID values for our groups of cities across the five new measures of social segregation compared with the original measure of white/non-white segregation. The first thing to notice is that the average levels of segregation which reflect forms of exclusion or incubation are higher than that for racial segregation, whereas the measures of segregation for class distinction are lower. Further points of interest are apparent if we look at each measure in turn.

**Table 2.28: Racial versus other forms of segregation in English cities, 2001**

Grouping	White/ Non- White	Class AB/ Others	Degree/ No Quals	Employed/ Never Worked	Low Income Kids/ Other Kids	Owners Council Tenants
London	0.44	0.23	0.35	0.45	0.69	0.59
NW Metros	0.54	0.29	0.40	0.47	0.54	0.55
S/E Large Cities	0.41	0.23	0.36	0.58	0.52	0.61
NW Large Cities	0.48	0.27	0.35	0.46	0.55	0.59
S/E Small Cities	0.32	0.22	0.31	0.57	0.54	0.57
NW Small Cities	0.49	0.26	0.33	0.50	0.54	0.57
All Cities	0.42	0.25	0.34	0.52	0.54	0.58

Mean ID scores for cities within each grouping.

- 2.5.51 Traditional social class segregation is the lowest overall for all categories of city. However, Oxford and Cambridge stand out as places where social class segregation is just above the level of racial segregation. This may partly reflect the college-based residence systems at Oxbridge, but not entirely.
- 2.5.52 Although education based segregation is generally low, people with degrees are moderately highly segregated (ID of 0.40+) from the unqualified in seven cities: 3 northern/western metros (Leeds, Newcastle and Sheffield); and 4 southern/eastern cities – three cities with high status universities (Bristol, Cambridge and Oxford) and Brighton.
- 2.5.53 Turning to the measures of exclusionary/incubatory segregation, we see that the gap between these forms of segregation and racial segregation is highest (around 0.20, or more, greater) in the case of large cities in the south and east (employment and housing tenure); small cities in the south and east (all three forms of segregation) and London (low income and housing tenure). There are in fact 18 cities with high or very high segregation of low income children, including London and 10 other southern and eastern cities; such segregation is very high in the case of Luton, Milton Keynes and Middlesbrough.
- 2.5.54 The highest level of segregation overall across urban England is that between owner occupiers and council tenants, reflecting the way in which social housing has been provided over the decades. There are 25 cities with high levels of segregation by housing tenure (ID of 0.60+); half in the north and west (including most of the large cities), and half in the south and east.

### *Racial segregation and other urban outcomes*

- 2.5.55 In order to assess the relations between racial segregation and other social outcomes we have examined those 26 cities with a non-white population of approximately 5 per cent or more. The ID score for the city was correlated against the city values for a range of other variables as well as against the standard deviation for those variables that were also available at the SOA level. The variables in question covered issues of resources, household type, crime, housing and education. The results are shown in Table 5.20 for all cities and separately for northern/western and southern/eastern cities

**Table 2.29: Correlations between segregation and other variables at city level, 2001**

	All Cities		North/West Cities		South/East Cities	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Mean FT Earnings*	-0.54	–	-0.61	–	-0.66	–
Unemployment rate	+0.58	+0.74	+0.09	+0.17	+0.73	+0.83
Index of Deprivation	+0.70	+0.76	+0.34	+0.09	+0.65	+0.80
% Social Class AB	-0.62	-0.09	-0.34	-0.05	-0.70	-0.14
% Lone Parents	+0.48	+0.05	+0.03	-0.23	+0.55	+0.28
Crimes Per 1,000 Pop*	+0.16	–	+0.82	–	+0.02	–
% No GCSEs	-0.03	–	-0.29	–	+0.01	–
% 5+ GCSEs*	-0.35	–	-0.26	–	-0.02	–
% FT HE/FE Students	-0.49	-0.38	-0.84	-0.63	-0.50	-0.42
% Housing in Band A	+0.66	+0.57	+0.54	-0.02	+0.79	+0.77
% Social Housing	-0.12	-0.08	-0.27	-0.23	-0.22	+0.09
% Owner Occupation	+0.37	+0.12	+0.39	-0.34	+0.49	+0.58

\* For these variables, a single value was used for London. In all other cases, London was divided into four quadrants for the analysis. Thus, there are 29 cases in this analysis, and for the three variables noted, 26.

2.5.56 The strongest and most consistent relationships between level of racial segregation and other variables pertain to poverty and further education. For both northern/western and southern/eastern cities, higher segregation is associated with lower average earnings, higher deprivation, fewer people in the professional and managerial classes, and more housing in the lowest council tax band. Higher racial segregation is also associated with fewer young people in further or higher education. The poverty related associations are slightly stronger in the south/east than in the north/west, but the relationship with further education is stronger in the north/west, though it also exists in southern/eastern cities.

2.5.57 Other associations vary by region. In southern/eastern cities, there is a positive association between the level of racial segregation and the proportion of lone parent households and the proportion of owner occupied housing. These things may reflect the larger black ethnic minority population in the south/east, which has a larger lone parent element than other minority groups and which has been able to make more use of council housing than other ethnic groups. In northern/western cities, there is a strong correlation between level of racial segregation and the crime rate. This relationship does not exist in southern/eastern cities.

2.5.58 Across cities in all regions, there are only weak associations between the level of racial segregation and secondary school performance or the amount of social housing.

2.5.59 Although these are rather crude assessments of the relationships between residential segregation and other aspects of urban conditions and performance, they

nevertheless may indicate ways in which ethnic segregation may have broader implications for cities. These issues are worthy both of more extensive statistical analysis as well as qualitative research into the potential processes involved that may connect segregation with aspects of urban performance.

## Conclusions

### *1. The quality of housing and the surrounding environment*

2.5.60 There is more poor quality housing in English cities than in the rest of the country. More residents of cities also live in poor quality environments than elsewhere. In addition, levels of dissatisfaction with their surroundings are a lot higher than elsewhere.

### *2. How significant is racial segregation in England?*

2.5.61 Segregation is generally higher in English cities than in most European cities but probably not as high as in the US. Asians are the most segregated group in England whereas Blacks are in the US. Segregation appears to be lower for Asians in England than for Blacks in the US. However, segregation is much higher for Asians in England than for Asians in the US. Segregation is much higher for Blacks in the US cities than for Blacks in England.

2.5.62 Segregation is significantly higher in cities in the north and west of England than in the south and east. The level of segregation appears to have declined in the vast majority of cities between 1991 and 2001, possibly by more than it had done in the decade before that.

2.5.63 How you measure segregation matters. Smaller spatial units produce more segregated results. Defining the city by the full built up area rather than the core administrative district also reveals higher segregation. There are other important messages for government in monitoring segregation in the future. First, the scale and precise configuration of specific ethnic minority neighbourhoods should be assessed as well as segregation city-wide. Second, the connection between segregated minorities and deprived areas makes segregation that much more significant, and should be closely monitored. There are cities where 4-5 times as many non-whites live in the most deprived neighbourhoods as live elsewhere, especially in the north and west.

### *3. How significant is racial segregation compared to other forms of segregation?*

2.5.64 Racial segregation is much higher than segregation by social class, yet lower than segregation based on income, wealth and employment status. The bigger division is between the rich and poor, especially in southern/eastern cities. The government's promotion of cohesive communities, expressed in racial terms, could be extended. The objectives of common belonging among young people, greater understanding of other cultures, integration into society, and having opportunities to participate in civil society, also apply to people on low incomes, without jobs and in council housing. Significant spatial divisions along these lines may equally undermine community cohesion due to the gap in quality of life, lack of shared experiences and absence of contact between social groups that may result.

#### ***4. How important is racial segregation for urban performance?***

2.5.65 There are indications that racial segregation is important in a number of ways.

Higher segregation is associated with lower earnings, higher unemployment, and fewer managerial and professional class employees at the city level, though these relationships are stronger in the south/east than in the north/west, where a relationship with the overall crime rate was found. Right across the country, a strong relationship was found between the level of racial segregation and the rate of participation in further and higher education. We cannot tell the reason for this, eg whether it is a matter of poor school performance in ethnic minority settlement areas, physical access to colleges, or low aspirations towards social mobility (which may also be a function of segregation into deprived areas).

#### ***5. What is the relationship between ethnic minority settlement patterns and social cohesion?***

2.5.66 Our research is more open on this issue. Others have speculated on the fit between multicultural social models (from assimilation to polarisation) and urban spatial forms. Based on past evidence they have concluded that assimilation dominates alongside elements of pluralism with clustering in mixed areas rather than in exclusive enclaves (Boal 1999, Johnston et al 2002).

2.5.67 However, in our view, whether the government can achieve its aim of combining pluralist multiculturalism with a degree of assimilation/integration (Community Cohesion Panel 2004), and what role settlement patterns play in this future scenario, is uncertain given unknown future trends in recent developments such as:

- the rapid growth of the ethnic minority population, particularly in cities and large towns in the south and east;
- the recent increase in racial prejudice and anxiety in Britain;
- the potential expansion of culturally specific institutions, such as faith-based schools, which some communities are demanding.

2.5.68 A big issue is that of how whites will respond to these developments and to the continued growth of ethnic minority clusters as well as ethnic minority dispersal. The significance of segregation partly depends upon white attitudes, yet white exclusivity often goes unnoticed. The meaning both of ethnic minority settlement areas and of exclusively white areas (where in fact most whites live) can only be revealed by research into the attitudes that whites and minorities develop in these situations. Thus we don't know whether segregation is necessarily bad for inter-cultural relations, even though this is often assumed. Much depends on the nature of the public realm in cities (including colleges, community facilities, sports centres, youth clubs, public parks, libraries and even public transport) and the extent to which the culture, public policy and sense of place facilitates and encourages multicultural contact and exchange (Amin, 2002). Segregation is no doubt an influence on these things, but by no means a determinant. Local authorities as community leaders have an increasingly important role to play in avoiding the potentially detrimental impacts of segregation on social cohesion within cities.

## PART 2

### Section 6: Crime

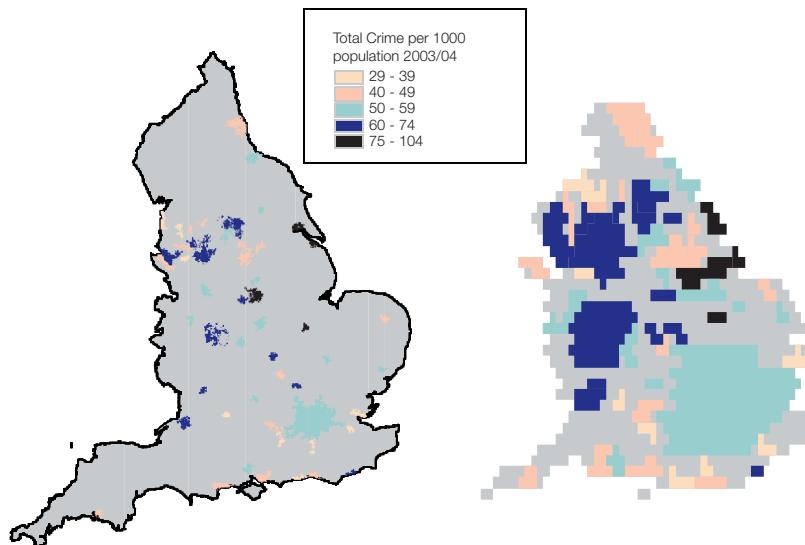
- 2.6.1 Crime can be both a symptom of a lack of social cohesion (disorder) and at the same time contribute to further undermining cohesion. Certain kinds of crime, such as racial violence and assault, clearly reflect very negative social relationships, hostility and intolerance. Other crimes, such as criminal damage or theft, may reflect disaffection and resentment associated with social inequality and exclusion. There are also complex issues of codes of behaviour, social norms and informal social control bound up in many forms of local crime. Beyond this, there are undoubtedly a variety of personal and psychological factors associated with crime that are difficult to disentangle.
- 2.6.2 Crime is also significant because of its harmful consequences for cities and neighbourhoods. Various forms of low level crime, such as vandalism, graffiti, litter and abandoned vehicles damage the living environment and undermine people's sense of well-being and attachment to their neighbourhoods. Violent crimes tend to be low volume but have a disproportionate effect on the fear of crime because of their violence. Fear of crime may be one of the factors that people with a choice take into account when deciding where to live, thereby contributing to selective out-migration and segregation. In addition, crime in the form of burglaries and robberies can impose direct costs on households and business activity, partly through loss of income, insurance and increased policing. It can also deter private investment and make economic growth less secure.
- 2.6.3 Reducing crime and improving community safety are major objectives of government policy at local and national levels. For example, the national strategy for neighbourhood renewal includes floor targets for reducing the gap between the highest Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership Areas and the best comparable areas. It aimed to reduce:
- vehicle crime by 30 per cent from 1998/99 to 2004 in all areas;
  - domestic burglary by 25 per cent from 1998/99 to 2005 in all areas;
  - robbery by 14 per cent from 1999/2000 to 2005 in the ten Street Crime Initiative areas.
- 2.6.4 The main questions addressed in this section are:
- (i) How do different common crimes vary between regions, cities and towns?
  - (ii) Do settlement size and regional location affect the rate of crime?
  - (iii) Have common crimes been increasing or declining in recent years?
  - (iv) Which cities have the least and most experience of crime?
  - (v) Are crime patterns related to socio-economic factors?

- 2.6.5 The main source of data used to analyse crime patterns and trends was the recorded crime statistics for (i) robberies and vehicle crime per 1000 population, and (ii) burglaries per 1000 households, annually from 1999-2000 to 2003-04. These indicators provide a snapshot of common crimes reported to the police and allow crime rates to be tracked over a reasonable period. The data was obtained from the Home Office at the level of police force areas or crime and disorder reduction partnership areas. These have been used as a proxy for local authority areas. The possibility of using the British Crime Survey was also investigated, but the unusual complexities of the data set ruled this out in the time available. The Crime and Justice Survey was also considered because of its unique approach from the perspective of the person committing crime, but its modest sample size prevents analysis at the level of cities.

## Overall patterns of crime

- 2.6.6 The level of crime tends to be higher in cities than elsewhere. Some evidence for this was shown by the data on crime, anti-social behaviour and fear of crime in Table 2.11 in the previous chapter. It is confirmed by the data presented in this chapter. The level of crime also tends to be higher in larger cities than in smaller cities, and higher in the north and west than in the south and east. However, there are substantial variations between individual cities. Cities in the north and west with low rates of crime include Blackpool, Preston and Warrington. Cities with low crime in the south and east include a variety of places circling London, such as Swindon, Worthing, Aldershot, Crawley, Medway and Southend. Cities with higher rates of recorded crime include Hull, Grimsby, Nottingham and Peterborough.

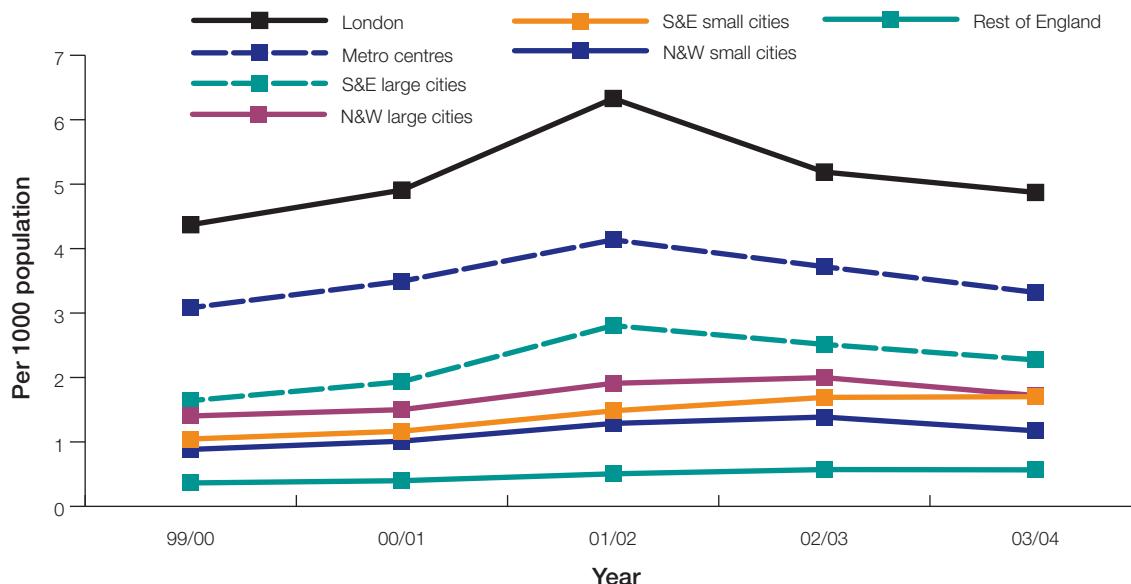
**Map 2.11: Incidence of crime by individual city, 2003/04**



## Robberies

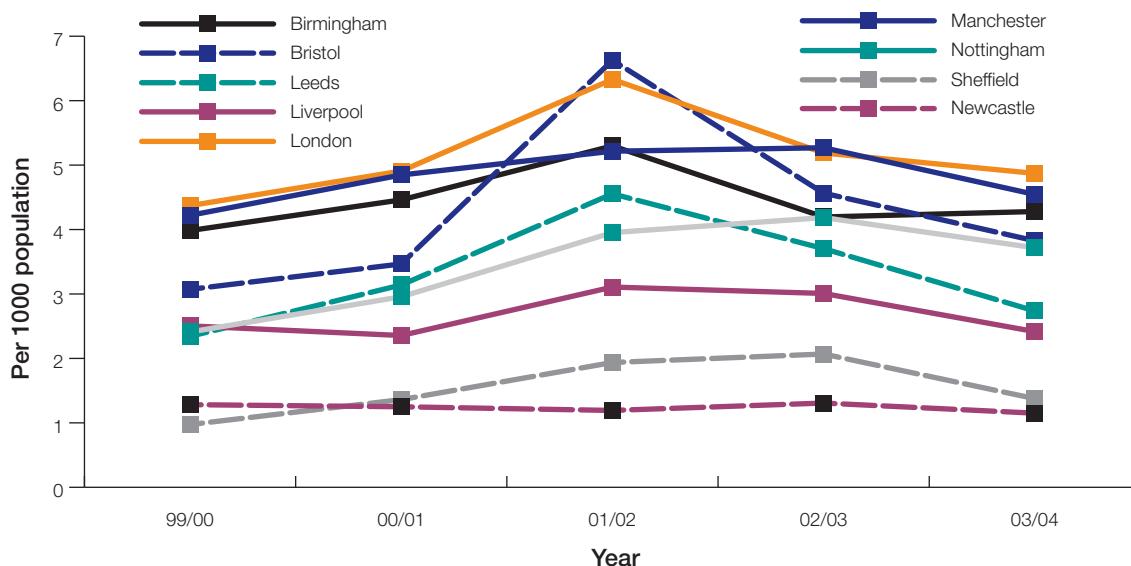
- 2.6.7 The rate of robberies per 1000 population varies a great deal across the country, and broadly in line with city size (Figure 2.47). London has the highest rate, followed by the metropolitan centres, large cities, smaller cities and other settlements. It is difficult to detect a broad trend over the period 1999-2004 because of the volatile pattern with a peak in 2001-02. But comparing 1999 and 2004 there appears to have been a small increase in every category of city.

**Figure 2.47: Robberies by city type, 1999-2004**



2.6.8 Looked at in more detail, the relationship between size and robbery rate is less straightforward (Figure 2.48). Among England's major cities, London, Manchester and Birmingham have the highest rates, followed by Bristol, Leeds, Nottingham and Liverpool. Sheffield and Newcastle have the lowest rates. Most cities peaked in 2001-02. Overall, most cities experienced an increase in the robbery rate between 1999 and 2004. Nottingham experienced the largest increase over the period, from having one of the lowest rates to one of the highest.

**Figure 2.48: Robberies by major city, 1999-2004**

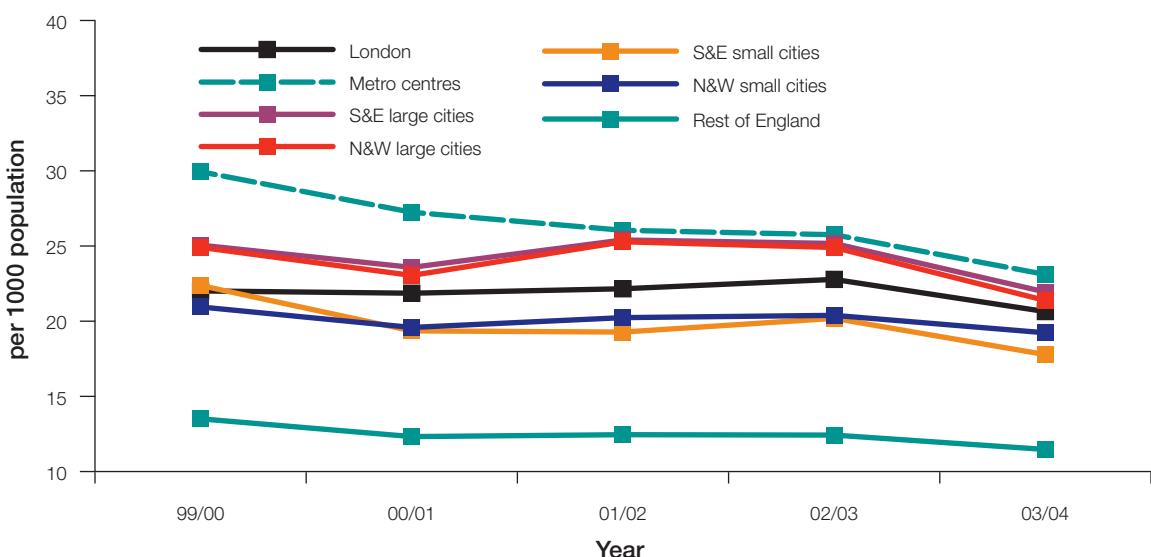


## Vehicle crime

2.6.9 Rates of vehicle crime per 1000 population do not show such a strong relationship with city size, partly because London has fewer of these than the large cities and the differences between city types is much smaller than for robberies (Figure 2.49).

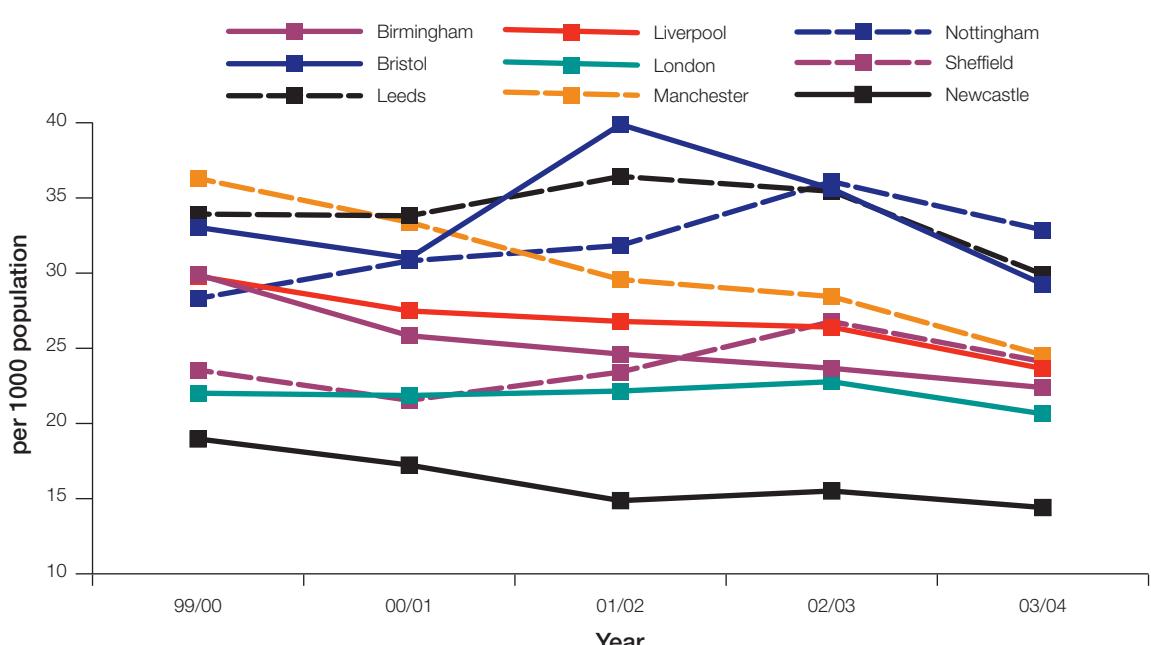
Vehicle crimes are much lower outside the cities. In contrast to robberies, rates of vehicle crime declined slightly over the period 1999/00 to 2003/04, but particularly in the metropolitan centres, where the rate fell to a similar level to the other types of city.

**Figure 2.49: Vehicle crime by city type, 1999-2004**



2.6.10 The variation between individual cities is greater than between city types (Figure 2.50). Most cities experienced a decline over the period 1999-2004 apart from Nottingham, which rose to the highest level among these cities, and Sheffield, which rose slightly. From having the highest rate of vehicle crime in 1999-2000, Manchester enjoyed a very significant improvement. Liverpool and Birmingham also experienced consistent improvements. Newcastle enjoyed a decreasing rate of vehicle crime from an already low level.

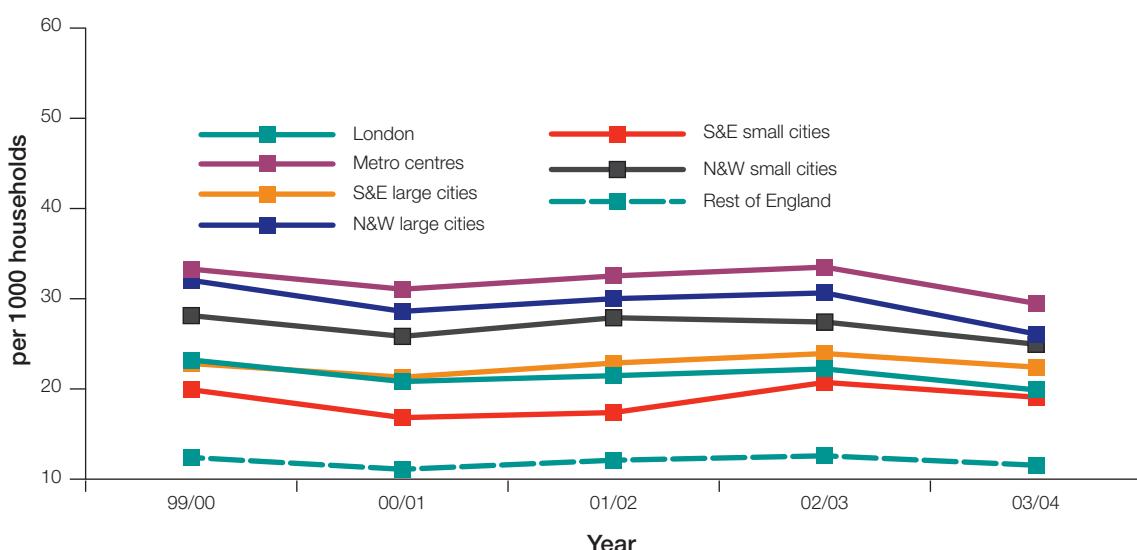
**Figure 2.50: Vehicle crime by major city, 1999-2004**



## Burglaries

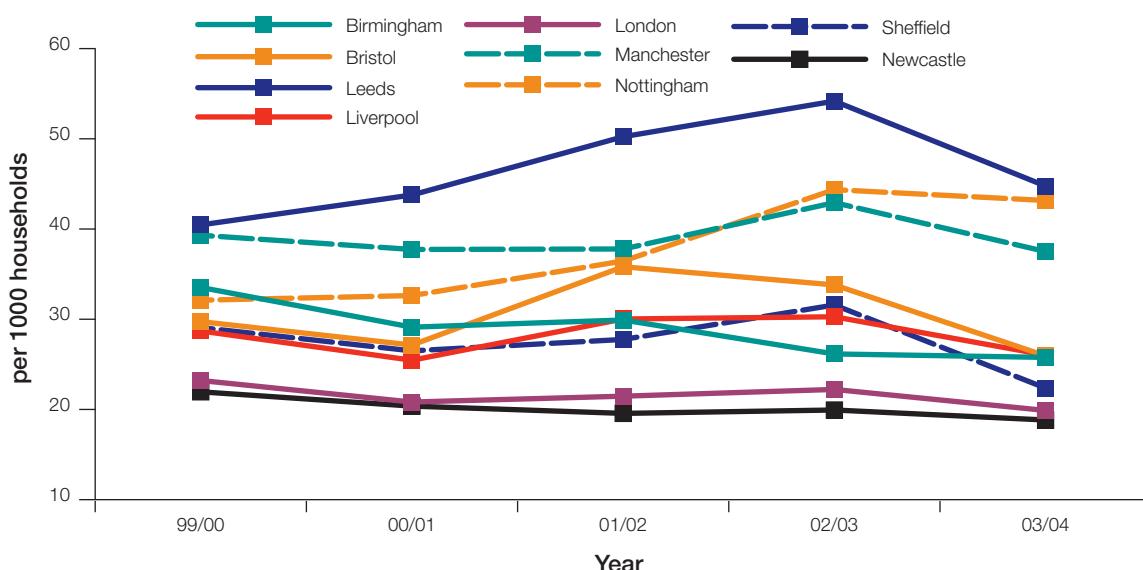
2.6.11 The pattern of burglaries is slightly different from vehicle crimes, being higher in the north and west than in the south and east (Figure 2.51). City size also seems to matter slightly, with the obvious exception of London, where burglaries are relatively low. Once again, the lowest rates of all are outside the cities. The trend over the period 1999-2004 was broadly stable, with a slight decline in most types of place.

**Figure 2.51: Burglaries by city type, 1999-2004**



2.6.12 There are wide variations in the rate of burglaries between the major cities (Figure 2.52). Leeds has the highest rate, followed by Nottingham, which has experienced a steady rise. London and Newcastle have the lowest rate of burglaries. Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, Liverpool and Sheffield enjoyed a decline in burglaries over the period.

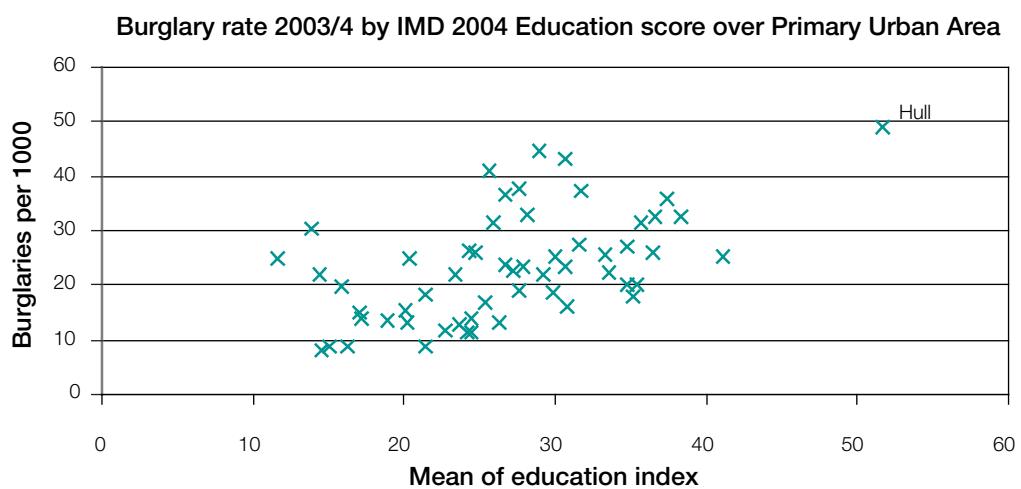
**Figure 2.52: Burglaries by major city, 1999-2004**



### **Influences on crime**

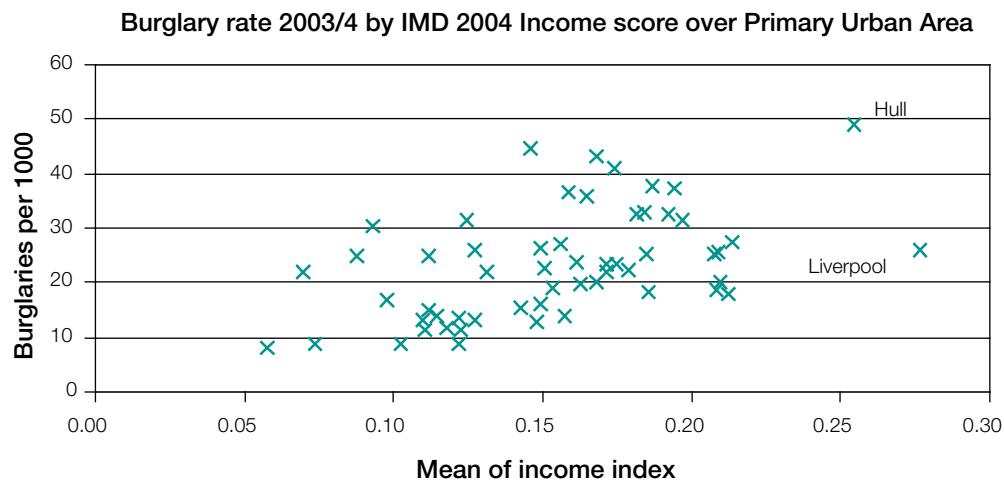
- 2.6.13 In order to try and identify any straightforward factors that might be associated with higher rates of crime at the level of the city and give a clue to some of the underlying processes at work, a series of correlations was undertaken. The variables examined were employment, income, education, social class, housing tenure and ethnicity. The first three were derived from the IMD and the latter two from the Census.
- 2.6.14 In the event, no statistically significant relationships were identified. The strongest correlation was between burglaries per 1000 households and education deprivation (a correlation coefficient of 0.54), indicating a weak relationship. Figure 2.53 illustrates the scatter plot.

**Figure 2.53: Relationship between burglaries and educational deprivation, 2003/04**



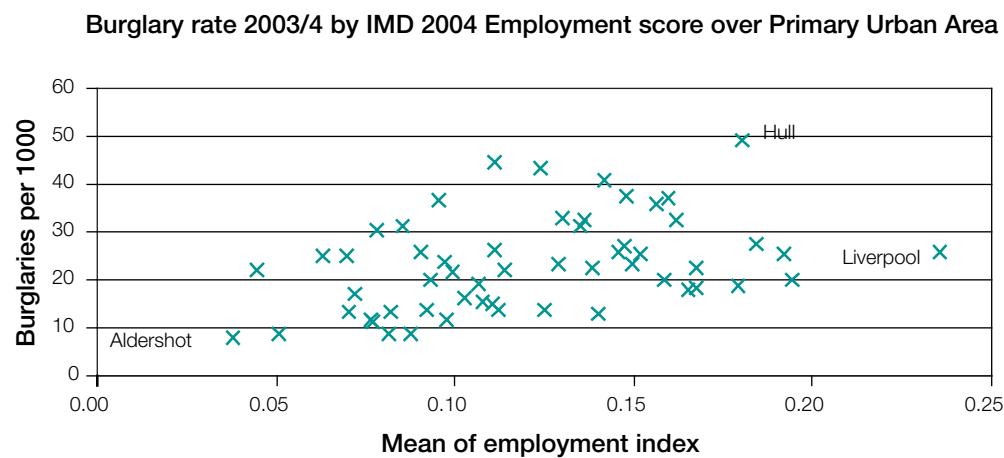
- 2.6.15 The next strongest correlation was between burglaries per 1000 households and low income (a correlation coefficient of 0.50), also indicating a weak relationship. Figure 2.54 shows the scatter plot.

**Figure 2.54: Relationship between burglaries and low income, 2003/04**



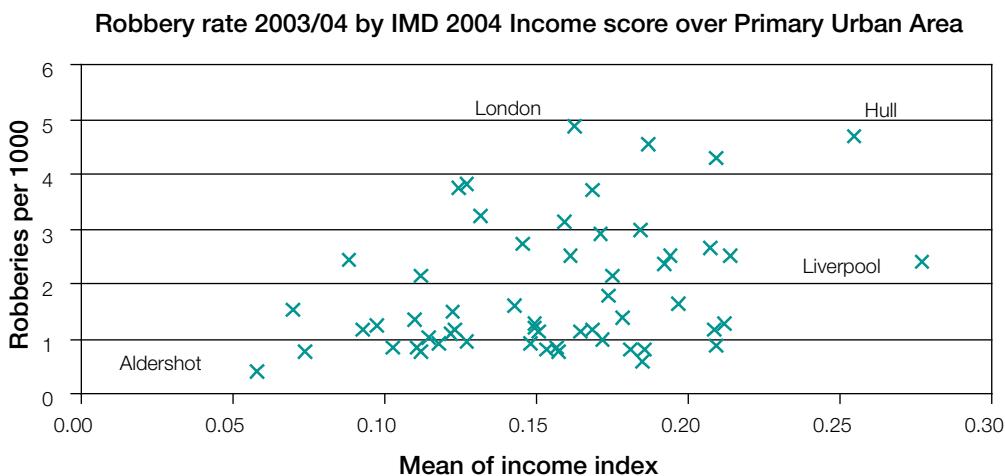
2.6.16 The next strongest correlation was between burglaries per 1000 households and employment deprivation (a correlation coefficient of 0.40), also indicating a weak relationship (Figure 2.55).

**Figure 2.55: Relationship between burglaries and employment deprivation, 2003/04**



2.6.17 There was also a weak relationship between robberies and low income (a correlation coefficient of 0.35) (see Figure 2.56).

**Figure 2.56: Relationship between robberies and low income, 2003/04**



### Crime patterns in summary

- Crime is generally higher in cities than in towns and rural areas.
- Crime tends to be higher in larger cities than in smaller cities, and in the north and west than in the south and east.
- There are big variations between individual cities.
- Robberies generally increased slightly between 1999 and 2004, but peaked in 2001-02.
- Vehicle crime rates declined slightly between 1999 and 2004..
- Burglaries declined very slightly over the period 1999-2004.
- Nottingham experienced increasing crime rates over the period 1999-2004.
- Newcastle enjoyed a declining rate of crime from an already low level.

## **PART 3: Five integrative case studies of social cohesion**

### **Introduction**

- 3.1 The purpose of this part of the report is to provide a more rounded analysis of the state of social cohesion in English cities, taking into account economic conditions and the policies of local and national government. This is done through detailed case studies of five cities in different regional circumstances. These enable the complex, interdependent causes and consequences of cohesion to be captured in a more integrated way than the discussion of particular dimensions considered on their own. Different social divisions assume different levels of significance in different places and the underlying dynamics of social interaction vary too. The impact of spatial scale (neighbourhood, city and region) and the relationships within and between residential communities and communities of interest are also explored as far as possible given the resource constraints on the research. Finally there is some assessment of policy responses: how seriously have cohesion-related issues been taken locally; what are the key issues and problems identified by decision-makers; what particular programmes have been pursued and with what broad effects; and what are the outstanding challenges faced? There is also some discussion of the future prospects of each city and of the perceived contribution, both positive and negative, of central government.
- 3.2 The analysis is based primarily on face-to-face interviews with 15-20 senior representatives from different sectors in each city; an extensive review of relevant reports and background documents in each city; supported by a variety of social and economic statistics for the area, including comparisons with the wider region and nation where possible. The data sources include the SOCR database, the Population Census and the Labour Force Survey. The case studies were selected to provide a range of cities on the basis of the following criteria: regional context, economic trajectory, social composition and city size. The choice was also made in conjunction with the selection of the case studies for other State of the English Cities themes in order to provide a broadly representative sample overall.

## PART 3: Case Study 1 – Medway

### From Medway Towns to Medway City: Building a more cohesive economy and society

#### 1. Introduction

1. The purpose of this case study is to provide a broad assessment of contemporary social conditions in Medway, taking into account the wider regional context, recent economic changes in the area and the current policies of local and national government<sup>3</sup>. It focuses on three themes: (i) the identity and functional coherence of Medway as a city, (ii) disparities between people and places within Medway, and (iii) prospects for the future, bearing in mind Medway's position at the heart of the Government's growth and regeneration strategy for the Thames Gateway.
2. The case study seeks to take stock of what has and has not been achieved over the last decade. It also attempts to provide a rounded understanding of the current situation, including the drivers and dynamics of social exclusion and cohesion, and the positive and negative aspects of a range of local and national policies. Finally, it identifies several outstanding challenges for the future.
3. It draws upon a wide range of evidence detailed in the appendix including:
  - reports and documents from a variety of stakeholders in the area;
  - face-to-face interviews with 20 senior representatives from different sectors;
  - a variety of social and economic statistics for the area, in comparison with the wider region and nation.

#### 2. Background

4. Medway covers an area in which around 253,000 people live. It is located about 30 miles east of London and traversed by the River Medway flowing into the Thames Estuary. The local authority of Medway comprises the five historic towns of Chatham, Rochester, Gillingham, Rainham and Strood that have coalesced into a contiguous urban area that is one of the largest conurbations in the South East region. It also includes several rural settlements on the Hoo peninsula to the north. Medway is a unitary (single tier) authority and was created in 1998 by the amalgamation of two lower tier councils (Rochester and Gillingham) and the transfer of higher tier functions from Kent County Council.
5. For many years the local economic base was quite self-contained and dominated by the Royal Naval Dockyard at Chatham together with other port industries and a group of engineering firms, some of which supplied the dockyard. The closure of the

<sup>3</sup> This case study was undertaken in 2005 and therefore reflects the situation at that time.

dockyard in 1984 and the continuing decline in local manufacturing had a depressing effect on the local economy and left a costly legacy of derelict and contaminated land alongside the river. It also undermined the identity and morale of the local community and tarnished the area's image for inward investment. Subsequent recovery has been slow and patchy, resulting in low economic output, employment and earnings generated within the area compared with the regional and national averages.

**Table 1: Economic indicators**

	<b>Medway</b>	<b>South East</b>	<b>Britain</b>
GVA per head (2002)	10,326	16,758	15,614
Average weekly earnings (2003)	£444	£505	£476
Ave household income (2001/02)	£19,500	£24,740	£21,170
Jobs density (2003)	0.6	0.9	0.8

Source: ONS and New Earnings Survey via NOMIS and Medway Council (2005)

6. The local economy is also skewed in other ways compared with the regional and national employment structures. There are fewer full-time jobs and more part-time jobs in Medway (39 per cent of jobs are part-time compared with 33 per cent in the South East and 32 per cent in Britain); fewer jobs in finance, IT and other business services, and more jobs in public administration and health (see Appendix). Only 36 per cent of jobs in Medway are in professional, managerial and technical occupations, compared with 46 per cent in the South East and 41 per cent in Britain (see Appendix).
7. Medway's poor economic performance has forced many people to look elsewhere for work. A distinctive feature of Medway is that proximity to London and the buoyant South East has enabled the labour market to adjust more readily to the economic problems of the last three decades than would have been possible in many northern cities. As a result, the employment rate has recovered and the rate of economic inactivity is lower than in Britain as a whole, although unemployment is still relatively high according to the government's preferred International Labour Organisation (ILO) measure.

**Table 2: Labour market indicators**

	<b>Medway (%)</b>	<b>South East (%)</b>	<b>Britain (%)</b>
Employment rate (2003/04)	75.2	78.9	74.3
Unemployment (2003/04)	7.0	3.9	5.0
JSA claimants (March 2005)	2.3	1.5	2.4
Economic inactivity (2003/04)	19.2	17.9	21.8

Source: local area labour force survey; claimant count via NOMIS & Medway Council (2005)

### 3. A leaky economy

8. One of the significant consequences of Medway's recent trajectory is the development of a more open or leaky economy. Resources tend to flow in and out with local circulation apparently weaker than in places of a comparable size elsewhere. This is illustrated by the following stylised facts and observations:
- The ratio of total employment to the working-age population (the jobs density) is only 0.6. This suggests a substantial employment shortfall compared with the jobs density of 0.9 in the South East region (excluding London). The appendix shows that the jobs density varies between 0.7 and 1.1 for a selection of other cities and large towns that are loosely comparable in terms of size and distance from London.
  - More than two out of five working people (41 per cent) commute elsewhere to work. They incur a heavy personal cost in travel and fatigue, which deprives the locality of skilled capacity for all sorts of important civic activities. It also adds to regional transport congestion, energy consumption and environmental damage.
  - The average distance Medway residents travel to work is 17.5 km, compared with 14.9 km in the South East region, 15.6 km in Brighton, 14.1 km in Milton Keynes, 11.4 km in Portsmouth and 10.9 km in Southampton.
  - 53 per cent of Medway residents who commute to London are professionals, managers and employers, compared with 29 per cent of residents who work in Medway. Conversely, only 12 per cent of commuters to London are in routine and semi-routine occupations, compared with 33 per cent of residents who work locally (see Appendix).
  - More than one in five of the people who work in Medway (22 per cent) commute in from elsewhere. They are twice as likely as local residents to occupy professional and managerial positions (see Appendix).
  - A high level of the local population's disposable income appears to be spent on comparison and convenience goods outside the area; for instance at Britain's largest regional shopping mall Bluewater near Dartford, the Lakeside shopping mall near Thurrock and the out-of-town Hempstead Valley shopping centre.
  - Much of peoples' spending on entertainment, leisure and other consumer services (including cinemas, spectator sport, theatres, concerts and other cultural events) also appears to be outside the area, including London.
  - Less than one in eight of the 2500 students (12 per cent) at Greenwich University's new campus in Medway come from the local area. Most of the others commute in from elsewhere in London and the South East on a daily basis and just over a quarter are from overseas. The development of a dedicated campus including ancillary facilities and a more attractive social and cultural milieu in Medway may alter the pattern. The university sector is expanding with the development of a multiversity campus with the University of Greenwich, University of Kent and Christ Church University College Canterbury, all having a presence at Chatham Maritime. Mid Kent College, one of the main FE providers has plans for a new campus at Gillingham and the nearby Kent Institute of Art and Design is to become a University College.

- Many of the tourists coming to Medway to see the attractions of Historic Rochester or Chatham Dockyard are day visitors on coaches. The area currently seems to lack the range of infrastructure and services to keep people in the area for longer, so Medway has a below average share of jobs in tourism (see Appendix).
  - The River Medway accommodates many marinas stocked with pleasure boats and yachts, but these appear to be owned mostly by people living elsewhere who are taking advantage of the relatively cheap berths and who spend very little time or money onshore.
  - The Medway towns lack an obvious focal point, lively cultural district or modern commercial centre. Instead there are four separate high streets, all with a rather staid and in some cases jaded character, three municipal centres, five railway stations and several other dispersed nodes of commercial and civic activity. This polycentric pattern could be developed more explicitly as a strength, with specialisation between complementary centres avoiding congestion at a single concentration, but substantial investment is needed all-round to modernise the infrastructure and facilities.
9. Some of these attributes may be amenable to change through the creation of improved local assets and amenities because of the cost and inconvenience associated with the friction of distance. Put simply, Medway needs to become a more competitive destination for all kinds of activities. The extensive commuting implies latent demand from workers for greater proximity to employment. Since many workers are unable to move closer to London because of the higher house prices, it may be preferable to encourage jobs closer to where people live, especially as land prices are lower than in the capital or the wider region. The average house price in Medway was only 68 per cent of the South East average in December 2004 and 83 per cent of the national average (Land Registry Property Price Report, 2004, via Medway Council, 2005).
10. In a city the size of Medway, there is normally a sufficient critical mass of population and enough ‘stickiness’ in the way resources circulate to sustain a large consumption sector, including an extensive range of retail outlets, modern hotels, choice of restaurants, bars, cinemas, night-clubs, galleries, health and fitness clubs and other forms of recreation and entertainment that feed off each other. Cities of this size also tend to have a sizeable business and financial services sector (accountants, lawyers, banks, insurance, pensions, software, media, marketing, estate agents, etc) and high order public services and shared infrastructure (museums, teaching hospitals, universities, airports, etc). Medway’s proximity to London and various internal limitations appear to be undermining its ability to function as an integral regional service centre. Instead it shares some of the characteristics of a series of independent dormitory towns, rural villages or single-industry communities, which the consumer boom of the last 10-15 years has largely by-passed.
11. The leakiness of the economy appears to have increased with improved road and rail links to London and higher levels of car ownership and personal mobility. A simple illustration of a vicious circle in operation is the loss of cleaners from the local hospital to work in Bluewater because of the higher wages offered. Recent improvements in external connectivity do not appear to have significantly enhanced

perceptions of Medway or its attractiveness to potential employers. Given its regional location between London and the Channel ports, one might have expected more inward investment and greater economic buoyancy. Part of the explanation may be a shortage of land designated and readily available for economic development in the area, because of extensive contamination of brownfield sites, the high cost of remediation, and an emphasis on new housing development in regeneration projects. Other towns in Kent are better located in relation to the Channel Corridor to benefit as employment centres from improved connectivity between London and the continent, particularly Ashford and Ebbsfleet with new international rail stations. Medway also appears to be disadvantaged as an employment location by the relatively low skills and qualifications of the workforce, the historic absence of a university and the distance to airports with good international connections.

12. Only 16.2 per cent of Medway's working-age population have a degree or HND, compared with 28.5 per cent in the South East and 25.2 per cent in Britain (see appendix). The relatively poor workforce qualifications partly reflect the preferences of the Dockyard and local industry for apprenticeships rather than formal educational qualifications, which meant that 'learning' and 'earning' were not strongly linked in the local culture. There also appear to be some contemporary concerns surrounding educational aspirations and expectations that may relate partly to the stratified local system of grammar schools, comprehensives and high schools (secondary moderns) that still exists in Medway. This is discussed further below, but there is some suggestion that the 11 Plus exam and subsequent streaming mean that certain children get categorised as failures at an early age, with various adverse knock-on effects. The removal of brighter pupils and children with active parental support to the grammar schools may also make the task of teaching more difficult in the high schools.

#### **4. On the cusp of physical transformation**

13. Some aspects of Medway's economy and demography are likely to experience significant changes in the next few years. The area is part of the Government's Sustainable Communities Plan for growth and regeneration in the Thames Gateway, which projects the local population increasing by 50,000 over the next 12-15 years through the provision of 18,000 new homes (ODPM, 2003a, 2003b, 2005). Medway is the largest part of the Thames Gateway with 900 hectares of brownfield land. Government encouragement and direct financial support of £95m appears to have engendered a greater sense of ambition and determination on the part of civic leaders and officials, and facilitated practical progress on a range of regeneration schemes under the umbrella of the Medway Waterfront Renaissance Strategy. A dedicated delivery unit Medway Renaissance has been established by Medway Council (funded by The Department for Communities and Local Government) to plan and co-ordinate these. This has coincided with increased confidence shown in Medway among several private investors and property developers. At the time of writing, in 2005, a series of 'mega-projects' are at various stages of planning or under construction in the area, including:

- Rochester Riverside: a planning application for mixed uses including up to 2,000 homes, two hotels, shops, restaurants, pubs and cafes is currently under consideration for this 30 hectare brownfield site, one of the flagship projects of Thames Gateway.

- Chatham Centre and Waterfront: a development framework was adopted in 2004 and a development brief is being prepared to expand and improve the current shopping centre to become the new commercial, cultural and civic centre for Medway.
  - Former Akzo Nobel site in Gillingham: a development brief was adopted in 2004 for a mixed use scheme including 800 homes on 8 hectares, for which planning consent has now been granted.
  - Chatham Quays: a planning application for mixed uses including 300 homes has been approved, with a S106 Agreement under negotiation.
  - Dickens World in Chatham: planning permission has been granted for a themed visitor attraction and multi-screen cinema; construction has commenced and it is hoped to attract 300-400,000 visitors per year.
  - Temple Waterfront: a development brief is being prepared for mixed uses including about 500 homes.
  - Strood Riverside: a development brief is being prepared for mixed uses including about 600 homes at high density on this 10 hectare site.
  - St Mary's Island in Chatham: negotiations are underway to renew outline planning permissions to permit the development of 900 homes in addition to the 900 already built.
  - New and refurbished buildings for teaching, support services and student accommodation to create an area that is a true university campus in Chatham (under construction).
  - New MHS Homes headquarters in Chatham Maritime (under construction).
  - New Medway area police station in North Gillingham (under construction).
14. Many of the planned projects and most of those under construction are concentrated in and around the former Dockyard district now known as Chatham Maritime. This area has also benefited since the late 1990s from a road tunnel built under the Medway and a northern relief road that has reduced congestion and improved accessibility to the wider trunk road network. There is a risk that the new projects will not contribute to a more generalised revitalisation of Medway as a whole. Indeed it is possible that they may become a zone of up-market development that existing residents feel excluded from and perhaps resentful of. The new housing built on St Mary's Island already provides some grounds for this kind of concern, as does the gated community at New Road in Rochester.
15. One of the challenges, therefore, is to ensure that the physical transformation of Medway is not excessively confined in geographical terms, but is carefully linked to changes in the wider physical fabric of the area and generates beneficial economic and environmental spillovers for the whole district. This will not be easy because of narrow developer interests and inevitable tensions between the demands of incoming

households and existing residents. Adjacent communities also need to feel that they have been properly consulted about the plans and that adequate preparations have been made to enable them to share in the opportunities that will arise. Effective integration of new and old also means investing in the quality and liveability of the older neighbourhoods and high streets, and not allowing environmental deterioration through neglect. There is scope for more attention to be paid in the older areas to matters of urban design, upgrading and maintenance of the built environment in order to protect and enhance these assets. One of the other factors limiting the overall cohesion of Medway is the physical barriers, including the river and hilly topography of the area, which complicate access and connectivity between the various centres and neighbourhoods.

16. A related objective should be to promote a clearer and more contemporary identity for Medway. The five towns have contrasting characters and the mixture of images conveyed by initiatives to market the area (such as pre-industrial Rochester and industrial Chatham) may be confusing to potential visitors. With effective planning, the new mega-projects have the potential to strengthen the reputation and functional coherence of Medway as a city rather than five separate towns. But they would need to be developed with this goal explicitly in mind, bearing in mind how seriously other cities now take the task of marketing and branding. It is not clear that the stated vision of Medway as a city of culture, learning, tourism and high technology has been examined closely enough for its relevance and realism. The new developments also need to recognise Medway's position within the wider South East region and its relationship to other places where people choose to visit, shop, study, live and invest. For some functions it may be able to compete but for others it may be more sensible to develop a complementary role. For instance, if Medway was equipped with modern hotels and associated conference facilities, it could potentially become an important destination for all kinds of meetings and conventions and emerge as a rival to Eastbourne and Brighton in this expanding market.
17. Probably an even more serious challenge is to ensure that an effective balance is maintained between new housing and jobs. With strong pressure and substantial funding from central government to increase the supply of housing in the Thames Gateway, coupled with active interest from house builders in acquiring vacant sites, it is not easy to safeguard and indeed increase the supply of land for employment uses, since this is generally of lower value than housing and will lose out through market forces. The large sites at Rochester Riverside, Strood Riverside, Chatham Dockyard and Akzo Nobel were all primarily employment locations not so long ago, but they are all now in the process of becoming mostly housing. Without government subsidies or alternative resources, the planning authority has found this process difficult to resist, especially where the sites require costly clearance works, remediation, raising ground levels, flood protection and piling. Housing appears to be the predominant planning use that will produce the returns necessary to fund or at least offset these expensive up-front costs.
18. There is some recognition among local bodies that more needs to be done to identify and prepare land specifically for employment uses, although practical actions to deliver this are still some way off. The task includes ensuring an adequate supply of conventional light industrial estates, a range of premises for small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and some larger landscaped strategic sites and business parks that are well located in relation to the regional transport infrastructure and therefore

competitive with respect to the rest of the region. Medway has a successful track record of this type of development in the Gillingham Business Park and City Estate on the north bank, as well as making premises available on flexible leases for SMEs, but there has been little activity on a reasonable scale recently. A range of speculative office buildings have been constructed in Chatham Maritime in an effort to attract higher paid jobs in corporate headquarters and back offices in financial services, but the results have been mixed and the level of vacancy remains high. Unless the city is able to sustain a reasonable rate of local job creation that is at least in line with the projected increase in housing and population, the level of net out-commuting will inevitably increase, with worsening human, social and environmental consequences. The scenario of Medway becoming more of a dormitory area clearly contradicts the spirit of the Sustainable Communities Plan.

## 5. A loss of social cohesion

19. Medway's historical development has also contributed to a variety of interrelated social concerns, including poverty and demoralisation among some sections of the population. This growth of social exclusion and loss of cohesion is partly intangible and therefore difficult to define and measure. However, it is widely mentioned in different guises by local interviewees; as low aspirations, lack of self-confidence, low levels of community self-organisation, loss of civic pride and generally a rather fragile society. Some of the symptoms and consequences can be illustrated with a range of facts and perceptions cited by interviewees:
  - Extensive commuting deprives Medway of social capital because commuters often lack the time, energy or local networks to contribute to all sorts of voluntary work and civic activities, ranging from school parent associations and sports clubs to charitable work, community projects and environmental initiatives.
  - Medway appears to have a comparatively small and fragile voluntary sector and community-based institutions, with less public sector support than in many northern cities because of resource constraints and different policy priorities.
  - Some observers believe that a weak local economy and extensive out-commuting undermine the pride and sense of belonging that Medway residents have in the area and widen the material and psychological gap between those who can successfully compete elsewhere for jobs and those left behind.
  - Poverty and inequality within Medway are seen to create stress and resentment, which contribute to ill-health, domestic violence and family break-up in poorer communities, and more children going into care. Child poverty is higher than the national average and the quality of children's services is sometimes criticised in external audits. Poor social and economic conditions also undermine self-esteem and educational aspirations and contribute to disaffection among some young people and exclusion from school.
  - Youth services (including leisure facilities, sports amenities, youth clubs, community centres, music venues and services such as detached youth workers) are generally agreed to be deficient in Medway, partly because of financial shortages. The council's youth services appear to be among the least well funded in the country. They are also regularly called upon by other parts of the public

administration to provide an immediate response to incidents of anti-social behaviour, which is felt by some of those involved to undermine their capacity and credibility to work with young people in a more constructive way.

- Some vulnerable and disenchanted young people turn to drugs and low level offending, which sometimes escalates into more serious crime. Medway has a higher rate of recorded crime than the average for the South East (and more people in custody), but lower than the national average. Criminal damage is the biggest category of crime, followed by theft and violence against the person.
  - The two domains on which Medway performs relatively poorly in the national Index of Multiple Deprivation are education and crime. Both issues featured prominently in the Local Public Service Agreement (LPSA) between the government and Medway Council for 2002-2005. The targets for crime related to reducing incidents of criminal damage and abandoned cars and both were achieved. Education is discussed in the next section.
  - Medway has a smaller black and ethnic minority population (at 5.4 per cent) than the South East, but still significant numerically. Race relations are generally considered reasonable and segregation is not particularly marked. Key issues for this group are similar to those for the white population, except that concerns around poverty and exclusion are more significant. The quality of life of older people is a particular concern, since many have not accumulated a decent pension, they do not take up their full entitlement to welfare benefits, and some feel that their families are not always as supportive as they were in the past.
  - The black and minority ethnic (BME) population is quite fragmented along cultural, religious and national lines, so it does not constitute a strong pressure group. Support from the local council and central government resulted in the creation of an ethnic minority's forum in 2001 which undertook a range of useful projects, but the Home Office grant expired in 2004 so activities have contracted to a low level with heavy reliance now on goodwill and volunteering. Lack of resources for community based facilities is considered by several sources to be the biggest obstacle to greater social cohesion. More consistent race equality monitoring of public bodies is also thought to be important to ensure that the commitment expressed at the top is transmitted throughout the organisation.
20. Statistical evidence for social problems in Medway is also obscured by a lack of correspondence between geographical concentrations of deprivation and administrative boundaries or reporting units. Social inequalities are often hidden away in statistical averages because poor and wealthy households are located within the same reporting unit. For instance, two of the five 'standard output areas' (SOAs) in the River electoral ward are within the most deprived quintile in Kent and two are within the least deprived quintile (Medway Primary Care Trust, 2004). The most deprived ward on most indicators in the national IMD is Gillingham North, where problems of low employment, low income, poor health and low educational attainment appear to go hand in hand and exacerbate each other.

## 6. The drivers of social cohesion

21. Further insights into the nature and degree of social cohesion can be obtained by considering some of the wider determinants or drivers of cohesion.

### *(i) Employment and incomes*

Although the overall employment rate of Medway residents is reasonable considering the weakness of the local economy, there is a higher than average number of people in part-time, low skilled and low paid jobs. Average earnings for full-time male workers are 17 per cent lower than in the rest of the South East and average hourly earnings are 20 per cent lower (see Appendix). The ‘working poor’ is therefore an issue for Medway, which needs to be addressed by improving the quality and quantity of local jobs and by upskilling local residents. Both tasks need to proceed in tandem to avoid people who improve their skills simply commuting out of the area or moving elsewhere.

22. Although claimant count unemployment appears low by historical standards in Medway, youth unemployment is high relative to other areas. For instance, a third of all JSA claimants in Medway are aged 18-24 compared with only a quarter in the South East. This is a particular challenge for Medway because of the limited scale and scope of recreational and learning services for young people. There is widespread concern among senior professionals that leisure, music, sports, cultural and other youth services are poorly provided for. Yet the need to engage and motivate young people, to enhance their status and confidence, and to avoid them being diverted into various anti-social activities, is considerable.

### *(ii) Education*

15 per cent of Medway’s working age population have no qualifications, compared with 10.8 per cent in the South East and 15.1 per cent in Britain. This is partly historical, as discussed above, but it also reflects the current levels of educational aspiration and attainment at Medway schools. Some problems appear to emerge at an early age. The performance in language and learning as measured by national Foundation Stage Profile data of children starting school is 15 per cent below the national average; a significant shortfall that cannot be explained by the level of deprivation. Independent research suggests it may reflect the nature and quality of pre-school provision, which is dominated by about 130 independent nursery providers, few of whom employ professionally trained staff to stimulate learning. Other disadvantages are that many are located in unsuitable premises and there is a disruptive transition into primary school. The council has been slow to support primary schools extending their activities into early-years provision on the grounds that it might crowd out private provision, which is considered a useful source of local employment.

23. There is another dip in children’s performance after they complete primary school. Raising educational attainment at this stage is a target in the first round of the LPSA between 2002 and 2006 [the ODPM extended the target completion date nationally] but it has not been achieved. Loss of learning at this point may be associated with lack of success in the 11 Plus or a disruptive transition between primary and secondary schools. This transition is complicated by the lack of a system of feeder schools for each secondary, which results from parental choice and the selectivity of

the secondary school system. Consequently, familiarisation with the new schools and classmates is believed to take longer than elsewhere. Parental choice and selectivity also weaken children's links with their local communities and produce a complex pattern of school commuting across Medway, which adds to congestion and household costs. A potential benefit may be that the next generation has a better sense of Medway as a place rather than a series of towns. The problem of discontinuity is a more general one for Medway since there are more educational stages vulnerable to disruptive transitions between them: pre-school, infant school, junior school, secondary school and post 16. There are some attempts to reduce these, eg by progressively amalgamating infant and junior schools where this is clearly in the interests of pupils.

24. There is a variety of challenges at secondary school stage, including a particularly high number of permanent exclusions of disruptive pupils (in the bottom quartile nationally), an inability of some of the high schools to reach government targets for exam performance consistently and a high drop out rate at aged 17, especially for boys. Engaging and motivating some of the non-academic pupils is an ongoing challenge, especially since vocational options are only now in the process of being expanded and improved. Some of the high schools experience staff recruitment difficulties and a relatively high rate of turnover, partly because the possibilities for career advancement for teachers with only high school experience are perceived to be constrained and because Medway is unable to offer the London allowance, unlike parts of Kent. Overall performance at key stage 4 is close to the national average and frequently above that of statistical neighbours but masks an uneven pattern of results, particularly by a few schools in challenging circumstances.
25. There are mixed messages about the quality of further education in Medway. The only FE college in the area recently received a rather critical external report, but a new principal has been appointed and there are plans to amalgamate the college's split sites, move them closer to the university campus and revamp the courses on offer. The lack of a local university for many years did not help the task of raising aspirations and encouraging young people to go into higher education. The following table shows a consistent increase in progression among females in recent years, but a more volatile pattern for males. There was increased progression overall between 1999 and 2004, contrary to the trend for the South East region, although there is still some way to go to close the gap. Increased progression was a target in the LPSA for 2002-2005, but it was not achieved.

**Table 3: Students as a percentage of their year 11 cohort progressing to HE**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	per cent
Medway: Males	21.7	25.7	27.7	25.7	23.5	22.6	
Medway: Females	24.8	26.2	29.3	29.1	29.5	31.9	
Medway: Total	23.3	26.1	28.5	27.5	26.6	27.4	
SE Eng.: Males	33.9	33.3	33.7	34.1	32.2	32.4	
SE Eng.: Females	38.7	38.8	39.5	40.4	39.1	39.4	
SE England: Total	36.3	36.1	36.5	37.2	35.5	35.8	

Source: Medway Council

### *(iii) Health*

Like many other social conditions, Medway's overall health record appears reasonable by national standards but relatively poor compared with the rest of the South East region. One exception is the standardised mortality ratio, which is 16 per cent higher than the national average. For many indicators of women's health, Medway ranks worst or second worst in the South East and it is particularly poor on premature deaths through lung cancer and heart disease. It also has a high rate of teenage pregnancy, which is thought to be associated with poor prospects, low self-esteem and low expectations among working class girls. Medway ranks third or fourth worst in the South East for many indicators of men's health. The reasons for the gender disparity are unclear. One theory is that men have better access to health services or make more use of them.

26. Health inequalities in Medway are significant but are generally obscured by the aggregate statistics. For instance, the difference in life expectancy between North Gillingham and Hempstead is eight years. There is a growing body of professional opinion that it is necessary to do more to address the wider determinants of ill health in poverty and deprivation, and that this requires a stronger community based approach that tackles social issues in the round rather than piecemeal. It is felt that health concerns need to be addressed in a manner that is sensitive to local, cultural and gender differences, and that actively engages people so that remedial actions are fully relevant to their personal and family circumstances and give people more control over their lives.
27. For various reasons, including the traditional lack of government funding for neighbourhood initiatives in Medway, there is limited experience of community development and local facilities are poor. This is apparent in various fields besides health. Primary care is dominated instead by single, stand-alone GPs, many of whom are approaching retirement age. Recruitment and retention of GPs is a challenge, partly because of London's shadow effect and the greater attractiveness of Kent as a place to live and work. More integrated community-based services, including medical centres, family advice and children's services, community nurses, health visitors, smoking cessation programmes etc, are widely believed to offer a much superior form of primary health care provision.
28. There is an excellent example of a highly appropriate community resource in the Sunlight Centre. It is strongly bottom-up and community oriented in approach and goes to considerable lengths to encourage local people to get involved in the various health and other programmes that it runs. This gives people greater self-respect and strengthens their social networks and friendships. A wide range of services is based in the building that helps to break down barriers between them, including various outreach social and health services funded by the Council and NHS Primary Care Trust. There is also a community café, a food cooperative and space leased to various alternative therapists. The Centre was originally funded for three years (2002-05) from the New Opportunities Fund and has now become self-supporting through the café and office space leased to other organisations.

#### *(iv) Housing dynamics*

29. Medway's housing stock is generally smaller and poorer on average than in the wider region and nation. For example, 42 per cent of households live in terraced housing compared with only 26 per cent in England and Wales. There is far less detached housing than in the rest of the country (14 per cent against 23 per cent) and fewer flats as well (13 per cent against 19 per cent). The proportion of households living in semi-detached housing is only slightly less than the national average (30 per cent against 32 per cent). Some of the housing stock is in poor condition, having been constructed about a century ago using low quality techniques and materials. Consequently there are some structural problems and issues of dampness and condensation. Unfit housing is concentrated into three neighbourhoods: All Saints, North Gillingham and Strood town centre. Similar housing in other regional circumstances might be considered obsolete and demolished. There are also several peripheral estates that were built to accommodate London overspill during the 1960s and 1970s. They tend to be poorly planned and laid out, with inadequate community facilities and amenities, and are places where residents complain about anti-social behaviour. People feel devalued by living in neighbourhoods with graffiti, vandalism, litter, drugs and fear of crime.
30. Medway's relatively low average house prices (mentioned earlier) have encouraged some public and charitable organisations to acquire property in the area in order to accommodate disadvantaged groups from London and the South East, including ex-offenders and asylum seekers. Although the total numbers are modest and there is no evidence of any adverse wider social consequences, there is a perception among some local people that the issue is more significant than it really is.
31. Housing affordability for local residents is a more pressing concern, despite Medway's relatively low prices. This makes it difficult for first time buyers and for people to move to more suitable houses as their circumstances change. The situation is partly attributable to low average earnings and to the limited amount of social housing. The previous local councils did not have a strong tradition of building public housing or supported housing (for people with disabilities, pensioners, etc) and Rochester transferred its stock of 6500 homes to an organisation (MHS Homes) that is the only one of its kind in the country that is not a registered social landlord. This complicates the management of the stock and tenants. Other providers of social housing find it difficult to purchase land in Medway because of competition against private developers. The net effect is that the number of people on Medway's housing register is high compared with the wider region.
32. Looking to the future, there are concerns about the balance between affordable and upmarket housing in the major new regeneration schemes; about the balance between rented, shared ownership and intermediate housing within the affordable category; and about integration between the different elements. The cost of the land acquisition and remediation will tend to work against subsidised housing, as will the pressure from government to deliver increased housing supply as quickly as possible. There is still much to be resolved in planning and negotiating the detailed design and specification of the new developments. Finally, there are also some concerns about the possibility of gentrification of the better quality housing stock and consequent displacement of poorer households currently living in rented accommodation as Medway's image improves, the university campus becomes better

established, and higher income groups move into the city. The risks of increasing exclusion make it all the more important that existing communities are informed and consulted about Medway's regeneration.

## 7. Governance and policy

33. The structures of local governance in Medway are less complicated than in many English cities. As a unitary authority with an administrative boundary that corresponds broadly with the limit of the built up area, Medway Council is well placed to lead the revitalisation of the city. It has wide responsibilities for development planning and service provision, and is the largest landowner on the main regeneration sites. With government support through the Thames Gateway strategy, it has a unique opportunity to tackle Medway's industrial legacy and to realise its potential. Government backing for the area is also reflected in active support from the regional development agency SEEDA for many local regeneration projects. The Local Strategic Partnership has brought together some 350 organisations with a role in the area under the Council's leadership. The lack of formal neighbourhood renewal initiatives in Medway also simplifies decision making arrangements since there are no separate local structures requiring co-ordination.
34. The situation was quite different until recently. Prior to the creation of Medway Council in 1998, local government was very fragmented with two tiers and two local councils. Local political will to promote regeneration was limited, institutional capacity and resources were thin, and there was no special government support. As a relatively industrialised area with distinct socio-economic challenges, Medway felt it was consistently treated second best by Kent County Council and the regional health authority. At the outset Medway Council was also hampered by the fact that the two constituent local councils had been reluctant to merge because of long-standing territorial rivalries. It was also a hung council in terms of political make-up for the first five years, which tended to lead to indecision. In addition, there was a shortage of professional capacity in-house to pursue regeneration schemes, so progress was slow. The recent creation of the dedicated delivery unit Medway Renaissance with over 20 staff is helping to overcome this deficiency.
35. Although the structural arrangements have improved, Medway Council and its partners still face formidable obstacles to delivering the broad-based resurgence that a city this size and in this location should be capable of. Resources are probably the most important stumbling block for both revenue and capital spending. Delivering the physical and economic projects outlined earlier will require funding well beyond the initial injection under the Sustainable Communities Plan. Substantial investment in various forms of infrastructure is essential, including treatment of contaminated land for economic and other purposes, upgraded river walls to prevent flooding, access roads to brownfield sites, modernisation of the whole Chatham town centre, enhanced cultural amenities and public spaces, improved local connections to the Channel Tunnel Railway, upgraded stations, high capacity telecommunications and a better integrated public and private transport system. Equally important is the need for a step change in efforts to improve and extend a range of facilities and amenities that are best summed up as social and community infrastructure to meet the needs of new and existing communities. Ensuring appropriate phasing of physical and social infrastructure will be a huge technical as well as financial challenge.

36. Medway Council's main difficulty appears to be for the high level of resources required to deliver statutory social services that are essentially demand-led. This has consistently been the single biggest issue affecting the budgeting process and in 2005 it was one of the main reasons why an internal reorganisation of the council geared to cutting managerial costs was required. Looking ahead, if this situation continues to prevail, one can envisage a very unfavourable scenario whereby the bulk of available public funds get absorbed by the need to support and sustain a poor and ageing population, with little scope to invest in the kinds of projects and programmes that will address the root causes of Medway's current predicament and help to engineer a decisive shift in the prospects of the people and place.
- 37 A second important issue concerns the strategic vision and capacity of the key public organisations in Medway. The agreed agenda of physical, economic and social regeneration is necessarily broad, and it is unclear whether or not these bodies will be able to maintain progress across such a wide front at a time of accelerating physical change and constraints on public resources. Can a commitment to economic development be sustained alongside delivering more homes, despite most of the pressures and resources being focused on housing? Some relaxation of the tight control on developing greenfield sites on the urban fringe may be necessary because of the difficult economics of developing brownfield land for employment uses, though that is not Medway's preferred way forward. Given the pressure to deliver above all in physical terms, will existing communities be encouraged to participate in the regeneration process, especially in a meaningful way that enables them to shape and benefit from the opportunities being created? Otherwise, will they tolerate the disruption and dislocation associated with major physical restructuring of the city, as well as the increasing pressure on existing social infrastructure? Can the goals of social balance, inclusion and affordable housing be sustained in the face of commercial pressures for upmarket and exclusive forms of development? And is the vision of a city of culture, learning, tourism and high technology really appropriate and credible considering Medway's regional location and point of departure?
38. There are mixed messages about the experience of the Local Strategic Partnership to date. It is clearly early days and it is not clear that its strategic or collaborative capabilities have really been put to the test. Some participants express uncertainty about its purpose, questioning whether it was really more than window dressing when the council remains in control, and others feel frustration with the amount of attention devoted to procedural and bureaucratic concerns. If the LSP had more resources under its direct control (and real incentives to jointly manage them), the partners would be able to get on and do things they agreed were urgent (such as improved youth facilities). There is a feeling in some quarters that it is too much of a talking shop involving key public organisations (who attend partly for symbolic reasons), with a low public profile and limited interaction with the wider community, despite the obvious need to raise awareness and encourage public debate about the future of Medway and the challenges of change to civic identity and social cohesion. Others are puzzled by the complex structure of the LSP and apparent existence of parallel partnerships covering particular functions or particular parts of the area, with limited overall co-ordination.

39. There are some positive features to offset these criticisms, including recognition of the value of sharing information among different organisations and a view that some of the sub-groups are more active and meaningful than others. The recent process of preparing the second Community Plan went well beyond the council. Local consultations raised the profile of a series of issues for LSP attention, including fear of crime, activities for young people and rural isolation. A new sub-group has been created to take forward the cultural agenda in view of its importance to the quality of life, sense of place and economic spin-offs. Joint teams have been established to good effect between the council and health authority to address specific concerns, such as old people's care and children's care. There are also several other examples of practical partnership working around particular themes, including a successful jobs-match programme involving Medway Council, SEEDA and JobCentre Plus that benefited from LPSA funding.
40. Looking at social and spatial disparities within Medway, the broad agenda that can variously be described as social inclusion, community regeneration or neighbourhood renewal is undeveloped compared with many other cities in Britain. There is a range of initiatives being taken by different public bodies and departments within the council to experiment with community based activities, but the approach is generally tentative and small scale, there is a lack of co-ordination, and there is no significant investment behind it to improve the quality of community facilities and resources. It is not clear whether the basic principles are not well understood or whether the issue is more one of commitment, reflecting inevitable sensitivities involved in giving selected (deprived) areas special attention. Yet there are clearly benefits to be gained from engaging with citizens in their local setting in order to understand their problems and circumstances better. Delivery of certain services is also likely to be improved through decentralisation and increased local involvement. Greater community participation could yield gains too by giving people more self-respect, more control over their own lives and stronger social networks.
41. The broad field of education or learning is clearly one of Medway's major challenges, and where improvements have been difficult to achieve. It bears some relationship to concerns about disaffected youth. Although these issues are complex and defy simple solutions, one approach that has been used with some success in other cities is to provide integrated community resource centres that provide easy access to all sorts of facilities for young people and other groups. The precise mix of learning, social, recreational, creche and advisory services will vary in different situations, but the principle is that investment in high quality facilities made available at the heart of the community can encourage people with little or negative experiences of education and training to get involved, with potentially far-reaching effects on their life chances.

## 8. The role of central government

42. The role of central government is clearly important in various respects. It is generally considered to have played a positive role in the following ways:
- Special funding from the ODPM<sup>4</sup> as part of the Thames Gateway strategy is widely regarded as providing a critical catalyst for Medway's revitalisation. Most of the mega-projects will not happen without these resources. The relative flexibility shown by ODPM towards the use of these funds has also been helpful, although some other government departments and agencies (eg Highways Agency and Network Rail) have been less flexible or supportive of the regeneration plan.
  - The Government's regime of targets and performance indicators is considered to have been broadly helpful in focusing the council on efforts to improve its basic services, although there are reservations about the way targets are set and performance managed (see below).
  - The Government's legislation on equalities has usefully accelerated local procedures to promote equal opportunities and to reduce discriminatory practices. Such stimuli from above can play an important role in promoting positive change.
43. There is a perception however that central government has been less helpful in the following ways:
- From Medway's perspective there is an overemphasis on building homes at the expense of jobs in the Thames Gateway strategy. Increased commuting to London is not compatible with the principles of sustainability, and not simply from an environmental standpoint. Additional government investment to develop brownfield sites for employment may be required, as well as local flexibility in the use of greenfield sites. Government support under the Thames Gateway plan is also seen as paying insufficient attention to the needs of existing communities in Medway for better public services, modern infrastructure and renovation of older housing.
  - The government does not incentivise partnership or joint working between organisations, eg through the LPSA or LSP. The pump-prime funding under the LPSA was useful but too short term to achieve some of its more ambitious targets and it did not encourage co-operation with the police or health authority, despite targets that required their support to be achieved. There is also a general danger that aggregate performance indicators mask social inequalities and any failure of public services to meet the needs of the most deprived groups. Emphasis on performance standards such as school examinations and health service waiting lists may have worsened the position of disadvantaged pupils and households.

<sup>4</sup> The Department for Communities and Local Government was created on 5 May 2006. Its remit covers housing, urban regeneration, planning and local government, formerly the responsibility of ODPM, along with community cohesion and equality.

- Lack of government support for explicit neighbourhood initiatives in Medway has not helped the council's difficulty in giving selective areas priority attention.
- It is felt that there are some inconsistencies in government objectives within and between departments, and generally too many separate initiatives for local bodies to keep up with effectively. Shifting government agendas and insensitivity to the challenges of implementation also mean there is often insufficient time to work through issues consistently.
- The inflexibility of the welfare benefits system and lack of active support make it difficult to get some people back to work, including lone parents and people on sickness benefits.
- There has been prolonged uncertainty about the Ministry of Defence's plans for a major site it owns at Chattenden to the north of Medway with the potential for 6,000 new houses and some employment.

## 9. Conclusion

44. Three key issues for social cohesion in Medway are as follows:

- Medway's weak identity and lack of coherence as a place to live, work, study and socialise. *Medway the city* needs to become more meaningful to local residents, visitors, employers and investors. It needs to develop from a series of commuter and local towns into a city with a clearer sense of place and purpose, and a better reputation to help attract and retain resources to it. Developing a stronger economic base for Medway should be a fundamental objective.
- Inequalities in the labour market, poverty and health among less advantaged sections of the population. There are links between low income, education, self-esteem, aspirations, health and poor housing that need to be addressed in a co-ordinated and inclusive manner. Methods of extending progression and upward mobility in the labour market and the housing market warrant greater attention.
- The weakness and exclusion of poorer communities, which may be exacerbated by the new housing developments. There appears to be a case for greater community consultation and participation in decision making, and better quality community based facilities covering learning and training, health advice, social support, leisure, recreation and social interaction, with the possibility of special emphasis being given to young people.

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## Organisations interviewed

Medway Council Leader  
Director of Development and Environment  
Director of Education and Leisure  
Director of Public Health  
Assistant Director of Economic Development  
Assistant Director of Regeneration and Environment  
Assistant Director of Leisure  
Head of Urban Regeneration  
Housing Strategy Manager  
Research and Review Manager  
Community Safety Manager  
Local Strategic Partnership Co-ordinator  
Senior Planning Official  
Service Manager for Youth  
Manager of JobCentre Plus  
University of Greenwich Director of Regional Liaison  
Racial Equality Council  
Ethnic Minority Forum  
Local Planning Consultant  
Primary Care Trust Chairman

## Statistical appendix

### Jobs density for selected cities and large towns in the SE (2003)

	Jobs density		Jobs density
Medway	0.6	Guildford	1.0
Hastings	0.7	Peterborough	1.0
Brighton & Hove	0.8	Milton Keynes	1.0
Luton	0.8	Slough	1.0
Southampton	0.8	Portsmouth	1.0
Maidstone	0.9	Reading	1.1

Source: ONS via NOMIS

Note: The jobs density is defined as the ratio of total employment to the working-age population

### Economic activity

	Medway (numbers)	Medway (%)	South-East (%)	Britain (%)
Economically active	127,000	80.8	82.1	78.2
In employment	118,000	75.2	78.9	74.3
Employees	103,000	65.6	67.9	64.8
Self employed	15,000	9.3	10.7	9.0
Unemployed	9,000	7.0	3.9	5.0
Economically inactive	30,000	19.2	17.9	21.8
Wanting a job	11,000	6.8	5.0	5.7

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: Percentages are based on working age population, except unemployed which is based on economically active

### Employment by occupation

	<b>Medway</b> (numbers)	<b>Medway</b> (%)	<b>South-East</b> (%)	<b>Britain</b> (%)
Soc 2000 major group 1-3	44,000	36.1	46.0	40.5
1 Managers and senior officials	18,000	14.6	17.3	14.6
2 Professional occupations	11,000	8.8	13.9	12.1
3 Associate professional & technical	15,000	12.7	14.7	13.8
Soc 2000 major group 4-5	34,000	28.0	23.3	24.4
4 Administrative & secretarial	18,000	14.8	12.7	13.0
5 Skilled trades occupations	16,000	13.2	10.6	11.4
Soc 2000 major group 6-7	19,000	15.9	15.0	15.5
6 Personal service occupations	10,000	8.5	7.3	7.5
7 Sales and customer service occs	9,000	7.3	7.7	8.0
Soc 2000 major group 8-9	24,000	20.0	15.7	19.6
8 Process plant & machine operatives	9,000	7.7	5.6	7.7
9 Elementary occupations	15,000	12.4	10.1	11.8

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: Percentages are based on all persons in employment

### Qualifications

	<b>Medway</b> (numbers)	<b>Medway</b> (%)	<b>South-East</b> (%)	<b>Britain</b> (%)
NVQ4 and above	25,000	16.2	28.5	25.2
NVQ3 and above	53,000	33.6	46.9	43.1
NVQ2 and above	86,000	55.1	66.0	61.5
NVQ1 and above	118,000	74.9	81.1	76.0
Other Qualifications	16,000	9.9	8.0	8.8
No Qualifications	24,000	15.0	10.8	15.1

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: All figures are for working age

**Earnings by residence**

	<b>Medway (£)</b>	<b>South East (£)</b>	<b>Britain(£)</b>
<b>Gross weekly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	461.5	537.4	475.8
Male full-time workers	501.0	602.6	525.0
Female full-time workers	391.0	428.9	396.0
<b>Hourly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	11.5	13.6	12.0
Male full-time workers	11.9	14.8	12.8
Female full-time workers	10.6	11.4	10.6

Source: New Earnings Survey: residence based statistics (2003)

Note: Average earnings in pounds for employees living in the area

**Employee jobs**

	<b>Medway (numbers)</b>	<b>Medway (%)</b>	<b>South-East (%)</b>	<b>Britain (%)</b>
Total employee jobs	84,889	–	–	–
Full-time	52,059	61.3	66.6	68.1
Part-time	32,830	38.7	33.4	31.9
Manufacturing	9,862	11.6	9.8	12.6
Construction	4,131	4.9	4.1	4.4
Services	69,306	81.6	84.2	81.4
Distribution, hotels & restaurants	22,243	26.2	26.3	24.7
Transport & communications	3,940	4.6	6.1	6.0
Finance, IT, other business activities	15,233	17.9	22.6	19.8
Public admin, education & health	23,250	27.4	24.0	25.8
Other services	4,641	5.5	5.3	5.2
Tourism-related	6,135	7.2	8.1	8.1

Source: Annual Business Inquiry employee analysis (2003)

Note: Percentages are based on total employee jobs

### Earnings by workplace

	<b>Medway (£)</b>	<b>South East (£)</b>	<b>Britain (£)</b>
<b>Gross weekly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	444.2	505.4	475.8
Male full-time workers	491.0	560.6	525.0
Female full-time workers	363.8	415.7	396.0
<b>Hourly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	11.0	12.7	12.0
Male full-time workers	11.6	13.7	12.8
Female full-time workers	9.8	11.0	10.6

Source: New Earnings Survey: workplace based statistics by soc 2000 occupation (2003)

Note: Average earnings in pounds for employees working in the area

### Workplace of Medway residents

	<b>Professionals, managers &amp; employers (%)</b>	<b>Intermediate and technical occupations, &amp; self-employed (%)</b>	<b>Routine and semi-routine occupations (%)</b>	<b>Total (numbers)</b>
London	53.1	35.4	11.5	17,380
Kent	36.6	33.0	30.4	26,332
Medway	28.9	38.5	32.6	68,151
Elsewhere	50.7	30.1	19.2	3,915
Total (%)	35	36.5	28.5	
Total (numbers)	(40,559)	(42,215)	(33,004)	115,778

Source: Population Census (2001)

### Original of people who work in Medway

	<b>Professionals, managers &amp; employers (%)</b>	<b>Intermediate and technical occupations, &amp; self-employed (%)</b>	<b>Routine and semi-routine occupations (%)</b>	<b>Total (numbers)</b>
Medway	28.9	38.5	32.6	68,151
Elsewhere	55.2	27.4	17.4	18,712
Total (%)	34.6	36.1	29.3	
Total (numbers)	(30,038)	(31,333)	(25,492)	86,863

Source: Population Census (2001)

## Part 3: Case Study 2 – Leicester

### From tolerance to integration: Building lasting cohesion and prosperity in Leicester

#### 1. Introduction

1. The purpose of this case study is to provide a broad assessment of contemporary social conditions in Leicester, taking into account the wider regional context, local economic conditions and the current policies of local and national government and associated agencies<sup>5</sup>. It focuses on three themes: (i) the identity and durability of Leicester as a city, (ii) disparities between people and places within Leicester, and (iii) social relationships between different communities, bearing in mind the city's substantial non-white population.
2. The case study seeks to take stock of what has and has not been achieved over the last decade. It also attempts to provide a rounded understanding of the current situation, including the drivers and dynamics of social exclusion and cohesion, and the positive and negative aspects of a range of local and national policies. Finally, it identifies several outstanding challenges for the future.
3. It draws upon a wide range of evidence detailed in the appendix including:
  - reports and documents from a variety of stakeholders in the area;
  - face-to-face interviews with more than 25 senior representatives from different sectors;
  - a variety of social and economic statistics for the area, in comparison with the wider region and nation.

#### 2. Background

4. Leicester has an accessible location next to the M1 about 80 miles north of London (70 minutes by train) and is one of a trio of similar sized cities that make up the East Midlands (with Nottingham and Derby). The analysis and governance of Leicester as a functional city are complicated by the fact that the core administrative area is smaller than the contiguous built up urban area. Consequently we distinguish between two spatial units: the core administrative district covered by Leicester local authority (Leicester LA) and the wider conurbation or built-up area that we call Leicester Primary Urban Area (Leicester PUA). Leicester LA had a population of 280,000 in 2001 and the Leicester PUA had a population of 461,000. Leicester PUA includes parts of the surrounding local authority districts of Oadby and Wigston, Blaby and Charnwood.

<sup>5</sup> This case study was undertaken in 2005 and therefore reflects the situation at that time.

5. Leicester is a unitary (single tier) authority and was created in 1998 with the transfer of higher tier functions from Leicester County Council. The surrounding area has a two-tier structure consisting of seven district councils at the lower level and Leicester County Council at the higher level. Leicester PUA is smaller than the outer boundary of Leicester County Council because it only includes the built up areas that directly adjoin Leicester LA – essentially its suburbs. The political complexions of Leicester City Council and Leicester County Council are quite different and relationships between them are difficult. There is also a range of overlapping organisations and partnership arrangements covering different functions, such as health, economic development, regeneration, transport and skills.

### **3. A weak and vulnerable economy**

6. Leicester did not experience the same scale or rate of economic decline as many northern English cities during the 1970s and 1980s, partly because its economic structure was not dominated by heavy industries such as steel and shipbuilding. Its population also increased against the general urban trend over this period, largely as a result of immigration from abroad. The combined effect meant that economic development, physical regeneration and the quality of the built environment have been less important priorities for public policy than in many other cities, whereas social development, race relations and equal opportunities (all aspects of social cohesion) have been much more immediate concerns and therefore higher up the policy agenda.
7. A simple indication of this is the relative neglect of investment in the city's physical infrastructure and buildings to create the conditions for economic growth. The lack of good industrial estates, business parks and office space within Leicester has reduced its ability to attract and retain mobile firms compared with some of the districts on the edge of the city. Interviewees acknowledge the problem, but vary in their explanations for it. Some cite the lack of a unified business lobby to press for a bolder approach to economic development (Leicester has three separate business associations). Others suggest that civic leaders have been distracted by other concerns, somewhat complacent about the economy, wary or even hostile to commercial property developers, and out of touch with what is required to maintain and expand economic opportunities.
8. The result was that the private sector opted to develop new business parks on the urban edge, often with excellent motorway access, more space for expansion and less congestion. The significance of vacant and derelict land and the importance of industrial floor space in Leicester are shown in the appendix. In addition, new housing was permitted near to existing industrial areas, which subsequently posed a problem when the businesses wanted to expand their premises because the residents raised objections. Transport policies were designed to reduce car use in the interests of environmental quality, but they made the city core less attractive to all sorts of users and undermined its potential to become a thriving regional service centre.

9. Despite not suffering the dramatic deindustrialisation of many northern cities, Leicester has not been a particularly prosperous city for many years. Indeed, its relative position has deteriorated since the mid-1990s with employment decline and a static population. This is against the background of a national recovery in jobs and population growth, and a turnaround in the fortunes of several other major English cities. Economic output, productivity and incomes in Leicester are now substantially lower than the regional and national averages (see Table 1). Only 18.7 per cent of Leicester LA's working-age population have a degree or HND, compared with 22.2 per cent in the East Midlands and 25.2 per cent in Britain (see appendix). The notion of a low wage, low skills equilibrium seems to have some resonance with the local situation, linked with relatively low household incomes and low consumption. This is reflected in a range of social indicators, including life expectancy, housing conditions and people receiving income support (see appendix). Leicester LA is in the most deprived 10 per cent of local authorities in England according to the 2004 Index of Multiple Deprivation.

**Table 1: Economic indicators**

	<b>Leicester LA</b>	<b>Leicester PUA</b>	<b>East Midlands</b>	<b>England</b>
GVA per employee (2001)	£33,769	n.a.	£37,357	£38,992
Average weekly full-time earnings (2003)	£379	£405	£439	£485
Net household income (1998)	£15,810	£17,730	£18,360	£20,180

Source: ONS and New Earnings Survey via NOMIS; SOCD database

10. The main reason for this appears to be the importance of relatively low value manufacturing (especially clothing and textiles, but also machinery, food and drink, metal fabrication and rubber/plastic goods) and the small share of jobs in business and financial services and in science and technology-based firms. Leicester was once an important centre for manufacturing machine tools, particularly for the textiles and footwear industries, but this has since collapsed. The local economy also differs from the wider region and nation in other ways. Nearly a third (32 per cent) of jobs in Leicester LA are in public administration and health, compared with only a quarter in the East Midlands and in Britain as a whole. Only 32 per cent of jobs in Leicester LA are at the upper end of the occupational hierarchy (professional, managerial and technical posts), compared with 37 per cent in the East Midlands and 41 per cent in Britain (see Appendix). In contrast, 29 per cent of jobs in Leicester LA are in low skilled manual occupations, compared with 23 per cent in the East Midlands and only 20 per cent in Britain. Consistent with this picture of a relatively low productivity, low income economy, the proportion of adults in Leicester with no qualifications is almost double that in the rest of the country; 25 per cent in Leicester LA compared with 17 per cent in the East Midlands and 15 per cent in Britain (see Appendix). This is partly historical, reflecting immigration and the low qualifications required by manufacturing employers, but it also reflects the levels of educational aspiration and attainment in local schools.

11. The clearest indication of Leicester's poor recent economic performance has been a fall in the total number of full time equivalent jobs in the PUA by 12,000 (6.4 per cent) between 1995 and 2003 (see Table 2). In complete contrast, the number of jobs in the East Midlands increased by nearly 6 per cent and in England by 11.5 per cent during the same period. So Leicester has lost jobs at a time when most other towns and cities in England have been gaining employment. This damaging employment trend and the stark contrast with the position elsewhere is surprisingly overlooked in Leicester's employment strategy published in 2004 and barely features in the economic baseline study for 2004. They tend to focus on aspects of labour supply, such as educational qualifications, vocational skills and employability, rather than the level of labour demand, and on issues of inclusion, disadvantage and discrimination. We return to the balance between labour supply and demand issues later.

**Table 2: Employment change FTE**

	1995	2003	% Change 1995-2003
Leicester PUA	187,615	175,647	-6.4
Leicester LAD	140,141	132,536	-5.4
East Midlands	1,392,621	1,474,300	+5.9
England	16,816,839	18,753,931	+11.5

Source: ONS and New Earnings Survey via NOMIS; SOCD database

12. The immediate reason for the recent job loss is the particularly poor performance of manufacturing. It seems that industrial decline has affected Leicester later than most other English cities and it continues to impact through local firms' vulnerability to low cost international competition. Leicester PUA lost a staggering 34 per cent of its manufacturing jobs between 1995 and 2003; almost double the rate in England as a whole. With insufficient compensating growth in services and no readily accessible centres of job growth elsewhere, Leicester's labour market has not adjusted well. Consequently, the current employment rate is very low (especially in Leicester LA) and it has been falling (against the national trend), while unemployment and the rate of economic inactivity are very high compared with the regional and national averages. The labour market position of ethnic minorities is generally worse than among whites, with higher unemployment, lower skills and less well paid occupations (Buckner et al, 2004). The rate of economic inactivity for women is 10 per cent above the female national average while the male rate is only 5 per cent above the corresponding figure. Economic inactivity is particularly high among Bangladeshi and Pakistani women, who are most likely to be looking after their home or family (Buckner et al, 2004).

**Table 3: Labour market indicators**

	<b>Leicester LA (%)</b>	<b>East Midlands (%)</b>	<b>Britain (%)</b>
Employment rate (2003/04)	63.0	75.3	74.3
Unemployment (2003/04)	10.9	4.7	5.0
JSA claimants (March 2005)	4.7	2.1	2.4
Economic inactivity (2003/04)	29.3	21.0	21.8

Source: local area labour force survey and claimant count via NOMIS

13. Leicester's poor economic performance is reflected in other aspects of the city (see appendix). House prices lag behind the regional and national averages. There is a relatively high level of business failures in relation to business start-ups, so a lower rate of business growth than in the wider region or nation. Contrary to some assumptions (eg EMDA, 2002), Leicester is not constrained by a lack of enterprise, but rather by a lack of successful business growth and infrastructure to facilitate that. There is also a smaller share of employment in innovative sectors, such as creative industries, knowledge based activities or technology industries, and a surprising lack of contemporary buildings of a high standard and originality in and around the city centre.
14. Yet, the prognosis is certainly not all negative. Leicester has many positive economic attributes and assets. Its central location and accessibility to the motorway network have encouraged the growth of distribution and logistics businesses in recent years. Low property rentals have also helped to attract a number of call centres and financial services operations. The combination of good accessibility, low office rentals, low wage levels and low house prices offer potential for further inward investment, including back office relocation from London. Its two universities have expanded successfully over the last decade and attracted increasing numbers of students to study and contribute to the cultural life and amenities of the city. In entertainment and sport, Leicester has performed particularly well in rugby and cricket, creating new venues to attract visitors from further afield and helping the city's external image.
15. The city is also renowned for its many cultural festivals and entrepreneurial spirit within the Asian community. It is reputed to have the largest Diwali festival in the world outside India and boasts some of the most successful Asian businesses in Britain, with export markets in Europe, South Asia and North America. Ethnic entrepreneurial success is symbolised in the Belgrave Road 'Golden Mile' which has become a well-known retail and commercial centre. Finally, there is a new sense of optimism among informed groups within Leicester attributable to five strategic regeneration projects and substantial public and private investment in a variety of other construction schemes in the pipeline. These are discussed next.

## 4. Towards an urban renaissance

16. Belated recognition of the neglect of physical and economic regeneration in central Leicester led to the establishment of an Urban Regeneration Company in 2001, one of 15 across England. From the outset Leicester Regeneration Company (LRC) stressed the importance of property development and physical improvements if the city was to prosper in the 21st Century. Leicester needed to widen its economic base; attract more jobs in office-based services and science/technology; widen its appeal to retain more graduates; create new city centre living environments and broaden the range of city centre retailing. It had to alter widespread perceptions that the city is rather mediocre, lacking in ambition and anonymous: 'Leicester is quite ordinary, middle of the road and lacking in profile and image' (Comedia, 2004, p.6). A focussed intermediary agency like the LRC was considered necessary to kick-start development because of the uncertain capability of existing public bodies to organise mega-projects of this kind, including negotiating with private developers, securing commitment from various public agencies and sustaining the focus over a decade or more in the face of wider social responsibilities.
17. LRC spent the first three years preparing a detailed master plan for five major projects on 1000 acres, engaging in extensive consultation and resolving in detail how they could be delivered, including land acquisition. Since it has no funding of its own beyond its running costs, it owns no land and has no statutory power, LRC has had to work closely with other public bodies and private developers, including the RDA (East Midlands Development Agency or EMDA), English Partnerships and the City Council. It acts as an enabler and broker to set out master plans, get support for them and persuade these partners to assemble and prepare the land to the point where private developers can take over. Although LRC focuses on physical regeneration, it also recognises the need to try and make the opportunities available to the widest possible proportion of Leicester residents. Consequently it is beginning to co-operate with other organisations on issues such as skills training, improved access to the city centre and ensuring cultural diversity is reflected in the new development, although it acknowledges there is much more to do.
18. The five major projects to be delivered over the next 10-15 years are:
  - An ambitious **New Business Quarter** focused around a re-modelled railway station to deliver about 4000 jobs expected by 2010. It involves moving the inner ring road, redeveloping several existing buildings, and constructing some 500,000 sq ft of office space, plus restaurants and leisure facilities, some retailing and apartments, and a new public square.
  - A **Waterside** scheme to reunite the city centre with its potentially attractive canal and riversides by reducing the ring road as a barrier and developing around 1500 homes; two residential developments of 431 flats are already under construction by private developers.
  - A **Retail Circuit** of inter-connected shopping streets in the city centre with attractive paving and pedestrianisation to create opportunities for a wider range of higher-grade retail outlets. The city council is leading this project.

- A **New Community** of about 1700 new homes in the Lee Circle area, a poor quality under-performing district close to the city centre and its amenities. The plan is to encourage family housing and mixed tenures to create a balanced and sustainable community, with an improved environment, health and education facilities.
  - A **Science and Technology Park** around the National Space Centre at Abbey Meadows, to foster new businesses linked to the world-class science at Leicester's universities and to accommodate incoming firms. The provision of serviced sites accommodating some 450,000 sq ft of incubators and other premises is expected to create about 1800 jobs.
19. In addition, there are several other big schemes under construction or in the pipeline that amount to well over £1bn of investment:
- The **Shires Extension** – a plan to more than double the floorspace of the present shopping mall, radically change its layout and introduce a new department store. It will include restaurants, a cinema and housing, and will open in 2008.
  - Both **Universities** propose major restructuring of their campuses. De Montfort's is already under way and includes altering the ring road so that part of the campus is no longer isolated, but forms part of the street frontage and an entry point to a central campus piazza.
  - The City Council's **Cultural Quarter** is related to the LRC's New Business Quarter. The Depot's cultural industries workshops opened in 2004 and the second element will be a new Performing Arts and Conference Centre, intended to be a symbol of Leicester's ability to deliver exciting change.
  - The **University Hospital Trust** is embarking on a £400m public private partnership to restructure health care in the city. This includes major investment in the Leicester Royal Infirmary, close to the city centre.

## 5. The emergence of a more tolerant but fragmented society

20. The population of Leicester was overwhelmingly white and mono-cultural at the beginning of the 1960s, although there has been substantial in-migration of different cultural and ethnic groups since then. By 2001 Leicester LA had the largest non-white population of any local authority in Britain outside London (36 per cent were non-white compared with 26 per cent in the Leicester PUA). The sheer scale of in-migration from abroad has been very substantial and it is a testimony to the city's success that successive waves of migrants have settled there without significant conflict and disorder, apart from some incidents on the streets and in workplaces early on. The extent of cultural and ethnic diversity is another distinctive feature: Leicester may have more people with different national, ethnic and religious backgrounds than almost another city in Britain, with the probable exception of London.

21. The largest minority group are Indians, most of who came to Leicester from South Asia and East Africa. Immigration from India peaked during the late 1960s and from East Africa during the 1970s. The largest single influx of about 20,000 people stemmed from a forced exodus of Asians from Uganda in the early 1970s as a result of the Idi Amin regime. According to some accounts, Leicester was the most racist place in Britain during the 1970s (Marett, 1988), and at the height of the East African exodus the National Front became very active in the city. Nervous about the strain on Leicester's race relations and its schools, housing, health and social services, the City Corporation placed an advertisement in the *Ugandan Argus* stating that its welfare services were already stretched to the limit and that people should "not come to Leicester" (quoted in Bonney, 2003). At about the same time, the *Leicester Mercury* proclaimed Leicester "full" and encouraged immigrants to look elsewhere.
22. This advice was generally ignored and a variety of other national and ethnic groups settled in the city in subsequent years. They included sizeable Muslim and Sikh populations originally from South Asia; black Caribbean and African populations from various countries in these regions; and more recent asylum seekers and refugees from Kosovo, Bosnia, Somalia and other parts of Eastern Europe and Africa affected by conflict. A variety of local factors were associated with people choosing to settle in Leicester, including the possibility of support and comfort arising from social networks and family connections, and a search for religious and cultural security in an unfamiliar and potentially unfriendly country. In addition, it is believed by some local observers that Leicester acquired a reputation as a relatively tolerant and harmonious city (a safe haven), which has contributed to continuing in-migration. The availability of accessible economic opportunities and relatively affordable housing (see below) are also likely to have been important.
23. A change of political complexion of Leicester City Council from Conservative to Labour in 1979 brought greater support for the black and minority ethnic (BME) population, and it has played an important role in contributing to race relations and multiculturalism in the city ever since. One of the most significant tangible signs was to help establish special places of religious worship for each new community arriving in the city. This helped people to feel more secure and to consolidate their position, especially given the importance of such establishments for a range of social and welfare activities, educational services and cultural functions, in addition to their religious purposes. The Council's explicit intention was to help people of all faiths to sustain their religious and community life in the city (Bonney, 2003).
24. The policy to help minority communities get planning permission for places of worship began in 1977. The Council recognised the increasing demand for Hindu temples in Leicester and a mosque for Muslims, and the difficulties in securing permission for these novel uses, especially in the face of distrust, anxiety and even hostility from existing communities. Some 60 per cent of the planning applications associated with religious uses submitted by Asians between 1974 and 1976 were rejected because of the supposed detrimental effects on the amenity of the surrounding area (Bonney, 2003). It was also aware of the opportunity arising from an increase in redundant churches in several inner city neighbourhoods as a result of falling church attendance and suburbanisation.

25. Consequently it began to offer pro-active advice and practical assistance to minority communities to help them to identify suitable buildings for conversion and to get through all the legal procedures. Between 1974 and 1987, 124 applications were made for places of worship, only 22 of which were refused. Most involved conversions or extensions of existing buildings (churches, houses or shops) rather than new build, because of the cost. Not all of these permissions were acted upon, but by 2002 there were at least 18 Hindu temples, 20 Mosques, 6 Sikh Gurdwaras, 1 Buddhist Vihara, 1 Orthodox and 1 Liberal and Progressive synagogue and 1 Jain Temple (Bonney, 2003).
26. The policy was very bold at the time because there was considerable local opposition to immigration and non-white settlement in Leicester throughout the 1970s. In 1976 the National Front won over 18 per cent of the vote in the city and came very close to winning a seat. In 1979 they organised a march that attracted 2,000 participants, who were confronted by a similar number of anti-National Front demonstrators. The violent clashes that resulted prompted the Home Secretary to ban all further National Front marches in the city. This is believed to have played a big part in reducing tensions and promoting better relations between communities.
27. Leicester City Council also supported the creation of overarching inter-religious and inter-cultural institutions and networks to promote constructive city-wide dialogue and to help defuse tensions between communities. Opposition to racism helped to bring different BME groups together and far-sighted leadership within the community encouraged a patient and incremental approach to social and political advancement. A Council of Faiths was formed in 1986 with representation from Baha'is, Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jains, Jews, Muslims and Sikhs. It has performed a variety of important roles, including high-level discussion between faith groups, making joint public responses to potentially divisive external events, fund-raising and visiting schools. It has also worked with the police to raise awareness and ensure a more representative workforce. A Race Equality Council was also established in 1991 to help publicise the challenges facing disadvantaged groups, to promote mutual understanding and to protect the rights of minorities through practical advice and legal support. Recognition that young people were not actively involved in these forums led subsequently to the creation of a Youth Faith's Forum specifically devoted to this section of the community. It has organised several local conferences and visits abroad to bring young people together to discuss mutual concerns and formulate practical solutions.
28. The Council provided considerable funding over the years for BME voluntary and community organisations to deliver services, including youth clubs, women's organisations, community centres, translation services, lunch clubs and business associations. This was a deliberate strategy to shift power from the Council into the community, partly in response to central government pressure on local authorities. Some believed that dedicated community and voluntary organisations would be more effective at providing services and protecting the interests of minority groups in a difficult environment. Their independence would enhance their credibility and help them to strike the right balance between working with statutory bodies and challenging them when necessary. There were also elements of political patronage and tokenism involved, and some observers believe that decisions were not always transparent and that training and managerial support were sometimes neglected. At

its peak there were about 400 voluntary groups being assisted, with variable levels of professionalism and competence. During the 1980s and early 1990s the Urban Programme was one of the mechanisms used to channel support in this direction.

29. Efforts were also made to involve the local media in raising general awareness of cultural diversity and to avoid the sensational treatment of local incidents or policy initiatives in a way that might foster fear and resentment of other cultures. The editor of the largest local newspaper proved very receptive and helped to form a Multicultural Advisory Group that includes other local media and representatives of the community and statutory agencies. It helps to ensure balanced and responsible coverage of potentially sensitive local and international issues. An Asian television station has been established to provide entertainment and news for the local population with the intention of promoting cohesion. It is also exploring the possibility of Leicester becoming a centre for Bollywood-style film production in the UK. The City Council itself actively pursued equal opportunities policies in staff recruitment and other administrative procedures. Considerable efforts also went into developing a sensitive and responsible approach to community policing, and to introducing material and people into schools that would promote greater understanding and tolerance of other cultures and religions. Many of these efforts have achieved national recognition, for example in the Select Committee Report on Social Cohesion (House of Commons, 2004), the award of Beacon status for promoting racial equality and community cohesion in 2002, and being one of 15 areas to become a Community Cohesion Pathfinder in 2003.
30. Stable leadership and political continuity at the Council helped to sustain these policies. The Labour Party governed uninterrupted for 24 years from 1979, for much of that time under Peter Soulsby, a strong advocate of Leicester becoming a multicultural city. A widely respected chief planning officer, John Dean, held office for 19 years from 1974. In addition, minority representation on Leicester Council gave voice to some of the main BME communities, who were astute in recognising the importance of political participation. The first Hindu councillor was elected in 1974 and the total number of minority councillors increased to three in 1979, eight in 1983, 13 in 1991 and 15 in 1996. By 2002 half the controlling Labour group (14) were from ethnic minorities, out of a total of 56 councillors. After the Labour group lost power in 2003 (see below) there were 11 minority councillors. Four Muslims and one Sikh represented the Liberal Democrats, while the Labour group included three Hindus, two Sikhs and one black Caribbean (Bonney, 2003). Two of Leicester's three current Members of Parliament are from ethnic minorities.
31. Interviewees from the BME communities report that other public organisations in Leicester have also been very supportive of the distinct needs of minority groups. For example, the health authority has introduced special training programmes, prayer rooms in hospitals and chaplains for the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities. The police authority has done a great deal to increase officers' understanding of the cultural traditions and mores of different groups, to expand BME recruitment and to develop community policing.
32. Some of the new communities were also astute in an economic sense, bringing with them considerable entrepreneurial skills and commercial acumen from their original countries. The Hindus in particular began by obtaining whatever low skilled jobs they could, in public transport, the post office or local manufacturing firms. By

slowly accumulating capital some of them were able to acquire small shops then diversify into wholesale and distribution. Others progressed by diversifying into manufacturing and then in quite different directions, such as property speculation and development. Many entrepreneurs succeeded by trading initially within their own communities and lending money to each other before breaking out into wider markets – a classic model of business development within minority communities based on a foundation of mutual aid or social capital. Selected individuals also moved from an active involvement in the local community and politics into business activities.

33. One of the manifestations of in-migrants seeking mutual support and preservation of distinct cultural institutions is racial segregation. In fact segregation has also been driven by fear as much as choice (see below). Analysis of Census data for this report confirms previous studies showing that Leicester has a relatively high degree of racial segregation. It ranks about 10th among UK cities for segregation between white and non-white households. It ranks at about this level for segregation between whites and Asians, but below this for whites and blacks, and for Indians and Pakistanis.
34. Historically, the Hindu Indians settled in Belgrave, the Muslims and black Caribbeans in Highfields, but the Sikhs were more dispersed. There were also more subtle patterns of segregation within particular BME groups according to income, caste or religious sub-groups. Growing affluence and rising aspirations among middle class BME households for better neighbourhoods and schools have prompted more dispersal and suburbanisation over time, especially among Indians. Young people also tend to mix more across cultural divides than the older generation. Some interviewees expressed concern, however, that dispersal and assimilation are not happening to the same extent among Muslims, where there are countervailing pressures to become more inward-looking and to create an enclave in Highfields, centred on the mosques.
35. There has been a downside to the Council's active support for BME communities, including resentment on the part of poorer sections of the white community, who think they have been neglected. This is most apparent in the working class estates on the periphery of Leicester – Braunstone, Beaumont Leys and Saffron – which remain overwhelmingly white. They perceive that incoming residents receive priority treatment in terms of public services, recruitment to council jobs and improved community facilities. The visibility of discretionary funding, such as the Urban Programme and area-based initiatives, mean that its significance gets inflated compared with much larger mainstream programmes.
36. Nevertheless, council interviewees concede that there is some basis for the misgivings. By tending to provide separate projects and facilities for different groups, the Council inadvertently reinforced social differences and favoured some groups over others. Racial segregation has fostered a degree of parochialism as politicians and other activists focus on securing resources for their own communities. There are even separate black, Asian and white business associations in Leicester. The city is 'very multicultural on the surface but, beneath, very little interaction' (Comedia, 2004, p.5). One of the challenges now faced is to promote positive social interaction by establishing unifying projects, in effect moving from a basic to a higher level of social cohesion (see below).

37. With the benefit of hindsight, another contemporary concern is that faith and race issues may have been given undue emphasis. There were other important values, attitudes and aspects of people's lives that arguably received less explicit attention, including income/class, disability, age, gender and sexuality. Recognition of this has led to the creation of an Equality and Diversity Partnership in Leicester. It is raising fundamental issues about the way social inequalities are handled by statutory organisations and the need to develop a more systematic way of understanding and responding to the differences between and within communities. It is also trying to shift the way organisations treat people by seeing them as individuals with distinct needs and potential. More emphasis is being placed on communication as a prerequisite to other interactions. Public bodies are encouraged to do more to improve the information available to avoid perceptions of bias and unfairness, and to let disadvantaged groups know their rights with proper translation services and interpreters if necessary. It is thought that there are many very poor and isolated people, such as women in some minority communities or poor people with disabilities, who do not receive the services to which they are entitled.
38. A series of extensive attitudinal surveys carried out in Leicester during 2003 endorsed the need for more vigorous efforts to inform, consult and generally trigger more active interest and involvement from local citizens:
39. There is a level of detachment, a potential lack of interest and knowledge, highlighting the need to communicate to the grassroots an unfolding story of Leicester and the county with which people can identify and connect ... Yet there is a groundswell of goodwill towards the city that could be tapped (Comedia, 2004, p.5).
40. Disengagement and disaffection among young working class people across white and BME communities is currently causing particular concern in some quarters. The surveys concluded that:
- “The contrast between working and middle class teenagers is stark; the latter live in a completely different world of experience and aspiration. The white working class young, particularly boys, have high levels of disaffection which could potentially be harmful in the longer term” (Comedia, 2004, p.5).
41. Artistic, cultural and sporting activities are regarded as potential themes or interests that could bring people from different backgrounds together in an active and meaningful way. Ongoing dialogue and interaction between groups is regarded as fundamental to avoid isolationism, ignorance and prejudice that could have damaging consequences. This is part of the rationale for the new Cultural Quarter mentioned above. The intention is to go beyond existing cultural identities and ‘create new spaces in which communities can come together, learn from each other, and create new forms of inter-cultural artistic expression’ (Leicester City Council, 2002, p.9).
42. Upward social mobility is another challenge for cohesion in the city since it loses many of its highly educated and higher income population through suburbanisation and migration to other cities in the UK. The Comedia surveys found that nearly two-thirds (63.4 per cent) of students interviewed in the universities said they could not fulfil their ambitions in Leicester. Among the general population interviewed in the street, 59 per cent said they were happy to live in Leicester, but 38 per cent said they wanted to move elsewhere. Many younger Asians were positive about the city but felt they could not fulfil their ambitions locally.

43. Different communities in Leicester are inevitably subject to external influences that have periodically provoked local tensions, including Sikh nationalism, Islamic fundamentalism, Hindu nationalism and Pakistani nationalism. Racial prejudice persists among sections of the white population, as revealed in a 2003 survey of 1000 people in two of the poorer estates, many of who said they did not want to engage with BME communities. Yet it is a sign of the city's relative success in race relations that such views have not been expressed through large-scale support for extremist political parties, but rather contained within mainstream politics. Having said this, turnout at general elections is relatively low in the city (see appendix), perhaps confirming the apathy and detachment quoted above. Leicester's experience suggests building mutual respect and interaction requires continuing efforts across public, private and community sectors. There is no magic formula for strengthening cohesion and integration.
44. In summary:
- Leicester has managed to accommodate an exceptional variety of different racial, cultural and religious communities over the last 40 years without conflict and disorder. There is a widespread view among senior representatives of local organisations that there is more racial tolerance and civic pride in Leicester than in similar cities elsewhere in England.
  - However, the strength of cohesion within the city should not be exaggerated. Conditions can be characterised more accurately as acceptance and co-existence rather than social mixing and interaction. Different communities tend to lead largely separate and parallel lives in distinct worlds, partly as a result of racial segregation reflected in schools, social facilities and other institutions.
  - There may be latent risks in continuing separation, including fear and distrust. Indeed, in 2003 there was a major shift in local politics that shattered any complacency about the strength of inter-cultural relations.
  - It was prompted partly by external events, with the Iraq War causing many Muslims to withdraw support from Labour. More importantly, there was a backlash against the Labour Council on the part of poorer white communities who felt isolated and ignored.
  - The outstanding challenge now is to move from segmentation and co-existence towards a position of narrower socio-economic inequalities and greater social integration. This requires a broader, more inclusive, city-wide vision of social progress and shared prosperity.

## 6. The drivers of social exclusion and cohesion

45. Achieving greater cohesion is far from straightforward because of the variety of factors that can drive people apart. Social division is the product of multiple and often deep-seated economic, social and political processes. Although Leicester has been identified as an example of good practice, the City Council has become more sanguine in its assessment of the state of community cohesion in the city. It recognises that progress to date is insufficient to justify strong claims about a stable multicultural civic society:

“Leicester’s cultural diversity is an economic and social asset but all our communities do not share equally in its success. Inequality and deprivation mixed with cultural and racial diversity create exceptional complexities. Choice, tolerance and justice are pulled in different directions. Local politicians, health providers, faith leaders and media wrestle with sensitive contemporary issues such as targeting deprivation, promoting choice and welcoming integrity”  
 (Leicester City Council, 2002, p.2).

### *(i) Employment and incomes*

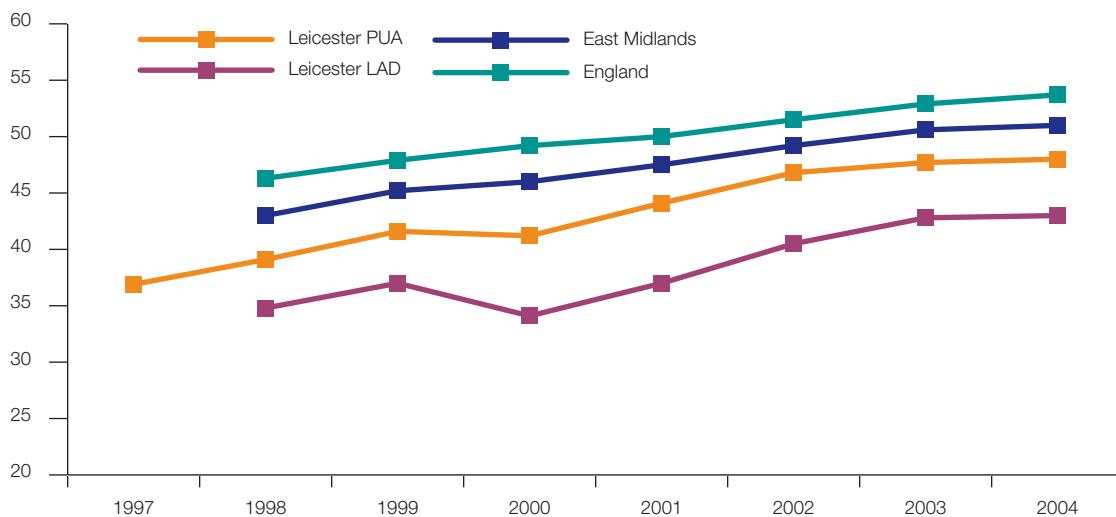
46. Leicester’s relatively high unemployment rate and low average incomes mean that there is hardship and insecurity among the resident population. Leicester LA ranks 31 out of 354 local authorities in England on the 2004 IMD, where 1 is the most deprived. 13 of the City’s wards fall into the top 10 per cent of the most deprived wards in England. These conditions exacerbate social divisions since there is greater competition for scarce jobs and resources than in situations where the labour market is tighter and incomes are higher. Unemployment can only really be addressed through an expansion in labour demand, ie increased employment. The principal effect of supply-side programmes geared to improving skills and employability and tackling disadvantage is to reallocate who gets the jobs, not to reduce the overall level of unemployment.
47. The ‘working poor’ is another important issue for Leicester because of the low wage rates in some sectors. This needs to be addressed by increasing the number of better-paid jobs, upgrading the quality of existing jobs and by enhancing the skills of local residents to enable them to compete for these jobs. These tasks need to proceed hand in hand to avoid the prospect of people who improve their skills facing a shortage of suitable local jobs and therefore being forced to move or commute elsewhere.
48. Both challenges require a more robust economy in Leicester moving beyond the current low wage, low skill equilibrium. Key tasks involve strengthening the capabilities of existing firms, encouraging new enterprises and attracting inward investment. This requires sustaining and extending the work of LRC and other organisations to identify vacant land suitable for employment and to provide the necessary infrastructure, buildings and landscaping to ensure that quality property is available to compete with outlying business parks and other cities and towns. In addition, public transport links need to be improved from the inner city to these outer areas to enable people to access the jobs there.

49. None of this is straightforward because many of the economic powers and resources reside with organisations that have a regional or national rather than a local remit. For instance, most interviewees believe that EMDA neglects Leicester in favour of Nottingham, where it is based. Apart from the challenge of economic diversification, one of the obvious targets for attention is the indigenous manufacturing sector, which faces increasing international competition yet remains an important source of local employment. It is under local ownership and control, so is potentially amenable to influence. There is wide agreement that firms in clothing and textiles need to modernise their production processes and upgrade their products through investment in design in order to target higher value markets and avoid the intense price pressures facing basic commodity producers.

*(ii) Education*

50. Education is an important driver of cohesion as well as economic progress. Good schools and colleges can raise skills and qualifications and increase people's prospects of employment and upward mobility – all vital functions for disadvantaged and incoming communities. They can also bring young people from different backgrounds together and equip them with the mutual understanding, respect and skills to communicate and interact effectively. In addition, good schools can help to retain aspiring middle-income households within core urban areas. Retaining population within the city benefits the council's budget and enhances local consumer spending and therefore jobs and services.
51. Leicester's schools have not traditionally functioned well in many of these respects and the official statistics show that pupils achieve lower results than at the region or national level in the standard assessment tests at ages 7, 11 and 14 (Buckner et al, 2004). Although there has been a general improvement in the last six years, Leicester has also consistently under-performed the national average for the proportion of pupils with 5+ GCSEs at A-C (Leicester LA under-performs by 11% and Leicester PUA by 5 per cent) (Figure 1). Some 45 per cent of primary school pupils are non-white, many of whom are from deprived backgrounds and speak English only as a second language. It is not surprising that education has consistently been one of the City Council's top priorities.

**Figure 1: Percentage of pupils with 5+ GCSEs at A-C (NRU Floor Targets web site)**



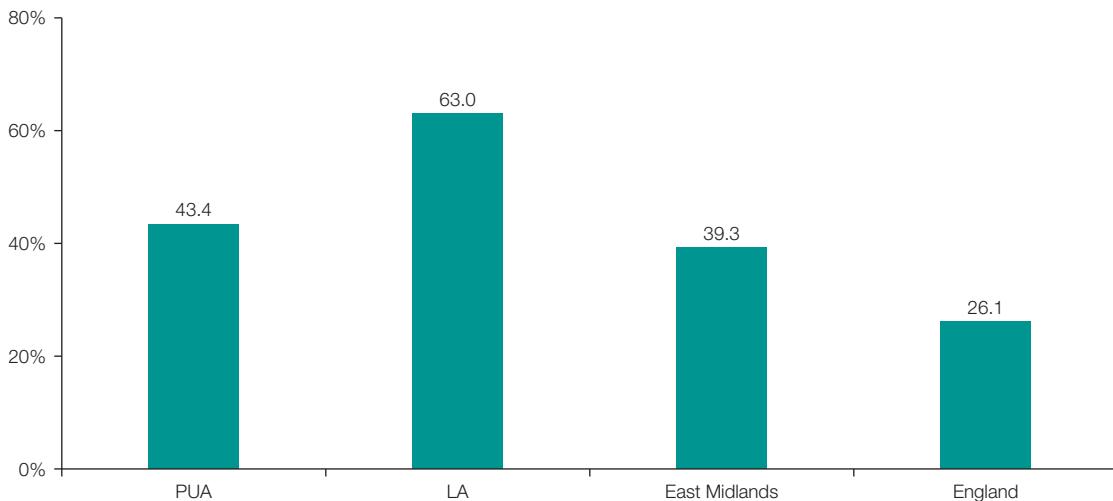
52. The reorganisation of local government in 1998 did not help Leicester because much of the administration stayed with the County Council. Shortly afterwards, 30 of Leicester's schools were described as failing by the school inspector. Some were closed down as a result and others were merged. These and other initiatives have helped to reduce the number of failing schools to four. However, underachievement remains a big issue and one of the unintended consequences of the pressure to raise standards has been to exclude disruptive children. Alternative provision has been made available but this has had limited success and attendance is poor. Many of those concerned have failed to gain any qualifications. This is clearly linked to the increase in disaffected youth and the need to find alternative ways of encouraging their participation in economic and social life.
53. Residential segregation in Leicester is reflected in relatively segregated schools, which creates various challenges for management and integration. In addition, some 4,000 children leave Leicester every day to commute to secondary schools in the surrounding districts, believing they are better. Spare places in Leicester tend to be limited to under-performing schools in white working class peripheral estates. This is where children of recent settlers get bussed out to, despite the contrasting environment and the additional burden this places on schools that are already stressed. A major capital investment programme funded by the government is now imminent, encompassing further education colleges as well as schools. It is a unique opportunity to transform Leicester's educational estate.
54. In addition, a unique School Development Support Agency has been established to advise and assist head teachers, to provide continuing professional development for all teachers and to promote race equality. Its improvement agenda focuses on educational performance and broader cultural development in primary as well as secondary schools. It is based on a belief that conventional educational provision has been ill-suited to the needs of BME children, so has undermined their self-esteem and de-motivated them. The narrow national curriculum, preconceived teacher expectations of pupils and the whole standards agenda have tended to disadvantage and exclude those from minority backgrounds. Instead, there is much more emphasis

on broadening out what is provided and introducing new, more relevant activities in and out of school. Raising cultural awareness and broadening horizons among teachers and pupils is a key objective, along with the promotion of progressive values such as caring, nurturing and community empowerment. Leicester's cultural diversity is believed to offer a considerable resource for learning and motivation if effective exchange and interaction can be achieved.

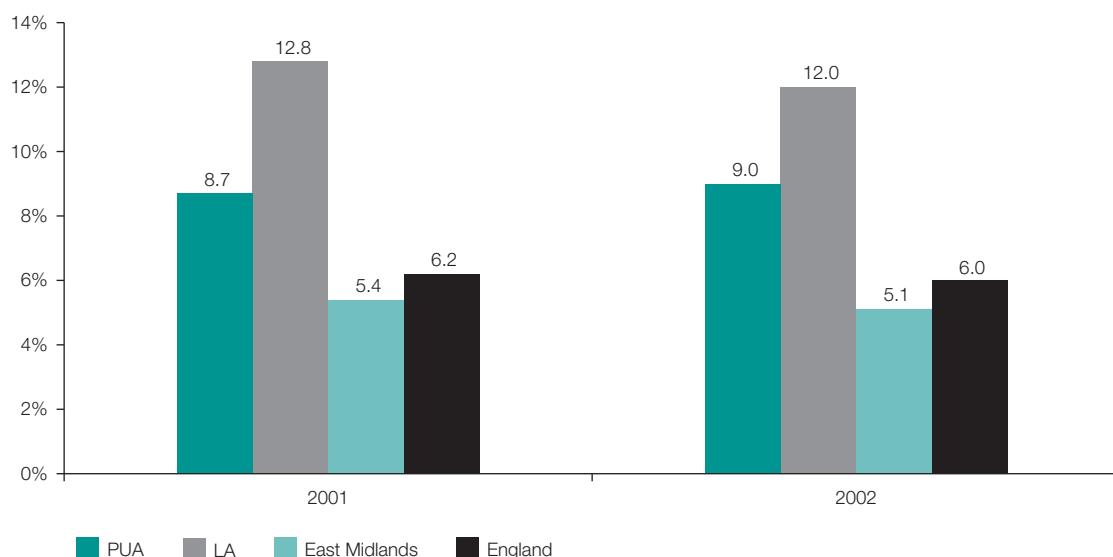
*(iii) Housing*

55. Part of the explanation for contemporary racial segregation in Leicester is the original settlement pattern of BME groups. In several other English cities, intense competition for public housing in the 1960s and 1970s caused racial conflict. In Leicester, hostility to the allocation of council housing to Ugandan Asians, at a time when there were nearly 10,000 existing people on the waiting list, coupled with a fear of physical attacks, forced ethnic minorities to settle in neighbourhoods where there was cheap private accommodation available (Marett, 1988). These were inner city areas designated for redevelopment and being vacated by their original white occupants, such as Belgrave and Highfields. Here accommodation was affordable and there was greater security and support from living in an enclave of people in similar circumstances. Meanwhile, whites had moved or were moving out to the new peripheral housing estates mentioned above.
56. Since the 1970s, this pattern of segregation has been reinforced by further immigration and natural growth of the Asian population in the inner city, with locational decisions influenced more by choice and less by fear. However, it has also been diluted by some of the more affluent Asian and black households moving to the suburbs. There has traditionally been less segregation between whites and black Caribbeans because some of the latter gained access to council housing (Rex and Singh, 2004).
57. The quality and value of the housing stock in the Leicester LA area remains significantly lower than that of the wider region and nation. The proportion of unfit housing is double the national average and the proportion of properties in the lowest council tax band is more than double. This reflects the level of local incomes as well as the physical condition of the stock. There is more rented accommodation and less owner occupied property in Leicester than nationally. The housing is also inferior to that of the rest of Leicester PUA, which is part of the explanation for suburbanisation. Two other factors that affect people's residential choices are schools and wider neighbourhood characteristics. All three features are the focus of policy efforts from the City Council and LRC.

**Figure 2: Percentage of properties in Council Tax band A 2001**



**Figure 3: Percentage of housing unfit**



#### *(iv) Crime*

58. Crime is perceived to be an important issue by Leicester residents. Indeed it is the top priority of the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy. About half of all reported crimes are theft/burglary or drugs related, about a quarter involve anti-social behaviour and criminal damage, and a quarter involve violence. The pattern is similar to the national picture, although the rates are generally in the top quartile for England (see appendix). Over the last 10 years violent crime has been rising while burglary and robberies have been falling. This follows national trends, although violent crime has been rising more quickly and burglary and robberies have been falling slightly more quickly. The police believe that most of the crimes involving theft are drugs related and caused by chaotic drug users. Drug taking may be linked indirectly to poverty and inequality.

59. Violent crime includes assault, domestic violence, sexual offences and murder. Some of these crimes are low volume but have a disproportionate effect on the fear of crime because of their violence. Violent crime is also estimated by the police to cost Leicester residents about £80m in lost earnings, out of a total cost of all crime of about £110m.
60. There are mixed messages about racial or ‘cohesion’ crimes. The police report far fewer incidents associated with racial hatred than drugs. They believe that there is generally a high level of tolerance and respect between groups and communities, and that Leicester has become a far more cosmopolitan city than it was in the 1970s. However, there are some grounds for concern. The number of racist incidents recorded by the police in Leicester City has risen steadily over the last four years of available data from 546 in 1999-2000 to 887 in 2003-04, ie an increase of 60 per cent. Roughly half of these involve verbal abuse, one fifth involve criminal damage and the rest are unclassified but include assault and graffiti. About three-quarters of the victims were non-white and three-quarters of the alleged perpetrators were white. A voluntary organisation that offers legal advice to ethnic minorities has also recorded a rising trend of incidents of racial crime and harassment reported to them in the last few years. Other interviewees suggested that recent migrants to the city have to stay away from the city centre at certain times (such as home fixtures for the football team) to avoid trouble.

## **7. Governance and policy**

### *(i) Neighbourhoods*

61. We begin this discussion at the neighbourhood level before moving to the city and city-regional levels. There has been a lot of emphasis on neighbourhood working over the years in Leicester in recognition of significant disparities in socio-economic conditions across the city. The connections between unemployment, poverty, educational attainment, housing and environmental conditions, crime and other characteristics are very tangible at this scale. Public bodies have also recognised the benefits of community involvement in terms of securing valuable information and gaining support for new initiatives.
62. During the 1980s and 1990s neighbourhood regeneration initiatives tended to focus on the most deprived inner city areas with large BME populations. There were also problems of unemployment and poverty emerging in some of Leicester’s peripheral council estates, but they seemed less severe according to the statistical and visual evidence. Pressure to secure new sources of political support and then to consolidate the ethnic vote also encouraged the council to be favourably disposed towards the inner city wards. Subsequent methods of allocating regeneration funding involved competitive bidding which tended to reflect but also reinforce the ethnic, cultural and religious divisions between communities.
63. The first major partnership initiative was City Challenge in the early 1990s. The focus was on physical improvement of a district just to the north-west of the city centre, including new business units and housing. However, it was not very successful at regenerating the area and whatever progress it made was not sustained. There was a

tension between local needs and the requirements of the city as a whole that was never properly resolved. The short-term nature of the funding also meant that community organisations that were set up at the time did not survive. This continued a pattern established during the 1980s under the Urban Programme.

64. Leicester's bid for Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Round 1 funding in 1995 was unsuccessful. It was essentially a collection of disparate projects proposed by different community organisations across the city and lacked a strategic, co-ordinated approach. The next bid for SRB Round 2 (1996-2001) was successful. It had a clear geographical focus on an area immediately to the north-east of the city centre and aimed at improving the ring road and redeveloping run down premises in order to safeguard and create jobs. However, in hindsight it is believed that the basic strategy was poorly conceived and there were few lasting benefits for the area.
65. When SRB Round 4 was announced in 1997, the City Council announced its intention to lead a bid for the Belgrave area. Community organisations in Braunstone believed there were political motives behind this choice of area and that their own neighbourhood had a stronger case on objective measures of deprivation and lack of community facilities. Consequently, they mounted a rival bid against the advice of the City Council, but with the support of some other public agencies. In the event, both bids were approved by the Government Office for the East Midlands (GOEM). However, Braunstone residents continued to feel that the City Council did not do enough to support their efforts through its mainstream programmes, and the funds available locally remained small.
66. When the more substantial New Deal for Communities programme was launched by the new Labour Government, the City Council once again invited the poorest neighbourhoods to make a case for becoming Leicester's nomination. Evidence of need was the decisive factor this time and Braunstone won selection as a result. The Braunstone Community Association (BCA) was formed to take the government at its word and pursue a genuine bottom-up approach, with community ownership of assets to generate a sustainable revenue stream to fund future activity. The City Council took a back seat in preparing the bid and in its subsequent implementation.
67. However, left to their own devices, the community struggled with the complexity of implementation, including interpretation of the rules about what could and could not be done and the general bureaucracy of handling public money. Damaging divisions emerged within the community and the initiative suffered from a lack of skills and experience in consultation, conflict resolution and project management. After two years of faltering delivery the GOEM withdrew authority from the BCA, took direct control and replaced the senior staff. In 2004 it returned control to the BCA with an extension to 2008.

#### *(ii) City-wide*

68. Leicester Partnership has been the main institution established to pursue a co-ordinated city-wide strategy towards promoting diversity and tackling neighbourhood deprivation. It was set up in the mid-1990s to oversee preparation of the SRB bids and then reactivated to form the Local Strategic Partnership in 1999. However, most interviewees suggest that it has not been very effective at developing an integrated

approach towards deprivation. It has maintained separate strands of activity with a rather short-term horizon. Leicester City Council has also dominated the Partnership for much of the time, with limited serious engagement from other key public organisations.

69. Part of the problem was the strength of the City Council's main departments, which resisted efforts at co-ordination and attempts to prioritise the needs of particular areas. In addition, there were so many special initiatives and projects across the city that co-ordination was genuinely difficult. The existence of a separate economic development partnership covering the wider territory of Leicestershire undermined the ability to connect economic and social policies.
70. Since the 2003 local elections, the situation has begun to change and several interviewees suggest the LSP may be becoming more strategic. It has reviewed its aims and objectives and clarified the role that community-based organisations are expected to play. It has also consulted more extensively and seems to be enlisting greater support from key partners such as the police and health authority. This has been most successful where the organisation concerned has something obvious to gain from targeting deprived areas, such as better access to key client groups for Jobcentre Plus or Connexions. Political leadership from the Council is generally acknowledged to be critical to the LSP's success, but this remains fragile so the longer-term outlook is uncertain. With only six staff, the LSP also lacks basic capacity to organise collaborative activities.
71. Local officials express frustration at the lack of government understanding of these resource constraints and the bureaucratic demands made of the LSP. Government targets and delivery agreements are also short and medium-term, and there are no direct incentives for many of the partners to co-operate, both of which detract from the ability to mobilise the long-term commitment required to transform deprived areas. Some of the partners express concerns that the recent Local Area Agreement between central government and the local authority could have the effect of undermining local partnership working and reinforcing local authority control.

*(iii) City-Region*

72. The institutional architecture of the Leicester conurbation and East Midlands region complicate strategic decision making. Having three cities of broadly similar size within the region, the GOEM and EMDA are pulled in different directions. Interviewees in Leicester believe that Nottingham generally comes out best, especially with the headquarters of both organisations. EMDA is not considered to have been very helpful to Leicester, although the LRC is more positive about its support for two of their major regeneration projects. An additional complication arises from the artificial boundaries of the GOEM and EMDA sub-regions (and their lack of correspondence with local economic partnerships), which are believed to reflect the government's desire not to reinforce the inherited county boundaries.

73. The main criticism that emerges of the Learning and Skills Council is that its targets are based on government priorities with little scope for adaptation to distinctive local needs and insufficient emphasis on inclusion of the most disadvantaged young people. The Small Business Service is thought to be remote and insufficiently responsive to the needs of indigenous manufacturing firms in Leicester. The Midlands Way is a very recent initiative for strategic economic development and it is too soon to say how beneficial this may be for Leicester. Its basic focus on cities as economic drivers is certainly welcomed within the city.
74. Tensions between the County and City Councils are long-standing and inhibit collaboration for the benefit of both areas. They hold back coherent spatial planning and provision of transport and education programmes for the conurbation. For instance, it is widely believed that park and ride facilities at or near the urban edge are increasingly important for Leicester to function as a successful regional service centre where people can shop, work, study and visit without adding to local congestion. However, this would require the County Council to make land available for car parking facilities, which it has so far been reluctant to do. These tensions may reflect deeper attitudes among sections of the public. Recent interviews with people living in surrounding towns found that:

“The views from the Leicester shires of Leicester were far more negative than encountered elsewhere. The ethnic diversity of Leicester comes up frequently, usually in negative tones. By contrast, people in Leicester were favourable about the county and its county towns” (Comedia, 2004, p.6).

## **8. The role of central government**

75. The role of central government has been important in several respects. It is widely considered to have played a positive role in the following ways:
- Legislation on race relations and equalities has provided an important foundation of rights for different ethnic, cultural, gender and religious groups and a basis for tackling many of the overt expressions of discrimination in places of work and recreation, and in public spaces. The requirement that public bodies establish formal procedures on equal opportunities has helped to ensure a more representative workforce.
  - A range of special initiatives have helped to shine a spotlight on particular issues in Leicester and brought additional resources to bear, at least for a period. They include area-based initiatives on education, health and renewal.
  - The government has been a useful prompt by requiring local strategies and partnerships to be established on subjects such as culture, community safety, community cohesion and regeneration. New ideas have been introduced as a result and new networks created across the city.

76. Some of the ways in which central government has been less helpful are as follows:

- There has been insufficient financial support for public services to cope with the special needs of new arrivals in the city and to help assimilate them into the community. This includes education, social care, housing and health. For instance, Leicester City Council estimates that the extra cost to the education service of a recent group of Somali immigrants has been £1.5m per annum for special language tuition and related support.
- The desire of government to initiate action on a range of issues has resulted in too many special initiatives and partnerships. This creates a temporary disturbance to established patterns of activity, some of which are constructive. However, the scale and range of initiatives and partnerships is simply unsustainable, especially as they all have detailed administrative procedures and reporting requirements associated with them. There are no incentives to encourage sustained partnership working between the key public organisations, and the focus on target setting and performance indicators tends to undermine this.
- Special funding streams can also distort local activity in a negative way by encouraging grant chasing and distracting organisations from the principal challenges facing the locality and the effective management of mainstream programmes. Government is often insensitive to the challenges of policy implementation. Area-based initiatives have sometimes exacerbated social tensions and created resentment on the part of neighbourhoods that perceive they have been neglected.
- The community cohesion agenda risks ambiguity and displacement of other important challenges. There is a danger of a superficial focus on promoting cultural events and playing sport together to the neglect of deeper social inequalities and segregation.
- Aspects of the government's agenda on education do not sit comfortably with cohesion objectives. The curriculum takes little account of pupils' diverse ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds; the focus on standards results in the exclusion and failure of disadvantaged young people; the emphasis on parental choice undermines the inner city, and there is not enough attention devoted to primary schools, where a real difference can be made to children's trajectories.
- Policy co-ordination and consistency is extremely difficult at the local level if national and regional organisations retain separate agendas with contrasting objectives. A more consistent emphasis across the board on cities, economic growth and social cohesion is important. Leicester also needs increased support from government agencies for economic development within the city, including help with industrial diversification and improved physical infrastructure.
- The Sustainable Communities Plan is viewed as a threat to Leicester if towns such as Northampton, Peterborough and Milton Keynes secure substantial additional resources for infrastructure and public services, and therefore become more attractive locations for job-creating investment.

## 9. Conclusion

77. Three key issues for social cohesion in Leicester are as follows:

- The city's weak economy and vulnerability to low cost international competition creates an unfavourable context for building strong inter-cultural relationships and social inclusion. High levels of unemployment and worklessness, linked with extensive poverty and deprivation, mean that sizeable sections of the population are under pressure and feel threatened by competition for scarce jobs and public resources. New settlers put additional strains on already stretched public services, particularly in poor neighbourhoods which creates resentment from existing communities. One of Leicester's main mechanisms for improving social cohesion must be to strengthen economic development and create more employment opportunities within the city. It is vital that the major regeneration projects in the pipeline are delivered on time and to a high quality that lifts general expectations and alters external and internal perceptions of the city.
- Extensive racial segregation makes it difficult to address many other forms of social division and institutional separation. When people live apart, the scope for interaction between different cultural, ethnic and religious communities in schools, recreation, entertainment and other aspects of everyday life is diminished. It is also harder to establish a shared vision for the city, common values and aspirations, and a sense of belonging. Although integration cannot be imposed on people, with imagination and leadership there are bound to be measures that can be taken to encourage it. Greater social interaction and cross-cultural initiatives may be a useful first step, through music, sport, learning, drama and other creative activities. This should help to boost the number of informal networks to complement the more formal ones that exist.
- Good mainstream public services can make a big difference to the life chances and living standards of disadvantaged groups, and thereby reduce inequalities and facilitate social cohesion. Leicester faces continuing challenges in education, health, social services, public transport, housing and community safety. Better co-ordination of services can enhance their quality and more transparent decisions can help to avoid suspicion of bias and unfairness. The balance between targeted and universal provision needs to be kept under regular review.

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## Organisations and people interviewed

Leicester City Council Leader  
Councillor Chair of Education and Community Cohesion Committees  
Chair of Leicester Partnership  
Manager of Leicester Partnership  
Chair of Neighbourhood Renewal Partnership  
Chief Executive of Learning and Skills Council  
Director of Regeneration  
Three senior officials responsible for community cohesion  
Head of Urban Regeneration Company  
Senior official in health authority  
Senior official in police authority  
Head of School Development Support Agency  
Chief Executive of Leicester Centre for Integrated Living  
Chair of Cultural Strategy Partnership  
Chief Executive and two Managers of Braunstone Community Association  
Chair of Leicester Council of Faiths  
Race Equality Council  
Afro-Caribbean Citizens Forum  
Staff at local television station and two community centres  
Two senior academics

## Statistical appendix

### Economic activity

	<b>Leicester</b> (numbers)	<b>Leicester</b> (%)	<b>E Midlands</b> (%)	<b>Britain</b> (%)
Economically active	123,000	70.7	79.0	78.2
In employment	110,000	63.0	75.3	74.3
Employees	99,000	56.9	66.3	64.8
Self employed	10,000	5.6	8.6	9.0
Unemployed	13,000	10.9	4.7	5.0
Economically inactive	51,000	29.3	21.0	21.8
Wanting a job	15,000	8.4	5.2	5.7
Not wanting a job	36,000	20.9	15.8	16.1

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: Percentages are based on working age population, except unemployed which is based on economically active

### Employment by occupation

	<b>Leicester</b> (numbers)	<b>Leicester</b> (%)	<b>E Midlands</b> (%)	<b>Britain</b> (%)
Soc 2000 major group 1-3	35,000	31.7	37.0	40.5
1 Managers and senior officials	12,000	10.7	13.9	14.6
2 Professional occupations	12,000	10.6	10.7	12.1
3 Associate professional & technical	11,000	10.1	12.3	13.8
Soc 2000 major group 4-5	25,000	22.6	24.6	24.4
4 Administrative & secretarial	13,000	11.9	12.4	13.0
5 Skilled trades occupations	12,000	10.5	12.1	11.4
Soc 2000 major group 6-7	19,000	16.7	15.7	15.5
6 Personal service occupations	9,000	8.4	7.4	7.5
7 Sales and customer service occs	9,000	8.2	8.2	8.0
Soc 2000 major group 8-9	32,000	29.0	22.7	19.6
8 Process plant & machine operatives	16,000	14.0	10.0	7.7
9 Elementary occupations	17,000	14.8	12.6	11.8

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: Percentages are based on all persons in employment

## Qualifications

	<b>Leicester</b> (numbers)	<b>Leicester</b> (%)	<b>E Midlands</b> (%)	<b>Britain</b> (%)
NVQ4 and above	33,000	18.7	22.2	25.2
NVQ3 and above	59,000	33.7	41.4	43.1
NVQ2 and above	83,000	47.6	59.7	61.5
NVQ1 and above	104,000	59.7	75.7	76.0
Other Qualifications	27,000	15.6	7.6	8.8
No Qualifications	43,000	24.7	16.6	15.1

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: All figures are for working age

## Earnings by residence

	<b>Leicester (£)</b>	<b>East Midlands (£)</b>	<b>Britain (£)</b>
<b>Gross weekly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	379.1	439.4	475.8
Male full-time workers	410.0	480.5	525.0
Female full-time workers	324.0	363.6	396.0
<b>Hourly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	9.5	11.0	12.0
Male full-time workers	10.1	11.6	12.8
Female full-time workers	#	9.6	10.6

Source: New Earnings Survey: residence based statistics (2003)

Note: Average earnings in pounds for employees living in the area

**Employee jobs**

	<b>Leicester</b> (numbers)	<b>Leicester</b> (%)	<b>E. Midlands</b> (%)	<b>Britain</b> (%)
Total employee jobs	155,889	-	-	-
Full-time	109,183	70.0	66.7	68.1
Part-time	46,706	30.0	33.3	31.9
Manufacturing	27,037	17.3	18.3	12.6
Construction	5,441	3.5	4.7	4.4
Services	120,841	77.5	75.0	81.4
Distribution, hotels & restaurants	32,297	20.7	24.8	24.7
Transport & communications	5,301	3.4	5.7	6.0
Finance, IT, other business activities	26,747	17.2	14.4	19.8
Public admin, education & health	49,965	32.1	25.7	25.8
Other services	6,531	4.2	4.4	5.2
Tourism-related	9,240	5.9	7.5	8.1

Source: Annual Business Inquiry employee analysis (2003)

Note: Percentages are based on total employee jobs

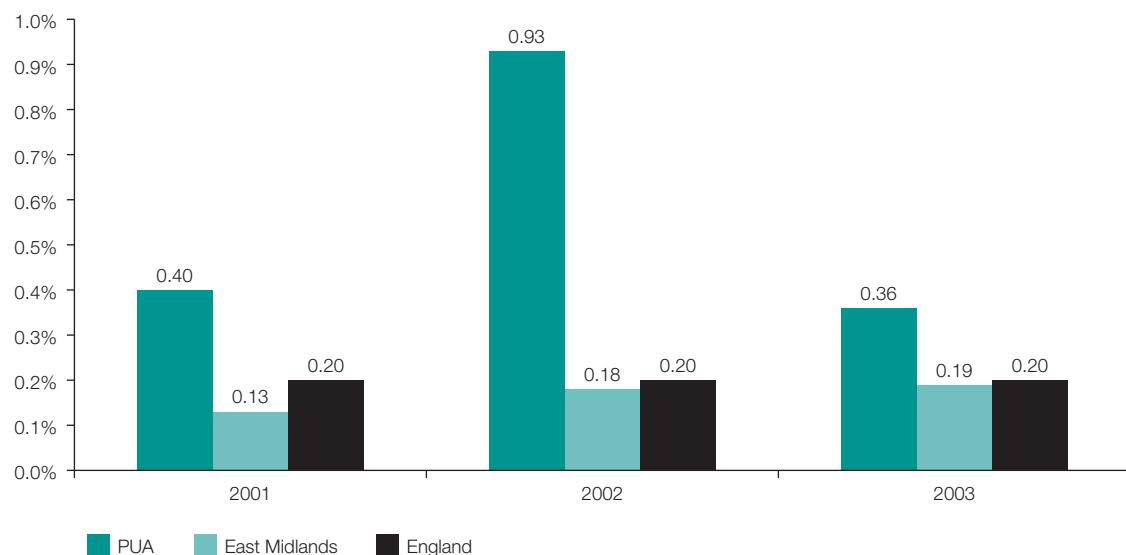
**Earnings by workplace**

	<b>Leicester (£)</b>	<b>East Midlands (£)</b>	<b>Britain(£)</b>
<b>Gross weekly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	397.3	428.6	475.8
Male full-time workers	420.3	467.3	525.0
Female full-time workers	361.9	357.4	396.0
<b>Hourly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	10.0	10.7	12.0
Male full-time workers	10.3	11.2	12.8
Female full-time workers	9.6	9.5	10.6

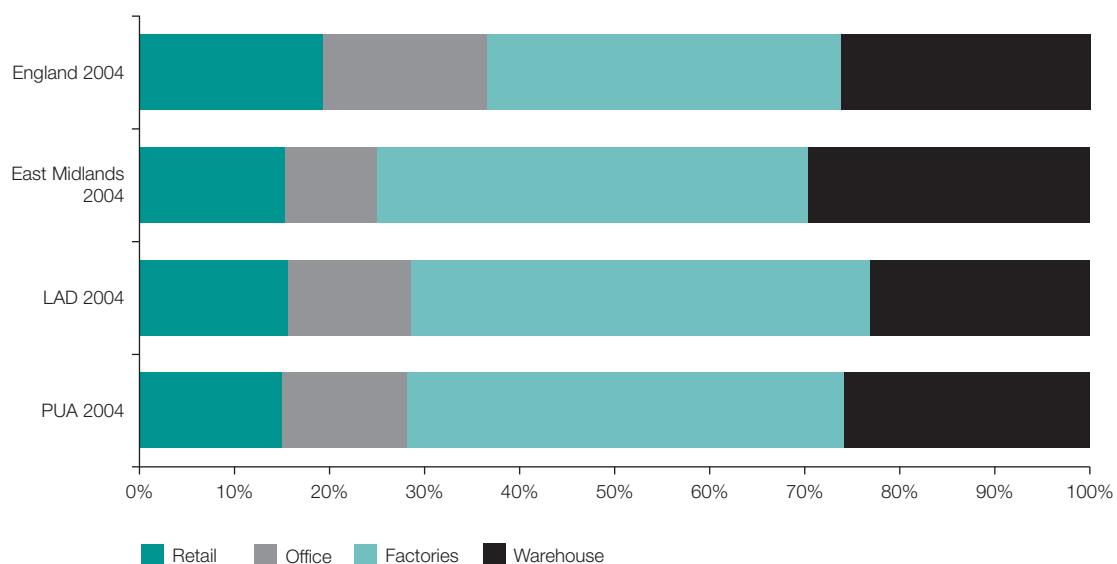
Source: New Earnings Survey: workplace based statistics by soc 2000 occupation (2003)

Note: Average earnings in pounds for employees working in the area

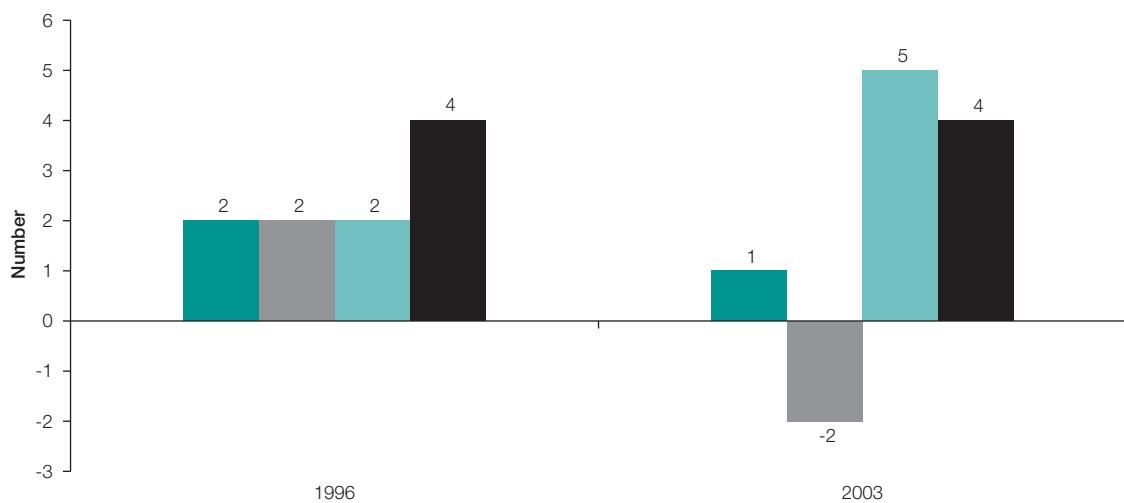
**Figure 4: Previously developed land derelict or vacant**



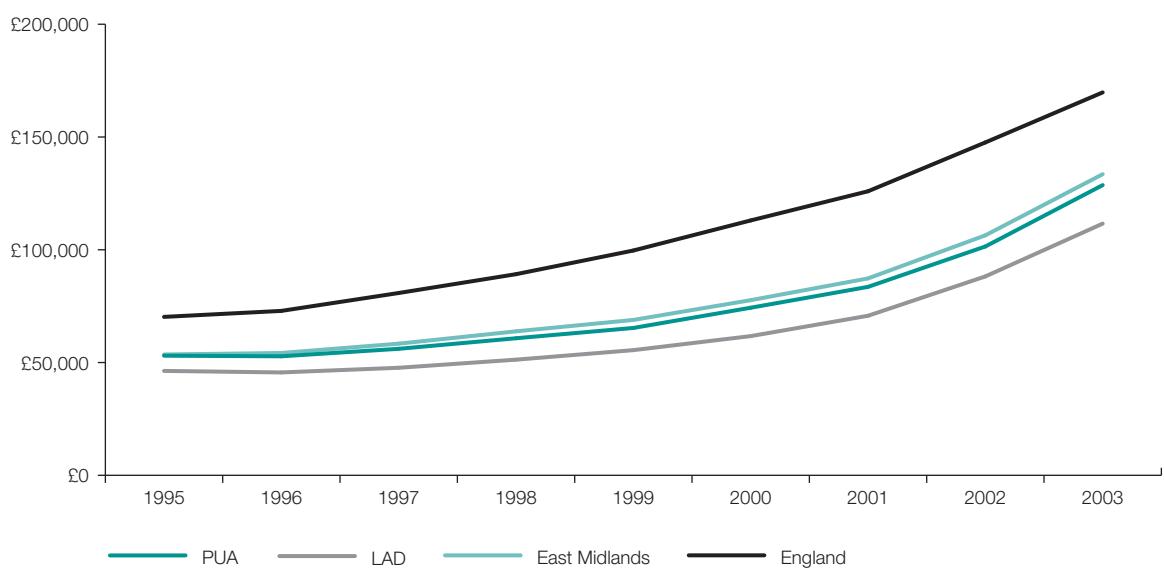
**Figure 5: Industrial floor space by class 2004**



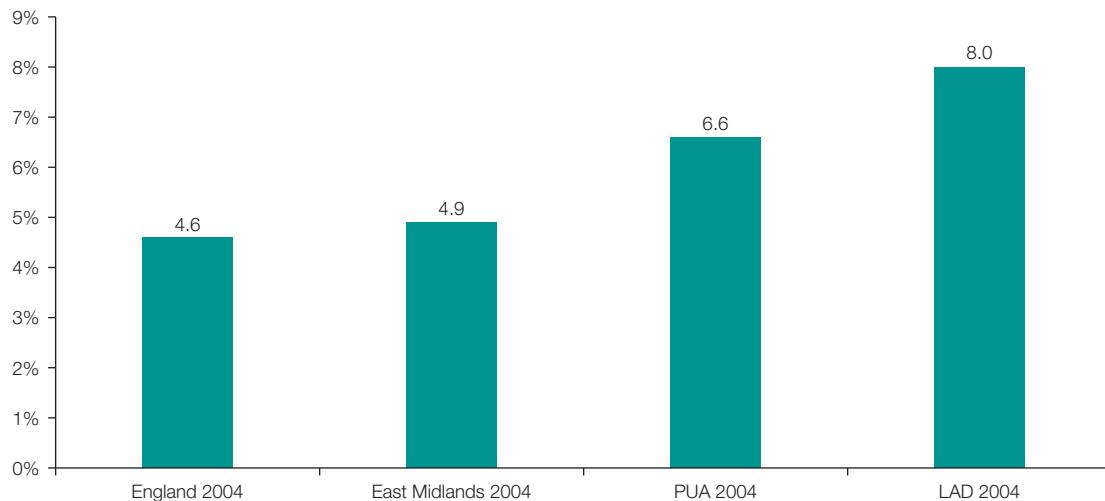
**Figure 6: Net VAT registrations per 10,000 population, 1996 & 2003**



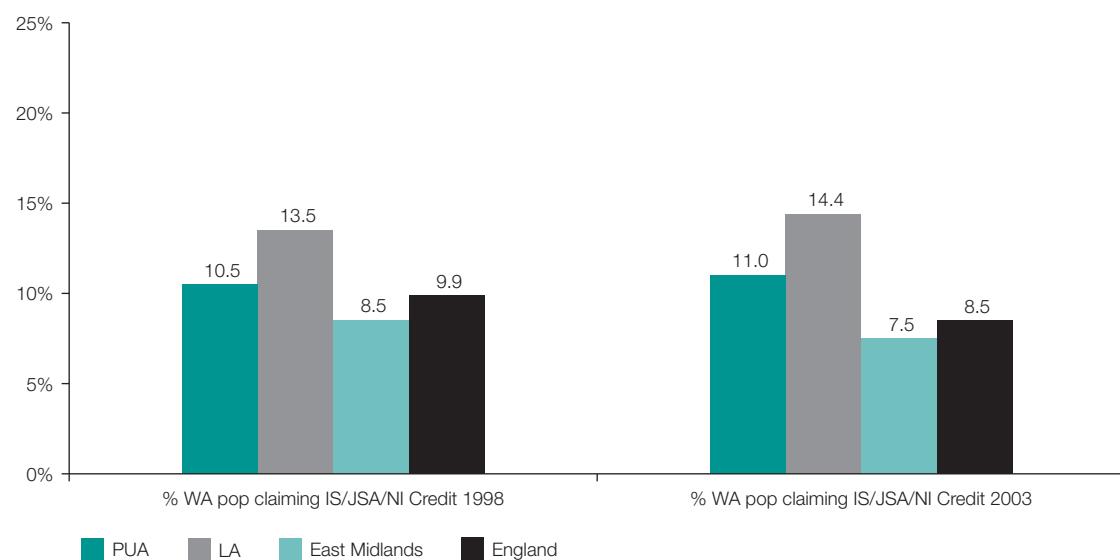
**Figure 7: Average house price – all property sold**



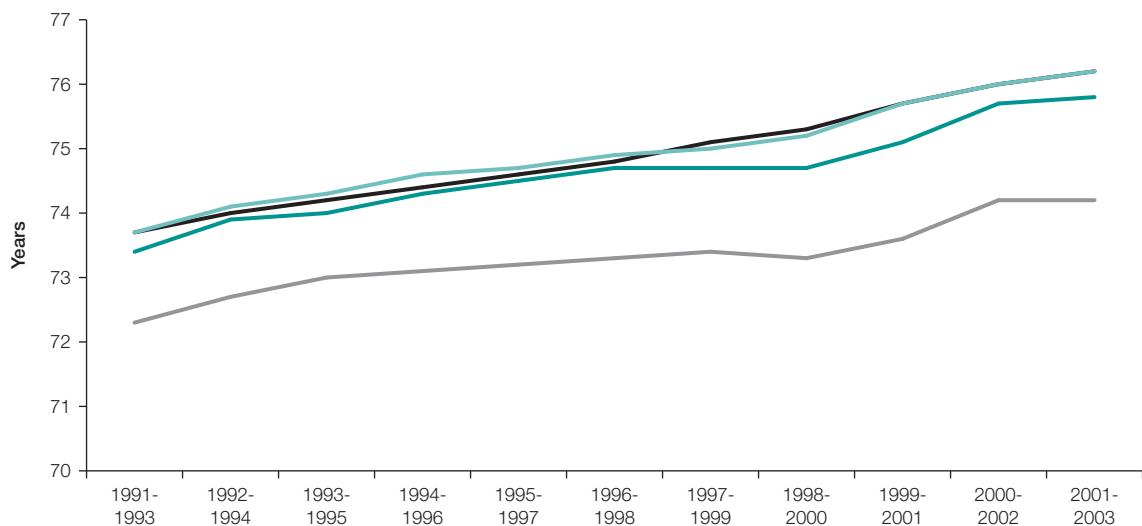
**Figure 8: Percentage of pupils completing compulsory education with no GCSEs**



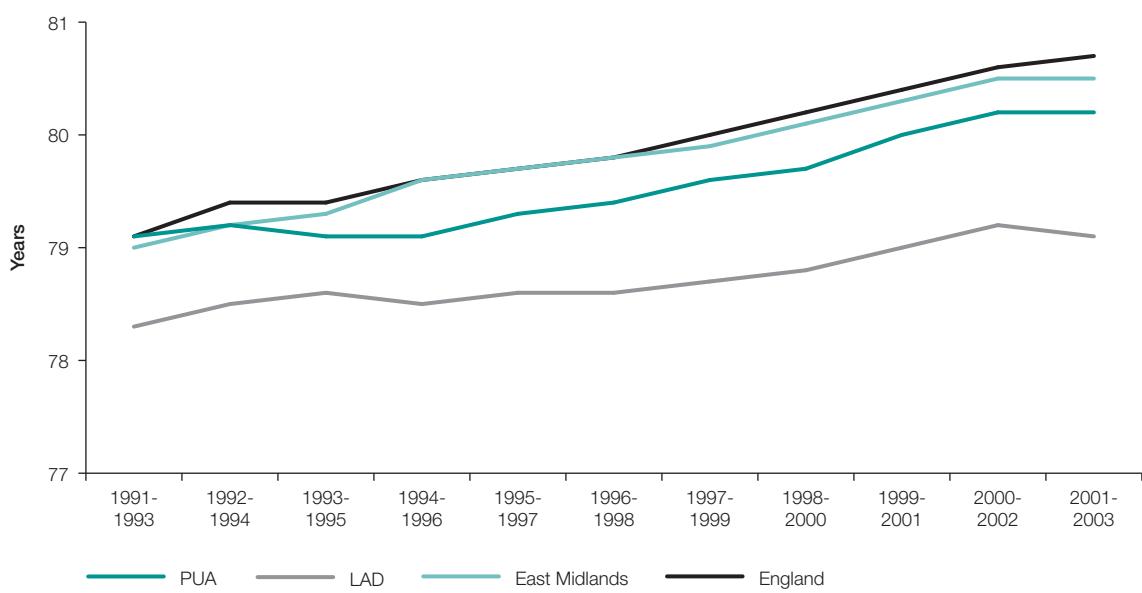
**Figure 9: Percentage of working age population in receipt of income support**

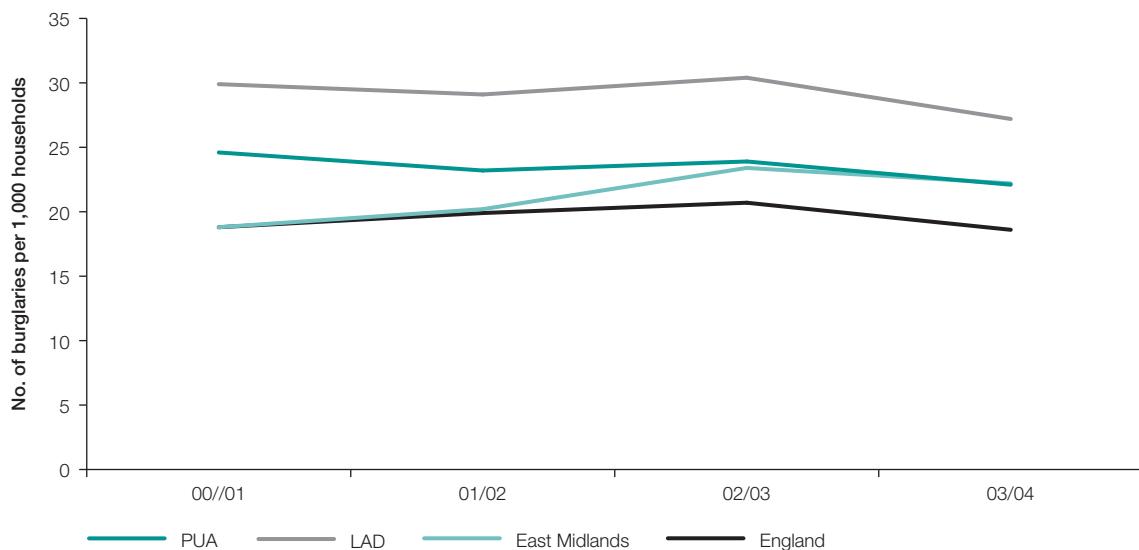


**Figure 10: Life expectancy males**



**Figure 11: Life expectancy females**



**Figure 12: Total number of burglaries per 1,000 households**

**Percentage of electorate voting in general elections constituency data (SOCD 26)**

PUA by constituency	1992	PUA by constituency	1997	2001
Blaby	83.4	Blaby	76.05	64.46
Bosworth	84.1	Charnwood	77.28	64.49
Harborough	82.11	Harborough	75.27	63.34
Leicester East	78.69	Leicester East	69.37	62.05
Leicester South	75.09	Leicester South	67.06	57.99
Leicester West	73.67	Leicester West	63.36	50.9
Loughborough	78.53	Rutland and Melton	75.02	64.95
Rutland and Melton	80.83			
East Midlands	N/a	East Midlands	73.3	60.9
England	N/a	England	71.50	59.20

## **PART 3:**

### **Case Study 3 – Burnley**

#### **Developing the place of Burnley**

##### **1. Introduction**

1. The purpose of this case study is to provide a broad assessment of social conditions in Burnley, taking into account the position of the Borough within the county and wider North West region<sup>6</sup>. The study looks at what has been achieved in the area over the past few years, especially since the disturbances of summer 2001, focusing on the policies and practices of the local authority and other public agencies with responsibility for development and services within the Borough.
2. The study commences by looking at recent circumstances in Burnley in terms of demographic, social and economic conditions. It then focuses on three key aspects of social cohesion that are pertinent to the future of the Borough, namely social order, community relations (and within that the role of education and housing), and place identity and attachment. Finally, the study considers aspects of governance and policy, highlighting the challenges of co-ordinating large policy sectors such as education, housing and the economy, and resolving contradictions and tensions between policies that emphasise greater consumer choice with those which promote cohesion.
3. The case-study draws upon a wide range of evidence, including:
  - reports and documents from a wide-range of stakeholders and local government departments operating in the area;
  - face-to-face interviews with 18 senior representatives from different policy sectors;
  - comments and written submissions from several local actors and organisations;
  - a variety of social and economic statistics for the area as well as local opinion survey evidence.

##### **2. A set of challenging circumstances**

###### ***Geography and demographics***

4. The Borough of Burnley has a population of around 89,000 concentrated in two towns, Burnley (the larger) and Padiham, and a number of villages. Burnley sits in the valley of the river Calder surrounded by hills on the edge of the South Pennine Moors, with West Yorkshire to the east, Greater Manchester to the south and the Lancashire Coast to the west.

<sup>6</sup> This case study was undertaken in 2005 and therefore reflects the situation at that time.

5. As well as having a rural backdrop, Burnley also has an attractive town centre: the Leeds-Liverpool canal runs through the middle of the town and combines with well-kept historic buildings, including the Weavers Triangle of Victorian mills and industrial premises, to create a pleasant historical environment in a modern setting.
6. Burnley is one of six local authority districts in East Lancashire, four of which, including Burnley, have populations of between 80,000 and 110,000 people. In contrast to the rest of the region, Burnley's population has been in long term decline: the population of the borough was as high as 99,000 in 1961; fell by nearly 2000 over the last decade; and is projected under current conditions to continue falling over the next twenty years. The age profile of the population of Burnley closely mirrors that of England and Wales, apart from the fact that there are a larger proportion of young people aged between 5 and 19 years old in Burnley.

### ***The economy and skills***

7. Burnley is still to a large extent a manufacturing town. In the late 19th century it was producing more cotton cloth than anywhere else in the world. The textile industry was later joined by other manufacturing industries and in 1950 the manufacturing sector employed 30,000 people in the borough. This has declined to just over 10,000 manufacturing jobs, but still accounts for 28 per cent of employment<sup>7</sup>, twice the national rate, and is seen as an important part of the Burnley's future. The decline in manufacturing in Burnley has not been as great as in other Pennine towns such as Blackburn and Oldham. The other two big sectors of employment in the borough are, firstly, health, education and public administration – in that order – (totalling 28 per cent of employment), and, secondly, distribution, hotels and restaurants (22 per cent).<sup>8</sup> Table 1 shows the unusual economic structure present in Burnley.

<sup>7</sup> Fourth Annual Economic Monitoring Report, Burnley Borough Council.

<sup>8</sup> NOMIS Official Labour Market Statistics, Labour Market Profile for Burnley.

**Table 1: Employees by sector, 2003 (% employees)**

<b>Sector</b>	<b>Burnley</b>	<b>North West</b>	<b>Britain</b>
Manufacturing	26	15	13
Construction	3	5	4
Distribution, hotels & restaurants	21	25	25
Transport & communications	5	6	6
Finance, IT & other business services	9	18	20
Public admin, education & health	30	27	26
Other services	5	5	5

Source: NOMIS official labour market statistics

8. The resulting social structure of the Borough is weighted towards the lower end of the spectrum, much more so than either the regional or national situations, as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: Social class structure (column %)**

<b>Social Class</b>	<b>Burnley LAD</b>	<b>North West</b>	<b>England</b>
A/B: professional & managerial	16	22	25
C1: skilled non-manual	24	28	30
C2: skilled manual	20	19	18
D: partly skilled	32	23	20
E: unskilled	8	7	6

9. Sectors identified within the North West region as potential growth areas have nonetheless declined significantly in size in Burnley over the past decade or two. This covers medium and high tech industries and advanced manufacturing including the aerospace industry, motor vehicle manufacture (mainly parts), electronics, non-electrical machinery and electrical appliances, plastics and pharmaceuticals. There has been recent slow growth in the borough in employment in regional high growth sectors such as environmental technologies, computer services and software, the creative industries and financial services.
10. According to national data, Burnley has a high rate of economic activity among its working age population (81 per cent compared to 78 per cent for Great Britain), and low unemployment (4.4 per cent compared with 5.0 per cent for Great Britain)<sup>9</sup>. However, recent analysis of JobCentre Plus data on benefit claims in Burnley indicates a higher rate of worklessness, at around a quarter of Burnley's working age population: including claim rates for Incapacity Benefit, Income Support and Job Seekers Allowance of 12.2 per cent, 9.6 per cent and 2.1 per cent respectively,

<sup>9</sup> NOMIS Official Labour Market Statistics 2003-4, Labour Market Profile for Burnley.

compared with rates for the North West region of 9.8 per cent, 7.3 per cent and 2.4 per cent.<sup>10</sup> This high level of worklessness is recognised to have implications for plans for advancement in educational attainment and for housing market renewal within the borough.

11. Burnley's other weaknesses include the fact that jobs are low wage, its workforce has low skills, and its economy has low levels of investment and productivity, as illustrated by the following facts<sup>11</sup>:
- 27 per cent of the population of Burnley have poor literacy skills, compared with 24 per cent across England. Similarly, the figures for poor numeracy are 29 per cent for Burnley and 24 per cent for England.
  - Pupil attainment at schools in Burnley is below the regional and national averages. Progress has however been made at primary level, with the gap between Burnley and Lancashire in the proportion of age 11 pupils achieving level 4 or above in the Key Stage 2 English test falling from 7 per cent in 2002 to just under 4 per cent in 2004, with a similar but smaller closing of the gap in Maths.<sup>12</sup> At secondary level, Burnley's overall rate of attainment of 5 good (A-C) GCSE passes has hardly changed in six years and at 44 per cent of pupils is 9 points lower than the county and England averages; here the gap has risen from 4 points in 1999<sup>13</sup> as a result of quicker progress in raising attainment elsewhere whilst overall attainment has remained static in Burnley.
  - 63 per cent of school leavers in Burnley remain in full time education, compared with 68 per cent across Lancashire. However, the number of pupils leaving school to enter jobs with training has risen, from 21 per cent in 2002 to 27 per cent in 2003.
  - Fewer people of working age in Burnley have a degree than nationally. Until recently this was half the national rate of 25 per cent, but recent data indicates an improvement to 21 per cent in Burnley.
  - Wage levels for employees in Burnley are 85 per cent of the average for the North West and 78 per cent of the British average.
  - Investment by firms in Burnley, expressed as net capital expenditure per person employed has ranged between 65 per cent and 78 per cent of the Lancashire average over a five-year period, and is typically half the UK average.
  - Gross value added per head for the Burnley economy stood at 68 per cent of the Lancashire average in 2001, and 81 per cent of the UK average.
  - Whilst Burnley businesses appear to perform well in terms of having websites and using email facilities, only 14 per cent of local firms engage in on-line trading, around half the UK level.

<sup>10</sup> Source: *Worklessness in Burnley 2004*, note to the BAP Social Inclusion and Employment Network.

<sup>11</sup> Source: Fourth Annual Economic Monitoring Report, Burnley Borough Council.

<sup>12</sup> Figures provided by Lancashire County Council.

<sup>13</sup> Source: School Attainment Tables on DfES website.

## **Deprivation**

12. Burnley is a very deprived borough. Out of 354 local authority districts in England, Burnley is ranked 37th or 46th most deprived, depending on whether one looks at neighbourhood deprivation scores or ranks. This puts it just behind its neighbour Blackburn with Darwen.<sup>14</sup>
13. Of 60 neighbourhoods (census super output areas) in Burnley, 14 are in the worst 10 per cent nationally – ie most deprived, containing 25 per cent of the borough's population. These neighbourhoods are located in 7 of Burnley's 15 wards: Bank Hall; Coal Clough with Deerplay; Daneshouse with Stoneyholme; Queensgate; Rosegrove with Lowerhouse; Rosehill with Burnley Wood; and Trinity.

## **Ethnic diversity and segregation**

14. Burnley has ethnic minority communities that comprise 8.2 per cent of the total borough population, equivalent to the proportion for Great Britain at the 2001 census. Burnley's ethnic minority population is almost entirely Asian, with the Pakistani population three times the size of the Bangladeshi population. Indians, who are the largest ethnic minority group in Britain, are low in number in Burnley, and whilst Indians make up 25 per cent of the ethnic minority population of Lancashire, they are only 6 per cent of Burnley's ethnic minority population.
15. The ethnic minority population in Burnley is younger than the white population and growing faster. Whilst the white population *decreased* by 6 per cent between 1991 and 2001, the non-white population *increased* over the same period by 43 per cent. Thus, their significance in the borough is going to rise in the future.
16. Table 3 shows that the Asian community in Burnley is very highly segregated from the majority white population, segregation only being very slightly higher in three other towns in the North West (and indeed in England). Segregation between the two main Asian groups is moderately high in Burnley, compared with being high in Blackpool and very high in Wakefield.

**Table 3: Measures of segregation for north western towns**

Town	White/Asian	Indian/Pakistani
Blackburn	0.73	0.29
Blackpool	0.43	0.67
Bradford	0.73	0.45
Bolton	0.65	0.47
Burnley	0.70	0.54
Preston	0.66	0.35
Rochdale	0.71	0.56
Wakefield	0.62	0.78
Warrington	0.39	0.58
Wigan	0.47	0.62

Table shows Index of Dissimilarity scores at Lower Layer Super Output Area level. A score of 60-69 is considered high spatial segregation and a score of 70+ very high

<sup>14</sup> Source: Burnley Snapshot 2005.

17. The Asian community in Burnley is highly concentrated into three wards<sup>15</sup>: *two out of three* residents in the Daneshouse with Stoneyholme ward are Asian or other ethnic minority, as are one-in-seven residents in the Bank Hall and Queensgate wards. Although Blackburn has larger concentrations of ethnic minorities, with two wards where four-in-five residents are non-white, Burnley exhibits greater clustering of minorities: thus, Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward contains 55 per cent of all ethnic minorities in the borough of Burnley, yet the two wards with the largest concentration of minorities in Blackburn each contain less than one-in-five of Blackburn's ethnic minority population; this clustering means that most wards in Burnley are at least 97 per cent white in character.
18. There is a strong association between ethnic minority clustering and the incidence of area deprivation<sup>16</sup>. If we look at the most deprived neighbourhoods in Burnley (ie amongst the 10 per cent most deprived census super output areas in England), these contain 19 per cent of the borough's white population but 66 per cent of the borough's ethnic minority population. However, it is also worth noting that notwithstanding this clustering, three-quarters of the population of Burnley's most deprived neighbourhoods as a whole are white.

### ***Community relations***

19. Burnley was one of three northern towns that experienced disturbances involving conflict between whites and ethnic minorities in the summer of 2001. Although the proximate cause of the initial disturbance may have been a dispute between criminal elements, possibly about drugs, the ensuing racial fighting and criminal damage over the next two days undoubtedly tapped into some underlying disharmony between whites and Asians in the town. This is also suggested by the findings of the Burnley (Clarke) Task Force's survey of residents which found that 63 per cent of people 'Expected something like this to happen', with the top three causes of the disturbances being identified as: racism by Asian people (58 per cent); basic lawlessness (57 per cent); and Asian and white communities not mixing (52 per cent).<sup>17</sup>
20. In the evidence it received, and in its own deliberations, the Task Force's work revealed a number of factors which have contributed to racial disharmony in the town, including:
  - Severe deprivation provides a context in which it is more difficult to develop racial harmony.
  - Area based and geographically restricted sources of public funding have led to claims of bias when those monies are spent in Asian areas. Even though there are significant white populations in the same areas, it is also the case that many poor whites live in other areas of the borough.
  - Service provision that has tended to be group specific in its staffing and targeting so that fairness and integration through service provision are not achieved.

<sup>15</sup> Source: Census table KS06N, data supplied by Burnley Borough Council.

<sup>16</sup> This analysis comes from the draft report on 'Managing Diversity in Northern Towns' commissioned by ODPM.

<sup>17</sup> Source: Burnley Task Force Report, 2001.

- There were few opportunities for the white and minority communities to mix and understand one another, leading to claims that the Asian communities made no effort to integrate with whites. Burnley lacks multicultural structures.
  - Divisions within the Asian communities prevent them having a strong voice and being included within Burnley's political and social structures.
  - Spatial concentration of the Asian community near the town centre causes an impression that the community is larger than in fact it is.
  - Race issues have been used for political advantage by right-wing councillors, highlighting funding for any services targeting ethnic minority communities in the local media. Ethnic minority groups criticised both the Independent group on the council and the British National Party for making the most of race issues for electoral gain, and in so doing undermining community relations. The BNP attracted 11 per cent of the vote in the 2001 general election and 21 per cent of the vote in local elections that year, making Burnley one of the BNP's most successful battlegrounds in the country.
21. Some of the strongest criticisms from the Task Force related to the way in which the Borough Council conducted its business, involving a lack of strategic direction; a lack of explanation for decisions and insufficient communication with the public; the perpetuation of competition between wards and their councillors, leading to ad hoc and parochial decision-making<sup>18</sup>; a lack of engagement with young people; the tolerance of a poor environment, together with a need for firmer ambitions, a stronger ethos and greater civic pride in the town. In the council's defence, it was noted that the leadership lacked support, and that the council had problems of lack of resources and issues relating to the structures of local government. Ethnic minority groups further claimed that the council was not serious about tackling racism in the area or promoting equality and was hampered by the fact that few if any key staff were from minority groups.

### *Housing*

22. One of the major issues recognised by the Clarke Task Force was that Burnley faces a 'serious housing situation'. Across the borough as a whole, half the housing stock consists of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century terraced housing, stone built and with no garden; this is twice the national rate of terraced housing. Housing conditions are poor, with between 40 and 60 per cent of the stock considered unfit in some inner wards and 27 per cent of the private sector stock unfit across the borough.
23. Private renting is high in inner Burnley, at up to 20 per cent of the stock in some areas, with absentee landlords themselves being a problem and contributing to under-investment and poor conditions. Over a third of Bangladeshis and over a fifth of all ethnic minorities in Burnley live in private rented housing. Residential turnover is high in inner neighbourhoods, with 30-40 per cent of private tenants having lived in the area for less than two years.

<sup>18</sup> The accusation of ad hoc or parochial decision-making during the 1990s is still disputed by some BBC officers and members, although they accept that mistakes were made.

24. Environmental conditions in inner Burnley are poor. There are large numbers of empty properties, eg 23 per cent of properties in the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme area, and high rates of vandalism, arson and burglary. In South West Burnley, the burglary rate reached three times the borough average at 99 per 1000 population in 2003. In Burnley Wood, the arson rate reached 42 cases per 1000 population, nearly three times the borough rate of 15.
25. With large numbers (73 per cent) of ethnic minority households living in two-up, two-down terraced housing, there is a high incidence of overcrowding. According to the 2001 census, 30 per cent of Burnley's ethnic minority households are overcrowded at more than 1.5 persons per room. In parts of inner Burnley (Daneshouse, Burnley Wood, South West Burnley) between 20 and 30 per cent of households are deemed to be in housing need, with a third to a half of these being due to overcrowding and others due to affordability issues, property condition, harassment and the need to receive or give support.
26. Neighbourhood attachment is low as a result. Across the borough, it was found (2003) that 19 per cent of households wanted to move within a year, rising to 33 per cent in inner wards; nearly half (46 per cent) of these potential movers wanted to relocate outside the borough or to the rural fringes of the borough. In the Daneshouse, Burnley Wood and South West Burnley areas, between half and three-quarters of residents are dissatisfied with the reputation of their neighbourhood. In a MORI survey in 2003, a third of people in Burnley felt 'very strongly' that they belonged to their neighbourhood, lower than in 9 of the other 11 districts in Lancashire<sup>19</sup>.
27. Aspirations to move may be frustrated by the fact that Burnley has been suffering housing market failure in many areas, resulting from economic decline, population loss and changing aspirations. Out of 12 postcode sectors covering the borough, there are 7 postcode sectors where terraced house prices *fell* between 1998 and 2002.<sup>20</sup> In the three postcode sectors suffering the biggest fall in prices, the average terraced house price in 2002 was £18,000. The average terraced house price in Burnley in 2004, at £40,500, was half that for the North West region and less than a third that for England and Wales. Over half the private dwellings in Burnley are considered to be in low demand. Many people in inner Burnley suffer negative equity and feel stuck as a result. The relative position of Burnley's housing market is illustrated in Table 4. It shows that house prices in Burnley are not much more than a third of the national average and are rising at just over half the national rate. The result is not only a sluggish housing market but also a much lower tax base for the Borough to draw upon, with the vast majority of properties in the lowest council tax band.

<sup>19</sup> Survey for the Boundary Commission for England.

<sup>20</sup> Source: Burnley Housing Market Restructuring Framework, 2003.

**Table 4. Burnley's housing market**

	% Properties in Council Tax Band A	Average Price £ of All Property Sold in 2003	Average Price £ of Semi-Detached Property 2003	% Change in All Property Prices 1995-2003
Burnley LAD	64	64,000	76,000	79
North West	44	112,000	103,000	116
England	26	170,000	143,000	142

### 3. Social cohesion issues: Social order and passive relationships

#### *Crime and anti-social behaviour*

28. Despite the impression given by coverage of the disturbances of 2001, Burnley is by no means a lawless town and many of the main issues about social order in the town are not race related. Having said that, the number of racial incidents recorded by the police in 2003, at 324 per 100,000 is more than twice that in other districts in East Lancashire.<sup>21</sup> This situation is acknowledged by the local Crime and Disorder Partnership who are taking pro-active steps to tackle race and hate crime.
29. Burnley's rates of vehicle crime and robbery are below the average for the 88 Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (most deprived) districts – see Table 5 – and in the latter case is also lower than the average for all districts in England. However, it suffers a problem of burglaries at a rate 40 per cent higher than across England, though this has fallen from its peak in 2000-01.

**Table 5. Crime rates, 2003-04 (Per 1000 households)<sup>22</sup>**

	Burnley	All 88 NRF LAs	England
Burglary	26.4	26.7	18.6
Robbery	1.0	3.6	2.0
Vehicle Crime	17.0	22.9	17.0

30. In terms of rates of victimisation, Burnley has the second highest rate in East Lancashire at 18 per cent of adults being victims in a year<sup>23</sup>, with the most common crimes experienced being property crimes related to damage to the home or car. Two sorts of crimes are much more prevalent in Burnley than elsewhere in the sub-region: firstly, assault, mugging and street theft and, secondly, verbal abuse and threatening behaviour.
31. For Burnley as a whole, people consider that the most important issues are to address anti-social behaviour (82 per cent identifying this as very important to the future of Burnley)<sup>24</sup> and reduce levels of alcohol and drug abuse (71 per cent); the

<sup>21</sup> Measuring Community Cohesion in East Lancashire: East Lancs Together, May 2005. We cannot tell whether these high figures for racial incidents reflect a greater confidence in reporting such crimes.

<sup>22</sup> Source: PSA Targets. Local Authority Profiles: Burnley, April 2005.

<sup>23</sup> Source: Feedback 2004 East Lancashire Community Safety Survey.

<sup>24</sup> Source: Burnley Citizens Panel Survey 2005.

latter being just ahead of an environmental concern about ensuring streets are clean and litter free. In general, there is more concern in Burnley about problems of alcohol misuse and the use of illegal drugs than in other parts of the county, with around one-in-four people considering that these problems have been on the increase lately. In the case of drugs, concern about increasing use is ten percentage points higher than in any other district in East Lancashire<sup>25</sup>. In fact, data from the Lancashire Constabulary and the Lancashire Drugs Action Team show that recorded crimes for drugs possession and presentations for drug treatment have both come down in Burnley in recent years, though they are still above the county averages.<sup>26</sup>

- 32. Problems relating to young people and anti-social behaviour are emphasised by the fact that Burnley's rate of recorded incidents of juvenile nuisance, at 57 per 1000 population, is some 40 per cent higher than the county average. The rate of juvenile nuisance is even higher at over 80 per 1000 incidents in two predominantly white wards in South West Burnley.<sup>27</sup>
- 33. At the neighbourhood level, environmental concerns are slightly more prevalent than problems of crime and anti-social behaviour. Nonetheless, at least four out of five people identify issues relating to young people hanging around and under-age drinking in public space as problems in their local area, slightly less than the half or more people who identify problems of litter, cars and dog mess.<sup>28</sup>

### **Safety**

- 34. People in Burnley feel unsafe in a number of circumstances, the most common of which are: on the canal towpath in the evenings and in the dark; in parks in the dark; at the unstaffed railway station and at the main railway station in the dark; and on buses or waiting for buses in the dark. In all these cases, around 30 per cent or more of those people who use such places feel 'fairly unsafe' or 'very unsafe'. Large numbers of people also feel unsafe about the town centre in the evenings at weekends and at times of football matches, with many avoiding the town centre at such times, although the incidence of feeling unsafe here is much lower among actual users.<sup>29</sup>
- 35. In terms of personal mistreatment, race is significant but by no means the only important factor. Around 8 per cent of people in Burnley feel 'very' or 'fairly worried' about suffering intimidation and harassment on the basis of their skin colour or ethnic heritage, but so do 7 per cent of people on the basis of their sexual orientation. Surpassing all these though is the 11 per cent of people who fear harassment due to their age. Thus, tolerance in Burnley is not only a matter of race. Indeed, concerns by some people for their safety and feeling of harassment by others may not be unrelated phenomena, since the most common reasons people in Burnley give for feeling less safe are their experiences of young people congregating in groups or drinking and causing trouble.<sup>30</sup>

25 Source: Feedback 2004 East Lancashire Community Safety Survey.

26 Source: Burnley Snapshot 2005 – facts and figures at a glance.

27 Source: Burnley Snapshot 2005 – facts and figures at a glance.

28 Source: Feedback 2004 East Lancashire Community Safety Survey.

29 Source: Burnley Citizens Panel Study 2003.

30 Source: Feedback 2004 East Lancashire Community Safety Survey.

## **Tackling the problems**

36. The response to the problems Burnley faces in relation to social order and safety has been developed and co-ordinated through the Burnley Community Safety Partnership (CSP) since 1998-99, chaired by the Chief Superintendent of the Pennine Division of the Lancashire Constabulary. The approach has been to focus on half a dozen key areas and to set challenging targets for progress. There are several important aspects of the strategy and the approach:
- Prevention: In relation to property crime, for example, this has entailed providing security to abandoned properties and to vulnerable households; and introducing alleygating in inner Burnley. In order to reduce anti-social behaviour, diversionary activities for young people are being provided by a Streetwise Project from Youth Services and through recreation services and sports.
  - Tackling the causes of crime: There is recognition that social issues are related to crime and disorder, in particular that most property crime (up to 70 per cent) is committed to fund drug use, and that violent crime in town centres is a function of alcohol consumption. For example, in relation to drug misuse, a Drugs Intervention Programme has been set up to direct users towards treatment, and a Drugs Street Agency is being established to give users access to social support and treatment services. Alcohol awareness sessions have been held in the town centre and in schools to change attitudes towards drinking.
37. There is also an acknowledgement that improvements to housing and the physical environment in run down areas will reduce opportunities for fire setting; deter serious criminal activity in local areas; and make people feel safer. This involves on the one hand taking action against littering and graffiti, and on the other hand, eradicating run down and empty properties through area improvement programmes.
- Partnership working: There is clearly more partnership working among public agencies involved in the CSP, but also with local communities and businesses. In Burnley town centre, work with pubs, off licenses and taxi firms has produced a range of safety initiatives including Burnley Against Night-time Disorder (BAND), Homesafe, and Serve-wise.
  - Enforcement: At the more serious end of the scale, persistent action against drug suppliers resulted in an increase in prosecutions by 142 per cent in the year 2003/4.<sup>31</sup> In addition, there has been increasing use of newer powers to issue Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, Dispersal Orders, Fixed Penalty Notices (eg for alcohol nuisance), and Acceptable Behaviour Contracts.
  - Neighbourhood and citizen focused policing: The local police service has reorganised its activities so that local communities are more aware of the police presence and feel more influential in what the police do. This has entailed providing a Community Beat Manager for each ward, working with Community Support Officers and Community Wardens. An initiative called Police and Community Together (PACT) gives communities an opportunity each month to

<sup>31</sup> Source: Burnley Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy 2005-08

identify issues for their Community Beat Manager to tackle. This whole approach is designed so that communities feel that there is someone responsible for safety in their area and who is responsive to their concerns.

- Better use of intelligence: There is a greater emphasis within the police service, and in collaboration with CSP members, to make better use of a wider range of sources of intelligence so as to be better able to take the pulse of the local community and identify emerging issues before they become significant problems. This may include identifying growing tensions between groups in the town, or pre-empting problems associated with forthcoming events, all of which is done via a monthly risk assessment meeting between the CSP partners.
- Prioritising hate crimes: Given the experience of the disturbances of 2001, it is important that the police and other public agencies send out a clear signal that hate crimes will not be tolerated and will be prosecuted. The Hate Crime and Diversity Unit within the local police monitors racial tension and hate-related activities in order to inform the Home Office and CSP of developments. The Unit also serves to encourage reporting of race crimes and to give confidence to the Asian community that the police take hate crimes seriously, so that the community does not need to take the law into its own hands.
- Together with the new approach to community policing, effective action against racist crimes should help develop a good working relationship with the Asian community in Burnley. This is of added importance in the fight against drug related crime involving young Asian men.

### ***Making progress?***

38. The Lancashire Constabulary and the Burnley Community Safety Partnership have made significant progress on several fronts over the past few years, most notably:
  - Crime reduction: Especially the achievement of a big reduction in property crime, including a 43 per cent reduction in burglary during 2004<sup>32</sup>.
  - Drug enforcement: There has been firm and persistent action on drug dealers. Most recently this has been progressed through action between the police and the Council's Anti-Social Behaviour Unit to close premises where it is suspected that Class A drugs are being used or supplied.<sup>33</sup>
  - Monitoring and controlling community tensions: Much greater effort is being put into gathering intelligence on local tensions and the activities of groups intent on fostering community friction, such that the police are much more confident that any inter-group conflicts can be contained and reduced quickly.
39. On the other hand, there are areas where progress has been slower, or where the people of Burnley appear to be still dissatisfied with progress in tackling crime and disorder, including:

<sup>32</sup> Source: Burnley Crime & Disorder Reduction Strategy 2005-08

<sup>33</sup> Copies of the Burnley Express front page story 'Kicked Out of Drugs Den' following the first such closure notice were delivered to suspected premises across the town in May 2005.

- Violent crime: A large proportion of violent crime takes place in Burnley town centre (c.40 per cent)<sup>34</sup>, and serious crimes have been increasing here, not reducing. This is not only a problem in itself but may hinder attempts to revitalise the town centre as such crime feeds people's fear of using the town centre.
  - Misuse of alcohol and drugs: A significant proportion of people in Burnley (at least one in four people) feel that the misuse of drink and drugs is getting worse, much more so than in other towns in East Lancashire.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, 7 out of 10 people feel that public agencies in Burnley are performing 'poorly' or 'not very well' in reducing levels of alcohol and drug abuse.<sup>36</sup>
  - Juvenile nuisance: The number of incidents of juvenile nuisance has been increasing, from 45 per 1000 population in 2001-02 to 57 per 1000 in 2003-04. At the same time, 6 out of 10 people in Burnley consider the performance of relevant agencies in tackling anti-social behaviour to be 'poor' or 'not very good'.<sup>37</sup>
40. These are problems which bedevil many towns and cities in Britain, and the fact that they are on the increase reflects the consequences of educational, economic and cultural developments and performance as much as the performance of the authorities. However, the authorities should be concerned about the fact that over 40 per cent of people in Burnley who experience crimes do not report all of them to the police, with the main reason being a belief that the police would not take any action in the circumstance in question. Other significant reasons cited for non-reporting are fear of intimidation and fear of a racist or homophobic response.<sup>38</sup>
41. Recently, Burnley's work on crime and community safety was assessed by the Audit Commission, which concluded that the council provided a good (two-star) service that has excellent prospects for improvement.<sup>39</sup> Echoing our own findings, the Council's identified strengths included good work on community cohesion with young people, good partnership working and a clear commitment to make further improvements in community safety. Weaknesses included a need to identify how council services impacted on community safety and make changes in service delivery where required, and, worryingly, a noted low level of reported racially motivated incidents.

#### **4. Social cohesion issues: Active social relationships and inclusion**

##### *Taking the pulse of community relations in Burnley*

42. Burnley's Community Plan, developed by its Local Strategic Partnership – Burnley Action Partnership – acknowledges that Burnley has 'a serious lack of community harmony'. Survey evidence from the town confirms this to be the case, as shown in

<sup>34</sup> Crime and Disorder Reduction Strategy 2002-2005.

<sup>35</sup> Feedback 2004 Community Safety Survey.

<sup>36</sup> Burnley Citizens Panel Survey, February 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Burnley Citizens Panel Survey, February 2005.

<sup>38</sup> Feedback 2004 Community Safety Survey.

<sup>39</sup> Community Safety: Burnley Borough Council, Audit Commission, June 2005.

Table 6. We see that two years after the disturbances, most people, of all backgrounds, considered that there was a lot of conflict and tension between communities in Burnley. Whites, in particular, have lower levels of understanding of other cultures and a more negative view of community relations in the town. It is worth noting however that, even amongst Asians, tension and conflict is seen as much less prevalent in their own neighbourhoods than in the town as a whole.

**Table 6. Community relations in Burnley**

	<b>White</b>	<b>Asian</b>
Have a lot or quite a lot of understanding of different cultures and religions	45%	86%
Think that people of different backgrounds get on quite well or very well in Burnley	32%	63%
Feel there is quite a lot or a lot of community tension and conflict in Burnley	73%	68%
Can help reduce tension affecting my area (among those feeling local tension)	39%	67%
Feel there is quite a lot or a lot of community tension and conflict in the local neighbourhood	15%	34%

Source: Burnley Citizens Panel's Study 2003

43. As well as having a more negative view of the current situation, whites are also more pessimistic about the future, and see themselves as having less agency to bring about improvements. Nevertheless, most people in Burnley think that people from different backgrounds can live harmoniously together, although one-in-four do not (a higher figure than elsewhere in the county).<sup>40</sup> Whether living together harmoniously would take place in neighbourhoods of mixed ethnicity is open to question as people in Burnley are evenly split between those who believe that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together, and those who do not.

### ***Developing stronger community relations***

44. Burnley Action Partnership's (BAP) vision for Burnley is that it will be 'a place where people are proud of their own heritage and respect that of their neighbours' and 'a strong, tolerant community which celebrates diversity and where what counts is people's contribution to life in the borough'.<sup>41</sup>
45. The emphasis upon community cohesion entails a delicate balancing act. On the one hand, the borough council has rightly identified cohesion as a key priority that must be at the heart of all its plans.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, there is also a view that in the post-disturbances period the emphasis upon cohesion can be self-defeating in that cohesion becomes a greater problem due to the greater awareness of it. An impression is thus created that Burnley is much worse and very different to other

<sup>40</sup> Living and Working in East Lancashire Citizen Survey 2004.

<sup>41</sup> Burnley's Future: The Community Plan.

<sup>42</sup> Community Cohesion Action Plan 2004/5.

districts in the region, whereas in fact it is not so different in many respects. Burnley Borough Council and BAP acknowledge that this may be a consequence of its determination to enhance community cohesion.

46. The ground conditions for improved community cohesion have to be prepared. This involves significant public investment in the town and economic advancement so that a ‘feel good factor’ is developed, since without this, disaffection is easily translated into ‘scapegoating’ and community conflict. Feeling better about one’s neighbours is easier in the good times. A second pre-requisite is to counter the growth of extremist politics and the constant racialisation of local issues. Thirdly, greater understanding of the nature of the ethnic minority population in Burnley is required. Generalisations amongst some of the white population tend to balkanise the non-white population as a large cohesive Asian community, whereas in fact the non-white population is itself diverse, coming from different regions of the Indian sub-continent, often rural-based, poor and deficient in skills – sharing many of the problems of poor white communities.
47. A further fundamental requirement of community cohesion is to have the means to reduce and avoid social conflicts. In this, Burnley Borough Council has been helped to progress its community cohesion agenda through the activities of East Lancs Together (ELT), one of the Community Cohesion Pathfinders set up by the Home Office and Neighbourhood Renewal Unit in 2003. ELT has worked to identify threats to harmonious relations through helping to establish a Risk Assessment Strategy Group, and to reduce tensions through hosting conflict resolution workshops.<sup>43</sup> In doing this, ELT has been substantially supported financially by Lancashire County Council and by the four district councils, as well as to a lesser extent by Elevate, the local Police and the Primary Care Trusts.
48. Beyond these fundamental and preparatory actions, there are three areas of activity to promote cohesion to be discussed at greater length here:
  - effective communication and community engagement;
  - inter-cultural understanding and exchange;
  - countering segregation.

### ***Effective communication and community engagement***

49. Two of the Borough Council’s responses to the disturbances in 2001 have been to put more resources into effective communication and to set up a Community Engagement and Cohesion Unit. Part of the reason for community tension in the town has been resentment over the allocation of regeneration resources to the inner parts of Burnley, where the Asian community live, and the racialisation of debates about local issues and council actions by the press and by far right groups. However, the new developments are also desirable given the significant changes taking place in the town through the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder (see overleaf).

<sup>43</sup> See East Lancs Together: A Report on Progress, and the Northern Pathfinder Consortium’s report on progress from June 2004.

50. Whilst there will still be a minority of people who see communication and engagement as ‘window dressing’ or as ‘propaganda on the rates’, these things are clearly necessary given Burnley’s circumstances. In fact, communication has received amongst the lowest ratings of all council services in public opinion surveys, considered somewhere between ‘poor’ and ‘fair’.<sup>44</sup> Effective communication by the Borough Council (and also by its partners) serves a number of purposes relevant to developing community cohesion in Burnley:
- to convey the importance of cohesion and its status as a priority for the council;
  - to explain the council’s priorities, plans and decisions, and in particular to place them in the wider context of the renewal of Burnley. Information and explanation must go alongside mere reporting of policy actions in order to enhance understanding;
  - to counter inaccurate comments and criticisms of the council’s actions. To this end, the council uses a ‘myth-busting’ column in the civic paper that the council produces and distributes to every household in the borough four times a year.
51. Communication also plays a part internally within the council, reinforcing the message to all departments and functions that they have a part to play in contributing towards cohesion goals, and in embedding cohesion as a key theme for all council activities.
52. In addition to communication, the Borough Council has been developing community engagement activities, comprising consultation, dialogue and involvement. This can also serve a number of purposes:
- Through consultation on new policies and plans, the people of Burnley can feel part of the process of improving Burnley and take some ownership of the policies. In this way, they may feel less that they are having things done *to them* rather than *for them* by the council.
  - Dialogue with the people of Burnley can be used both to challenge racist or other extreme views, and to show understanding of the public’s perception of affairs. What has been termed the fairness agenda has to be acknowledged and responded to, ie long-term residents and taxpayers have a perception that they are getting nothing in return for their compliance and payments over the year whilst newer arrivals are receiving all the public attention and assistance.
  - Overcoming divisions within the borough and leaving behind inter-ward rivalries so that improvements and facilities in particular parts of the borough are seen as contributions to the better future of the whole area, from which all parties will benefit. In nearby Pendle, apparent hostility to the Asian community has been interpreted as an urban-rural division,<sup>45</sup> and in Burnley there is a similar division between inner and outer Burnley that needs to be healed. This entails both

<sup>44</sup> Burnley Citizens Panel Study 2003.

<sup>45</sup> Report on Community Cohesion in Pendle by Drew Mackie Associates, November 2004.

greater understanding between communities but also recognition that communities in areas other than inner Burnley may also have what they see as pressing needs that may need to be addressed in order to develop cohesion around the renewal agenda.

53. The communication and engagement agenda in Burnley has characteristics of attempting to convey honesty, realism and robustness about Burnley's problems and their solutions. This requires the council to acknowledge people's concerns but at the same time not compromise on its key principles and objectives. In order to achieve this, a coherent programme for Burnley's future has to be presented that demonstrates how solidarity between communities will be for the greater good of all.
54. The communication challenge also entails the development of a new narrative about Burnley that local people can accept. This narrative must overcome a static, inward-looking view of the town and borough held by many people. The new narrative must recognise that Burnley has changed and must change further – socially, economically and politically – in order to prosper. The town also has to see itself as part of the East Lancashire sub-region and the North West region and not simply as a stand-alone place; it has to become more outward looking and communication about Burnley in these terms must aid this new identity.

### *Inter-cultural understanding and exchange*

55. The Burnley Task Force recommended 'that more opportunities should be sought for Burnley's white and minority ethnic communities to mix in the Borough' and argued for more multi-cultural activities and organisations.<sup>46</sup> As Table 7 shows, the main ways in which people of different backgrounds meet is through the use of shops, restaurants, cinemas etc. (and the town centre is important in this) and through employment. It is clear that most people in Burnley do not regularly interact with people of a different ethnic background, either through leisure and recreational activities, or to any great extent through compulsory or further and higher education. The strong call that more activities should be provided for young people through youth centres and leisure facilities<sup>47</sup> has to be responded to in ways which ensure that such facilities not only help to reduce anti-social behaviour but also contribute to better community relations and inter-cultural exchange.

<sup>46</sup> Burnley Task Force report page 51.

<sup>47</sup> Life in Lancashire 2003 survey.

**Table 7. Situations in which people of different ethnic origins regularly meet and talk**

Venue/Site	%
Shops	61
Work	45
Restaurants, cinemas etc.	31
Buses and trains	31
Neighbourhood	28
Place of study	22
Place of worship	14
Sports activities	13
Relative's home	12
Youth centres/clubs	6
Somewhere else	23
None	9

Source: Life in Lancashire 2004 Survey

- 56. The Borough Council and other partners including the Lancashire County Council Youth and Community Services, Burnley Youth Theatre and a range of voluntary and community organisations are attempting to achieve community cohesion goals through their wider policies. Burnley's Cultural Strategy, which focuses particularly on young people, aims to use culture to achieve good race relations.<sup>48</sup> This involves raising awareness about different cultures through drama, dance and music; celebrating diversity through large-scale events and festivals; and 'building bridges' through inter-cultural activities. For example, a group of young people called Breaking Barriers in Burnley were supported by East Lancs. Together and by Burnley Youth Theatre to produce and film a play called 'Polarised', which they have performed at local schools and community centres in the Borough.
- 57. The Borough's Sports and Physical Activity Strategy also places community cohesion goals up front, with the involvement of Lancashire County Council's Youth and Community Services.<sup>49</sup> It acknowledges the lack of interaction between different communities, and seeks to provide opportunities for people of different backgrounds to come together through exercise classes, sports development and facilities provision. However, to the extent that sport is focused around the use of school facilities and after-school clubs, educational segregation may hinder this goal.
- 58. Nevertheless, the education and youth sectors are playing an important role, and are set to play a greater role, in bringing communities together in Burnley, representing combined action by Lancashire County Council's Youth and Community Services and Burnley Borough Council. Lancashire County Council's work to promote community cohesion in schools was judged to be of good to outstanding quality in a recent inspection (HMI 2005) and community cohesion is one of three priority outcomes for Burnley's new schools programme (see below). School and youth based efforts to promote inter-cultural understanding include:

<sup>48</sup> Cultural Strategy for Burnley 2003-08.

<sup>49</sup> Sport and Physical Activity Strategy for Burnley, 2004-9.

- Burnley Schools Race Equality Charter and associated training;
  - monitoring race equality in schools;
  - the SLIDE project to bring schools together to understand cultural differences;
  - collaboration with the Lancashire Council of Mosques to promote understanding of Islam in primary schools with few Muslim children;
  - an Extended Schools strategy that seeks to develop high quality provision of facilities for community use in schools;
  - the SCARF project with Burnley Football Club to bring children together to learn about and challenge racial prejudice;
  - a faith centre to be provided within the new Burnley (post-16) campus as part of the new schools programme (see below).
59. Notwithstanding the earlier remarks on the findings of the Life in Lancashire survey, it is worth noting that a fifth of the students aged 16-19 at Burnley College and Habergham Sixth Form are of Asian heritage, highlighting the importance of further and higher education as a potential means of promoting more inter-cultural exchange, given that students come from a range of residential areas within and beyond Burnley.
60. The voluntary and faith sectors in Burnley are attempting to build bridges between groups and provide more opportunities for inter-cultural interaction. Much of this activity is co-ordinated and/or supported through Burnley Community Network (BCN), which has a membership of around 200 organisations and a potential future membership of 450. BCN acts as a means for the voluntary and faith sectors to get involved in Burnley Action Partnership (the local LSP) and to contribute to Burnley's Community Plan by assisting with the development of new community initiatives and activities.<sup>50</sup> These activities include:
- Building Bridges in Burnley: A newly formed organisation developed by Christian and Muslim religious leaders in Burnley to bring congregations together. In February 2005 it organised a mosque open-day that attracted around 500 people.
  - Bringing Burnley Together: A project that organises diversity workshops and volunteer training weekends to bring people from different voluntary organisations together to explore community cohesion.
  - Breaking Barriers in Burnley: A project aiming to get young people from different areas and cultural backgrounds together to develop positive relationships through fun activities.
  - Burnley Community Festival: The first Reach One Burnley Festival was an arts festival to bring together the different cultures in Burnley, celebrate diversity and

<sup>50</sup> See Burnley Community Network's newsletter Making the Pieces Fit, Spring 2004.

promote a positive view of the town; it attracted 8,000 visitors in 2003. The second Reach Two festival grew to 10,000 participants in 2004. This annual multi-cultural festival is now established and renamed the BCF.

61. BCN is supporting cohesion by creating and supporting opportunities for people of different backgrounds to meet and learn about one another; working on the premise that people need to know more about one another in order to get along and acknowledging that extremists and racists exploit ignorance and fear.
62. Finally, it is notable that even in less obvious policy areas, cohesion is a consideration within Burnley. For example, neighbourhood management, which is being attempted in the Housing Market Renewal priority areas first (see below), is being developed in such a way as to help build community cohesion. This involves building connecting structures and interaction between neighbourhoods<sup>51</sup>. The precise ways in which services will be organised in order to connect communities is unclear at this stage. This is something worthy of further monitoring to see what wider lessons can be learnt about the contribution that neighbourhood management can make so that it is a cohesive rather than a divisive force.

## **Reducing segregation through housing and education**

63. There are currently two large programmes of change in Burnley that, although not explicitly designed to counter racial segregation, may have a significant impact in this regard.

### *Housing market restructuring*

64. In response to the failure of the housing market in the town, Burnley is subject to action by the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder: Elevate East Lancashire. The housing market restructuring framework that has been developed builds upon Burnley Action Partnership's Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy (NRS) in recognising a 'doughnut' urban structure comprising a deprived inner core, fringed by more buoyant urban neighbourhoods and surrounded by more prosperous outer suburban and semi-rural areas.
65. Under the Elevate programme, three parts of inner Burnley have been identified for intervention, and these closely match nearly all the wards and neighbourhoods identified as priorities under the NRS. The three areas are Daneshouse and Stoneyholme with Duke Bar, Burnley Wood and South West Burnley, where neighbourhood satisfaction rates are between 40 per cent and 55 per cent.<sup>52</sup> The first of these three areas, Daneshouse and Stoneyholme with Duke Bar is a predominantly Asian locality with two-thirds of the residents being Asian; the other two areas are predominantly white.
66. There are several potential impacts of the Elevate Programme upon community cohesion in Burnley. First, there may be some resentment that large amounts of public funds are going in to the main Asian locality in the town, although this is

<sup>51</sup> See 'Developing Neighbourhood Management in Burnley', paper to BAP, September 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Burnley Housing Market Restructuring Framework, December 2003. Satisfaction rates in most wards are between 65 per cent and 85 per cent.

lessened by the fact that two of the three priority areas are white localities in the main. Second, existing white and Asian communities will be disrupted by the intervention, which may have a greater impact on the ethnic minority community who may find it harder to utilise culturally appropriate facilities elsewhere. Third, Asians having to relocate out of their area of residence as a result of property demolition may face hostility in their new location and experience fear as a result of the move. Fourth, the whole exercise may be viewed by some as an attempt at social engineering, working towards the dispersal of Asians into white neighbourhoods; it may face a backlash as a result<sup>53</sup>.

- 67. The Borough Council and Elevate staff are well aware of these potential impacts and are working to counter them through their community engagement and neighbourhood management activities to give people confidence and reassurance about the process of renewal and its consequences. The aim is to ensure that Elevate is seen as of borough-wide benefit, and to work with communities to counter resistance to ‘outsiders’. It has already been noted that fears and concerns on the part of whites has been expressed in aggressive and racist terms.<sup>54</sup> This will require community development work in local areas and leadership from the Borough Council to reduce fears and hostility and explain why restructuring and its consequences are desirable. The notion that Asians ought to be contained in parts of inner Burnley requires robust countering from the Borough Council and its partners.
- 68. The impact of the Elevate programme upon residential segregation between whites and Asians is, however, uncertain. Asians living in the intervention areas may have to relocate as a result of restructuring, but rather than move to white areas, they may mostly move into adjacent Asian neighbourhoods in Queensgate and Bank Hall. Furthermore, newly constructed housing in the intervention areas may be bought mostly or entirely by white suburbanites (the middle income groups being sought by the Borough Council), or by a mixture of whites and Asians. In each case, there remains a question as to whether the layout and design put in place by developers, and the subsequent behaviour of house purchasers, lends itself more to mixing between groups or to a finer-grained form of neighbourhood segregation between whites and Asians. There is also the future issue as to whether third generation Asian households will have a different approach to that of their parents and grandparents and seek to buy houses in predominantly white areas.
- 69. The implementation of the Elevate programme through private sector partners will need close monitoring, and the way new housing is marketed in lifestyle terms will be important, eg is cultural diversity part of the package on offer, or is the pitch one of a mono-cultural (white) lifestyle. But probably more important in the longer term are the cultural awareness and exchange programmes that could alter the way future generations view co-location with other ethnic groups and seek to develop inter-ethnic mixing in non-residential circumstances. It is upon this broader approach that Burnley Borough Council and Elevate are pinning their hopes of reducing segregation by promoting residential choice based on positive criteria such as high quality neighbourhoods and cultural diversity.

<sup>53</sup> An issue raised by the Director of East Lancs Together in a workshop at the Community Cohesion Northern Regional Conference in June 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Burnley Housing Market Restructuring Framework, page 64.

### ***Restructuring secondary school provision***

70. All secondary school provision in Burnley is to be replaced with higher quality facilities in the next few years under the Building Schools for the Future Programme. Following initial proposals and consultation, the existing eight secondary schools in the Borough (two of which have sixth forms) are to be replaced with five 11-16 schools plus one dedicated shared sixth form.
71. There have been two issues of faith involved in agreeing these proposals. Firstly, it was agreed to retain a Catholic 11-16 mixed secondary school, although it was recognised that this might increase the demand for Muslim or other faith schools, which Burnley Action Partnership is opposed to on the grounds that:
72. Schools and other educational facilities are places where people from different faiths and from none should have contact with each other, learn about each others beliefs, and should develop respect for the positive elements in different religions and belief systems<sup>55</sup>.
73. Nonetheless, BAP welcomed the fact that 80 per cent of schooling will be non-denominational. There have been concerns nonetheless that the support for a Catholic school reflected a desire by some parents to avoid mixing with Black and Minority Ethnic families and children. Others, including the education authority, see the retention of a Catholic school (albeit a reduction from two secondary schools to one) as a reflection of long tradition and affection for this type of provision, and point to the widespread support for a shared faith centre as proof of a commitment to mutual understanding and cohesion between faith groups.
74. Second, the move to complete co-education (removing the four existing single sex schools) was seen as an issue of concern to the Muslim community, although it was reported that in the end this was not opposed. This was a move only made by the education authority after consultations with the local community, including Muslim groups in Burnley and Pendle.
75. In the preparation of the schooling proposals there was an evident tension between not wishing to be seen to be engaging in social engineering (a criticism made by political opponents yet refuted by the education authority), yet aiming to use the Burnley Schools for the Future programme to work towards positive social outcomes such as reducing segregation in schooling and avoiding any segregated, mono-cultural schools. The design of admissions policies for the new schools (something supported by Burnley Borough Council and BAP) establishes geographical priority areas for admission in order to ensure adequate numbers of pupils in each school catchment area, but could also assist cohesion goals.
76. The challenge is illustrated by the fact that at present, Barden High School in the Daneshouse & Stoneyholme ward is a school with low educational attainment<sup>56</sup> and a significant proportion of Asian pupils (much more so than other schools in the Borough). Achieving parity of esteem between schools and reducing inequalities in attainment are among the goals of the new system, and to this end there is an attempt to view all schools as collaborative campuses within one Burnley-wide institution.

<sup>55</sup> Burnley Action Partnership Response to Lancashire County Council Consultation on Education in Burnley, 2004.

<sup>56</sup> Less than a fifth of BHS's pupils age 15 achieve 5+ good GCSE results (A-C), although the education authority would point out that this is in line with expectations given the intake.

77. There are two aspects of the geography of the new schooling arrangements that have the potential to reduce racial segregation in schools. The first is the decision not to locate a secondary school within the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward but rather to split the ward into the catchment areas of two of the other new schools. The second is to use the Barden High School site as the location for the new Burnley Schools Sixth Form, thus encouraging young people from across the borough to travel into and through inner Burnley.
78. These are strategically important and brave decisions, but their good intentions could still be thwarted by two factors. First, parents may express a preference to avoid schools with significant numbers of Asian pupils. As noted above, however, the policy aims of parity of esteem and equality of attainment between schools seek to avert this outcome. Second, the knock-on effects of the Elevate programme could result in a growth in the concentration of Asians in areas adjacent to Daneshouse and Stoneyholme, with the effect that the nearby, new secondary schools become to a large extent Asian in character. Neither of these things is certain, and there could be alternative outcomes, but they illustrate how difficult it is to influence social mixing when trying to simultaneously co-ordinate different programmes and provide a framework of choice. Both Burnley Borough Council and Lancashire County Council are aware of the policy co-ordination challenge here and are working to this end through Elevate.
79. BAP have also been keen to ensure that plans for the new schools contribute to community cohesion. In BAP's view, the establishment of new schools provides an opportunity for social advancement through their culture, practices, governance arrangements and curriculum content:

“The values of community cohesion, cultural awareness, appreciation of faith, conflict resolution, anti racism and active opposition to all forms of oppressive and chauvinist behaviour [are] core values in the life of Burnley’s schools<sup>57</sup>.”

## **5. Social cohesion issues: Place identity, attachment and pride**

80. People in Burnley have a reasonably strong sense of attachment to the Borough and the towns of Burnley and Padiham, but this does not translate into any great sense of pride in the place. This is shown in the following Table 8 that gives the findings from two surveys in 2003 and 2005. The sense of belonging in Burnley is on a par with many other places in Lancashire (though it is generally higher in Preston), and yet more people are critical of Burnley (solicited or unsolicited) than are positive about it in conversation. As well as being critical about Burnley, people also have a negative view of the Borough Council and low satisfaction with services.<sup>58</sup> Public opinion in 2003 was such that of ten council services, five had an average rating of 2.1 or below on a scale of 1(poor) to 4(excellent), with the highest rating being 2.7 for waste and recycling services.<sup>59</sup> Thus most services are considered to be ‘fair’ to ‘good’ in quality. Many services were considered to be ‘not very easy’ to access either in office hours or outside, and this is something the Borough Council have been trying to address through a one-stop call centre service.

<sup>57</sup> Burnley Action Partnership Response to Lancashire County Council Consultation on Education in Burnley, 2004.

<sup>58</sup> This was noted in the Comprehensive Performance Assessment Inspection Report of Jan 2004.

<sup>59</sup> Burnley Citizens Panel 2003.

**Table 8. Opinions about Burnley**

	%
Strongly <sup>1</sup> belong to Burnley Council area	55
Strongly belong to this town	81
Strongly belong to this neighbourhood	80
'I speak highly of Burnley without being asked'	12
'I speak highly of Burnley if I am asked about it'	23
'I have no views one way or the other'	15
'I am critical about Burnley if I am asked about it'	26
'I am critical about Burnley without being asked'	13

<sup>1</sup>. Feel 'very strongly' or 'fairly strongly' that they belong.

Sources: MORI survey for the Boundary Committee for England, 2003.

Burnley Citizens Panel 2004

81. There are a number of factors we might identify which feed into this negative mind-set about Burnley.
82. First, people do not feel involved or empowered locally. Only one-in-five people feel involved in their local community, roughly ten points lower than in other districts in the county,<sup>60</sup> and just one-in-four feel that they can influence decisions affecting their local area (although two thirds feel this can be done collectively).<sup>61</sup> Second, according to external inspectors, people feel that the Borough Council does not communicate well with residents.<sup>62</sup>
83. Third, despite having a clean town centre and good performance for removing fly-tipping waste, 'satisfaction with the cleanliness of the borough is low'. Inspectors noted 'particular dissatisfaction with the maintenance and cleanliness of public spaces outside urban areas'.<sup>63</sup> 'Ensuring streets are clean and litter free' was recently rated 3rd by the public out of 16 items of importance to the future of Burnley, but was scored last out of all 16 items for performance, with a mean score of 2.07 on a scale of 1(poorly) to 5(very well).<sup>64</sup> Obviously, the cleanliness of streets and the environment reflects both the care that individuals take in their town and borough, as well as contributing to the collective pride that people may feel as a result of the behaviour and performance of others.
84. Lastly, feeling positive about Burnley may depend upon one's views on ethnic diversity, since the inner part of Burnley has a significant Asian presence that has grown in the past few decades. It is notable that two years after the disturbances of 2001, three quarters of whites felt that there was 'quite a lot' or 'a lot' of community tension and conflict in Burnley, whilst only one-in-seven whites thought that people from different backgrounds would get on better in the future.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> MORI survey for the Boundary Committee for England, 2003.

<sup>61</sup> Life in Lancashire Survey 2004.

<sup>62</sup> Comprehensive Performance Assessment Inspection Report of Jan 2004.

<sup>63</sup> Comprehensive Performance Assessment Inspection Report of Jan 2004.

<sup>64</sup> Burnley Citizens Panel 2005.

<sup>65</sup> Burnley Citizens Panel 2003.

85. Although pride in Burnley appears low, there are indications that interest in local civic affairs is growing. Data on local electoral turnout (see Table 9 below) shows that after poor rates of turnout throughout the 1990s, voting has increased across all wards in the borough since 2000, and most interestingly more so after the disturbances of 2001. Thus, local politics has to some extent been undergoing a revitalisation<sup>66</sup>, although a general level of dissatisfaction and sense of lack of influence persists over the subsequent activities and service delivery of the Borough Council. The good news from the Borough Council's point of view is that the strong sense of belonging to the town of Burnley has perhaps brought people to realise that there are important issues about the future of the borough at stake.
86. It is worth noting here that the ward with by far the highest proportion of black and minority ethnic residents (Daneshouse and Stoneyholme) has consistently been the ward with the highest turnout in local elections within the borough – 25 points higher than most other wards. Three-quarters of electors in the Daneshouse and Stoneyholme ward voted in the 2004 local elections, suggesting that people of Asian heritage in the town recognise their civic duty more than others, and/or feel more strongly that it is important that their views are represented in local political affairs (for defensive or pro-active reasons).

**Table 9. Local electoral turnout in Burnley 1991-2004 (% electors)<sup>67</sup>**

Year	Overall Turnout	Lowest Ward Turnout	Highest Ward Turnout
1991	43	37	49
1992	31	24	42
1994	38	30	60
1995	33	26	52
1996	31	22	66
1998	24	19	61
1999	28	19	70
2000	30	22	72
2002	53	44	69
2003	42	33	61
2004	50	40	74

87. In response to the negative attitudes to Burnley held by its own residents, the Borough Council has done four things worth noting here:
1. Made particular efforts to tackle environmental problems, including flytipping, refuse collection (although the transition to recycling and altered collection rotas has caused public complaints), nuisance fires and graffiti.
  2. Improved communication with the public through setting up its own council newspaper, Burnley Now (which is delivered to all households), and developing

<sup>66</sup> Turnout in national elections (1997 and 2001) was however lower in Burnley than nationally or in neighbouring districts.

<sup>67</sup> Source: data provided by Burnley Borough Council.

a better relationship with the local press and media, particularly trying to get the media to act responsibly in relation to race issues.

3. Developed its community engagement programme, including taking roadshows out to communities.
  4. Worked with other agencies in BAP to establish a campaign to develop pride in the Borough called Better Burnley. The campaign aims to challenge negative views about Burnley and communicate what's good and what people are doing to improve the Borough. It is hoped to make people believe in, understand and promote a new, positive vision about Burnley. In particular it is hoped that businesses will promote the campaign through their own events.<sup>68</sup>
88. Several benefits may flow from developing a stronger sense of pride in Burnley, and these are essential to the success of plans for the future of the Borough:
- people may care more for the environment, including the cleanliness of streets as well as care for open and green spaces;
  - a generally more positive frame of mind about Burnley would result in people being less inclined to find things to complain about, but rather things to celebrate;
  - a greater acceptance of the character of Burnley today, including its ethnic diversity and changing economic structure;
  - people and businesses would act as ambassadors for the Borough, promoting it through positive stories;
  - raising self-esteem and ambition, especially among young people.
89. The final sense in which the identity and place of Burnley matters is in relation to Burnley's position in the region and sub-region. There is currently no clear answer to the question, 'What is Burnley for?' when asked in a regional context, and its economic role is particularly unclear. Of the many options for economic development available to Burnley – expanding advanced manufacturing, developing creative industries, becoming a retail centre or commuting town – it is not clear what balance between these would be preferred from a regional point of view.
90. Decisions about transport investment are related to the question of Burnley's future role, for there have been demands for better rail services to Manchester, where only 4 per cent of Burnley's workers currently work<sup>69</sup> and better road services into Yorkshire. Although Manchester is only 24 miles away, the train journey there takes nearly 2 hours via Blackburn. The inward-looking and parochial character of Burnley is illustrated by the following Table 10, which shows that a much lower proportion of people in Burnley travel outwards and away to work than is typical of the North West, or of England, although of course inadequate transport links may also contribute to this. The Borough Council has a three-pronged approach to these issues: to lobby hard for improved transport links to Manchester and West Yorkshire;

<sup>68</sup> Better Burnley, Issue 1, and Burnley Now, both Spring 2005.

<sup>69</sup> MORI survey for the Boundary Committee for England 2003.

to encourage people to see Burnley and East Lancashire as locations from which people could commute to work elsewhere; and to promote the area to people who work in Manchester and West Yorkshire as a place to which they could move to improve their quality of life.

**Table 10. Proportion of employees travelling 10 km or more to work**

	<b>2001(%)</b>
Burnley	17
North West	25
England	28

## 6. Governance and policy

### *Local Governance*

91. In many ways, the Borough Council has responded very positively to the criticisms of its leadership following the disturbances of 2001. It has a range of priorities relating to housing, the environment, the economy, and sport and leisure, set out in a number of plans, all co-ordinated by the Community Plan and the underlying aim of achieving social cohesion in Burnley. The vision for the Borough is strong and clearly set out in the Community Plan and elsewhere, with the cohesion goal summarised as:
 

“A state where different communities live and work confidently alongside each other, recognising each other’s differences, but sharing a sense of belonging and place and working towards a common prosperity.”
92. The message that cohesion is of fundamental importance appears to be shared by most officers and councillors and is being communicated effectively to the public. Senior members of staff are able to articulate how their activities and areas of responsibility are contributing to the cohesion goal. The prioritisation of community cohesion as a goal has required that the Borough Council and its partners reconsider services in order to align them with such an objective. For example, whereas leisure services were once considered primarily a cost-centre and profit-making service within the council, there has been an increasing emphasis upon the complementary aims of increasing physical activity rates and bringing about inter-cultural mixing. Similarly, whereas once the police service was focused mostly upon efficiency and managerialism, now it is also being increasingly directed towards responding to citizen concerns and the management of community tensions.
93. Recent external scrutiny has commented positively on the degree of corporate working at a senior level in the Borough Council.<sup>70</sup> However, there remains a question as to whether the internal structure and style of governance – involving an all-Labour Executive and cross-party Scrutiny Committees – is most appropriate to the Burnley situation of inter-ward rivalries and tensions. In saying this, it is recognised that there are alternative explanations offered as to how and why Burnley’s mixed

<sup>70</sup> Comprehensive Performance Assessment Inspection Report of Jan 2004.

cabinet reverted to a single-party one. However, in the absence of all-party representation on the Executive, there is a greater onus on the Scrutiny Committees, and on the regular group leadership meetings which are held, to both inform and provide opportunities for alternative approaches to policy issues to be put forward.

94. Although this report has mostly focused upon activities within the Borough of Burnley itself, the pursuit of community cohesion is a goal shared with, and significantly supported by Lancashire County Council (LCC). The important role played by the County Council is evident in many ways; its role in education and youth work has already been discussed, but other specific inputs include the following:<sup>71</sup>
  - offering the services of LCC's Cohesion Co-ordinator to the Community Cohesion sub-group within Burnley Action Partnership (the Local Strategic Partnership)<sup>72</sup>;
  - providing funding to the Community Cohesion Pathfinder, East Lancs. Together, which operates in Burnley and elsewhere;
  - acting as the accountable body for Elevate, the housing market renewal programme;
  - investing in health improvement, with aspirations to create a centre of excellence for health issues in Burnley;
  - providing substantial funding for public services, amounting to over £100m per annum, and now due to include over £200m for the Building Schools for the Future Programme.
95. The benefits offered by Burnley forming part of LCC, and receiving LCC support relate to strategy, specialisms, and resources. LCC has managerial and strategic capacity as shown by the fact that it is the fourth largest authority in England to receive an 'Excellent' Comprehensive Performance Assessment (CPA) rating. Through these means, LCC is able to support policy development and the co-ordination and alignment of policies in BAP and Elevate, and across East Lancashire. LCC, by virtue of its size and capacity, can also provide specialist inputs that are necessitated by the difficult circumstances of deprivation found in Burnley. Across the board, as noted above, LCC inputs substantial resources to services and partnership activities in Burnley, and clearly can achieve value for money through its procurement strengths.
96. Working relations between Burnley Borough Council and LCC are much improved recently, as attested to by both parties. This is evident in a number of ways:
  - the introduction of District Partnership Officers;
  - regular meetings of the leadership and senior officers of the two authorities;

<sup>71</sup> Much of this information was provided in communication from LCC.

<sup>72</sup> See *Burnley's Future: The Community Plan*. Burnley Action Partnership 2003.

- LCC's programme of devolution of decision-making and increasing local influence on services through the establishment of 'Lancashire Locals', that is currently being piloted in several districts and is due to reach Burnley in the near future;
  - collaborative discussions about the introduction of neighbourhood management in Burnley, initially in the three Elevate priority areas in the town.
97. Notwithstanding the support, inputs and good working relations with LCC, several interviewees raised the question of whether the continuation of the present two-tier local government arrangement offered the best future prospects for Burnley, and it is understood that the leadership and senior officers of Burnley Borough Council share this view. The alternative being mooted is that of creating a unitary authority combining a number of local authorities within East Lancashire. This is an issue that would be highly contested within and across the county and region. On the one hand, conventional wisdom on these things, and indeed government guidance on local authority boundaries, tends to stress the importance of size and strategic capacity in local government; this is highly pertinent to a place like Burnley that has complex needs, and would tend to favour retaining the input of LCC.
98. On the other hand, an alternative, unitary, sub-regional arrangement might assist Burnley in several ways. It might help overcome the dilemma facing Burnley of being a small town with the problems of an inner city locality but without an adequate resource base to respond to those problems. However, this is by no means certain as any new authority would still be relatively small and there would be substantial LCC resource inputs to be replaced. Second, it might help develop a new identity, role and purpose for Burnley, although this would require work to get the people of Burnley looking outwards and forwards rather than backwards and inwards; asking how Burnley can develop to the benefit of others at the sub-regional level at least. Third, a situation where Burnley is at the heart of an East Lancashire sub-region could offer gains in place marketing, economic development and the expansion of further and higher education.
99. This issue of local government structure is a difficult and complex one whose exploration and resolution goes well beyond the scope of this case study. One has to balance the fact that the present arrangements are working well and the cost of change would be high, against a firmer assessment of the potential gains to be had from change, taking into account the fact that Burnley Borough Council sees itself as having more in common and closer working relations with its near neighbours than with the wider Lancashire area. The views of neighbouring boroughs and their residents would also have to be taken into account.

### *Policy co-ordination*

100. The greatest challenge facing Burnley is to bring to simultaneous fruition its policies for housing, the economy, education, culture and sport and leisure. Each of these is dependent on the others, and all contribute to community cohesion goals.

101. The restructuring of the housing market in inner Burnley will depend upon either economic development ensuring that there are sufficient highly paid local jobs for new house purchasers, or on an expansion of Burnley's role as a commuter town offering high quality of life to middle income earners working elsewhere, or most likely both of these. For example, the *Better Burnley* campaign stresses that:
- “Burnley really has so much going for it – friendly people, great parks, magnificent countryside, a unique heritage, beautiful buildings...”
102. This higher quality of life in turn depends upon the Borough being able to overcome its image of racial and community tension alongside that of an outdated industrial base. Cultural and sport and leisure policies help both to develop social harmony between groups and to offer the quality of life required to go alongside relatively expensive housing in new neighbourhoods. The town's new health and leisure centre, the construction of which has recently commenced, is an important element in this approach.
103. One of the biggest issues is that of education. Educational attainment must be raised through the new school structures and the rate of progression to further and higher education must be increased if Burnley is to offer a convincing case for economic investment. Raising aspirations among young people; broadening the scope of what is on offer locally through Burnley College; and promoting other learning opportunities in the surrounding area, are all-important parts of this strategy<sup>73</sup>. New accommodation and a new campus for the College would assist greatly in these goals, both making further education more attractive and strengthening the potential for more higher education provision in partnership with the University of Central Lancashire. Consultants' reports have confirmed that the accommodation and facilities of Burnley College are inferior and limit the quality of educational provision, and LCC has expressed support for the College's new build aspirations.
104. However, there are national differences between the funding arrangements for building schools and colleges that mean that the timescales for investment between the two do not align. The New Burnley Schools Sixth Form will be built sooner, via a PFI scheme as part of the Building Schools for the Future programme, requiring contributions from the schools budget over 25 years. The Learning and Skills Council will only provide 50 per cent of the construction costs of the new College, presenting the College with a significant funding gap which it has yet to decide how to fill, thus preventing immediate progress.<sup>74</sup> LCC have indicated that, once resolved, the longer-term costs of the two funding packages would be similar. In pressing the case for a solution, the Principal of the College has pointed out that the funding problem risks disadvantaging the three quarters of school leavers (including a higher percentage of Asians) who would continue to attend a physically antiquated College. Even if a favourable decision over funding could be made, it would still take five years to deliver a new college<sup>75</sup>, potentially undermining the progress required for simultaneous advancement in Burnley.

<sup>73</sup> Within the LSC designated Travel to Learn area of Burnley and Pendle.

<sup>74</sup> See 'College set to hand petition over to MP' in *Burnley Express* 10th May 2005.

<sup>75</sup> Principals' report on 16-18 education in Burnley, June 2004.

105. The future economic development of the town is obviously important for prosperity and sustainability but it is also relevant to the community cohesion agenda. Raising employment levels among the Asian community should also contribute to cohesion by serving to reduce the stigmatised view of Asians as not making an adequate contribution to the Borough.

### ***Central government funding and programmes***

106. Burnley is currently benefiting from several large-scale government programmes that together have given impetus and resources to the restructuring and renewal of the borough. Most important at the current time are the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder and the Building Schools for the Future programme. Without these, a step change in Burnley's fortunes and in the perception of the borough by residents and others would be much more difficult to bring about.
107. In addition, Burnley has in recent years received assistance from a range of regeneration funding at regional, national and European levels including SRB6, Objective 2 and Urban 2 funds. These have been used to kick start the regeneration of inner Burnley and to support economic development activities amongst other things, but the various sources of funds are all due to come to an end in the next three years. It is not clear how Burnley can continue to pursue all the necessary elements of its Community Plan without replacement funding, although officers of the borough council are pursuing various options trying to take advantage of all available opportunities. Some assessment needs to take place to establish the extent to which current programmes of assistance are required beyond their current lifetime with alternatives being identified where necessary.

### ***Choice and the localisation of services***

108. Burnley is a borough fragmented in spatial terms by race, class and urban-rural differences. Through the theme of community cohesion and via community engagement activities, the Borough Council hopes to be able to overcome these divisions. The Borough Council hopes to convince the citizens of Burnley that all parts of the borough have a part to play in constructing a cohesive and harmonious future for the area in which any differences are justified on the basis of fairness and social justice. Yet there are at least two aspects to the Government's agenda on service choice and the localisation of service priorities and design that may run counter to these cohesion goals.
109. First, parental choice in education could potentially be used in ways that would thoroughly undermine the aspiration to have schools of mixed ethnicity and good value added. Second, neighbourhood management of public services could result in continued disputes about intra-urban differences in quantity, quality and delivery of services and in the failure to embed core values and objectives throughout the borough and across all services. As noted earlier, however, Burnley Borough Council hopes to develop neighbourhood management in ways that will counter this threat and develop inter-neighbourhood relations, yet we need to revisit this area to see how things develop. Furthermore, localisation of service management could have an unintended effect of strengthening very local identities at the same time as the Borough of Burnley needs people to support its efforts to develop the identity of the

whole place that is Burnley. Further work is required and should be undertaken in the future to see whether and how the choice and localisation agendas can be reconciled with an over-arching community cohesion agenda across the borough.

## 7. Conclusions

110. The key challenges for social cohesion in Burnley have been discussed in the previous sections, and for the most part are identified and acknowledged by Burnley Borough Council and its local partners, with strategies put in place to address them. There is much to be commended in what is happening locally in Burnley, and in particular in the attitude of the Borough Council and its senior staff towards tackling the important issue of community cohesion in Burnley.
111. However, some of the remaining challenges and unresolved issues include the following:
  - A more positive outlook among the people of Burnley must be developed, both in general, in relation to the place of Burnley and in respect of the local authority as a service provider and civic leader.
  - The position of Burnley within the region and sub-region is worthy of further consideration. Two interrelated issues are, firstly, how the emerging identity and territory of East Lancashire can best be taken forward and with what benefits, and, secondly, whether the aims of cohesion and inclusion in Burnley are best served by the present two-tier local government arrangement or by a new unitary structure based upon East Lancashire. These issues should be examined in a balanced way, based on evidence both existing and to be collected.
  - Sub-regional and regional agencies must provide clear signals of their priorities for the future role and economic strengths of Burnley and East Lancs. It is not clear which of the identified high growth sectors and business cluster developments are to be focused in and around Burnley. The danger of continuing to rely upon manufacturing to a significant degree is highlighted by the recent collapse of Granville Technology (makers of Time and Tiny computers) whose main factory employing 1,100 in Burnley is set to close.<sup>76</sup>
  - Local business support services have to be more effective. Business formation rates and survival rates have been rising in Burnley in recent years<sup>77</sup>, yet there is poor growth in emerging sectors and low rates of internet trading and overall low rates of capital investment. Firms need greater ambitions and higher levels of assistance.

<sup>76</sup> Source: Times Online 27th July 2005.

<sup>77</sup> According to Burnley's Fourth Annual Economic Monitoring Report the business formation rate has risen from 10 per cent in 1999 to 13 per cent in 2003, and the business survival rate stood at 91 per cent in 2003, compared with a national rate of 90 per cent

- The link between economic, educational and housing strategies needs to be strengthened. It should be recognised that without a more significant higher education sector within Burnley, the emphasis within regional strategy upon science, research and development and knowledge intensive industries could well pass Burnley by.
  - Burnley and East Lancashire can offer a high quality of life within an attractive historical and natural environment. More use could be made of these assets in the future marketing of Burnley both to attract a larger managerial class within the town and to promote the town as a commuter location. At the regional level, this requires better transport links to Manchester in particular, and other major urban centres.
  - Some existing major public investment programmes are coming to the end of their fixed terms over the next couple of years. An independent assessment should be made as to whether or not such programmes, or replacement ones, are still required before the tap is turned off.
  - Close monitoring of the uptake of new secondary school educational opportunities and new housing opportunities within the town should be undertaken in real-time in order to see whether more ethnically mixed outcomes are produced.
  - There should also be wider interest in the development of neighbourhood management within Burnley to see whether attempts to incorporate cross-neighbourhood connections can overcome the dangers of neighbourhood divisions becoming further entrenched and potentially racialised in local politics.
  - Better working relations between the major political parties representing the people of Burnley is essential in order to be able to resist extremist politics and in order to knit together white suburban areas and inner city white and mixed localities. Consideration should be given to whether cabinet-style politics dominated by one party alone can be improved upon to achieve greater common purpose among political groups towards agreed community cohesion aims.
112. The title of this case study report – Developing the Place of Burnley – is highly apposite given the agenda being pursued by Burnley Borough Council and its partners from all sectors to transform the image, role and identity of the borough within the context of the East Lancashire sub-region and to create a positive future which leaves behind the legacy of old-style manufacturing, deprivation and community conflict.

## **Appendix: Interviewees**

Burnley Borough Council Officers:

- Director of Regeneration and Housing
- Head of Community Engagement and Cohesion
- Director of Environmental Services
- Chief Officer for Voluntary Services
- Head of Leisure and Recreation Services
- Head of Regeneration and Economic Development
- Head of Housing
- Elevate (Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder) Co-ordinator
- Head of Communications

Co-ordinator, Better Burnley Campaign (Burnley Action Partnership)

Vice Chair, Burnley Action Partnership (LSP)

Leader of the Liberal Democrats on Burnley Borough Council

Chief Superintendent, Pennine Division of Lancashire Constabulary

Principal of Burnley College & Member of Learning and Skills Council

Lancashire County Council, District Partnership Officer for Burnley

Director, Lancashire Economic Partnership

Director of East Lancs. Together

Senior councillor, Lancashire County Council

## **PART 3:**

### **Case Study 4 – Leeds**

#### **Narrowing the gap and building harmonious communities? Addressing the social cohesion consequences of economic success in Leeds**

##### **1. Introduction**

1. This case study attempts to describe and analyse contemporary social conditions in Leeds city region<sup>78</sup>. It seeks to identify key indicators of cohesion, the drivers behind cohesion and assesses the role and impact of local and national governance structures and policies. The report begins by providing background on economic, social and physical conditions in Leeds. It then analyses trends and issues in relation to different spatial scales and across a number of key dimensions of social cohesion. The overarching theme that emerges is the challenge facing Leeds in ensuring that the economic success achieved in the last decade is translated into a more cohesive and harmonious city region. The report also assesses the role of public, private and voluntary/community sector activities in contributing to the quest for enhanced social cohesion, and concludes with an assessment of how central government might help.
2. The research undertaken in compiling this report included:
  - analysis of key policy documents;
  - face to face interviews with 15 stakeholders;
  - analysis of selected social and economic statistics for the area.

##### **2. Background**

3. Leeds is the regional capital of the Yorkshire and Humberside region. The Leeds metropolitan area covers 55,000 hectares with a population of 715,402 (2001 Census). The area comprises the city of Leeds itself, surrounded by smaller market towns including Otley, Morley, Pudsey and Wetherby, rural areas and villages, all with their own sense of independent identity, and a significant proportion (two thirds) of green belt land. The Leeds city region comprises 10 local authority areas: Barnsley, Bradford, Calderdale, Craven, Harrogate, Leeds, Kirklees, Selby, Wakefield and York.
4. In the last decade the city of Leeds has achieved a very robust economic performance, with high rates of job growth and falling unemployment. Over the past twenty years the city of Leeds has created more new jobs than any major UK city other than London, and between 1996 and 2002 51,000 additional jobs were created in the city. Independent estimates predict this trend continuing, with 28,000 further new jobs being created in the next ten years, accounting for almost half of newly created jobs in the wider region. Between 1995 and 2005 the Leeds city region

<sup>78</sup> This case study was undertaken in 2005 and therefore reflects the situation at that time.

matched UK average Gross Value Added (GVA) growth, although performance varied across the area (Leeds City Region Development Programme, 2005).

5. Whilst Leeds remains a significant centre for manufacturing, printing and publishing, the most rapid growth has been in the service sectors, predominantly in finance, legal services and creative and cultural industries. The city also contains two successful universities. A major emphasis in Leeds has been on city centre transformation and in particular, the attempt to promote Leeds as a 24-hour city, based on a thriving cultural and entertainment sector. About 10 per cent of employment in Leeds is in manufacturing and around a quarter of jobs are in the public sector. Despite recent growth, the city still has significant areas of deprivation, and unemployment in some inner city wards is seven times higher than in some outer wards. Many interviewees described a doughnut pattern in Leeds, with a thriving city centre and affluent suburbs separated by a ring of deprived neighbourhoods. There are also pockets of deprivation in the surrounding towns and rural villages.

### **3. Key statistical indicators**

6. This short section provides some key statistical information. Other statistics are set out below in the relevant sections of the report. The total population for the Leeds Metropolitan District (LMD) in 2001 was 715,402, which is broken down into age categories in Table 1.

**Table 1: LMD population profile**

Age Groups	Total Persons	Rate (%)
0-4 years	40,871	5.71
5-15	102,220	14.29
16-19	39,439	5.51
20-29	108,981	15.23
30-59	281,176	39.30
Over 60	142,715	19.96
All ages	715,402	

Source: 2001 Census/Regenerating Leeds

7. Leeds' relative economic success rate is reflected in a lower unemployment rate than both the wider Yorkshire and Humber region and the national average. However, the proportion of benefit claimants related to economic inactivity is higher than the average for England.

**Table 2: Economic indicators**

	Leeds	Yorkshire & Humber	England
Unemployment rate *(2002 – %)	4.9	5	5.1
IS/JSA & NI credit claimants (2003)	8.9	9.1	8.5
% Employment change 1995-2003	+9.2	+9.7	+11.5

8. The area statistics provided by Regenerating Leeds give the unemployment rate for Leeds as 2.8 per cent in 2003 (Source: NOMIS). The breakdown for Council-administered benefit claimants is set out in Table 3. As with other large industrial cities, whilst Leeds has experienced a reduction in unemployment (with less than 12,000 people recorded unemployed in 2004), 44,000 people of working age are not in employment, with many claiming sickness benefits.

**Table 3: Council-administered benefit claimants in Leeds Metropolitan District, October 2003**

	Number	Rate (%)
All households	68301	23.02
Households with residents exclusively over 60	32295	10.92
Lone parent households	12342	4.16
Couples with dependent children	3265	1.22
Single people (under 60)	16821	5.67
Couples (under 60) with no dependent children	3118	1.05
Children in households on benefit	31109	21.74
People in households on benefit	112646	15.75

Source: Leeds Benefit Service/Regenerating Leeds

#### **4. The prioritisation of social cohesion within policy responses**

9. A key finding from the research is the extent to which achieving a more cohesive city and city region has emerged as a priority in Leeds, and how this is related to the economic success achieved in the last decade. Four themes can be identified in describing how Leeds is taking forward the cohesion agenda.

*Narrowing the gap between deprived neighbourhoods/individuals and the rest of the city*

10. This aim is reflected in a number of core policy documents. Leeds City Council's *Corporate Plan for 2002-2005* was explicitly entitled '*Closing the Gap*'. In a foreword to this plan, the Leader of the Council states:

"The Council's key concern is that not all people in Leeds are sharing in the success [of a buoyant job market, revitalised city centre and dynamic cultural scene]...The Council is dedicated to regenerating [deprived] communities, and in particular doing more to improve the prospect for young people and those from ethnic minority backgrounds".

11. This approach is linked to the core values of the Council, which include countering poverty and inequality and promoting equality of opportunity. The *Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy for Leeds* maps out the commitment to narrowing the gap between the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Leeds and the rest of the city. These documents set out how equalities issues have come more to the fore in the development of organisational and service initiatives.

12. Similarly, Vision for Leeds, the community strategy developed by Leeds Initiative (the Local Strategic Partnership) recognises that: ‘not everybody has benefited from the success of Leeds and there are still unacceptable differences between different parts of the city’. One of the three core (and equal) aims of the community strategy is: ‘Narrowing the gap between the most disadvantaged people and communities and the rest of the city’. There was widespread support for this priority amongst interviewees, and the point was made that since narrowing the gap is now an official strategic goal, it enables all aspects of policy and service delivery to be challenged more easily with regard to achieving this aim.

*A place of many parts and harmonious communities*

13. In addition to this focus on narrowing the gap, two further themes within the *Vision for Leeds* represent a broadening of the cohesion agenda: fostering a diverse city region (‘a place of many parts’) and creating harmonious communities. The Vision for Leeds identifies the city region as a place of many parts, and seeks to promote Leeds as a city with a strong identity with varied and stable neighbourhoods. Its aims include regenerating and restoring confidence in every part of the city, and celebrating the distinctiveness of all places in Leeds metropolitan area. The Harmonious Communities theme aims recognises a rich mix of cultures and communities, and promotes Leeds as ‘a city of equal opportunity where everyone has a fair chance and people from all backgrounds take part in community life, creating a society that is varied, vibrant and proud’. Its aims include celebrating the value of different religions and cultures, tackling discrimination and inequality and prioritising the development of harmonious communities, partly through tackling behaviour that reduces harmony and respect. These themes are discussed in more detail below.

*Economic competitiveness and social cohesion*

14. In the *2002-2005 Leeds City Council Corporate Plan* there is an explicit linkage between promoting business, the ability to compete effectively in a global economy and enhancing individuals’ employability with ‘contributing to a sense of citizenship.’ In the *Vision for Leeds*, ‘narrowing the gap’ sits alongside two other overarching aims:
  - going up a league as a city – making Leeds an international, competitive city; the best place in the country to live, work and learn, with a high quality of life for everyone;
  - developing Leeds’ role as the regional capital, contributing to the national economy as a competitive European city, supporting and supported by a region that is becoming increasingly prosperous.
15. The *Vision for Leeds* conceptualises these themes as consistent and mutually reinforcing:

‘We cannot achieve these aims separately or independently of each other. A thriving city means a city in which all residents can share in its success. So we cannot succeed in going up a league without narrowing the gap. Similarly, we will only succeed in narrowing the gap if we have a successful economy and connect people to the opportunities we have created.’

16. The synergy between all three aims of the *Vision for Leeds* is symbolised in the work of the Marketing Leeds Company, which seeks to improve the image and reputation of the city. It attempts to promote the diversity of the city as a particular selling point, and to make Leeds better known for this diversity, both in terms of highlighting the fact that two thirds of the city area is green belt land with rural villages, and also recognising and celebrating cultural diversity, for example through promoting the Chapeltown area of Leeds, which has a large African-Caribbean population.
17. This research revealed some tensions between these three aims, which are discussed below. However, it is apparent first that an emphasis on social cohesion has become increasingly important representing a more holistic conceptualisation of the key components of economic success and competitiveness; and that secondly, the commitment to narrowing the gap is perceived by stakeholders as genuine.
18. There are also opportunities to harness some of the benefits of major infrastructure investments for disadvantaged communities, for example, ensuring that local people in Harehills can access employment opportunities in the St James hospital expansion, or opening up opportunities in Harehills through the Supertram line. Similarly, groups such as Business in the Community contribute towards the voluntary and community sectors, and The Leeds Common Purpose programme seeks to develop private sector relationships and lead to a focus on narrowing the gap in health, transport and regeneration activity across the city.

#### *The community cohesion agenda*

19. Both the 2002-05 and 2005-08 *Leeds City Council Corporate Plans* state that the emerging community cohesion agenda is an important development within the narrowing the gap context and that the Council and its partners will ‘respond positively’ to this agenda. In 2002 the Council recognised, post-Cantle<sup>79</sup>, that it was important to develop a systematic approach to cohesion and harmonious communities. This was also driven by a report into an incidence of disorder in the Harehills area of the city, which had, at least in part, a racial element to it. Responding to the community cohesion agenda, and taking forward the Harmonious Communities objectives within the *Vision for Leeds* is being facilitated by the establishment of a Harmonious Communities Strategy Group, led by Leeds City Council, which has equivalent status and authority to the existing strategic working groups within the Leeds Initiative structure. The membership of the group is broad, aiming to identify and involve organisations and infrastructure vehicles representing both communities of place and interest. The group is in its early stages of development, with an aim to formally launch in autumn 2005 and subsequently develop Harmonious Communities action plans and proposals.
20. The following observations about the approach to the community cohesion agenda in Leeds may be made at this stage:
  - Leeds’ approach to building community cohesion is clearly aware of, and responsive to, various recent community cohesion guidance documents emanating from central government.

<sup>79</sup> *Community Cohesion: A report of the independent review team*, chaired by Ted Cantle, Home Office, 2001.

- It is clear that the aim is to embed community cohesion as a key priority and performance outcome across all relevant Council service departments and partner organisations. Such an approach takes considerable time and negotiation but may be expected to deliver significant longer-term impacts. The ultimate aim is that cohesion will not be needed as a separate theme in the next Vision for Leeds community strategy because it will have become integral to all policy and service activity.
- An effort has been made to ensure that champions of cohesion have been appointed to ensure an influential and cross-cutting impact across service delivery, with senior people appointed to drive the cohesion agenda forward, and that the role of senior champions has been vital in ensuring that community cohesion can begin to be mainstreamed across Council departments and partner organisations.
- A deliberate attempt has been made to ensure considerable input into developing the working group and its activities from a wide variety of organisations and interest groups, including faith and Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups.
- Considerable time and activity has been devoted to developing an understanding of community cohesion as a concept and to develop a definition of cohesion that will be particularly applicable to Leeds. As such, the following key points about the cohesion agenda in Leeds have emerged:
  - cohesion is wider than an equality agenda, but equality is a key and important part;
  - cohesion is more than a ‘black and white’ issue, but includes a focus on breaking down tensions and building relationships within and between all communities: old and young; urban and rural; non-disabled and disabled; settled and travelling communities; host and refugee communities;
  - cohesion requires addressing perception and not just facts. Perception and myths are identified as fuelling tensions between communities;
  - cohesion is about ensuring that people feel they have an investment in Leeds, that they are valued and they are involved in schools, in work and in the place they live.
- A clear attempt is underway to ensure that community cohesion can be made operational: that is that the issues are tangible and that performance indicators can be developed and monitored. For example, a suite of new performance indicators are being developed within the 2005-08 City Council Corporate Plan, including increasing the number of racial incidents recorded by the authority, increasing the percentage of local people who feel local ethnic differences are respected and increasing the percentage of local people who feel they belong to their local areas. There is on-going work to develop more sophisticated and fine grained data sets in relation to cohesion at both neighbourhood and city wide levels.
- Leeds City Council has worked with Leeds Initiative to strengthen the community cohesion element of the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy for Leeds, and there are crucial roles for the Leeds Initiative Cultural Partnership and BME strategy group in taking the agenda forward.

- The community cohesion agenda has involved a focus on narrowing the gap between the rest of the city and both geographical communities (the seven most deprived wards in the city) and marginalised groups.
- There are clear advantages in having ‘harmonious communities’ and ‘a place of many parts’ as explicit themes in the community strategy, as this both enables a range of partners to formally sign up to this agenda, and enables policy outcomes to be formally reviewed.
- Challenges arise given that this is the first time that Leeds has sought to explicitly develop cohesion issues across all its departments and partners, and there is a continuing need to define cohesion and its conceptual and practical relationship to existing concepts of equality and diversity. Cohesion is at present interpreted differently by different groups and organisations in the city.
- There is a challenge in prioritising cohesion outcomes within performance targets and indicators, and ensuring consistency between cohesion aims and other statutory performance requirements.
- There is a need to ensure that cohesion objectives are embedded in all strategic partnership plans affecting the city and in new initiatives and projects.
- There is a need to build and develop capacity and support around the community cohesion agenda, both amongst public sector organisations and amongst local communities and city-wide communities of interest.
- There is a balance to be struck in ensuring the community cohesion agenda moves forward through established structures and undertaking activity, and in ensuring that the concept has been negotiated and defined and that due process has been taken in ensuring that all necessary partners and communities of interest have been able to participate.

## In summary:

21. Enhancing social cohesion is given an increasing priority in strategic visioning and planning for Leeds, based upon:
  - linking economic competitiveness with achieving social cohesion and seeing them as inter-related and mutually reinforcing;
  - narrowing the gap between disadvantaged neighbourhoods and groups and the rest of the city;
  - recognising Leeds as a city and region of different places and promoting and celebrating strong identities based on these;
  - building harmonious communities though celebrating diversity of cultures and lifestyles and strengthening cohesion within and between local communities;
  - linking existing strategic cohesion aims and values to the emerging community cohesion agenda promoted by central government.

## 5. Spatial dimensions of cohesion

22. The Thriving Places theme of *Vision for Leeds* identifies the different forms of place and community that comprise the city metropolitan area, and sets out the importance of developing a local vision for each rural area, market town and city neighbourhood. The city's cohesiveness benefits from a strong pride and identification with Leeds amongst its population, symbolised for example in city football and rugby teams, and similarly Yorkshire has a very strong regional identity. The dynamics of, and policy conceptualisation of cohesion in Leeds are based on four spatial scales:

- the city centre;
- city neighbourhoods;
- the city and the region;
- the city region in the national context.

### *The city centre*

23. Leeds city centre symbolises both the economic success of the city and also the challenges to cohesion the city faces. 30 per cent of the jobs in the Yorkshire and the Humber Region are in Leeds city centre, and there has been substantial private sector investment, particularly in the financial leisure, cultural and retail sectors. However, *Vision for Leeds* recognises that 'the jobs and wealth in the city centre are not spreading to neighbouring communities and the region quickly enough'. One common aim of the Leeds Initiative and Leeds City Council is to address this issue by improving recruitment from deprived neighbourhoods into city centre jobs. The fact that the city centre management structures, which are predominately private sector led, are somewhat distinct from the new structures with five district partnerships areas governing the rest of the city (see section 7), also creates challenges in linking city centre development and economic success to the aims of narrowing the gap and creating harmonious communities.
24. Some interviewees reported that a perceived focus upon, and enhanced investment and service provision within, the city centre had created some degree of disconnection and disillusionment amongst some sections of the city's population, particularly in deprived neighbourhoods. For example, one interviewee suggested that the on-going debate in Leeds about the need for a significant new symbolic cultural venue in the city centre risked disillusioning residents in other neighbourhoods who felt spatially, socially and culturally alienated from the city centre developments.
25. It is also recognised that much of the wealth generated in the city centre does not remain in Leeds, or even the wider city region. This dimension operates on a number of levels. Firstly, the fact that large numbers of workers commute into the city centre, and that the levels of commuting are set to increase in the next few years, symbolised again that wealth creation in the city centre was benefiting surrounding towns and villages and the wider city region rather than many city residents, while placing additional strain on Leeds transport infrastructure.

26. Secondly, the promotion of Leeds as a 24-hour city has created a dynamic cultural and leisure sector, but there were concerns, recognised in *Vision for Leeds*, that the city centre could be safer and more welcoming to people of all ages and groups. In particular, there is a perception amongst some interviewees that the 24-hour city has become largely based on a binge drinking culture for young people, to the exclusion of older generations and families. Some interviewees also suggested that BME individuals may be excluded from city centre activities, and that strong action on begging and Big Issue sellers had pushed vulnerable individuals out of the city centre, but had failed to address their underlying problems. This was countered by other respondents who argued that Leeds had increasingly focused on the resettlement of offenders and vulnerable groups. Of course it is important to realise that intimidation and exclusion may be interpreted in different ways and may impact on different groups, for example high levels of crime and youth disorder act to informally exclude older groups from the centre.
27. Again, the fact that the large numbers of bars and clubs in the city centre attracted very large numbers of young people from throughout the region created additional demands on Leeds' transport, policing and environmental services, fuelling the perception that Leeds' residents were carrying the burden whilst the benefits of a vibrant city centre were often gained in the wider region rather than the city itself.
28. In addition to improving the economic connections between the city centre and surrounding neighbourhoods, considerable activity is being undertaken to reduce the physical segregation of deprived neighbourhoods, which serve as a powerful visible symbol of the perceived two speed economy in the city. For example, the deprived Richmond Hill area on the edge of the city centre is adjacent to a newly developed and very expensive flat development, which is essentially barricaded. Attempts are being made to expand the city centre and, through physical transformation, to connect the city centre to the surrounding deprived neighbourhoods of Aire Valley, Beeston Hill and Holbeck and Harehills. A civic architect is engaged in looking at redesigning these boundary areas to open up connections to neighbourhoods, for example, addressing the fact that the motorway isolates Harehills from the city centre and through the waterfront strategy to improve access from neighbourhoods to the centre. Such opportunities also exist where Holbeck Urban Village is showing signs of becoming an attractive and 'trendy' area of the city, and is located on the edge of a very deprived ward.

### *City neighbourhoods*

29. Much of the pattern of polarisation in Leeds is manifested at neighbourhood level and neighbourhoods are increasingly identified as the appropriate social and spatial mechanism for seeking to narrow the gap and foster harmonious communities. Three main elements of these strategies may be identified:
- Improving the spatial and physical connection between the city centre and deprived neighbourhoods.
  - Focusing regeneration activity on the most deprived neighbourhoods in the city, including Aire Valley, Beeston Hill, Gipton, Harehills, Holbeck and West Leeds Gateway. One opportunity for the city lies in the major landholdings, often in regeneration areas and predominately brown field sites, which offer the scope for long term redevelopment, facilitated by substantial private sector investment.

- Narrowing the gap between deprived neighbourhoods and the rest of the city on a range of social and economic indicators, by for example, attempting to ensure that no community has an unemployment rate more than 2 percent above city average, or a crime rate that is more than double the city average. This approach recognises the need to ensure that human and social capital are enhanced in deprived neighbourhoods, along with improved service provision, if physical regeneration is to be sustainable. It also acknowledges that particular groups across the city also suffer disadvantage, and whilst this will often manifest itself in geographical concentration, for example BME communities, this is not always the case.
30. Finally, the *Vision for Leeds* and City Council policy documents promote interconnectivity and improved relationships and understanding between neighbourhoods, for example through the establishment of a new community festival. Addressing the stigmatisation, poor image and reputation of deprived neighbourhoods amongst the rest of the city's population is also recognised as an explicit aim in *Vision for Leeds*. It is too early to evaluate what impact the new devolved governance structures (see section 7) will have on this aim.

### *The City and the Region*

31. Leeds metropolitan area has a very large administrative boundary, including outlying towns and rural areas. Indeed two thirds of the Leeds area is green belt land, which is seen as a major opportunity in attracting economic investment. The Thriving Places: a place of many parts, theme of *Vision for Leeds* recognises this diversity of places and communities and stresses the importance of ensuring 'that all people who live in Leeds identify with it and all of its places'. *Vision for Leeds* acknowledges that not all places outwith the city are realising their potential. Three strategies to address this issue may be identified:
- developing the surrounding market towns of Otley, Pudsey, Wetherby and Morley through a market towns urban renaissance programme led by the Yorkshire Forward regional development agency;
  - developing the identity and performance of identified district centres throughout the region, including Bramley, Guiseley, Headingley, Garforth, Seacroft, Armley and Moortown;
  - developing local area visions and plans, including rural areas and villages and linking this to the wider devolution and localisation agenda for governance and service delivery (see section 7).
32. The size of Leeds' administrative boundary, and the range of places within it, has resulted in increased diversity and pressure on service provision. It was pointed out that this may also impact on resource levels from central government, as the relative wealth in the suburbs and surrounding areas 'dilutes' overall deprivation measures for the city, thereby reducing central government allocations. It is also not clear to what extent the promotion of strong locally based identities and governance structures may be in tension with attempts to foster a cohesive attachment towards Leeds as a whole.

33. The third strategic aim of *Vision for Leeds* is to develop Leeds role as the regional capital. This new aim represents a recent acknowledgement of the need for Leeds to develop a stronger leadership role in the wider region, to be taken forward through the Leeds City Region Development Programme. Both policy documents and interviewees recognised that the city has not yet developed robust partnerships with neighbouring local authorities, towns and cities in the region, and this has become a priority for strategic policy. It is also apparent that new regional policy structures and funding programmes are creating drivers towards greater co-operation, and the development of the concept of the Leeds City region, particularly with its neighbouring local authorities of Barnsley, Bradford, Calderdale, Craven, Harrogate, Kirklees, Selby, Wakefield and York. This is closely linked to the central role conceptualised for the Leeds City region in the Northern Way strategy (Leeds City Region Development programme, 2005).
34. Leeds policy documents are explicit about the need to promote wider economic success of the city region, for example by improving the productivity and innovation index performance on a regional basis, and ensuring that some of the economic success of Leeds is distributed throughout the city region. One tension arising here is how this focus upon using the wealth generating function of the city to enhance the economic performance of the region may be reconciled with the need to narrow the gap between neighbourhoods within the city itself, and the extent to which Leeds as an administrative centre has the capacity to take on a coalition and partnership leadership role for the wider region. There are aspirations to promote the common identity of the wider region, but this may prove difficult to achieve given the strong attachment and identity individual communities have to their own cities, towns and villages.
35. Regional development is taken forward by Yorkshire Forward, the regional development agency, which has developed the new regional spatial strategy, and the Yorkshire and Humber Assembly, the regional strategic partnership that includes the region's 22 local authorities and other partner agencies. As part of the *Vision for Leeds* aims of promoting the city as the regional capital, Leeds will seek to play a more prominent leadership role in the promotion of the wider Yorkshire and Humber region, through the Leeds City Region Development Programme and the Northern Way strategies.

#### *The City Region in the National Context*

36. This regional strategy also influences another theme to emerge from the research: the growing emphasis within Leeds on narrowing the gap between the north and other parts of the UK and promoting the northern regions as an economic alternative to London and the South East, through the Northern Way development strategy. This is leading to an expansion of partnership working between Leeds and other city regions, most notably Manchester, where opportunities have been identified to offer genuine alternatives to London. This links together the aim for Leeds to go up a league as an international city with a more prominent role in enhancing the regional performance beyond the city region boundaries. Interviewees acknowledged that this broadening of scope was a new challenge for the city, and involved the creation of new partnership structures, as well as a shift from the traditional conceptualisation of Leeds and Manchester as essentially in competition with each other. Whilst policy documents set out the aim of promoting Leeds, the Leeds city region and the north

of England as an alternative economic location to London, Vision for Leeds also states that Leeds will seek to develop links with the capital and become a supporting centre for London's international role in order to further economic development in both cities.

### In summary:

- The drivers of cohesion or polarisation in Leeds play out at a number of spatial scales, including the city centre, neighbourhoods, villages and towns, the city region and neighbouring city regions.
- The city centre is both symbolic of the economic success of Leeds and the challenges this has created in relation to social cohesion.
- Ensuring that the success of the city centre is distributed more widely to other neighbourhoods of the city and the wider city region and connecting the city centre more robustly to deprived neighbourhoods and the wider region are key priorities for Leeds. There are some tensions between trying to promote social cohesion at and between these spatial scales at the same time as promoting the diversity and identity of the many places within Leeds city region.
- Leeds is seeking to play a stronger leadership role in its city region and wider regional context, necessitating a strong emphasis on regional-level strategies and new forms of partnership. At both regional and UK levels, there is a difficult balance between economic and governance co-operation and competition.

## 6. Socio-economic dimensions of cohesion

37. This section explores a number of dimensions of cohesion in the Leeds city metropolitan area.

### *Employment and income*

38. Between 1991 and 1998 the number of jobs in Leeds grew by 41,200 and the proportion of people claiming unemployment benefit in the city fell from 9 percent in 1993 to 4 percent in 2000. However, whilst this economic improvement has been fuelled by flourishing financial, business, cultural and leisure services sectors, other sectors of the economy have declined. This economic restructuring has polarised the local economy, with a growing divide between well paid, highly skilled jobs in expanding sectors and long-term unemployment, low paid, low skilled and insecure casual occupations (Leeds Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy). The emergence of what some interviewees termed a two speed economy in the Leeds city region is now recognised by policy makers, and is linked to other aspects of neighbourhood decline and inequality of life opportunities, whereby a two speed economy is a key driver of what is termed a two speed city. As stated above, the spatial pattern of economic and social development in Leeds has created a doughnut effect in the city itself, whereby multi-deprived neighbourhoods are sandwiched between an affluent city centre and suburbs.

39. According to Leeds City Council data for 2001, the unemployment rate for Leeds was 4 percent (compared to a UK average of approximately 3 percent), but the unemployment rate in the worst ward was 12 percent compared to 1 percent in some other wards. Similarly, the proportion of workless households ranged from 19 per cent in the highest ward to 2 per cent in other wards, against a Leeds average of 8 per cent (Leeds Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy).
40. A similar pattern emerges for households on low incomes. 25 per cent of households in Leeds were on low incomes in May 2001, but in some wards this proportion rose to 48 per cent, compared to 10 per cent in some other wards. The proportion of households claiming means tested Council benefits can rise to 60 per cent in smaller neighbourhoods.

**Table 4: Economic indicators between wards, 2001**

	Highest Ward	Lowest Ward	Leeds
Unemployment (%)	12	1	4
Workless Households (%)	19	2	8
Households on Low Income (%)	47	10	25

Source: Leeds Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy

41. The drivers of this polarisation include industrial restructuring, resulting in a skills mismatch between deprived neighbourhoods and new opportunities in the prospering service, cultural and financial sectors of the city region economy and the poor attainment levels in schools in deprived neighbourhoods. In relation to social cohesion, interviewees argued that relative, rather than absolute poverty was the key element, and that the increasing affluence in many parts of the city, most visibly and symbolically in the city centre, contributed to an increasing sense of marginalisation amongst disadvantaged neighbourhoods and groups.

### *Housing*

42. Housing distribution in Leeds reflects the general doughnut pattern of the city, with very large contiguous concentrations of social housing in a ‘ring’ between the city centre and suburbs. This segregates populations, and leads to concentrations of disadvantage, with neighbourhoods suffering 50 percent or more benefit dependency, high levels of crime, other social problems and environmental degradation. Although 61.7 per cent of Leeds housing stock was owner-occupied in 2001, Leeds has a higher than national average of social rented housing, with almost a quarter of the stock (24.7 per cent) in this tenure (20.5 per cent Council and 4.2 per cent Registered Social Landlords), and a larger than national average (13.6 per cent) private rented sector. In 2003 42 per cent of properties in the city were in Council Tax Band A (Source: Regenerating Leeds).
43. However, many social rented estates in Leeds are not ‘typical’ housing renewal areas as house prices are not usually in the low demand spectrum. Average house prices increased by 130 per cent in Leeds between 1995 and 2003 and now stand at £118,000 (2005). This increase is greater than for the Yorkshire and Humber region (117 per cent), but lower than the average for England in this period (142 per cent).

44. The local authority stock comprises 70,000 homes, which are now managed through six Arms Length Management Organisations (ALMOs). Much of this stock is concentrated into very large and contiguous estates, adding to the concentration and polarisation of deprivation in the city.
45. As with other service area providers in the city, Leeds City Council Housing Services department has developed a series of action points in relation to community cohesion. These include monitoring the cohesion impacts of both the Supporting People and Homelessness strategies.
46. Alongside the creation of ALMOs, the most important recent development in social housing in the city is the introduction of a choice-based letting system across the ALMO and registered social landlord stock. A key priority is the monitoring of lettings to BME groups and disabled individuals. There are also plans to extend this monitoring to refugees. Choice based letting has resulted in reduced turnover and void properties, which may aid community cohesion and stability. However, it does not by itself address issues of demand and supply. The transparency and monitoring of allocations through the new choice- based system should enable improved information about trends and patterns of housing decisions across the city.
47. Housing allocation policies also impact on intergenerational cohesion. A number of ALMOs and social registered landlords in Leeds have introduced lettings systems that allocate properties solely to young people or elderly people, in part to ensure better provision of appropriate services and to diffuse the tensions arising from clashes of lifestyle. The wider issue here is whether the segregation of young and old (even on a small scale in individual properties) ultimately improves wider community cohesion through diffusing tensions and enhancing community sustainability. The view in Leeds seems to be that this is the case, although transparency about such restricted allocation policies is essential.
48. The fragmentation of housing governance also raises issues about the extent to which a community cohesion agenda can be applied across all tenures. The Council is only one player here, and there is a recognised need to ensure that cohesion aims are incorporated into the activities of registered social landlords, and with more difficulty, private landlords. There is at present a BME housing association, Unity operating in the city.
49. Housing management also has a key role in supporting vulnerable people in tenancies, dealing with community tensions and taking action against anti-social behaviour, all of which impact on cohesion. Tenant participation structures are developed with a city wide strategic Tenants Federation. It is acknowledged by housing policy makers in Leeds that that ensuring ethnic minority representation in tenant participation structures has proved to be a difficult challenge.
50. The role of housing development and property services is also sensitive with regard to cohesion. There is a dilemma about ensuring that the most deprived and vulnerable communities are targeted, but also presenting an even handed approach to the timing and levels of development resources between all local communities in the city.

### *Education*

51. 44 percent of pupils in Leeds achieved 5 or more GCSEs at A to C grades in 2003, and this represents a steady increase from 38 per cent in 1998. However, this figure remains marginally below the Yorkshire and Humber region, and significantly below the average for England. There is also a great deal of variation in the performance of schools in Leeds. In 2000, some state sector schools in the city achieved over 70 percent of pupils with 5 or more GCSEs at A to C grades, whilst other state sector schools had figures as low as four percent (Sources: Education Leeds and Department for Education and Skills). The pattern of low attainment in Leeds' schools mirrors that of deprivation, and creates a concentration effect. For example, interviewees reported that almost all local primary schools in some neighbourhoods have very low achievement levels. BME pupils are also disadvantaged, with only 8 percent of Bangladeshi pupils and 29 per cent of black Caribbean pupils achieving five GCSEs at A\* to C grades compared to a city average of 42 per cent. Focusing on the learning needs of BME children and ensuring that BME pupils achieve the same levels of attainment at GCSE levels are key aims in the *Vision for Leeds* strategy.
52. Education in its broader sense was identified by all interviewees as central to improving social cohesion, both through creating access to employment, but also to increase knowledge and understanding between different groups and communities. In particular, *Vision for Leeds* conceptualises the promotion of lifelong learning as fundamental in creating a more tolerant city and fostering unity between and within communities.

### *Health*

53. Although the death rate in Leeds city metropolitan area has fallen by 5 per cent in the last decade, there are still significant disparities between neighbourhoods. Incidences of lung cancer and coronary disease are higher in deprived neighbourhoods, and the rate of early death in the six most deprived areas of Leeds is more than double that of the most affluent areas. This gap between deprived neighbourhoods and rest of city region is narrowing on some indicators. However, it was reported that measuring heart disease, for example, offers only proxy indicators, and that there is a need for more specific information targeted at marginalised and disadvantaged groups.
54. As with housing, there has been a fragmentation of health provision in the city, with five Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) now operating across the area, which creates challenges in ensuring that cohesion issues are incorporated into the policies and services of a diverse range of organisations. However, the fact that PCTs have existing diversity and public engagement officers provides opportunities to build cohesion issues into all aspects of PCT activity. A lot of health activity is focused on geographically defined deprived neighbourhoods, through a series of Healthy Living Centres (based upon Health Action Zone funding) but there are also attempts to reach communities of interest on a city-wide basis, for example through a BME group and also a prisons group. Work has also been undertaken through the five district partnerships, Leeds Voice and the Health Forum to reach excluded groups, for example by seeking BME representation on the Health Forum.

55. It is apparent that health service provision can make a significant contribution to the social cohesion agenda. In particular, health providers play an important role in reaching excluded groups and therefore potentially contributing to cohesion issues, for example through contact and work with gay groups and drug users. The Healthy Leeds Partnerships operates under the Leeds Initiative umbrella. Within its work there is an increasing focus on community development as part of a community based health strategy, although there are challenges arising from the relatively weak legacy of community development activity in the city (see below). There is also an important role for health in cohesion strategies given its relatively strong relationship with the voluntary sector in the city. The health service sector in Leeds has attempted to improve outreach work with marginalised groups in the city and to improve databases and sharing of information about these groups. It has also developed work on measuring social capital, symbolising the importance of strengthened and cohesive communities to the health strategy of the city. The Strategic Services Programme has focused on health and other inequalities based on disparities in the levels of access to services between communities and groups and the need to enhance outreach services. There has also been health-led intergenerational work within local communities, and it is apparent that the network of healthy living centres across the city offers opportunities to take forward the social cohesion agenda.

#### *Community safety*

56. Community safety activity in Leeds is co-ordinated by the Leeds Community Safety Partnership, which develops the Leeds Community Safety Strategy. Overall crime levels in Leeds have fallen since 1998, although the city centre and Holbeck have amongst the highest levels of theft in the UK, and burglary rates are much greater in some neighbourhoods, including some less deprived communities. Leeds, like other major cities, also has a significant problem with drug use and dealing and some gang-related activity. Again, these problems and their impacts are largely concentrated in deprived neighbourhoods. Crime and anti-social behaviour have significant impacts on social exclusion and cohesion, and tackling these issues remains a key priority within strategic policy making in the city. The following key issues may be identified:
- The main sites where community safety activity is being targeted are the city centre and deprived neighbourhoods.
  - In particular, the binge drinking culture amongst young people in the city centre is reported to have led to the exclusion of other groups and increased levels of public disorder in the city.
  - As with other cities, there are issues around tensions between young people, including students, and the rest of the population. Although not as pronounced as other urban areas, some crimes and disorder have a racial dimension, and focusing on crimes of racial harassment and ‘disrespect’ are a priority for the Safer Leeds strategy.
  - An explicit aim of Leeds strategic vision is to narrow the gap between crime rates in deprived neighbourhoods and elsewhere. There have been some significant decreases in levels of repeat victimisation in the worst affected neighbourhoods.

- Leeds' community safety strategy is based on a three-tier approach of prevention, enforcement and resettlement. Interviewees acknowledged that to date the emphasis has been on enforcement, with prominent use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders and dispersal orders and growing numbers of neighbourhood wardens and community police support officers. This raised concerns about the social cohesion impacts of such an approach, particularly in relation to the exclusion of young people and vulnerable individuals being displaced from the city centre. There is evidence that these issues are being addressed through a shift towards a greater emphasis on prevention and intensive support, for example the greater use of Acceptable Behaviour Contracts and youth development work.
- There is evidence of improved multi-agency working, including by the police; a more holistic balance between prevention, support and enforcement and a focus upon community development and engagement.
- There are growing linkages between community safety and the strategic aim of building harmonious communities, and the increasing prioritisation of community cohesion is resulting in a greater emphasis on community development in deprived neighbourhoods, reducing the previous focus on enforcement and 'protecting' the city centre.

*Race, ethnicity and religion*

- Around 10 per cent of Leeds city population comprises BME groups, with several well-established ethnic communities in the city. Census data reveals significant increases in the numerical size of African, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian and Pakistani groups in Leeds between 1991-2001, although there was a fall in the number of African-Caribbean individuals. BME groups are heavily concentrated in specific locations in the city. Chapeltown has a large African-Caribbean population, and there are large Asian populations in Harehills and Beeston. There is also a Jewish population in the north of the city. The pattern of BME residence mirrors that of deprivation in Leeds, leading some interviewees to refer to a 'ghettoisation' of BME populations in the city. The asylum dispersal programme has also brought new ethnic groups into the city, most notably Iraqi Kurds and Eastern Europeans, and this has changed the dynamics of ethnic relations in the city (see below).
- However, most interviewees also stated that 'Leeds was not Bradford.' This may be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it is clear that Leeds has not experienced the levels and degree of racial tensions that Bradford and other northern English towns have witnessed in recent years. On the other hand, some respondents argued that the relatively low proportions of BME groups and their concentration in specific pockets of the city has also contributed to a degree of invisibility, which has made it harder for BME groups to make their voice heard and for their contribution to be recognised than is the case in other large cities.

**Table 5: Ethnicity in Leeds**

<b>White</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Asian or Asian</b>	<b>%</b>
British	89.16	Indian	1.72
Irish	1.20	Pakistani	2.11
White other	1.49	Bangladeshi	0.35
Mixed		Other Asian	0.33
White and Black Caribbean	0.64	Black or Black British	
White and Black African	0.12	Black Caribbean	0.94
White and Asian	0.35	Black African	0.34
Other Mixed	0.24	Other Black	0.16
Chinese	0.48	Other Ethnicity	0.35

Source: 2001 Census and [www.leeds-statistics.org](http://www.leeds-statistics.org)**Table 6: Religion in Leeds**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>% of Leeds population</b>
Christian	68.86
Muslim	2.99
Jewish	1.16
Sikh	1.06
Hindu	0.58
Other religions	0.21
No religion	16.79
Not stated	8.12

Source: 2001 Census and [www.leeds-statistics.org](http://www.leeds-statistics.org)

59. It was reported that the tensions that do exist tend to be localised, and that incidences such as the disturbance in Harehills tend to be spontaneous. Some interviewees also argued that such tensions and incidents were often as much issues around young people than they were about race. It is also the case that, whilst in some neighbourhoods there is a degree of polarisation around schools and housing, the situation in Leeds is not one of segregated parallel lives, described in other towns and cities. Whilst it was widely reported that BME groups had to an extent been left behind in Leeds' economic success, and that wider marginals made people more conscious of differences in opportunities, there was some degree of social mobility amongst BME groups.
60. Some of the tensions also exist between and within BME communities. These tensions between all ethnic groupings in Leeds often crystallise around perceived unfairness and advantage in the allocation of services, most notably housing and cultural facilities. Council officers themselves acknowledged that whilst they had provided cultural facilities for BME groups in the past, this was proving to be more difficult for more recently established ethnic communities in the city. This was an

important issue because such cultural facilities often provided a focal point for city-wide ethnic populations, and also offered a site of interaction between BME groups and service providers, which led to BME groups establishing their own organisations and delivering support networks and local services, thus enhancing the strength of their communities.

61. In part, these tensions reflect disparities in the degree of economic and political power achieved by different BME populations. The perception of interviewees was that Asian groups had tended to do better than African-Caribbean groups (although Indian Sikhs and Hindus had done better than Pakistanis and Bangladeshis). This was also evident in terms of political leadership and representation, where it was reported that Asian individuals were more likely to be in senior positions and to be represented in governance structures than African-Caribbeans.
62. There is a British National Party (BNP) presence in Leeds, and whilst this becomes more visible at election times or after specific events (such as the 2005 General Election or the trial of Nick Griffen, the BNP party leader, which was held in Leeds), there is also on-going BNP activity in some neighbourhoods. As with BNP strategies in other cities, much of their focus is on deprived and largely white estates. The Leeds Unite group was established to monitor and challenge BNP activity, but this is sometimes difficult as incidents often flare up rapidly and are hard to predict, although it was suggested that evidence need be interpreted more thoroughly, drawing on information from a wider range of sources. Fear of crime remains a major issue in BME communities. The important point was made that those engaged in racial hate crime are often the same individuals harassing other sections of local communities.
63. There was a degree of frustration amongst some interviewees that Leeds had not been as quick as it should have been in addressing gaps between BME groups and others, that BME groups were not adequately represented in governance structures (although there is a BME strategy group within the Leeds Initiative), that the growth in the proportion of the BME population amongst younger age groups had not been adequately reflected, and that BME groups were operating on reduced and precarious capacity levels. Of course issues about funding and capacity in the voluntary sector are not specific to Leeds.
64. However, there are a number of developments in Leeds that were positively welcomed by all the interviewees. These include the establishment of community tension monitoring systems and hate incident reporting centres (in locations other than police stations, following the recommendations of the McPherson Report). 250 such centres have been established throughout West Yorkshire, with 56 to date in Leeds, including in Council offices, Citizens Advice Bureaux and community centres. These centres have taken 1,000 reports, and there is a target set by West Yorkshire Police to raise the number of received complaints for each of the next five years. Leeds Racial Harassment project provides, amongst other services, a free phone line, operated in nine languages. The True Vision initiative also aims to facilitate hate incident reporting through providing on-line reporting facilities and reporting packs.
65. West Yorkshire Police has also sought to improve its relationship with BME communities, through increasing recruitment from BME groups, community development work and the establishment of independent scrutiny panels for hate incident and stop and search cases. There are four such panels in Leeds.

66. Faith groups have achieved a relatively strong presence in governance and representative structures in Leeds, most notably through the umbrella Faiths Forum, although there are issues around its resources and capacity levels. There are strong relations between all the organised faiths in the city, although there are issues about achieving representation from different sections of some faith groups. Whilst there were some reported incidents arising from Islamophobia, where tensions in Leeds exist, they seem more related to race rather than religion. Anti-Semitic incidents were reported to be less of a problem in Leeds than some other areas.
67. There was a consensus amongst interviewees that the celebration of diversity in the city and the contribution of BME and various faith groups to the city needed to be promoted, including celebrating particular geographical BME communities.

*Young people*

68. Improving the life opportunities of young people, both as a group and also within deprived neighbourhoods and BME communities is a recurring theme of the *Vision for Leeds* and City Council policy documents. Young people's issues are addressed through a range of strategy groups and partnership structures. Key issues to emerge in relation to young people and cohesion in Leeds included the need to foster their engagement in decision-making structures, such as the promotion of a Youth Council and the need to locate more facilities and educational opportunities for young people in order to reduce the over-reliance on the city centre. Although much of the crime and anti-social behaviour strategy in Leeds has focused on young people, youth workers indicated that they had no particular sense that young people feel more victimised and alienated in the city than before.

*Older people*

69. Leeds City Council Housing Services is developing a Leeds Older People's Housing Strategy with a supporting steering group which will monitor cohesion issues. Some interviewees argued that Leeds had spent less on older people than comparable large cities, and that this was now being addressed through attempts to shift funding from some other areas towards this group. There is a programme of inter generational work in Leeds schools to improve relations between young people and the elderly, and the possible exclusion of older people from the city centre arising from the 24 hour city initiatives is also being considered.

*Women*

70. Research published by the Women in Leeds Working Group, funded by Leeds Initiative indicates that:
  - a lower proportion of the female workforce in Leeds are qualified to NVQ 3 or equivalent, that lone parents and carers are less likely to be qualified, and that women are less likely to have been engaged in training;
  - women are less likely to be unemployed, although the reverse is true for women from Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities. Women are more likely to be working part time and to be in lower skilled occupations;

- Women and men in Leeds are almost equally likely to report being in good health, although health levels amongst women from Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities are poorer than for other ethnic groups in the city.
71. As with other groups in the city, recent research has identified the need for an improvement in monitoring systems and data, facilitating a more formal impact assessment approach and ‘mainstreaming’ women’s issues across service providers and strategic action plans.

#### *Students*

72. In common with many other city regions in the UK, Leeds has placed a considerable emphasis on the importance of further and higher education and building a knowledge and skills based economy in order to ensure economic competitiveness and to contribute towards the cultural success, diversity and image of the city. Students now comprise 10.7 per cent of Leeds’ population, significantly higher than the regional average (7.4 per cent), and double the proportion in 1991. The city has over 45,000 university and 74,000 college students, making it one of the most popular places to study in the UK. The University of Leeds is now rated as one of the countries top 10 universities. However, the expansion of the student population has raised a number of cohesion issues, and illustrates how a ‘thriving’ economic and cultural context can create new dimensions of exclusion and tension.
73. These tensions are played out in two key arenas. Firstly, in the university areas around Headingley, demand for housing and student accommodation has increased dramatically. This has led to spiralling house prices and a growth in the transformation of dwellings into multi-occupancy properties. There was a belief amongst interviewees that this had resulted in the exclusion of many ‘local’ people from the property market, with a negative consequence on community cohesion and sustainability, given the transient nature of the student population in this area. Secondly tension has been created in these communities due to clashing lifestyles between students and elderly residents in particular, and increasing incidences of reported anti-social behaviour. Thirdly, there were tensions between students and other young people in the area, which had led to conflict and some degree of victimisation of students. These tensions between students and other young populations also arise in the arena of the city centre.

#### *Asylum seekers and refugees*

74. Leeds has a long tradition of accommodating refugees, dating back to Irish and Jewish migrations. Yorkshire and Humberside has taken the largest number of asylum seekers outside London through the Home Office’s national dispersal programme, with 9171 recorded in the region in December 2004. Leeds has the largest numbers of asylum seekers within the 11 local authorities that comprise the Yorkshire and Humberside Asylum Consortium (2087 in December 2004: Source Yorkshire and Humberside Asylum Consortium). Leeds Asylum Service co-ordinates support services to asylum seekers and ‘host’ communities. Prior to the dispersal programme there were very few asylum seekers in Leeds, but since 1999, Leeds has been heavily involved, including taking refugees from the evacuation of Kosovo and in the interim dispersal programme.

75. The ability of Leeds to respond to issues arising from asylum has evolved considerably since 2000. Responsibility for the Leeds Asylum Service has moved from social services to housing and neighbourhoods, and involves a wide range of partner organisations. A central issue is the allocation of housing to asylum seekers in the city. The allocation processes is based on a layered mapping exercise, including such criteria as existing BME communities, languages, the proximity of services such as schools and GPs, cultural and religious centres. This mapping exercise has become more sophisticated and refined over time. There is recognition that initially, too many commonalities were assumed between existing BME groups and asylum seekers, which led to tensions between them. The fact that asylum seekers were often housed near or within existing BME populations and, by necessity, in lower demand housing stock, also created a pattern of asylum seeker dispersal that mirrored the pattern of deprivation in the city, which exacerbates polarisation.
76. Leeds City Council has introduced a choice-based lettings system, and it is hoped that this may facilitate better integration of asylum seekers into local communities. However, there are some tensions between the time period for re-housing requirements under the dispersal programme agreement and the timescale for allocation through the choice-based letting system. As part of Leeds City Council Housing Services community cohesion action plan, lettings to refugees will be geographically monitored. There is also reported to be improved monitoring of refugee allocations amongst partner registered social landlords, and more robust monitoring of service needs and community tensions. It has proved more difficult to monitor lettings undertaken by private landlords, and as these often result in housing asylum seekers within poorest housing stock within the most deprived neighbourhoods, this adds to community polarisation and arising community tensions.
77. The fact that asylum processes have led to a visible change in some local communities in Leeds has created some tensions, in particular, based around a perception of groups of young men hanging around. This in part reflects the culture of asylum seekers' homelands, but is also a function of the present system that prevents asylum seekers from gaining employment. There are also tensions arising from perceptions of access to Council and other services. For example, there are ongoing issues about the provision of housing stock to asylum seekers having negative consequences for other residents waiting to be housed. Similarly whilst many GP services have been supportive of asylum seekers, this also places strains on their resources and their ability to maintain services to other residents. The general election campaign was regarded as unhelpful in raising tensions and perpetuating myths, but had the effect of uniting public, voluntary and community groups in presenting a united front, and there was some positive coverage by the local media such as the Yorkshire Evening Post.
78. There is also considerable success in Leeds in achieving some degree of integration. For example, in a predominately white housing estate in the Bramley area of the city, the local community expressed considerable solidarity and support for asylum seekers being able to remain in the community. It is also apparent that support is being put in place (as only one example, a language line for GPs) and that considerable activity is now being undertaken, through schools and local community organisations, to provide information and support to both asylum seekers and host communities. However, this has considerable resource implications for the Council and other partner agencies and there is a belief that the resources allocated to Leeds

do not sufficiently recognise the proportion of asylum seekers it has accommodated on a national comparison; particularly as asylum seekers are often housed in deprived communities which already require additional health, education, housing and social services. A number of changes to the national rules governing the asylum system in the UK were identified as potentially assisting in enhancing social cohesion (see section 8)

#### *Gypsy travellers*

79. Leeds City Council Housing Services department is developing advice for other services working with the gypsy traveller community and is developing information packs and awareness training on gypsy and traveller issues for local communities, Council officers and Council members. It is acknowledged that integration of gypsy travellers and host communities has proved difficult, although on-going education is taking place, alongside enforcement action where required. There is a permanent traveller's site in Leeds, but more transit sites are required. There is also a wider issue about the proportional contribution of other local authorities in the Leeds city region, some of which do not have official permanent sites. The need for standardised responses to authorised encampments across local authorities was also identified. West Yorkshire Police has attempted to improve its engagement with gypsy travellers and also to reduce crime within travelling communities.

#### *Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual (LGB) individuals*

80. It was acknowledged by several interviewees that reaching and engaging with LGB groups had proved difficult, and that subsequently this group was more marginalised than others in the city. The promotion of the city centre as a diverse area accommodating all lifestyles as part of the 24-hour city image Leeds has fostered may suggest a connection between celebrating LGB lifestyles and the quest for economic success. However, it was argued by interviewees that whilst such an approach was indeed evident, it only catered for one visible element of the LGB community, and was based largely on their economic spending power. The point was made that if similar approaches were taken to other groups, eg BME communities, through promoting a few bars and restaurants in the city, this would not be regarded as acceptable. The LGB population were identified as one group who may lose out in an area management, rather than citywide approach to cohesion.

#### *Supporting People, community care and homelessness*

81. Although this research did not address these particular issues in any depth, it is clear that the support given to particularly vulnerable individuals is both essential to enhancing inclusion in the city, but also that such strategies risk conflicting with shorter term concepts of community cohesion and community sustainability. There is a clear need to empower vulnerable and marginalised groups within the cohesion agenda, for example through adopting a social model of disability for support to disabled individuals.

## 7. Assessing governance structures

82. The primary vehicle for taking forward the strategic aims of Leeds metropolitan area is the Leeds Initiative (founded in 1990), which co-ordinates cross cutting activity across all sectors and takes forward the aims of the *Vision for Leeds* community strategy. The Initiative has an executive board and executive, with a number of thematic partnerships clustered around the main *Vision for Leeds* themes, including economy, learning, integrated transport, environment, city, neighbourhoods and communities (regeneration) and Leeds Cultural Partnership. Each of these partnerships aims to deliver their related strategies (economic development, local learning plan, integrated transport plan, environmental plan and local neighbourhood renewal strategy). In addition, a number of sub groups and strategy groups operate, including the Leeds Community Safety Partnership, which takes forward the Leeds Community Safety Strategy and the 14-19 Strategy Group. Over 500 organisations are included within the Leeds Initiative structure.
83. The Initiative is led by Leeds City Council, and seeks to bring together public, private, voluntary and community sectors. This has largely ensured a crosscutting and consistent approach between the Council and the Initiative. It also reflects another theme of this research: that Leeds City Council often plays a leadership and co-ordination role in wider regional partnerships. This reflects Leeds' position as regional capital, but does have significant resource implications upon departments and officers. Considerable effort was made to ensure substantial consultation in developing the Leeds Vision 2004-2020, with over 6,000 people taking part in some element of the process. Equal numbers of those involved in this exercise (82 per cent) supported the Vision's overarching aims of 'going up a league' as a city and 'narrowing the gap'. The organisational focus of the Leeds Initiative appears to have a number of priorities:
- a review of the Initiative structures in order to extend the involvement of partners;
  - attempts to ensure greater synergy and consistency in political, representative and service provision administrative boundaries across the city region;
  - developing a more strategic approach to community development and community involvement in the city;
  - developing monitoring frameworks and ensuring that strategic aims of the Vision are mainstreamed in the activities of all council departments and partner agencies and organisations;
  - responding to new developments, for example the establishment of the Harmonious Communities Partnership in response in part to the community cohesion agenda;
  - continuing the shift in emphasis from inputs and process towards outcomes and impacts.
84. The Comprehensive Performance Assessment (CPA) gave Leeds City Council an overall good rating for each year from 2001-2004, and an excellent rating in April 2005. The Council, like many other local authorities, has undertaken major

restructuring aimed at devolution and localisation of service provision. Five areas (also referred to as districts or ‘wedges’) have been established: North West, West, South, North East and East, with each area developing its own action plan and multi-agency district partnership to take these plans forward. There was overall support for this development amongst the interviewees, who argued that such an approach would further improve the co-ordination of services, and strengthen the involvement of private, voluntary and community sectors. Similar developments have occurred in housing, where the city now has six Arms Length Management Organisations (ALMOs) and in health where five Primary Care Trusts now function across the city. There was some uncertainty, particularly amongst the voluntary sector, about how local area agreements would be related to funding streams,

85. This fragmentation of governance has implications for the social cohesion agenda in the city. Many interviewees argued that this was a positive development as it:
  - potentially enhanced the role of voluntary and community organisations who were vital in reaching, and advocating on behalf of, traditionally excluded groups;
  - was likely to increase the voice of marginalized or excluded groups;
  - enabled local tensions and issues to be recognised more effectively and enabled local service provision to be more responsive accordingly.
86. However, two concerns were raised in relation to these new governance structures and cohesion.
  - It may prove more difficult to ensure that cohesion outcomes are consistently mainstreamed, delivered and monitored across the city region (and of course this potential consequence of governance fragmentation also applies to ALMOs and registered social landlords).
  - There was some concern that for particular excluded groups of interest (for example Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual individuals), that city wide structures were most appropriate for meeting their needs and ensuring representation; and that they made up a visible proportion of the city population but they may not find an appropriate empowerment and voice within each of the five areas to ensure adequate representation.
87. As discussed above, there is a growing recognition amongst senior policy makers that, in accordance with the third aim of Leeds Vision, that of developing Leeds role as the regional capital, there is a need to extend structures of co-operation with partner local authorities and regional partnerships, and to develop co-operation with other Northern cities, most notably Manchester, through the Northern Way strategy and the Leeds City Region Development Programme.
88. A final issue in relation to governance and cohesion is the role of the private and community and voluntary sectors. The private sector has been given a prominent role in taking forward the economic competitiveness of the city and most notably the transformation of the city centre. To date, it has been less involved in the ‘narrowing the gap’ and harmonious communities aims of the Leeds Vision. Although there are some examples of private sector involvement in local initiatives, there is clearly a

challenge to increase their involvement, but this will have to be premised on the longer-term benefits that cohesion may bring to the economic situation in the city region, and is likely to require considerable effort given that such a focus may be less obviously perceived as directly beneficial to many businesses. Ensuring that the private sector contributes towards the aim of ensuring that the success of the city centre is shared by other parts of the city is a significant challenge facing Leeds.

89. Reviews of governance structures in Leeds have identified the relatively weak involvement of the voluntary sector, a perception shared by most, but not all interviewees. This weakness is not one of presence, as there are large numbers of voluntary organisations in the city. Rather it is one of legitimacy, representation and influence. It is argued that Leeds' traditional municipal approach meant that the Council, and Councillors as elected representatives were regarded as the legitimate representatives of local people and subsequently that voluntary organisations and other community representative structures were given a lesser role than in other cities. The principal vehicle for voluntary sector involvement is the Leeds Voice, which serves as the community empowerment network for Leeds. Leeds Voice co-ordinates funding to voluntary organisations, principally through Neighbourhood Renewal Community Chest and Community Chest grants, and has developed a range of participation structures and issue-based forums. It includes a community link team working to engage with and empower marginalised groups. Leeds Voice plays a crucial role in the voluntary and community sector strategy groups which serve to link grassroots activity with strategic policy levels. It should be noted that Leeds City Council and other agencies also liaise with a range of organisations in Leeds operating independently outwith the structure of Leeds Voice. It was widely acknowledged that there was a great deal of hidden work by voluntary organisations in relation to cohesion, and that these groups were vital to the cohesion and sustainability of local communities. The role of the voluntary and community sector is central towards achieving cohesion outcomes, given that such organisations often represent groups which are traditionally excluded or marginalised. The sector faces the same challenges of ensuring representation at both the citywide level and within the new local area structures.

## **8. The role of central government**

90. This section sets out some of the issues interviewees raised in relation to the actions of central government in facilitating social cohesion in Leeds and elsewhere:
- There is a need for the government to clarify definitions of social and community cohesion and how these relate to existing concepts of equal opportunities, inequality and diversity.
  - There is a need to ensure that cohesion is considered and mainstreamed into other national policy documents, relating to health, education, community safety, housing and regeneration, and across initiatives, for example Supporting People, asylum seeker dispersal and neighbourhood wardens.
  - There is a need to set out more clearly the roles for health, education and other sectors and to ensure that the cohesion agenda is communicated across and between central government departmental information and guidance channels.

- There is a need for more co-operation and communication between central government departments, including the need for the Home Office and DCLG to ensure synergy of cohesion strategies and to reduce potential contradictions and tensions between them.<sup>80</sup>
- Strengthening the prioritisation of community cohesion within policy and service delivery requires more robust performance indicators and an explicit requirement for cohesion outcomes to form a core element of Public Service Agreements.
- There is a need for government to recognise that a community cohesion agenda will be built upon existing work, and to realise that cohesion is an outcome as much as a process, that it will take time, and that reforms and impacts have to be thought through and evaluated over longer time periods.
- There is a need for additional funding in relation to the development of community cohesion as a new agenda requiring redefinition and restructuring, based on the need for significant education and consultation programmes to make it worthwhile.
- There are concerns that unrealistic expectations are being placed upon the capacity of voluntary and community sectors to reach and include excluded groups, and that increased and accessible funding streams must be made available to these sectors to enhance their contribution to the cohesion agenda.
- There is concern that there is too much guidance being issued too rapidly, that guidance documents are too detailed and that there is a plethora of new initiatives.
- There is a need to clarify the spatial and political scales of cohesion strategies, and to more explicitly define the relative role of local authorities, Local Strategic Partnerships and Regional Strategic Partnerships.
- There is a need for a more refined understanding of the needs of relatively small sub-groups (for example within BME populations). There is also a particular need to identify and respond to new dynamics emerging amongst populations and to broaden the cohesion agenda beyond race and ethnicity.
- In specific relation to asylum, allowing asylum seekers to work and to utilise their often high skills levels and specialist knowledge would promote cohesion by reducing the perception that asylum seekers disproportionately benefit from access to services and benefits. It would enable asylum seekers to contribute towards the local economy to become financially independent and to access housing in different areas of the city, reducing concentration affects. Enabling asylum seekers to remain in their original allocated property after a positive decision would enable them to build upon the connections they have made in local communities, would reduce the transient nature of the asylum population and may also increase demand and income in deprived neighbourhoods.

<sup>80</sup> Department for Communities and Local Government was established on 5 May 2006. The new department took over the responsibilities of ODPM and brings together responsibility for equality policy, including policy on race, faith, gender and sexual orientation. These functions were previously split between several government departments.

## 9. Conclusions

91. The relative economic success of Leeds had brought many financial and social benefits to the city. However, it has also created new drivers of exclusion and polarisation, and the emergence of what some respondents have termed a two-speed city creates particular challenges in relation to social cohesion. Although economic competitiveness and an enhanced social cohesiveness based around narrowing the gap between communities and groups in the city are regarded as equally necessary and interdependent, there are tensions between them. This economic success and the cohesion challenges it brings are symbolised by the city centre and its relationship with other neighbourhoods in the city, other towns and villages in the Leeds metropolitan area and the wider city region. Ensuring that the success of the city centre brings greater benefits to previously excluded groups and communities is being given priority in Leeds, and Central Government's community cohesion agenda is being incorporated within this approach.
92. Such an approach is based upon narrowing the gap between communities and groups across a range of social, economic and cultural dimensions of cohesion, promoting harmonious relations between communities and also recognising that cohesion plays out at a number of spatial scales. Although considerable activity is being undertaken to enhance social cohesion in Leeds, there are also a number of tensions arising from this complex interaction between places, communities and economic and social outcomes. As Leeds seeks to enhance its leadership role in the city region and beyond, how it seeks to mitigate some of the polarising and segregating trends that have been exacerbated by its economic success will offer important lessons for wider attempts at a national level to promote social cohesion.

## Endnote

93. This case study provides a snapshot of the situation in Leeds in May-June 2005. It draws primarily on the perspectives of a relatively small number of interviewees, representing some of the key organisations operating in the city and the city region. Some anecdotal evidence provided by the interviewees has not been subject to further verification.

## Appendix: documents and interviewees

### Key documents:

Leeds City Council (2002) Closing the Gap: Leeds City Council Corporate Plan 2002-2005.  
 Leeds City Council (2005) Leeds City Council Corporate Plan 2005-2008.  
 Leeds City Region Development Programme (2005) Leeds City Region Development Programme.  
 Leeds Community Safety Partnership (2002) Leeds Community Safety Strategy 2002-2005.  
 Leeds Economy Partnership (1999) The Leeds Economic Development Strategy.  
 The Leeds Initiative (2004) Vision for Leeds 2004-2020: The Second Leeds Community Strategy.  
 Leeds Neighbourhoods and Communities Partnership (2002) A Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy for Leeds.

### Interviewees:

Stephan Boyle, East Leeds Area Manager  
 Christine Burnett, Leeds Initiative Family Health  
 Nicole Brock, Head of Regional Policy, Leeds City Council  
 Tina Cooper, Refugee and Asylum Services Manager, Leeds City Council  
 Jane Daguerre, Director of Leeds Voice  
 John England, Deputy Director, Strategy and Performance, Leeds City Council Social Services Department  
 Pat Fairfax, Community Issue Co-ordinator, Leeds City Council Neighbourhoods and Housing Department  
 Kathryn Fitzsimmons, Leeds Faith Forum and member of Leeds initiative Harmonious Communities Task Group  
 Inspector Michael Hanks, Community and Race Relations Officer, West Yorkshire Police  
 Kathy Kudelnitzky, Director of Leeds Initiative  
 Paul Langford, Chief Housing Services Officer, Leeds City Council  
 Andy Mills, Head of Community Safety  
 Tony Stanley, Leeds Racial Equality Commission and Leeds Unite  
 Lelir Young, Head of Equality, Leeds City Council Chief Executives Department  
 Lucy Wilkinson, Leeds Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Network, Leeds Involvement Project and Harmonious Communities Developments

## PART 3: Case Study 5 – Sunderland

### Building social cohesion and economic prosperity in Sunderland

#### 1. Introduction

1. This case study analyses contemporary social conditions in Sunderland<sup>81</sup>. The chapter begins by describing background conditions in the city, followed by specific aspects of its recent economic and physical regeneration. It then identifies the emergence of social cohesion as an objective within Sunderland's current policy framework. It also analyses trends and issues in relation to different spatial scales and dimensions of cohesion. The main theme emerging is that economic and social progress needs to be pursued together to ensure the benefits are widely spread and to strengthen residents' sense of belonging. The chapter also outlines Sunderland's governance structures and the role of voluntary/community sector activity in promoting cohesion. It concludes with an assessment of how government policies may help and hinder cohesion in the city.
2. The research for the case study included:
  - analysis of key policy documents;
  - face to face interviews with 16 stakeholders;
  - analysis of a variety of social and economic statistics for the area.

#### 2. Background

3. Sunderland City lies in the Tyne and Wear city region of the North East of England. It is one of seven city regions identified as the core generators of economic growth in the north of England. As a coastal location, the city derived its name from the Sunder – meaning the land divided by the river. The port of Sunderland has a heritage dating back over 500 years. Sunderland was accorded 'city' status in 1992 in recognition of its efforts to address the challenges of industrial decline and reconstruction.
4. The city covers 138 sq km with a total population of 283,100. The population has been in decline since 1981 and is forecast to fall to around 271,000 by 2016. The city can be divided into three distinct areas: the densely developed urban area which falls either side of the mouth of the River Wear; the former new town of Washington; and the former coalfield settlements (see map in Appendix). These areas are separated by open countryside, much of which is designated green belt. The city centre is south-east of the river next to the port. The former pit villages are located in Houghton-le-Spring and Hetton-le-Hole in the far south of the district towards the Durham coalfields. Washington is towards the north-west. The city's boundary was altered in 1994 to include land west of Shiney Row (Boundary Houses and Lambton Cokeworks) and to exclude the Birtley services on the A1M and land west of French Houses.

<sup>81</sup> This case study was undertaken in 2005 and therefore reflects the situation at that time.

5. The city's proximity to the Durham coalfields meant that shipbuilding and coal mining was its economic base. At one point Sunderland is reputed to have had the biggest shipbuilding industry in the world with a total of 65 shipyards. The city's economic fortunes have changed in recent decades through severe deindustrialisation and pit closures, partly offset by the attraction of inward investment. The last shipyard closed in 1988 and the last coal mine (Wearmouth Colliery) in 1994. Recent recovery has stemmed from the attraction and expansion of light industry and engineering firms (including automotive suppliers) and a move towards various service industries. Between 1995 and 2003 employment increased by 10.9 per cent, compared with 9.4 per cent in the North East as a whole.
6. While the process of deindustrialisation has largely run its course in Sunderland, there is still a legacy of extensive deprivation. The deprived areas have received support from a range of government and European programmes including City Challenge, Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), New Deal for Communities (NDC), Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF) and European Objective 2 and 3 programmes (Appendix 1). A key issue for the city is the polarisation between different areas and sectors, with buoyant retail and new business areas on the one hand, and areas of extreme deprivation where traditional industries used to dominate on the other. For example, the city's eight former mining communities are characterised by population decline, joblessness, social exclusion and physical decay. This issue is not confined to Sunderland, but is an important challenge for much of the wider region.

### 3. Key indicators

7. This section provides a statistical snapshot of overall conditions. Additional statistics are provided in the final appendix.
8. Economic output, earnings and household incomes in Sunderland are consistently lower than in the North East and Britain as a whole (see table below). Productivity is only 86 per cent of the figure for England. This is thought to reflect the change in economic structure and importance of relatively low value-added sectors. Civic leaders attribute the relatively low levels of entrepreneurship to the city's failure to diversify earlier and difficulties in attracting and retaining highly educated and resourceful young people and families to settle in the city. A third of jobs in the city are part-time and there are far fewer jobs in professional, managerial and technical occupations than in the North East and Britain. There are also more jobs in public administration and health and fewer jobs in finance, IT and other business services compared with Britain as a whole (see Appendix).

**Table 1: Economic indicators**

	Sunderland	North East	England
GVA per employee (2001)	£33,415	£33,504	£38,992
Average weekly earnings (2003)	£378	£402	£484
Gross weekly household income estimate (1998)	£329	£364	£475

Source: ONS and New Earnings Survey via NOMIS

9. Despite the improvement in the number of jobs since 1995, the employment rate remains lower and unemployment higher than both the regional and national rates. The pattern of worklessness has also changed, with extensive diversion of people from unemployment benefits onto sickness benefits. Nearly a fifth of working age adults has a limiting long-term illness (Census 2001). For the Tyne and Wear region as a whole the figure is similar. The number of Incapacity Benefit claimants in the city is approximately 22,000 – the highest in the North East. Tackling economic inactivity is therefore a key challenge for Sunderland.

**Table 2: Labour market indicators**

	<b>Sunderland (%)</b>	<b>North East (%)</b>	<b>Britain (%)</b>
Employment rate (2003/04)	66.0	68.5	74.3
Unemployment (2003/04)	8.2	6.8	5.0
JSA claimants (April 2005)	3.0	3.0	2.4
Economic inactivity (2003/04)	28.2	26.5	21.8

Source: Local Area Labour Force Survey; claimant count via NOMIS

#### *Tyne and Wear city region*

10. The population of the Tyne and Wear city region is 1,650,000. The region comprises Newcastle, Gateshead, North and South Tyneside, and adjacent parts of Northumberland and Durham. Tyne and Wear has 43 per cent of the North East region's population and is the key driver of the region's economy, with nearly 500,000 jobs. Tyne and Wear has a higher share of employment in higher education and public administration sectors than the other seven major city regions in England. Creative industries are smaller but growing. Public services account for 30 per cent of jobs, and construction accounts for 5 per cent.

## **4. Economic and physical transformation**

11. Ambitions of the city have seen economic development policies concentrating on encouraging inward investment and indigenous growth through targeting growing sectors. The city's economic plans have been developed within the broader economic strategies of the North East Region, and the sub-regional Tyne and Wear Economic Strategy. The recent creation of the city's Economic Prosperity Partnership and the current preparation of a City-wide Economic Prosperity strategy have adapted the strategic priorities that the former identify. Current aspirations include encouraging technology transfer and cluster development to enhance the city's competitiveness. The aim is to realise the city's role as the largest city in the North East and to contribute to securing a step change in the regional economy as set out in the North East Regional Spatial Strategy. The city is also embarking on a programme of aftercare and related measures such as supply chain development to embed firms into the area with individual attention being paid to the high growth businesses. Several developments illustrate the city's position:

- Since arriving in 1988, Nissan has invested over £2bn in a plant that currently employs 4,800 people and has been recognised as the most productive in Europe. Active efforts by the council and other public agencies to attract and support the

development of automotive suppliers have resulted in the North East currently accommodating over 30 associated component producers, including TRW and Magna Kansei.

- The establishment of Doxford International Business Park has been particularly successful at attracting major service sector employers to the area, including some 7000 jobs in financial services and call centres. The combination of competitive land costs, infrastructure and quality of life seems to have proved important.

#### *Physical regeneration*

12. Reflecting Sunderland's history, the city's current ambition is to become a prosperous international city. Alongside the economic development policies mentioned above, there has been considerable investment in large-scale physical regeneration to enable the city to function as an accessible sub-regional employment centre. The scale of actual and planned investment in physical infrastructure over a 15-year period amounts to £1.2bn, with 10,000 additional jobs anticipated as a result. The city's Economic Prosperity Partnership aims to secure £350m of private sector funding as a result of the public investment. Physical regeneration in the city includes:

- A new 55-acre business park at Rainton Bridge South (located in the far south-west of the city) is well underway representing a major investment of £100m. This has a timescale of 7-10 years and is expected to create 4000 jobs. The site is being developed speculatively and in phases.
- £200m of investment in the city centre: the Bridges shopping centre (doubling in size to 23,000 sq m), restoration of Mowbray Park at a cost of £13.3m, and the opening of the prestigious Winter Gardens.
- The extension of the Tyne and Wear Metro and the development of Sunderland Interchange have helped create an integrated transport system (10 km route with a total of 9 stations in the city).
- ARC (an urban regeneration company) has been established with a remit to undertake the comprehensive regeneration of large parts of the core urban area centred on the riverside and city centre. Initial focus for large-scale development will concentrate on the Sunniside, Holmeside and Farringdon Row areas.
- The former site of Wearmouth colliery is now occupied by Sunderland football team's The Stadium of Light. The team was promoted to the English Premiership in 2005, with substantial additional revenues expected for the club and a psychological boost for the city.
- A Design Guide is currently being prepared for the city, along with guidance on the evening economy and an overarching spatial strategy.

## 5. Sunderland's strategy: 'A Bright Future for Sunderland'

13. Sunderland's Community Strategy has been developed for the period 2004-07. This sets out the key policies for the city and covers a number of overarching and thematic agendas. It combines the aims of both the Neighbourhood Renewal and Sustainable Development strategies in an attempt to provide a single co-ordinated focus for the development of the city. The Community Strategy was produced by the City of Sunderland Local Strategic Partnership (COS-LSP), led by the city council. The vision is,

"Sunderland – A city for everyone to be proud of. Sunderland will be a prosperous city. A desirable, safe and healthy place to live, work, learn and visit, where all people can reach their full potential." (COS-LSP, Community Strategy 2004-2007, p.1).

14. The strategy has identified eight shared strategic objectives and sets out a number of priority areas for action over the next three years. A separate thematic partnership is responsible for delivering each objective. The strategic objectives are:
- creating a prosperous city;
  - extending cultural opportunities;
  - improving the quality, choice and range of housing;
  - improving health and social care;
  - reducing crime and the fear of crime;
  - raising standards and improving access and participation in learning;
  - developing an attractive and accessible city;
  - creating inclusive communities.

15. These objectives reflect both national policy agendas and the very real local challenges facing Sunderland. These are: population decline; continued out-migration of the young and skilled; a lack of attractive housing; environmental degradation in the disadvantaged communities; economic inactivity and unemployment; and the need for continued regeneration of derelict sites. A range of indicators comparing the city with the North East and the national average serve to illustrate the continuing problems. These are discussed within later sections but include lower than national levels of secondary educational attainment, high levels of ill-health and morbidity, and low household incomes.

### *Fostering social and community cohesion: the policy context*

16. The strategic objective of creating inclusive communities in Sunderland makes an explicit link to the Government's community cohesion agenda. The thematic aims of the strategy have been built around four building blocks. The aims and targets to which they correspond are set out below. They are for Sunderland to be a city where people from all backgrounds and communities:

- have equality of opportunity, and everyone can reach their full potential, access similar life opportunities and expect a good quality of life – working towards equal opportunities;
  - are respected, valued and celebrated – working towards social inclusion;
  - feel that they belong to Sunderland, and can develop relationships within neighbourhoods, and in work, education and leisure – working towards community cohesion;
  - feel able to participate in community life, to be active citizens and play a positive role in developing Sunderland's vision for its future – working towards active citizenship.
17. In conducting this research, there was a consensus among interviewees that the years of severe economic decline have passed. There was also general agreement that the focus by the City Council over the past 10-15 years on revitalising the local economy has been right. A number of issues emerging from this research reveal the trends and dimensions of social cohesion in Sunderland in relation to how these play out at different spatial scales and between and within different social groups across the city. These are discussed below.

## **6. Spatial dimensions of social cohesion**

### *Sunderland's neighbourhoods*

18. The river separates the core city centre area from the urban districts north and south of the river that had Enterprise Zone status for 10 years. The dispersed spatial pattern of the towns and villages reflect the legacy of the shipbuilding and coal mining industries. Coalfields surround the city both to the north, south and north west of the city boundary with the port and former docks situated to the east. Large areas of greenbelt land separate the more remote coalfield communities in the south from the rest of the city. There are three main centres for shopping in Sunderland: Sunderland centre, Washington in the north and Houghton in the south-west. Nearly half of the city is identified by the government as deprived, and there are pockets of deprivation found within the more affluent areas of the city. The 2004 Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) indicates that 46 per cent of the resident population is among the 20 per cent most deprived in the country, with 11 out of the city's 25 wards in the 10 per cent most deprived. They qualify for Neighbourhood Renewal Funding.

### *Coalfield communities and deprivation*

19. The former coalfield communities have a total population of 46,551 and cover a wide geographic area of rural, village communities to the south and west of the city. These areas are characterised by social, economic and environmental decay and despite several government and European regeneration programmes over the years, many of these wards perform consistently poorly on the local and national indices of deprivation. According to the latest Census, 26 per cent of the coalfield area's population aged 16-74 have a limiting long-term illness, 46.7 per cent are economically inactive and 38.7 per cent have no qualifications (SCC, Coalfields Area

Regeneration Framework). The coalfield communities have a strong sense of local identity and attachment and are generally regarded as cohesive communities in themselves.

20. On the north side the River Wear, the most deprived ward is Southwick. It was once home to 12 shipyards and the Wearmouth colliery, although it is not included in the CoalfIELDS Area Regeneration Framework. With a population of 8,900 it is ranked 55th nationally on the 2000 IMD. The area ranks number one within the city in the health, education and housing domains and number two in income and employment domains. Teenage pregnancy rates are almost three times higher than the national average.

#### *Affluence and deprivation in Washington*

21. Washington is a commuter town situated towards the north west of the city boundary and was developed under the auspices of Washington Development Corporation from 1964. The town has 17 villages and was the core of Sunderland's coal mining communities. The town's villages are grouped around a 'new town' centre in the central part of the district. It is served well by connecting road and rail networks for both Sunderland and Newcastle. Washington has a strong sense of local attachment and has tried unsuccessfully to gain political independence from Sunderland.
22. North Washington is not contiguous with the rest of the town. The north part of the district is one of the most deprived areas in the city. It has twice the rate of unemployment as the rest of the district, whereas the town's corresponding wards of West, South and East Washington are among the most affluent areas of the city.
23. As a commuter town with good transport links, residents in Washington are more likely to go to Newcastle than to Sunderland for leisure and work. Washington has been compared to Durham in that the relatively lower prices and lower quality shops in Sunderland mean that the town's more affluent residents will tend to shop in the city for convenience goods and Newcastle for more upmarket retail. Young people aspire to live in Washington more than anywhere else in the city.

#### *New Deal for Communities: back on the map*

24. The Hendon district located south east of the city centre has New Deal for Communities (NDC) status. The area has a total of 4,700 households with just over 10,000 residents. The area is home to an increasingly diverse community with 10 per cent of the population from BME groups. Within Hendon there are important differences: the East End is predominantly white, and has a large number of single parents and few shops; Middle Hendon consists of a large amount of void properties, a small percentage of private rented housing and asylum seekers' accommodation, and the south has a large amount of run-down private rented housing. These differences have not been easily addressed by the NDC initiative.

#### *Neighbourhoods and regeneration*

25. The focus of Sunderland's regeneration investment has been physical improvement, including the city centre and redevelopment of brownfield sites. The Community Strategy incorporates all the strategic objectives for the city's deprived communities,

so there is no separate strategy. There are six Area Regeneration Frameworks (ARFs) that provide the means to co-ordinate resource, devolve budgets and ensure effective targeting. Each ARF has a localised action plan specific to the needs and circumstances of its area. The ARFs cover North, South, East, and West Washington and Coalfields. They are believed to provide a good means of localised service planning and priority setting, giving residents some say in local decision making. They are overseen by six area committees within the council.

26. There have been 25 Area Based Initiatives in Sunderland to address social exclusion and deprivation over a long period. Following the 2001 disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, Sunderland City Council undertook independent research that found no evidence that local communities were fractured or leading ‘parallel lives’. One explanation is that deprivation is fairly widespread across Sunderland, with no pockets singled out for special attention and therefore arousing resentment elsewhere. Nevertheless there is a concern in poorer communities that they have not shared equally in Sunderland’s recent improvement.

#### *Regional context*

27. At a higher level, there is a sense that the city as a whole is not favoured within the North East. For instance, there is a perception that the city is over-shadowed by its close neighbour Newcastle. Whilst not overemphasised, city leaders feel that they are competing for a share of the RDA’s resources on the sub-regional partnership with more affluent places such as Gateshead, Tynemouth, and North Shields. More dialogue between partners at both the regional and sub-regional levels is sought in order to compete more effectively for jobs against other cities and regions within the north of England. Competition with other places and partners in the sub-region is believed to undermine the city’s strengths and leave it exposed.
28. The city council’s financial outlook is not promising, given the prospect of continuing population loss and ongoing social problems. Previous regeneration initiatives relied heavily upon European funding and government programmes, whose future prospects are uncertain. The RDA is now looked upon as a more important source of support hence its view of Sunderland’s potential is crucial. The prospect of more public sector jobs being decanted to the North East from London under the Lyons Review is not looked upon with huge enthusiasm given the existing bias towards public administration.

## **7. Social dimensions to cohesion**

### *Tackling the jobs-skills mismatch*

29. A major issue for the city is high worklessness. A growing concern in relation to this is the existence of a jobs-skills mismatch. The established skills base has not kept pace with emerging employment opportunities. As a result, some of the jobs have been filled by incoming commuters. Hence, the city’s strategy states explicitly that the object is not simply to boost output, productivity and jobs, but also to ensure local access to those jobs:

“A key target for the city is to reduce the difference between the GVA per head in the city and the national average and by 2007 to have secured a net gain of 5,000 jobs in the city with at least 75 per cent of those secured by Sunderland residents”. (SCC, Community Strategy, 2004-2007).

30. To improve access to labour market opportunities for Sunderland residents, there have been calls for greater co-ordination between regional and local programmes. Plans are currently underway to harmonise and integrate both the wider economic and skills agenda with locally developed employment and skills programmes. This has involved increasing the number of support services and devising specific programmes to increase the employability of people on the margins of employment and those furthest from the labour market.
31. The city is embarking on a more integrated and customer focused approach to both employers and local residents. It involves the RDA, the Regional Skills Partnership (RSP) and the Tyne and Wear Learning and Skills Council (LSC). It stems from the Government's National Employer Training Programme and includes a ‘dual key management’ approach. This should mean more support for training to Levels 3 and 4 qualifications, more ‘soft’ or generic skills identified by employers (eg communication) and help for specific sectors such as construction, healthcare, chemicals and advanced engineering. The plan envisages that the RSPs (comprising the RDA, the LSC, City of Sunderland College and other local training providers) will be able to respond more quickly and flexibly to sector and company skills shortages.

#### *Identity and image*

32. Several interviewees think that Sunderland is experiencing something of an identity crisis, for reasons that include the decline of its traditional blue-collar economic base, the influx of asylum seekers and the lack of multi-cultural values. Sunderland also spends too much time looking over its shoulder and making comparisons with Newcastle. Being overshadowed economically and culturally hinders the city's own identity and confidence. To address this, the city has hosted a range of international events and is currently discussing the idea of a Sunderland Calendar that maps out and celebrates key multi-cultural events throughout the year. In 2001, the council was awarded Beacon Status because of its efforts to regenerate the city through culture, sport and tourism. The city also sponsored the Euro 2004 football competition with the successful slogan “Show Racism the Red Card”.
33. There is some parallel between Sunderland's current position in relation to race relations and the situation in some other northern English cities during the 1960s and 1970s, when immigration was only just becoming significant. Over time, cities such as Newcastle, Huddersfield and Bradford seem to have developed greater tolerance of cultural diversity. Some interviewees believe that extensive unemployment, social exclusion, low aspirations and a lack of community confidence exacerbate ethnic divisions.
34. There is growing concern about alienation among some Sunderland residents who feel the city's recent development and impending city centre improvements are ‘not for them’. A recent MORI survey commissioned by the city council asked residents about cohesion for the first time. It revealed that people identified with their own area *and* with the city. However, the council was surprised that people also felt there

was a lack of cohesion in the city, although not in their own area. The development of executive apartments in one area was ‘for older rich people’ and local kids would ‘vandalise and smash the windows’. Elsewhere, the development of new cinemas and restaurants was felt to create a sense of segregation and disaffection from a poor neighbourhood nearby.

35. These problems are exacerbated by what some describe as a ‘crisis of masculinity’ in parts of Sunderland, associated with male worklessness and consequential family breakdown and loss of self-esteem among young and older men. Women tend to be the activists in deprived communities, gaining confidence, social interaction and profile in the process. Many working class men are sceptical of the importance policy-makers attach to education and do not see it as a route back into the labour market.

#### *Asylum seekers*

36. The implementation since 2000 of the government’s asylum seeker dispersal programme has had a significant impact on Sunderland. Approximately 4000 asylum seekers and refugees have been accommodated in the city, mostly young single men rather than families. Being a predominantly white city, the visibility of new migrants was particularly apparent in the deprived areas, where they have been overwhelmingly concentrated. The city council also appears to have underestimated the effort required to integrate asylum seekers effectively and harmoniously. Several interviewees state that there are fears and tensions within some communities where asylum seekers have been placed. Incidents such as the murder of an Iranian asylum seeker in 2002 in the Hendon NDC area have obviously not helped. There are also concerns among indigenous communities that the asylum seekers have received favourable treatment in housing allocation. For a time the local newspaper inflamed the situation by sensationalising the issues raised. There has since been a change of policy and it now holds a place on the LSP.
37. Against this, there are also many positive experiences with asylum seekers. Some communities and residents associations, in places such as Pennywell and Houghton-le-Spring, are reputed to have been very welcoming. Mutual respect and trust have developed where local people have realised that the asylum seekers ‘wanted to be here’ rather than perceiving them as people ‘in dire need’. Awareness raising initiatives within schools and communities have helped to challenge myths about asylum seekers and build understanding. The New Beginnings project at The Hive in Houghton-le-Spring is an excellent example of a settlement project that has improved community capacity and confidence. The project has been recognised nationally and the LSP is currently exploring the wider lessons to be learned and potential funding streams for this to be extended elsewhere.

#### *Vulnerable groups*

38. There are increasing numbers of vulnerable groups within Sunderland experiencing social isolation and mental illness, including homeless people, women and children fleeing domestic violence, women from ethnic minorities, disabled people, and gay and lesbian groups. There is a concern that public services have not kept pace with social changes and are inadequate to support these groups. There is also a concern that vulnerable groups are treated in isolation so they become communities in

themselves and exacerbate social divisions, rather than fostering greater cohesion between communities. A simple illustration of these points concerns the gay community, for which health services are contracted out to an agency in Newcastle.

*Young people*

39. Young people are seen as a growing policy priority, with a city-wide strategy for young people introduced in 2005 and many council departments and agencies building youth development programmes into their service plans. There is also a more concerted effort to engage with disaffected youth who have low educational aspirations, drug and alcohol problems. Initiatives include a Positive Futures campaign that seeks to provide diversionary activities from crime and anti-social behaviour for young people in deprived areas. The city's Youth Offending Team has been particularly successful at developing programmes to reintegrate young offenders into mainstream society. The council's first LPSA was based on improving services for young people. A Performance Award Grant of £4-5m is anticipated for achieving most of its targets.
40. A multiplex cinema costing £26m was built in the Sunnyside area in 2003 and the council's leisure and community services department has plans to build a range of swimming pools and fitness centres. Funding presents dilemmas in balancing income and user charges. For instance, the Raich Carter centre in Hendon is a multi purpose resource offering sports and other community activities and is targeted at unemployed and disaffected white and Bangladeshi youth. It was developed and managed by the voluntary sector but young people in the NDC area seem to find it too expensive. More affluent residents in nearby Ashbrooke are thought to derive greater benefit.

*Gay, Lesbians and Transsexuals*

41. Until recently the city was seen as unsympathetic towards gays. However, specific cultural initiatives are believed to have encouraged greater tolerance. The LSP has sought to raise awareness of gays in the city through specific theatrical performances and making Tuesday a gay night in three of the city's clubs. Encouraging tolerance of diversity and acceptance of gays is thought to be an important part of the city's ambition to become an international city.

*British National Party (BNP)*

42. Growth in support for the BNP among certain communities in recent years has encouraged stronger efforts by public bodies to improve community relations. Some interviewees believe that local support for the BNP reflected the council's lack of consultation and sensitivity in accommodating asylum seekers. Others suggest it was just BNP opportunists exploiting a disadvantaged population with myths about privileged treatment for minorities.

## 8. Assessing governance structures and local policy

### *Local Strategic Partnership (LSP)*

43. The LSP is highly regarded by many of the interviewees, particularly in promoting cohesion. It has been active in raising awareness, promoting equalities and tolerance for particular groups in the city, and co-ordinating efforts to counteract the BNP. It is also thought to be good at listening to and engaging different groups. For instance, it has helped to pursue the 'gay scene' in Sunderland, to promote the interests of wheelchair users under the Disability Discrimination Act, and to launch and promote a city-wide credit union.
44. Active support from the council at official and political levels is believed to be crucial to the LSP's success. For instance, the role of the Chief Executive has been pivotal in pursuing the inclusive communities agenda. Council leadership has ensured the solid foundations necessary to foster good relationships among all other partners. The Comprehensive Performance Assessment (CPA) gave the city council an excellent rating in 2002 and 2003. Nevertheless, pursuing the specific objectives of the Creating Inclusive Communities theme (see section 5 above) has not been straightforward; this theme has received special attention because of its breadth and crosscutting nature, ie equalities, social inclusion, community cohesion and active citizenship. A key objective is to improve co-ordination between partners in order to avoid gaps in service provision, duplication of activity, and to make existing structures and procedures more effective. A thematic partnership and community cohesion working group have been established to develop and implement an action plan, recognising the different strands of equalities, cohesion and citizenship issues.
45. The government's impending CPA (post 2005) will test how local authorities are engaging with their communities. The LSP and city council acknowledge some uncertainty around their community cohesion policies for the city, especially as the strategy requires working across local communities and not simply within them. The main challenges have been identified as building commitment from partner organisations, the voluntary and community sector, and examining the efficacy of existing departmental structures and practices.

### *The role of the voluntary and community sector in creating inclusive communities*

46. The voluntary and community sectors are increasingly important in delivering public services in Sunderland. There is a range of networks and organisations that enable engagement across local groups, residents and service providers. They are represented under umbrella organisations such as the CSVO, Community Empowerment Network and Community Development Network. In this sense, the city has a strong participative democracy. Some observers believe that they deliver better public services because people trust them more than the local authority. Yet there is also a concern about the potentially uneven and fragmented character of services delivered in this way compared with the more universal format of local authorities. Some groups are clearly better organised than others and more able to articulate their demands. Capacity building can help to redress the disparities but it takes time and there are bound to be limits to what it can achieve. There is also a concern about the independence and responsiveness of the voluntary sector if it becomes heavily reliant on public sector contracts from a single source.

*Elected members*

47. There are some concerns about the efficacy of representative democracy in relation to the pursuit of community cohesion. Elected members have difficulties in performing an intermediary role between local and national government policy and local residents. Council departments do not always inform members of developments on the ground, eg over the asylum seekers programme, and elected members are sometimes reluctant to question government policy on this issue. The council's annual survey suggests that roughly half of local residents feel well informed about services, while the other half do not. Several interviewees suggested that the council needed to consult far more widely than established community representatives in order better to understand the everyday concerns of local communities, particularly around the community cohesion agenda and accommodation of asylum seekers.

*Regional Assembly*

48. A mayoral referendum was held in 2001, in which 50 per cent of local residents voted against having an elected mayor. Instead the council introduced a cabinet structure with a clear leader. People in the city also rejected plans for a North East Regional Assembly in 2004. Some interviewees thought this reflected the increasing unpopularity of New Labour in the north. Others thought it reflected uncertainty about the benefits for Sunderland and ongoing intra-regional rivalries with Newcastle.

*Community and cultural services*

49. The council's cultural and community services is a good example of joined up policy and has achieved notable success in addressing health inequalities in relation to children and young people. All targets in the first LPSA were met by narrowing the gap between deprived areas and overall city and national rates in the take up of free school meals and increased participation of children in sport. The development of local projects has been part of the success. The Positive Futures campaign is an example of engaging with young people through education and a focus on citizenship to provide diversionary activities for youth at risk of offending. Community and cultural services have also used NRF funding to develop a number of Wellness Centres in gyms across the city to promote sports activities.

*Integrated services and joint working*

50. There have been a number of developments at the neighbourhood level under the People First programme that integrates various services locally. The Sandhill and Hetton Centres in two of the city's most deprived wards incorporate a number of useful community facilities. In the case of Sandhill this is also integrated with the secondary school. Additional centres are planned across the city. The city council's LPSA2 also has a strong focus on 'delivering better seamless services for local people and marshalling the efforts and resources of all public agencies' to generate resource efficiencies and ensure more cost effective service provision.

## 9. The impact of government policy

51. The government policies that are perceived to have been of most help to Sunderland include:

- Macroeconomic stability has created the conditions to enable steady growth in employment in the city. Active labour market policies such as the New Deal have also helped some of the local unemployed to secure jobs. The introduction of personal advisors by the DWP has improved trust between job seekers and job centres.
- The introduction of tax credits and the national minimum wage have reduced some aspects of the benefits trap by helping to ‘make work pay’.
- In some respects the government’s regime of targets and performance indicators has helped focus the council’s efforts on improving basic services, although there are concerns about the way these operate. Some targets are considered inappropriate and do not measure outcomes satisfactorily.

52. Central government is perceived to have been less helpful in the following ways:

- It does not appreciate sufficiently the time and resources required for local bodies to deliver major policy commitments, such as narrowing the gap between the most deprived and least deprived areas and groups.
- The asylum seeker dispersal programme was rushed without enough consideration of the problems likely to be generated. Support for efforts to integrate communities has been neglected.
- Separate initiatives and agendas at national and city levels create tensions at the neighbourhood level and insufficient consideration of complex local needs.
- A plethora of short-term national initiatives creates difficulties for subsequent mainstreaming by the council and other local partners. They also make it hard to sustain active community involvement. Funding for the NDC initiative is insufficient to meet its objectives.
- The government requires excessive use of targets by the LSP that creates confusion and diverts energy into unproductive activities. Crosscutting targets are particularly difficult to pursue in a context of unclear organisational roles and responsibilities.
- The Building Schools for the Future programme appears unaffordable in Sunderland, where the funding gap is somewhere between £179-£236m.
- There are insufficient skills available to meet official requirements to provide social care and nursing homes.

## 10. Conclusion

- Sunderland has made significant progress in tackling the legacy of deindustrialisation through improving its physical infrastructure and attracting inward investment. However, there is still much more to be done and extensive worklessness persists in the city, with a range of consequential social problems.
- It is early days for co-operation and strategy development at the wider city-region level, and there is scope for the formulation of a coherent economic framework for the region with greater clarity about the functions and priorities of different places and how they interact.
- Sunderland cannot currently be described as having a high level of social cohesion. High levels of worklessness and deprivation among the indigenous population create a challenging context for immigration. There is a great deal of work to be done to build a culture of tolerance, understanding and integration.
- Regeneration strategies face a difficult balancing act between strengthening the city's long-term economic potential and promoting social inclusion and community cohesion. Programmes are needed both within and between communities.
- Sunderland city council has a strong record of delivering public services and partnership working. The LSP has been instrumental in bringing partners together in a constructive arrangement. There is a considerable experience of providing integrated local services in deprived neighbourhoods.

## Appendix 1: Government and European funding programmes past and present:

- Following closure of the shipyards in the 1980s, the government established an Enterprise Zone at Castletown, Hylton riverside (south west of the river) and Doxford Park (south west of the city centre).
- The north west of the city gained City Challenge status in 1993, bringing enhanced investment to the area and allowing accelerated improvements to the housing stock and to a variety of other community activities Subsequently there was substantial SRB funding during the late 1990s.
- European programmes have included: 2000-2006 – Objective 2, Objective 3, EQUAL and URBAN II Community Initiatives. During 1994-99 – Objective 2, RECHAR II, RETEX II and INTERREG III. The former coalfield communities around Hetton and Murton are eligible for £7.1m of ERDF under URBAN II.
- There have been 25 ABIs altogether across many of the city's wards.
- The East End and Hendon area (south east of city centre) has NDC status worth £54m (2nd round).

## Appendix 2: Sunderland labour market (employer skills) initiatives

- The city's Economic Prosperity Partnership worked with the Sunderland Learning Partnership and local employers to develop initiatives aimed at improving the skills of the current workforce, young people and graduates. This includes supporting the priorities outlined by the Framework for Regional Employment and Skills Action (FRESA).
- The eQ8 programme (LSC) has already been piloted locally as part of the Employer Training Pilot programme. The aim is to develop the core and transferable skills of existing employees and it is free to participating employers.
- Aligned to this have been local initiatives with retail and call centres to give employers the skills they want. This has been aided by the presence of DWP Action Teams (neighbourhood based intermediaries with flexible funds who work with local people in an unconstrained way to get them back to work).
- Building on the above, new routeways into employment are planned to support anticipated growth in the construction and retail sectors.
- A specific initiative called Step Up provided training to long-term unemployed 30-40 year olds who had previously been on the New Deal but had not gained work. The programme was developed by Job Centre Plus, and although regarded as very successful in getting people into work, it was considered too expensive.

## Appendix 3:

### List of key documents

- Sunderland City Council, Community Strategy (2004-2007).  
Sunderland City Council, Best Value Performance Plan (2004-05).  
Sunderland City Council, Community Consultation Framework (2000).  
Sunderland City Council, Unitary Development Plan (1998).  
Sunderland NHS, *Modernising Health and Social Care Services – Sunderland Our Three Year Plan (2003–2006)*.  
Sunderland City Council, Education Inclusion Policy Service Plan (2003 – 2007) (Revised 2004).  
Sunderland City Council Crime and Disorder Strategy (2002-2005).  
Sunderland City Council, Education Single Plan Reviewed (2004/05).  
Sunderland NHS, Healthy Schools Programme Three Year Plan.  
Sunderland City Council Race Equality Scheme (2002).  
Sunderland City Council Cultural Strategy.  
Sunderland New Deal For Communities, ‘Back on the Map’, Social Inclusion and Community Cohesion Strategy (2005).  
Moving Forward: The Northern Way, First Growth Strategy Report.  
Moving Forward: The Northern Way: Action Plan Progress Report (Jan 2005).  
Sunderland City Council Area Regeneration Frameworks Ward Census Profile (Census 2001).  
Home Office, Strategic Plan *Confident Communities in a Secure Britain (2004-08)*; HMSO.  
North of England Refugee Service: Foundation Projects for the IRSS of the Home Office,  
*Investigating Community Groups in the North East of England Dispersal Area and Community Based Integration Initiatives; Executive Summary (June 2001)*

## List of interviewees

2 Councillors, Member Services  
Director of Development and Regeneration  
Chair of COS-LSP  
Policy and Development Manager, Social Services  
Consultation Manager, Performance Improvement Team  
Head of Community and Cultural Services  
Education Achievement and Participation Team Leader  
Business and Development Manager, Sunderland Job Centre Plus  
Co-ordinator New Deal for Communities 'Back on the Map' Sunderland  
Head of Community Policy Government Office for the North East  
Inspector of Northumbria Police  
Head of Health Inequalities Sunderland Teaching Primary Care Trust  
Equalities and Diversity Manager, Sunderland University  
Community Relations Team Officer, Community Cohesion  
Director Wider Access Project Sunderland

## Statistical appendix

**Table 1: Economic activity**

	Sunderland (numbers)	Sunderland (%)	North-East (%)	GB (%)
Economically active	122,000	71.8	73.5	78.2
In employment	112,000	66.0	68.5	74.3
Employees	102,000	60.0	62.3	64.8
Self employed	9,000	5.2	5.4	9.0
Unemployed	10,000	8.2	6.8	5.0
Economically inactive	48,000	28.2	26.5	21.8
Wanting a job	12,000	6.9	6.8	5.7
Not wanting a job	36,000	21.2	19.7	16.1

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: percentages are based on working age population, except unemployed which is based on economically active

**Table 1: Economic activity**

	Sunderland (numbers)	Sunderland (%)	North-East (%)	GB (%)
Soc 2000 major group 1-3	29,000	25.1	34.4	40.5
1 Managers and senior officials	11,000	9.3	11.3	14.6
2 Professional occupations	7,000	5.8	10.4	12.1
3 Associate professional & technical	11,000	9.9	12.6	13.8
Soc 2000 major group 4-5	35,000	30.6	25.0	24.4
4 Administrative & secretarial	17,000	15.1	13.1	13.0
5 Skilled trades occupations	18,000	15.4	11.9	11.4
Soc 2000 major group 6-7	21,000	18.6	17.1	15.5
6 Personal service occupations	7,000	5.9	7.8	7.5
7 Sales & customer services	15,000	12.7	9.2	8.0
Soc 2000 major group 8-9	29,000	25.7	23.4	19.6
8 Process plant & machine operatives	11,000	9.7	9.4	7.7
9 Elementary occupations	18,000	15.8	14.0	11.8

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: percentages are based on working age population

**Table 3: Qualifications**

	<b>Sunderland</b> (numbers)	<b>Sunderland</b> (%)	<b>North-East</b> (%)	<b>GB</b> (%)
NVQ4 and above	26,000	15.3	20.7	25.2
NVQ3 and above	55,000	32.5	38.9	43.1
NVQ2 and above	90,000	52.6	58.9	61.5
NVQ1 and above	124,000	72.8	75.4	76.0
Other Qualifications	12,000	7.1	6.5	8.8
No Qualifications	34,000	20.1	18.0	15.1

Source: Local area labour force survey (Mar 2003-Feb 2004)

Note: All figures are for working age

**Table 4: Earnings by residence**

	<b>Sunderland (£)</b>	<b>North East (£)</b>	<b>GB (£)</b>
<b>Gross weekly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	378.0	402.9	475.8
Male full-time workers	405.4	436.2	525.0
Female full-time workers	332.5	349.9	396.0
<b>Hourly pay</b>			
Full-time workers	9.4	10.2	12.0
Male full-time workers	9.8	10.6	12.8
Female full-time workers	8.8	9.4	10.6

Source: New Earnings Survey: residence based statistics by SOC 2000 occupation (2003)

Note: Average earnings in pounds for employees living in the area

**Table 5: Employee jobs**

	<b>Sunderland</b> (numbers)	<b>Sunderland</b> (%)	<b>North-East</b> (%)	<b>GB</b> (%)
Total employee jobs	111,026	–	–	–
Full-time	77,437	69.7	67.6	68.1
Part-time	33,570	30.2	32.4	31.9
Manufacturing	20,123	18.1	14.5	12.6
Construction	3,917	3.5	5.3	4.4
Services	85,002	76.6	78.6	81.4
Distribution, hotels & restaurants	25,222	22.7	22.3	24.7
Transport & communications	5,529	5.0	5.1	6.0
Finance, IT, other business activities	17,748	16.0	14.1	19.8
Public admin, education & health	31,412	28.3	31.6	25.8
Other services	5,092	4.6	5.6	5.2
Tourism-related	6,644	6.0	8.0	8.1

Source: Annual business inquiry employee analysis and NOMIS (2003)

## Map of Sunderland



## PART 4: Conclusions and policy implications

- 4.1 This part of the report draws together the main findings and identifies a range of implications for government policy. The report provides an assessment of the state of social cohesion in English cities. It focuses on four broad themes:
- (i) patterns: the significance of cities to society – or why cities matter;
  - (ii) trends: recent social changes in cities – whether things have been getting better or worse;
  - (iii) processes: what lies behind recent social trends;
  - (iv) policies: the role of government policies and the issues still to be addressed.
- 4.2 The report draws upon a wide range of evidence including official statistical sources, the SOCR database and detailed case studies of five cities in different regional circumstances.

### The significance of cities to society

- 4.3 One of the reasons England's cities matter to national success is because of the unique scale, density and diversity of their populations. People from different cultural and social backgrounds live in close proximity and interact in ways that can at best prove creative and formative, or at worst conflict-ridden and damaging to life chances. The thickness of urban labour markets and their diverse skill-sets also gives cities a special asset in terms of their versatility, variety and openness to change and development – or else a liability if there are high levels of economic exclusion and inactivity. Building a more harmonious, tolerant and respectful society requires that governments place a particular emphasis on cities given their dense, diverse populations. They are also the parts of the country under greatest pressure from immigration, since this is where people moving to England from abroad naturally settle first in the search for opportunity. These are increasingly important issues for society and warrant greater national attention.
- 4.4 The report shows that cities face disproportionate challenges of social exclusion and inequality. The uneven geography of social exclusion and its causes are not widely understood. It is partly to do with the legacy of deindustrialisation in some parts of the country, along with selective decentralisation of jobs and population from the major cities. This has resulted in higher levels of involuntary worklessness (in the form of unemployment and economic inactivity) and a range of adverse wider social consequences. Child poverty is an example of one of the many effects of joblessness: it is much higher in cities than in towns and rural areas. School educational attainment is also lower in cities than elsewhere. The rate of crime and fear of crime are generally higher. The overall level of deprivation is consistently higher and neighbourhood concentrations of poverty are much greater than in the rest of the country. Geography really seems to matter to these social problems and it must therefore feature in their solution. The lives of a significant proportion of the population are clearly blighted by worklessness, poverty and inequality in cities.

- 4.5 The report shows that there is a strong, statistically significant relationship between various dimensions of poverty and worklessness in cities. If lack of employment is a major cause of a variety of social problems, then increased employment must be a key route out of poverty for individuals and their communities. In a context of high levels of worklessness and inequality, there is probably more support among the wider society for the government to redistribute income through work than through any other mechanism. By targeting economic development and employment policies more towards cities and thereby raising their low employment rate compared with the rest of the country, a disproportionate contribution could be made to achieving the new national employment rate target of 80 per cent and reducing the 2.7 million people claiming sickness benefits. So boosting employment in cities is – or should be – a matter of supreme *national* concern because of the additional contribution through productive activity, higher taxes and the savings in welfare benefits that would result. Cities are also crucial to the attainment of other national goals and targets related to poor neighbourhoods, social inclusion, equal opportunities and social justice more generally, because of their distinctive social challenges and social complexion.
- 4.6 Residential segregation of different cultural or ethnic groups is higher in cities than elsewhere in the country. It is also generally higher in England than in continental European cities, although lower than in the United States. Segregation between whites and Asians is generally higher than between whites and Blacks. Racial segregation actually declined slightly in most English cities between 1991 and 2001, contrary to some assumptions. Segregation based on income and employment status is higher than racial segregation, especially in cities in the south and east. The multi-dimensional nature of segregation makes the challenge of social inclusion and social integration that much greater because there are multiple causal processes at work.

## Regional differences

- 4.7 There are profound regional differences in the issues facing cities. Almost two out of every three of the poorest 10 per cent of neighbourhoods in England are located in the northern and western cities. These cities also have worse health conditions. The major metropolitan centres of the north and west have more than two and a half times their share of the poorest neighbourhoods and less than half their share of the least deprived areas. Towns and rural areas in the south and east have far more than their share of the least deprived areas. Cities do not appear from this simple evidence to be much more strongly polarised than towns and rural areas. They certainly have far more poor neighbourhoods, but they also have far fewer prosperous areas. The key point is that cities have more deprivation than towns and rural areas. People living in cities are clearly disadvantaged compared with the rest of the country.
- 4.8 Cities in the north and west tend to have higher levels of racial segregation than cities in the south and east. London and cities in the midlands have a moderate level of ethnic minority segregation. Lone parenthood and child poverty are also higher in cities in the north and west, partly because the employment rate is lower.
- 4.9 Major cities in the north and west have more than two and a half times their share of neighbourhoods with the highest levels of worklessness. Higher joblessness in these cities disproportionately affects people with disabilities, the over 50s and minority

ethnic groups. In other words, worklessness is a general phenomenon reflecting the state of the local labour market and the shortfall in job opportunities in these places, rather than a distinctive problem confined to particular social groups. This means that urban policy has an important part to play in tackling the low employment rate among such groups. Among cities in the north and west there are also more people with no qualifications and fewer people with degrees, so human capital is weaker. This is likely to limit the attractiveness of the labour pool as an asset for inward investment compared with cities and towns elsewhere. There appears to be a case for education, learning and skills policies to have a stronger urban dimension too.

- 4.10 Overall, the findings show that the disproportionate social challenges facing cities in England are overlaid on persistent and severe regional disparities. In effect, cities in the north and west can be considered doubly disadvantaged compared with some other parts of the country. This has profound implications for the opportunity structures and quality of life of people who live in these places.

## **Recent social trends in cities**

- 4.11 The assumption until recently was that cities would continue to decline because of falling transport costs and higher business mobility encouraging decentralisation to lower cost, space extensive locations with better motorway access. The social and physical scarring effects of deindustrialisation were also thought to deter skilled population and business activity from living and investing in former industrial cities.
- 4.12 In fact, there has been some improvement in conditions in most cities in recent years. This turnaround to a large extent seems to reflect better national performance in spheres such as employment, health and education. In health, for instance, people are living longer everywhere and there is little sign that the regional or urban-rural gaps have narrowed. There has been a big increase in male and female life expectancy in all parts of the country over the last decade. In contrast, the gap in school educational attainment appears to have narrowed slightly between cities and the rest of England, suggesting that the performance of cities is catching up slightly, as well as picking up along with the general trend.
- 4.13 Employment conditions have also improved in most places over the last decade, and by more than average in some of the poorest cities. Conurbations and cities in the north and west have continued to make progress, although there is still a big gap with the rest of England. Increased public spending has helped to boost employment in many places in recent years. This raises some questions about the durability of their relative progress as public expenditure and the numbers of back office public servants come under greater pressure in the years ahead. London and the south and east achieved big gains between 1994 and 2000, but they have fallen back slightly since then.
- 4.14 The proportion of people with degrees has risen everywhere in the last decade. However, the absolute increase has been greatest in prosperous cities that already had many graduates, namely Cambridge, Oxford, London, Reading, Brighton, York and Bristol. The success of some of these cities is likely to have come partly at the expense of other parts of the country through graduate migration. A group of northern and western cities had rather small absolute increases in graduates, and

from a low base, namely Mansfield, Hull, Grimsby, Barnsley, Doncaster, Stoke and Sunderland. Bearing in mind the increasing significance of graduates for the future performance of the economy, with knowledge likely to play an increasingly important role in securing competitive advantage, the widening regional gap is an unfavourable development and worthy of further investigation. There are mixed messages on recorded crime: robberies have increased slightly, while vehicle crime and burglaries have declined slightly.

- 4.15 Overall, the improvements in English cities are important although somewhat uneven and incremental, with some question marks about their long-term sustainability. The enduring consequences of deindustrialisation remain significant for many cities in terms of low skills, high levels of economic inactivity and environmental decay and dereliction. The process of city turnaround requires adapting human capabilities, businesses and other institutions, and physical infrastructure to contemporary economic conditions, which is undoubtedly difficult and requires substantial investment. A start has undoubtedly been made but in many cities the job is not yet done, particularly in the north and west. The increases in prosperity and opportunity that have been achieved need to be extended and sustained to broaden the impact on less advantaged people and places. Public authorities face tough choices about investment priorities in a context of extensive needs and stretched resources.

## **The determinants of social change**

- 4.16 The dynamics of social change in cities are subject to a range of factors and forces that are not easy to unravel in a simple mechanical fashion. The statistical analysis and case study evidence provides important insights into the underlying processes and the connections between different dimensions and drivers of cohesion. The most important determinant appears to be paid employment because of its significance as a source of income, self-respect, social interaction and meaningful activity for people and communities. The most successful cities have tight labour markets and strong external reputations that attract skilled migrants to live and work and enable local residents with all sorts of skills and personal characteristics to obtain secure, well-paid jobs. Yet, many cities still have districts that are vulnerable to a vicious cycle linking worklessness, poverty, low skills and poor health. This is often where disadvantaged households tend to get concentrated over time, partly because this is where the lowest quality, least desirable housing is located. In some places new economic opportunities are inaccessible to disadvantaged groups because of multiple obstacles facing them in a context of intense competition for available jobs. These barriers include skills deficiencies and mismatches, physical inaccessibility to jobs, lack of affordable childcare or institutional factors such as discrimination. Therefore, the challenge is both to expand the scale of relevant opportunities available to key social groups and to improve employability and skills.

- 4.17 Evidence from the five city case studies and the secondary data analysis suggests that 'soft' assets such as social networks, cultural diversity and tolerance have been less important determinants of recent economic and social progress than effective physical infrastructure to accommodate economic development. Places that have done relatively well over the last decade have upgraded their physical fabric and made sure they have a sufficient supply of well located, serviced land and quality property

available for business expansion and inward investment. This has enabled them to retain growth firms within the city, to capture a certain amount of mobile activity (such as call centres and foreign manufacturing plants), and to secure their share of rising national prosperity (through retail, leisure and hotel development and other forms of consumer services). Ensuring that the transport system enables the city to function well in terms of internal interactions and external connections, and that the housing stock is progressively modernised and improved in order to retain and attract a mobile population also seem important. Effective physical infrastructure may not be a panacea for long-term prosperity on its own, but it appears to be a necessary condition for progress and it may help cities to perform reasonably well economically, even giving them a potential advantage in a context of planning and development constraints elsewhere.

- 4.18 Crime is generally higher in cities than elsewhere, but it seems to have little bearing on their relative success. This may be because the levels of crime are generally below the thresholds at which they would begin to have a significant effect on the location decisions of businesses and households, at least at the level of the city or region. Localised high spots of crime can also be avoided or displaced by enhanced security and surveillance measures or by short distance relocation to more secure districts.

## **Differences between cities and the role of government policies**

- 4.19 Government policies contribute to social and economic progress in a wide variety of ways. They can hold back success or promote it, and they can do so both inadvertently and deliberately. The most successful places have addressed the fundamental drivers as well as the more immediate symptoms of social cohesion. They have consistently sought to improve the underlying material circumstances of urban communities and to enhance the less tangible aspects of human relationships and identities. They have invested heavily in the fabric of the place but also in the people themselves.
- 4.20 Sustained policies to expand employment opportunities and help people to access jobs have proved crucial to lift households and communities out of poverty. Cities that have over the years neglected their physical fabric and the supply of employment land have paid the price and become less competitive business locations. Similarly, cities that have struggled to improve their education, housing and transport systems have also fallen behind average living standards.
- 4.21 Although there are many common issues of this kind facing cities, they also differ in their challenges and potential, and in the way policies have responded to these differences. The case studies provide richer insights than the statistical analysis into the nature of these variations. They demonstrate that places really matter to social processes and interactions. The dynamics of social cohesion are indeed complex and reflect a mixture of local and external forces that interact in ways that can be difficult to disentangle fully, let alone to identify appropriate policy interventions. Each city has its own social dynamic in which all sorts of actors and influences come together to produce distinctive outcomes. It is not altogether surprising if social cohesion is taken to mean different things in different cities, and if this results in different policy priorities.

- 4.22 Some places have worked hard over many years to create a climate of tolerance and positive support for social diversity through establishing all sorts of formal and informal networks between and within communities. They have also promoted equal opportunities policies through the public sector and assisted a wide range of voluntary and community organisations to support individuals and households in all sorts of practical ways. Cities such as **Leicester** have been rewarded with relative peace, stability and cultural richness. The city has taken great strides over three decades to accommodate successive waves of migrants without significant incident and now has one of the largest and most diverse ethnic minority populations in England. Stable and far-sighted leadership across all sections of civic society has been instrumental in this.
- 4.23 Yet, Leicester's fragile economy, social deprivation and residential segregation hold back further social integration and create risks associated with people from different groups living separate lives. When different cultural and religious communities live apart, interaction is less likely in schools, recreation, leisure and other spheres of everyday life. Targeted neighbourhood initiatives have sometimes provoked tension and discontent from communities that have felt neglected. In a context of scarce jobs and resources it is much harder for civic leaders to establish a shared vision for the city and to ensure solidarity rather than resentment towards new migrant communities. Economic development policies in Leicester have lagged behind social cohesion programmes, although they are now receiving more attention and several major regeneration schemes are in the pipeline.
- 4.24 Other places have a smaller but more deprived ethnic minority population, a falling total population and a more uncertain long-term economic future. In cities such as **Burnley**, public facilities including schools, housing and transport have needed major investment for some time. A smaller but poorer and more segregated ethnic minority population than in Leicester appears to have presented a bigger threat to sections of the white population. Following inter-ethnic tensions and street disturbances in Burnley in 2001, a government investigation identified weaknesses in local leadership and a lack of strategic vision for the district. Since then, social cohesion has become a priority with far-sighted policies to encourage cultural interaction and progressive developments in education, housing, employment, community safety and sport for young people. There is also a considerable challenge surrounding Burnley's position in the wider city-region and the functions it should perform in relation to other places.
- 4.25 The physical and economic structure of some other cities appears to present a bigger set of issues for cohesion than social diversity. A key challenge in places such as **Medway** is to meld five towns that developed separately historically into an entity that feels and functions more like a city. This would also mean less leakage of resources so that the place was more sustainable in its own right. Although Medway is easily big enough to constitute a city, and looks like one to the casual observer, it lacks coherence as a place to live, work, study and visit. Dockyard closures and industrial decline mean it has become more like a series of commuter towns, with adverse consequences for the quality of life and for the vitality of community and voluntary activities. As a relatively new administrative entity, Medway's identity is also relatively weak and it does not seem to mean very much as yet to local residents, visitors and investors.

- 4.26 There is a big challenge for public authorities to build a clearer sense of place and purpose, a stronger economic base and a better reputation to help attract and retain investment and resources. A prosperous regional context in the South East and a prominent position in the Thames Gateway present a big opportunity to transform local conditions and build a more coherent city, in an economic and social as well as a physical sense. This implies a greater emphasis on jobs and transport infrastructure alongside current plans for substantial new housing. Major new housing development needs to avoid excluding established communities and creating new sources of division and resentment. The poor condition of much of the existing housing stock also cannot be ignored in the focus on new development.
- 4.27 In another group of cities, the regional context is far less favourable and there are major tensions and trade-offs facing policy-makers at city and regional levels. Policies in cities such as **Sunderland** have enabled the city to adapt better than some others in similar circumstances to the collapse of shipbuilding and coal mining by diversifying into other sectors. Through concerted efforts to redevelop vacant and derelict land and upgrade the core urban area, combined with a pragmatic approach to development beyond the built-up area, the city has managed to attract jobs and investment in automotive suppliers, financial services and call centres.
- 4.28 Nevertheless, there is a larger legacy of involuntary worklessness in the form of sickness and economic inactivity, coupled with deficient skills for the contemporary labour market. They are linked to low income, poor educational attainment, low self-esteem and aspirations, and poor health and housing. Although there is considerable experience of projects and initiatives to address these issues, there is a widespread feeling that they need to be tackled in a more vigorous, co-ordinated and inclusive manner. A series of separate, time-limited government initiatives have been difficult to manage and mainstream, and to sustain community involvement. Accommodating a sizeable group of asylum seekers at the request of the government with limited prior preparation has created particular pressures and tensions in a context of stretched public services. The city's position and function in the wider north-east also pose considerable challenges for governance and policy, since the region as a whole is not prosperous and there are tensions in relation to strategic priorities.
- 4.29 In a different group of cities, the challenge to cohesion seems to stem less from a lack of growth and investment, than from the form of new development, which appears to have polarising effects. Policies in places such as **Leeds** have succeeded in establishing a thriving regional service centre. It is a story of particular economic success among cities in the north and west, especially the city centre. However, the benefits have not filtered through to some of the poorer neighbourhoods and groups, who have suffered from the decline of manual employment. The weakness of these communities and their sense of social exclusion may have been exacerbated by some aspects of recent economic growth.
- 4.30 The challenge here is to broaden the opportunities available and to develop a more effective strategy for linking persistent needs and emerging opportunities. Building harmonious communities and narrowing the gap between neighbourhoods are complementary objectives and need stronger policy and practical connections to economic development strategies. Social and economic programmes should be closely aligned rather than pursued independently. They require broad based, cross cutting interventions at neighbourhood, city and regional scales, involving the voluntary and community sectors as well as the public and private.

## Policy imperatives for government to address

- 4.31 Broadly speaking, there are three kinds of urban policies: those that target localised need (such as community-based personal services or housing improvements in poor communities); those that seek to expand opportunities and incomes (such as city centre marketing initiatives or business growth schemes); and those that seek to link opportunities and needs (for example by improving the accessibility of unemployed people to jobs or tackling institutional barriers to economic and social inclusion).
- 4.32 The balance between these approaches should differ across different cities depending on local circumstances and levels of prosperity. In most cities there is considerable experience of neighbourhood programmes and their role in focusing policy efforts on the poorest communities is reasonably well understood. In most of these places the main challenge for government in terms of neighbourhood policy seems to be to provide the sustained resources required to compensate these communities for their disproportionate social needs, including enhanced personal services, better educational provision, affordable childcare and more intensive employability services. In some cities an area-based approach is not always appropriate and there are concerns about giving undue priority to particular neighbourhoods and groups, so there is scope for further consideration of the relative merits of area and group targeting and community engagement, and perhaps more creative thinking about the mechanisms for doing so in order to overcome local resentment. Greater awareness of how each poor neighbourhood functions within its wider housing and labour markets is also important in order to ensure that policy interventions are appropriate and objectives realistic. This issue and the balance between area-based, group-based and universal policies aimed at individual households are discussed in paragraph 8.5 below.
- 4.33 There is also growing recognition among local authorities and their strategic partners such as the RDAs that a more outward-looking, expansive, economically-oriented perspective is important. In some respects, concentrations of poverty are localised symptoms of more generalised city-wide economic problems, in which case it is difficult to provide lasting solutions unless there are more opportunities available that enable general progression. Cities have inherent advantages as economic locations by virtue of their population density, scale of business activity, infrastructure capacity and underused assets in vacant land, potentially attractive waterfronts and underemployed labour. There are various ways of exploiting this potential to boost employment and income generation, including attracting private investment, luring resourceful and talented people to study, live and visit, and helping local enterprises to secure a larger share of external markets. Since local powers and resources tend to be geared to welfare services (broadly defined), the main challenge for government is to ensure that city and regional authorities have the incentives and resources to sustain their efforts to make cities more productive and thereby increase prosperity.
- 4.34 While supporting both approaches, it is also important to avoid pursuing the ‘needs’ and ‘opportunities’ being pursued independently of each other. The former is often focused at the neighbourhood scale and the latter at the scale of the city-region, with no necessary linkages. Separate bodies are often responsible, creating a risk of inconsistency and even contradiction between them. If no-one is charged with making the connections, the prospect of creating or reinforcing stratified, ‘twin-track’ cities, where poverty exists alongside prosperity, is reinforced. In some cases deprived neighbourhoods are treated in isolation from their wider housing and

labour markets, and the economic strategy amounts to a rather narrow agenda (such as high-tech industries or knowledge-based services) in terms of the direct beneficiaries. New jobs, housing and consumer services have focused on high-level occupations and advantaged locations, often for commercial reasons and a lack of public investment. Few benefits may filter through to disadvantaged communities, especially if the new opportunities are taken by skilled migrants moving to the city from elsewhere, rather than local residents moving up the job or housing ladders.

4.35 The challenge for government, therefore, is to raise awareness of the importance of linking opportunities and needs more deliberately to ensure better functioning cities, and to help devise institutional arrangements and practical ways of reducing the various barriers that prevent this from happening, including discrimination, skill mismatches and spatial mismatches. New jobs may need to be better located in relation to deprived areas, affordable housing made a bigger feature of new residential developments, and new amenities planned for a wider spectrum of the population. Programmes to increase labour demand and improve labour supply need closer alignment to ensure that communities in need get a share of the jobs. A more co-ordinated, strategic approach to employability services is often needed to address the gaps, duplication and confusion arising from the current fragmentation of separate projects and programmes. New ways of cross-subsidising the best spatial development opportunities with less attractive and poorly located sites are also important.

4.36 A simple illustration of the imperative to link needs and opportunities stems from the fact that the UK employment rate for non-whites is only 59 per cent compared with 76 per cent for whites. Black and ethnic minorities live disproportionately in cities and currently make up about 8 per cent of the UK population, but they will account for half of the growth in people of working age over the next decade. Consequently, it is important for both economic and social reasons that appropriate employment, training, anti-discrimination and other equal opportunities policies are brought together and focused more strongly on cities than they have been in the past.

## **Other policy implications**

### **Strategic capacity at the local level**

4.37 Diverse local problems and distinctive social dynamics imply differentiated rather than standard policies. Local bodies need the capacity to respond with confidence, authority and flexibility to local needs and opportunities, ie to plan strategically and in partnership with other local stakeholders. Centralised priorities, funding streams, administrative procedures, performance indicators and the like undermine local problem solving capabilities by eroding civic leadership, local networks and technical capacity, and side-lining accumulated local knowledge. They can deflect attention from local problems to selective national perspectives and thereby weaken the prospect of a co-ordinated response. Local bodies may focus excessively on the separate signals from central government at the expense of coherent strategies to address the local situation in a rounded and holistic manner.

## Wider recognition for the role of cities and regions

4.38 The government's new cities agenda is widely welcomed at the local level.

Recognition of both the problems and potential of cities is fundamental to effective policy responses. However, the support for cities does not extend consistently across central government departments and agencies, so there is scope for more alignment of agendas. This is particularly clear in terms of the Government's goal to raise the low employment rate and reduce the high level of economic inactivity and sickness in cities. There is a growing consensus that this requires both a major stimulus to labour demand in order to expand the job opportunities available, and a series of more intensive, locally tailored supply side measures to ensure that workless groups are equipped with the range of skills, confidence and other attributes to compete for these jobs. Much better co-ordination between health, social services and the full range of employability services is needed to get people who are on sickness benefits, lone parents and other groups back to work. Greater attention to the underlying regional disparities is also important in recognition of the quite different contexts within which some cities are situated. A more explicit regional policy coming from the centre would be helpful in this respect. Bottom-up local and regional policies need that overarching national strategic framework.

## Discretionary resources

4.39 The challenges faced are substantial, placing heavy demands on public expenditure. Statutory obligations for local authorities in spheres such as social services and education mean that funds for discretionary facilities and capital projects that address local needs and preferences tend to get squeezed. In many cities there appears to be a serious deficit, for example, in positive youth activities and support services (including learning facilities, sports clubs, community centres, music venues and detached youth workers). They offer a constructive rather than a punitive response to anti-social behaviour, and aim to address the underlying causes of disaffection and frustration amongst bored and ill-behaved youth, in keeping with the spirit of community cohesion. The whole ethos of target setting and micro-management from the centre limits the flexibility of local organisations to pursue the kinds of actions they think are most appropriate.

## Mainstream services

4.40 Mainstream public services are vital to improve the life chances and living standards of disadvantaged groups, including education, employability, health, public transport and housing. Better targeting and co-ordination remains an issue, particularly for vulnerable communities that face a range of inter-related problems and tend to be less effective at articulating their interests than better-off communities. More substantial support is often required for localities struggling to cope with the special needs of asylum seekers, refugees and other new arrivals. Central government sometimes does not appear to respond quickly enough, or to be sufficiently sympathetic to the extra demands new residents make of local services, including schools, social care, housing and health, especially where English is not the first language and cultural backgrounds differ markedly. Where existing communities are already vulnerable and experiencing economic distress, the arrival of new communities can exacerbate social tensions and generate simmering discontent.

## Special programmes

- 4.41 Special projects and programmes aimed at particular neighbourhoods and groups have caused resentment and conflict in some cities, despite the good intentions of policy-makers. More transparency in relation to resource allocation and more deliberate efforts to explain policy choices may help to avoid suspicion of unfairness and distortion on the part of some communities. Cities such as Leicester show how useful it can be to involve the local media more closely in order to communicate policy decisions to the wider public and avoid misunderstandings and unnecessary bitterness. Other ways of targeting resources towards particular needs and opportunities also need to be explored to avoid perceptions of systematic bias.
- 4.42 Beyond these practical considerations there is a general need for a better understanding of the functions performed by different neighbourhoods in their wider housing and labour markets, and greater consideration of their long-term prospects based on their location, quality of the housing stock, social composition, etc. Policy interventions should vary according to whether places function as accessible transition zones for immigrants and/or students, isolated estates with poor stock and low demand, or areas where upgrading is beginning to occur naturally because of inherent advantages. Neighbourhood initiatives are no panacea and the balance between area-based, group-based and more universal provision needs to be kept under regular review.

## Partnership working

- 4.43 Partnership working is an ongoing challenge and rarely straightforward, although there is progress to report in many places as a result of increasing understanding and trust developing between local actors. Government signals to local organisations about the significance of partnership are not always consistent. For instance, financial incentives associated with Public Service Agreements and related procedures tend to work against the spirit of co-operation by rewarding individual organisations for success achieved through collaboration. Local Strategic Partnerships struggle with their all-embracing agenda, all-encompassing membership and lack of direct control over resources. Although useful for networking, they find it difficult to prioritise in a way that can deliver focused action. In many cities there seem to be simply too many paper strategies and too many partnerships with overlapping functions and memberships. The lack of clarity about roles and responsibilities means that ultimate accountability for ensuring successful delivery is confused.

## Social and community cohesion

- 4.44 There are many ambiguities and differences in the way the terms social and community cohesion are interpreted and acted upon by different organisations. Although these concepts seem useful for involving diverse stakeholders in consensus building, there is a danger of glossing over dilemmas, differences and divisions with fairly meaningless generalities and innocuous objectives. The government's community cohesion agenda, which is often couched in terms of racial tolerance and social interaction, risks neglecting problems of poverty and economic exclusion. This agenda could usefully be extended since the objectives of social integration and participation in civil society apply equally to people on low incomes, without jobs and living in council housing. The programmes of the Home Office and the Department for Communities and Local Government could usefully be brought together.

## Tensions between different agendas

4.45 Aspects of the Government's agenda on education and choice in public services do not sit comfortably with cohesion objectives. The national curriculum takes insufficient account of pupils' diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds. It therefore appears inappropriate to certain cultural groups and risks alienating them from school, with damaging long-term consequences. The overwhelming focus on standards and academic qualifications often ends up excluding disadvantaged young people and failing them. There is insufficient scope to develop vocational skills and thereby offer wider options for pupils who are not academically inclined. The emphasis on parental choice may undermine inner city schools by sending the most able pupils elsewhere and increasing segmentation in the school system. Competition tends to be the doctrine of the strong rather than the weak. And in some places there seems to be insufficient attention given to pre-school provision, where many observers believe the greatest difference can be made to the trajectories and long-term life chances of children from deprived backgrounds.

## Sustainable communities

4.46 The Sustainable Communities Plan is viewed with considerable concern in some parts of the country, such as the East Midlands, if settlements to the immediate south of them secure additional investment for infrastructure and public services and become more attractive employment and residential locations. Cities in the Midlands and North need investment to promote regeneration and are ill equipped to compete with serviced greenfield locations closer to London. Within the South East, there is a concern in places such as Medway in the Thames Gateway about an apparent overemphasis on building large numbers of homes to serve the needs of London, to the possible neglect of the requirements of existing towns for more jobs, better public services, modern infrastructure and renovation of older housing. Increased long-distance commuting to London is also not compatible for social and environmental reasons with the principles of sustainability and community vitality.

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## Appendix

### Typology of Primary Urban Areas (PUA) and Constituent Local Authorities

#### PUA

London

#### Local Authority Districts

City of London  
Barking and Dagenham  
Barnet  
Bexley  
Brent  
Bromley  
Camden  
Croydon  
Ealing  
Enfield  
Greenwich  
Hackney  
Hammersmith and Fulham  
Haringey  
Harrow  
Havering  
Hillingdon  
Hounslow  
Islington  
Kensington and Chelsea  
Kingston upon Thames  
Lambeth  
Lewisham  
Merton  
Newham  
Redbridge  
Richmond upon Thames  
Southwark  
Sutton  
Tower Hamlets  
Wandsworth  
Westminster  
Epping Forest  
Broxbourne  
Dacorum  
Three Rivers  
Watford

Dartford  
Gravesham  
Elmbridge  
Epsom and Ewell  
Mole Valley  
Runnymede  
Spelthorne  
Woking

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## Metropolitan Centres

Birmingham	Birmingham Dudley Sandwell Solihull Walsall Wolverhampton
Leeds	Leeds
Liverpool	Knowsley Liverpool St Helens Manchester Bury Manchester Oldham Salford Stockport Tameside Trafford
Newcastle	Gateshead Newcastle upon Tyne North Tyneside South Tyneside
Sheffield	Rotherham Sheffield

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## South and East Large Cities

Bournemouth	Bournemouth Poole Christchurch
Brighton	Brighton and Hove Adur
Bristol	Bristol, City of South Gloucestershire

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Leicester	Leicester Blaby Oadby and Wigston
Nottingham	Nottingham Erewash Broxtowe Gedling
Portsmouth	Portsmouth Fareham Gosport Havant
Reading	Reading Bracknell Forest Wokingham
Southampton	Southampton Eastleigh

## North and West Large Cities

Birkenhead	Wirral Ellesmere Port & Neston
Bradford	Bradford
Coventry	Coventry
Huddersfield	Kirklees
Hull	Kingston upon Hull, City of Middlesbrough      Middlesbrough Redcar and Cleveland Stockton-on-Tees
Stoke	Stoke-on-Trent Newcastle-under-Lyme
Sunderland	Sunderland
Wigan	Wigan

## South and East Small Cities

Aldershot	Rushmoor Surrey Heath
Cambridge	Cambridge
Crawley	Crawley Reigate and Banstead
Derby	Derby
Gloucester	Gloucester

Hastings	Hastings
Ipswich	Ipswich
Luton	Luton
Mansfield	Mansfield
	Ashfield
Medway	Medway
Milton Keynes	Milton Keynes
Northampton	Northampton
Norwich	Norwich
	Broadland
Oxford	Oxford
Peterborough	Peterborough
Plymouth	Plymouth
Southend	Southend-on-Sea
	Castle Point
	Rochford
Swindon	Swindon
Worthing	Worthing

## North and West Small Cities

Barnsley	Barnsley
Blackburn	Blackburn with Darwen
Blackpool	Blackpool
	Fylde
	Wyre
Bolton	Bolton
Burnley	Burnley
	Pendle
Doncaster	Doncaster
Grimsby	North East Lincolnshire
Preston	Preston
	Chorley
	South Ribble
Rochdale	Rochdale
Telford	Telford and Wrekin
Wakefield	Wakefield
Warrington	Warrington
York	York

This is one of a series of six thematic reports providing the detailed evidence which supported the findings presented in *State of the English Cities* report published by the then ODPM in March 2006.

The six thematic reports are:

- The Changing Urban Scene: Demographics and the Big Picture
- Social Cohesion
- The Competitive Economic Performance of English Cities

(the three reports above are available in print and on the Communities and Local Government website.)

- The State of American Cities
- Liveability in English Cities
- A comparison of Public Attitudes in Urban and Non-urban Areas Across Different Regions

(the three reports above are only available via the Communities and Local Government website.)

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**ISBN-10 1 85112 871 9**

**ISBN-13 978 1 85112 871 6**

**Cover Price: £25**

ISBN 9781851128716



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