

# Findings from the Holme Wood Development Project 2007/08

## Demographic changes and effects

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**This report looks at the issues facing new minority communities settling in a large, majority-white housing estate in Bradford. It examines the levels of cohesion within the area and the effect on individuals.**

Much has been made of a lack of cohesion within cities and towns with diverse and divided populations. This report looks at levels of cohesion in a single housing estate with low numbers of minority ethnic groups. Through the experience of new residents from minority backgrounds recently housed in the area, as well as service providers and long-term residents, a new focus is suggested for the community cohesion agenda.

The report details findings gathered from meetings with service providers and residents working and living in Holme Wood, covering the following areas:

- the priorities of local services;
- the perception of change in population measured through the changing nature of services,
- perception of levels of racism on the estate;
- specific nature of hostility to new communities if any; and
- community cohesion, key local issues and future outlook.

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# Executive summary

There are two reports stemming from the work undertaken during the lifespan of the Holme Wood Development Project. This first report examines the nature of the estate with reference to the aims of the project. The information was gathered during the process of building links with local residents and understanding the needs of the local community. Its requirement stems from the fact that while it was understood that the population in the area was changing, the scale and effect of this change were not known in detail. The second aim of the project, to implement a practical programme of activities aimed at improving the cohesion and well-being of the area, could not be achieved without this background understanding. Therefore this short report details the findings gathered from meetings with service providers and residents working and living in Holme Wood. The findings map the following areas:

- priorities of local services;
- perception of change in population measured through the changing nature of services;
- perception of levels of racism on the estate;
- specific nature of hostility to new communities if any;
- community cohesion: key local issues and future outlook.

The report finishes with a summary and key findings (which link to the outcomes of the second phase of the project).

## Method of research

Information was gathered through a series of informal interviews with service providers and residents. Interviews gathered basic information on the services provided and the client group that

accessed them. Information was then recorded under the following headings:

- overview of services;
- general perception of themes (prompted by questions relating to the themes outlined above);
- contacts (detailing any appropriate service users who may get involved in the project);
- programme delivery (detailing ways in which the service might support the project in its second phase).

The responses to the second area above, general perception of themes, were what best informed the conclusion of this report, in particular community cohesion and future outlook.

## Overview of research

Holme Wood has a large number of voluntary and community sector services operating in the area, as well as some major statutory agencies, namely Sure Start and Bradford Community Housing Trust. Of the voluntary sector groups a large number are run through Christian centres and churches. A total of four church groups of various denominations provide community services in the area, with some providing up to eight or nine different projects at once.

The following groups were engaged in informal interviews:

Salvation Army  
Holme United Reformed Church  
St Christopher's Church  
St Christopher's Bridge Project (Youth Services)  
St Columbus Catholic Church  
Bradford Community Housing Trust  
HOPES training centre management  
HOPES training centre delivery

Holme Wood Children's Centre (Sure Start)  
Tyersal Children's Centre (Sure Start)  
Gateway Christian Centre  
Edge Project (Holme Church)  
Holme Wood Executive  
Youth Matters Working Group  
Emerge Youth Programme  
Youth Fusion Project (personal experience)  
Brunel Housing Trust

Bradford Resource Centre provided statistics on national insurance numbers in Bradford South, which helped inform an understanding of wider demographic change affecting Holme Wood. Information was also drawn from Bradford Council's BMG survey on Holme Wood produced in April 2007. This provides residents' views on specific aspects, including information on cohesion and social mixing.

Residents consulted were from Nigeria, France, Congo, Burundi and Zimbabwe. Another four were long-term residents, one of whom was originally from Grenada.

Although the total range of backgrounds new residents are coming from is still unknown, it is clear that the families and individuals from African backgrounds are (a) from a vast array of different countries with no dominant nationality (although Zimbabweans are perhaps better represented on the estate than most) and (b) from West, East and Southern African countries with no representation from countries such as Somalia, although there are high numbers of immigrant Somalis in other parts of the country. These specifics are relevant given religious and cultural differences and how they impact on the individual residents' ability to adapt and settle.

The vast majority of new tenants from African backgrounds appear to be from Christian backgrounds, which, given the high number of churches in the area, might appear to be beneficial. At the time the report was written no one from the various Eastern European backgrounds had been consulted.

# 1 Priorities of local services

Mapping the services provided in Holme Wood was necessary in order to establish where groups may be able to support the programme delivery side of the project, as well as where they may be providing services relevant to new resident groups. However, for the purpose of the project it was not necessary to provide a detailed survey on service provision in Holme Wood. One reason for this is that services are very well linked through groups such as the Youth Matters Working Group (Youth Services) and the Holme Wood Community Council, which is well attended by the majority of local service providers.

However, the range of services is worth noting, as this impacts on the experience of such services regarding new resident groups, as well as helping to reveal details about the nature of new communities themselves. For example, services that target young people between 8 and 18 years of age did not report any major change in the ethnicity or background of participants, reflecting the fact that many new residents are families with young children under 6 or individuals of working age. Below is a list of the broad categories of services and the numbers thereof.

Youth services (in the majority of cases 13–19 year olds): 7 projects providing services  
Training and employment: 1  
Work with the elderly: 3  
Children and families: 4  
Housing and housing support: 2  
Community café: 2  
Faith and worship: 7

Well over half of all services are provided by church organisations, and in all but one case these are open community programmes very much separate from the core faith services they provide (i.e. services are open and accessible to all regardless of faith or non-faith backgrounds). The attractiveness of Christian groups may well be stronger for those of Christian backgrounds, which many families and individuals from Eastern European and African countries will be. For

example, they may be drawn to the religious service first, but then discover the wider range of community services provided through it. For Eastern European groups, for example, the local Catholic church may be the first local organisation they seek out. St Columbus is the only Catholic church serving the estate and is also the only church not providing any extracurricular activities for the community, mainly through limited capacity and resources.

Those services working with families had most experience of new minority groups living in the area and they noted the change in client groups far more than any others. Other than these services, training and employment proved the most popular resource for newly housed residents from minority ethnic backgrounds. In particular the HOPES training centre, which provides free short training courses in a variety of fields, was the only service that had been accessed by Eastern European residents in any large numbers, though many of these came from areas beyond Holme Wood itself. Other groups have also accessed this service, particularly in the early stages of arrival. While training and employment support is clearly highly sought after by new residents, it is not the type of service that creates ongoing use and membership. Therefore a lot of people had come through and completed courses but were no longer regular service users.

In general Holme Wood has a wide range of quality services covering all major areas of social well-being, which means that many of the services are used by residents well beyond the estate's boundaries. Housing, employment, faith services and family support might appear to be the areas most relevant to the migrant groups on arrival and all are provided for in the area, with large numbers of additional services, particularly youth services, having limited relevance to them for reasons already explained.

The overall low impact of demographic change on service provision in Holme Wood could indicate two things: first, that the numbers of newly housed families in the area are not as high as previously

thought, and, second, that services on offer are of limited relevance or not known to new communities in the area at this stage.

## 2 Perception of change and changing services

Broadly speaking, the response to the question 'how has the area changed?' would most commonly be 'not that much'. As described above, this is in part because many services are not being accessed by new communities due to the nature of the service they provide (e.g. youth work). However, this does not explain the general perception that the estate was not changing in any significant way. One possible scenario envisaged by the project before partaking in research was that large numbers of individuals and families from specific ethnic groups had been cluster-housed within a portion of the estate and that this was something that the community would be consciously aware of. However, it soon became clear that this was not at all the case, and that while the arrival of new ethnic groups was generally acknowledged, there was no 'impact' of this change on the mindset of the local population. In the vast majority of cases client groups had not changed at all or at least not significantly in the past two to three years (with the exception of the employment and training services which, significantly, have a client base covering a much wider area than Holme Wood itself).

Having said this, the fact that there has not been a significant 'impact' of demographic change should not suggest that change has not occurred or been recognised. New communities are both from a variety of backgrounds and scattered in housing allocation across the estate, and this has resulted in small anecdotal reports rather than a broad recognition of change. When pushed on experience of families and individuals from African backgrounds, for example, most people would describe a family who lived on a particular street or used the service on one or two occasions. In essence the area has changed in what one might call soft terms – scattered housing, mixed ethnicities of new families, racial similarities to long-term residents on the estate – as opposed to hard terms – large numbers of single-ethnicity families moving into a particular section of the estate.

As a result the impact is low in terms of people's perceptions of the estate as whole and the effect on services, while at the same time most people will display a concrete awareness of new families and a changing population.

# 3 Perception of levels of racism on the estate

A number of interviews drew out the issue of Holme Wood's reputation as a 'racist estate'. Holme Wood is, like a number of locations in Bradford, a majority white estate sitting on the outskirts of the city. Many of these areas have a reputation as no-go areas for certain groups, as do predominantly Asian inner city areas, and in many ways Holme Wood simply fits with the broader perceptions felt across the city. However, as such a large and well-known estate, Holme Wood can be seen to suffer disproportionately in this regard, and there are consequences to the area having such a reputation regardless of the reality on the ground. A number of service providers stated clearly that they felt the reputation the area had for racism was unjustified and the reality did not bear this out. To get to the bottom of these discussions the following facts and issues are outlined.

## Facts that bear out the statement that Holme Wood has a reputation for being racist

- Refugees and economic migrants now housed in Holme Wood but who lived in more central locations of Bradford beforehand, often reported trepidation and fear about the move to the area. This stemmed from the area's reputation for crime and animosity being relayed to them by various individuals.
- There is a very real problem for residents living in the area in the use of taxi firms to get to and from the estate. Many Asian taxi drivers and firms are unwilling to travel into the estate at night or at all for fear of attack. This has been reported by a number of residents and service providers.

## Facts that suggest that the reputation is in part based on reality

- There is anecdotal evidence of taxi drivers and cars being attacked when dropping people off in the area, including by residents during the past six months (as of January 2008).
- Asian families moving into the area have had to be moved back out following widespread harassment and vandalism making it impossible to stay. (This is reported by the housing trusts and by residents.)
- Harassment of local residents from African backgrounds has included racially motivated language and graffiti.
- Racism, mainly towards Asian communities outside Holme Wood, was expressed as a concern by a number of youth workers in the area.

## Facts/trends that suggest that the reputation is unjustified or exaggerated

- Some residents from African backgrounds and long-term residents from minority ethnic groups have stated that they have not experienced any major racist incidents or harassment while living on the estate.
- Isolated incidents involving taxi drivers may give the distorted picture that taxis will be attacked in *all* cases.
- There has been a small minority of black, mainly Afro-Caribbean families living in Holme Wood for a number of decades, with little reports of tension or problems stemming from their presence.



In terms of the response to the arrival of African families in particular, an association of these groups with the long-term minority ethnic groups living on the estate, with whom there have been few reported problems, has meant that a racial response has not been as forthcoming as might be expected based on the estate's reputation. Where racism has been an issue affecting new residents it appears to be an excuse or an opportunity rather than the entire reason. However, these experiences, along with the comments made by service providers on the issue of cohesion in the area, do highlight the nature of racism and cohesion issues within the Bradford context and in particular Holme Wood.

## Wider demographics

The examination of cohesion issues *within* Holme Wood raises the issue of cohesion *between* Holme Wood and other areas. The wider demographic of Bradford as a whole, and the resulting fears and prejudices, means that a statement that Holme Wood is a 'racist estate' has also to specify the nature of that racism, and in this case it is clear that the animosity towards people of Asian backgrounds considerably outweighs that towards other minority groups. The best demonstration of this can be found in the experience of housing officers working for the local Bradford Community Housing Trust when showing round prospective tenants. In cases where they have been accompanying Eastern European families, for example, neighbours have enquired, 'You're not moving in any Pakis are you?', revealing the precise concern to be with the influx of Asian communities rather than other groups. While new minorities such as those from African backgrounds have suffered harassment it has not had a racial element as strong (or had one at all) as that described towards families of South Asian heritage, which can often lead to the family having to be rehoused.

## Siege mentality

An interview with one local resident drew out some of the possible reasons for this difference. His feeling was that the area was changing, and that *this included* the influx of Asian families moving

to the area as well as other groups. A number of worsening social problems were subtly related to this change. Given the reality of the estate, that there are virtually no Asian families living on it at the given time, the perception was justified in this case on the number 'moving into Tong Street', a main road that skirts the area. This is an observation on the small businesses, shops and takeaways run by Asian families and individuals based on that road, and the idea that this somehow changes the nature of Holme Wood suggests that there is also an idea that there is a creeping demographic change that will engulf the area. It seems there is a 'floodgate' concept here regarding Asians that does not apply to other minority groups that do not have such a significant presence in Bradford as a whole.

## Cohesion and racism

Feeling comfortable and bonded with the local community is hindered by the vandalism of property that may often be targeted at new residents who are not well known. In the case of Asian families this appears to be stepped up significantly and have distinct racial overtones. There have been numerous reports by residents and services of damage to property and harassment, and this is clearly something that needs to be addressed in terms of police and housing support as well as advice and moral support that can help residents to respond in appropriate ways. As far as new communities from Africa and Eastern Europe are concerned, the question of whether the estate is a 'racist estate' or not may be less relevant than the issue of vandalism and harassment in general (as this can affect everyone). However, for Asian families the issue of racism may be far more prevalent when combined with vandalism/harassment etc. This issue is a dilemma that the housing trusts acknowledge, especially given their remit to help integrate communities rather than encourage segregation in the allocation of housing. It is important to acknowledge issues of cohesion between Holme Wood and other areas of the city, as the animosities and misconceptions exist on this level much more than any tension with other minorities actually living on the estate. However, greater cohesion within Holme Wood between all communities living there at present can be seen

to help reduce animosities towards the wider Asian community as well, and at the same time the isolated incidents of racial harassment towards other minorities should not be dismissed within this context.

## 4 Specific nature of hostility towards new communities

It helps to continue the discussion on racist attitudes in Holme Wood to aid clarification of the specific nature of hostility towards new communities. Reports of residents from new communities suffering discrimination and harassment came from groups such as housing trusts and others providing material support and housing needs. Such indications were backed up by interviews with local residents from new communities who reported, though by no means universally, such incidents as property being attacked and verbal and written abuse (letters and graffiti), occasionally racist in tone. Beyond this there was a feeling of anguish and frustration at the level of anti-social behaviour generally even when it was not directed at them, as it still contributes to a feeling of disharmony and alienation. However, in many ways the issues faced by new residents have been about learning to cope with many of the problems that other residents face in much the same way, albeit accentuated by the cultural transition of coming to terms with a very different social setting.

Holme Wood has a history of population change, and while it has a large population who have been living on the estate over the long term, new arrivals are not unexpected or surprising. For this reason and others already outlined, service providers in general did not express any high degree of expectancy that residents would react with any animosity towards families moving to the area from Eastern European and African backgrounds. The problems experienced stem almost entirely from young people often below the age of 14, who see new families as vulnerable and easy targets.

The reasons why reported incidents of harassment are probably not a targeted response to the arrival of new communities are that (a) incidents are typical of behaviour on the estate in general, and (b) the young people involved do not appear to have any desired outcomes from their

behaviour (i.e. to drive families out of the estate). Incidents of racist language reveal more an excuse than a planned programme of racial harassment. In cases where Asian families have been targeted, for example, it has been reported by housing services that the intention has been to persist until the family move, creating a sense of hopelessness in the targeted family. In cases I have heard reported from African families, though not all, the harassment has subsided significantly over time, something that may well not be possible with families from Asian backgrounds or with a more Asian appearance (e.g. Middle Eastern immigrants/asylum seekers).

### Opportunities, solutions and responses

In general there are a great many issues that new families might face. However, in the case of the new communities in question, given quality support from services such as the police and housing, these can and should be solvable ones. With reference to the police, it is worth noting reports that many families from new migrant and immigrant communities are unwilling to report crimes for fear of attracting unwanted attention, and can tend to keep their heads down and not contact the police at all. There is also a growing feeling among those that have contacted the police that there is little that they (the police) can do, particularly when it comes to petty vandalism with no direct evidence of the perpetrator. This is reported by residents with reference to neighbours and by the training provider HOPES with reference to some service users. The result of this is that it is hard to get a clear picture of the level of hostility, as it is also hard to pinpoint the level to which harassment and hostility constitute a 'hate crime' (as defined by the West Yorkshire Police strategy to tackle crime against race and religion).

# 5 Community cohesion: key local issues and future outlook

The overall concern of the project is the cohesion of the area with relation to newly arrived communities. However, a number of issues have been raised that impact on the cohesion of the area; they have no specific connection to the arrival of new communities but may well affect the well-being of new residents much as they do that of the population at large. Here some of the issues are outlined with reference to Bradford Council's BMG report on the area produced in 2007:

- new build estates and demographic movement away from the estate;
- groupings/social trends within the estate resented by the wider population;
- working culture;
- territoriality and rivalry with neighbouring estates, for example Bierley.

The council's BMG report on the area highlights a few interesting statistics that relate to the issues highlighted here and the concerns of local residents in relation to other cohesion issues. According to the report only 14 per cent of residents across Bradford felt that race relations were important in making somewhere a good place to live and none at all felt that way in Holme Wood. This compares to 77 per cent in Holme Wood considering the level of crime to be relevant (68 per cent across the District)

Where cohesion is often seen as the ties between people living in a community built upon the things that bond people together, the assumption is that people are happier and healthier where communities contain certain social, cultural and active connections and that we need to find ways of building upon such connections regardless of the cultural or ethnic mix of a given area/

community. According to local residents, the issues outlined in this report regarding race relations with other areas of the city and within the estate may not be, or do not appear to be, top priority in making Holme Wood a good place to live. Other issues that the report highlights, for example crime, may play a much bigger role in deciding people's quality of life. This could suggest two things:

- (i) that the minority ethnic groups on the estate are not considered a problem or something to be resented;
- (ii) that race relations beyond the estate are not considered as things that affect the quality of life on it, and that internal problems are far more pressing.

When assessing the cohesion of the area the internal concerns outlined here should be considered.

## New build estates

An area of concern that was raised by a number of organisations was the demographic movement of individuals and families to areas close by but outside the estate, such as the neighbouring Holme Beck housing development, and the subsequent resentments towards the wealthier families that live in the majority owner-occupied housing in that area. Despite the proximity of the two areas there is a clear-cut division. This also reflects the desire of residents to move out of the estate as soon as the opportunity arises, which can exacerbate social problems within it.

## Local resentments

Many of the issues that concern local residents and that many local services attempt to respond to do involve anti-social behaviour, vandalism, verbal abuse and crime in general. These are not problems unique to Holme Wood; however, that does not mean they should not be seen as relevant when discussing the issue of cohesion in the area, as the relationship of the individual to the community is greatly affected by these social trends. Such issues among others (drug-taking, horse culture, unemployment) do create divisions affecting long-term and new residents alike. This can be found in reports from residents and services of widespread antipathy towards sections of the community. From listening to service providers and residents it would appear that some of the groupings that concern people most are drug dealers, single mothers and traveller families, all of whom may be singled out for blame when pointing out the social problems on the estate.

Such resentments can sometimes lead people to withdraw from community life altogether and only use services and social centres outside the estate. This may be because the ill feeling towards other groupings on the estate can translate into a more general malaise towards the area as a whole, something that can further damage progress towards a cohesive community.

## Working culture

Another grouping that has been identified by new resident families and by housing providers and statutory services such as Sure Start are the unemployed, or more specifically those that are perceived to have a 'culture of joblessness'. According to some this is a hereditary lifestyle that affects the choices and behaviour of children and young adults. It may also account for the desire of working families to move away from certain parts of the estate once the opportunity arises. There is a perception, articulated by residents and housing providers, that tensions may arise, or have already arisen, between migrant and immigrant families and unemployed families living nearby. The problem is compounded where high numbers of unemployed individuals and families are housed in particular

pockets of the estate, of which there are one or two specific examples. Families from working minority communities may find these the hardest places to adapt to. Based on the testimonies of residents, the specific location of residency within the estate can have a profound effect on the experience of it, doubly so for new communities from minority backgrounds.

## Territoriality

Finally another issue frequently raised in relation to the area of cohesion is the relationship between Holme Wood and neighbouring Bierly. Although a lot has been made of the greater antagonism towards the wider Asian population, there are reports of a historical territorial division between the two estates separated by the main road of Tong Street. Gang rivalry and sporadic violence are attributed to this division, and there appears to be an identity among young people with their estate and a territoriality that goes with this. On more than one occasion service providers spoke of 'things being worse' in Bierly, i.e issues such as racism, crime and violence, often attributed to Holme Wood, being a greater problem elsewhere.

## 6 Summary

The overall picture is that of an area that is constantly in transition but that has a strong sense of community, particularly among older members, has a strong voluntary sector service base and suffers an unwarranted reputation for violence and racism. For new residents interviewed experience has ranged from high levels of well-being and a positive regard for the area to high levels of negative feeling caused by distressing experiences and harassment. Between this some families have reported a difficult start followed by a period of adaptation and a growing sense of place. Notably the polarised experiences of new residents mirror those of families that have been living in the area for a long period of time, some of whom have a sense of pride and attachment to the area and others who would rather live elsewhere.

A number of cohesion issues also exist within the estate that relate to social issues. These may affect new and old residents alike and deserve consideration when assessing the need for targeted services. Where community cohesion relates to group conflict or racism it is more closely tied with the cohesion issues of the city as a whole as sustained racial abuse may be specifically reserved for specific ethnic groups.

The common bonds within any given community may be affected by a variety of different dynamics, including ethnic segregation, group conflicts, crime, lack of services or any factor that limits positive relationships between individuals and the community. As far as the cohesion of the area being affected by Holme Wood's changing demographic goes, the issues appear to be around isolation and alienation as opposed to any form of group conflict or local antagonism, and the breakdown of cohesion at the local level connects to issues faced by all residents new and old. The resulting recommendations of the project reflect these conclusions.

# 7 Key findings

- Within areas with relatively small and diverse minority communities, the relationship of the individual to the wider community becomes a key issue with regard to community cohesion.

In the case of Holme Wood in the current circumstances, the priority with regard to community cohesion needs to be the common bond of individual residents and families with the community as a whole, as opposed to resolving any group conflict. The key services in relation to this are the police, housing and general neighbourhood support groups (offering moral and social as well as material support and advice). This assertion is backed up by the concerns and needs expressed by new residents themselves.

- There is a clear need for interventions in the early stages of residency, particularly in areas with growing minority ethnic communities like Holme Wood.

The importance of intervention in the early stages of residency is highlighted by one resident who described the initial six months of residency as having ingrained an irreversible detachment and resentment towards the area which it would be hard to ever overcome. This leaves the resident with a permanent desire to 'get out'. It seems clear then that the early stages are crucial in building a positive outlook on the adopted community, and efforts need to be made to ensure that personal/social comfort and support are offered to isolated individuals at this stage. Here key individuals can inform larger service providers about those with urgent or high levels of need so they can respond in specific ways to specific cases as well as providing a generic service. In many cases new residents have expressed their satisfaction at having moved to the area, and that their needs have been fully met, which makes it doubly important to have the ability to identify and respond to those in more difficult situations.

- Within particular areas in a wider urban context, in this case Holme Wood in the context of Bradford,

racial intolerance and harassment reflect specific concerns and prejudices.

In terms of racist attitudes and intolerance, there is in Holme Wood, like many areas in Bradford, a high level of prejudice and antagonism directed towards the wider Asian community. This is an issue of the area's relationship to the rest of the city, and of its internal cohesion where Asian families are unable to settle on the estate. Reports of racist attitudes towards other minority ethnic communities have been noted and should not be dismissed; however, it does not seem that such attitudes reflect a broad culture on the estate that presents a major problem.

Particular attention is also required with regard to the specific ethnic background of individuals and families being housed in Holme Wood. There is evidently greater hostility shown towards those of South Asian background or relatively similar appearance. In these cases families may well need extra support. In addition any assessment of the level of racial intolerance on the estate should take into account the wider demographic of the city and the history of different ethnic groups living there.

- Social and moral support can play a crucial role where individual isolation and alienation are the principal barrier to forming bonds with the local community.

Greater support from local residents, particularly those in a similar position or with similar backgrounds, can play a role here. However, the provision of quality services which value the difference that moral and personal support can make can achieve outcomes beyond the direct delivery of core services.

This could simply involve an emphasis on informal and personal relationships between service providers and residents with sustained and genuine concern. It is only through such relationships that subtle differences, such as between strong sociable families with an ability to impose themselves on the community and settle through force of will and those who lack confidence



and have a greater inclination to withdraw and detach themselves, can be identified.

- Advocacy is required between residents and key services.

It is important that people feel they have advocates who can represent their issues to professionals who provide a more direct service, for example the police.

In general the area has the services to provide this; however, there needs to be a greater link and trust built both among residents themselves and between residents and these key services. Informal relationships and advocacy can play a key role in identifying needs and helping people feel supported and valued, particularly in the early stages of residency. Where advocacy services exist, residents should have the confidence and knowledge to use them at an early stage.

- Crime/‘anti-social behaviour’ needs to be included in the cohesion agenda.

Many of the issues that have left residents isolated and vulnerable, and therefore feeling negative and alienated from the local community, involve crime and anti-social behaviour, often perpetrated by young people and children. This is a widespread issue and concern which is viewed as being separate from the issue of community cohesion. However, where building a cohesive community emphasises bonds between individuals and groups within that community, then the personal consequences of anti-social behaviour and the importance of subsequent support that people receive cannot be ignored.



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