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Diversity, Community Participation and Neighbourhood Policy Implementation

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Introduction: policy analysis and diversity

Neighbourhoods are among other things a physical and policy space in which diversity is managed (Madanipour, 2005). Voluntary and community organizations have come to play a significant part in neighbourhood governance in Britain, although community participation in neighbourhood governance is usually characterised by inequalities of power, resources and information (Purdue et al 2000; Taylor, 2003), not least in the domain of diversity and community cohesion.

Community organizations may play a role in policy making in neighbourhoods, especially on diffuse areas such as community cohesion and diversity. Some have an impact at early phases of policy cycles, such as opening new agendas and defining new problems, have little influence of policy definition and development (the classic core of policy making), and are then enrolled again in bigger numbers in policy implementation through service delivery (Najam, 1999, reviewing the NGO literature). Typically policies and programmes are formulated at central government level and along with Local Government strategies and priorities these policies rain down on the community. Government through such documents as the Treasury's Cross-Cutting Review (2002) have highlighted a growing role for the voluntary sector as an implementation arm of government with a growing emphasis on commissioning of work. In a different way, the Home Office (2004) has also pinned an important implementation role on community based 'anchor

organizations' for the delivery of community cohesion in neighbourhoods. These points are reinforced in the recent Local Government White paper (DCLG 2006).

While policy cycles are a useful heuristic (Parsons, 1995), policy making is less rational (Hill, 1997), with a change in policy requiring windows of opportunity to coincide in three independent streams: policy solutions, problem definitions and political motivation / legitimacy (Kingdon, 1984). These brief policy windows may be rapidly replaced by policy equilibrium (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). However, implementation studies adopt a more bottom-up model in which implementation is the key phase of policy making where decisions made on the ground in frontline services are important in shaping how policy is actually implemented in practice, resulting in a policy-action continuum (Barrett and Fudge, 1981; Barrett, 2004). Practice can be the source of policy change, particularly where competing funding sources and decision making structures exist (central, local, international and multi-sector), especially in more diffuse domains, such as diversity and cohesion (Hill, 1997).

This paper draws on the evaluation of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation Neighbourhoods Programme, to explore the roles of six community organizations in their action as bottom-up actors in policy implementation, all of whom need to engage more powerful actors such as Local Authorities, but are attempting to shape policy in the implementation of diversity and community cohesion in six deprived neighbourhoods in Britain.

These include

- A community partnership in North Wales working with new EU migrants who are struggling to access public services on a large social housing estate that until recently was very mono-cultural white Welsh, effectively becoming a gateway into public services and into the community.

- A community based Housing Association in Glasgow, which has found itself taking a lead on diversity and cohesion policy in a neighbourhood whose population is split fairly evenly between white Scottish and Black and Ethnic Minority people, mainly Pakistani Muslims; and attempting to bend the Community Planning Partnership to a neighbourhood level, challenging the Local Authority monopoly.

- A project set up mainly for the rebuilding and renovating the local housing stock in an outer Birmingham estate is now responding to the evolution of the neighbourhood from an estate of parents and young children to a multi-generation community with youth and older age issues, as well as the need to become a welcoming place for increasing numbers of Black and Minority Ethnic residents.

- An inner city community partnership using Neighbourhood Renewal funding, among other things, to mediate street conflicts between rival youth groups from competing Black and Minority Ethnic groups.

- Two small and relatively fragile community organizations are attempting to engage across ethnic and generational lines, with little previous experience. One in Yorkshire is based in the Asian Muslim community. In the other case a white organization has begun to transform itself into a multi-cultural neighbourhood forum.

These projects were all supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, which is using their Neighbourhood Programme to contribute to feedback into a more bottom-up approach to national policy making on neighbourhoods, which focuses on building up good practice and identifying blocks community organizations face in effective implementation of their goals, including power differentials issues of trust and so on.

This paper consists of five sections: the first deals with some of the ideas and literature on diversity; the second with the research approach; section three

identifies the key aspects of diversity in the neighbourhoods and the focus of attention for implementing diversity policy; section four presents the findings on innovative approaches adopted by the community organizations to implementing policy solutions; and the conclusion briefly draws out learning points that are common to the neighbourhoods as well as some theoretical reflections.

Diversity

Few of us have a single identity or belong to a single community. Some of the social divisions / cleavages and biographical processes that influence the identities we have and the groups we feel we belong to include: Social class (including wealth, income, education and habits), gender, sexuality, ethnicity (including race, nationality, language and religion), life course (youth, age, parents / non-parents), able bodied / disabled people, residential neighbourhood and housing tenure. All neighbourhoods have a mix of people at least in terms of gender, sexuality, ability and life course; many are also mixed by class, ethnicity and housing tenure. Therefore any community which identifies with a particular neighbourhood is bound to be a diverse community.

Alongside ethnic difference, life course differences are a significant political issue in community politics, with youth frequently seen both as a problem in itself and also as a stage where ethnic conflicts are most visible, combining sometimes into a state where established older white residents are polarised against young, BME or recently arrived minority youth. Ethnicity is the major preoccupation of this briefing paper and life course plays a secondary role.

Two distinct perspectives have been identified in promoting cultural diversity – the local and the cosmopolitan (Hannerz 1990). The ‘local’ view is a practical one, members of a particular culture or identity need to protect or promote their identity and place in the world. An example may be that Somalian people newly arrived in an inner city neighbourhood in Britain, wishing to have a mosque in their neighbourhood to serve their needs. The cosmopolitan approach values diversity in general as something to be appreciated or as having a broad social role of innovation, bringing new ideas and practices

together, and requires a degree of cultural competence in relating to people from diverse cultures.

These two approaches correspond to two types of social capital that have been usefully distinguished – bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital consists of dense networks with high levels of trust, what have often been called ‘close-knit communities’ (Willmott and Young 1960) and in the literature on communities and neighbourhoods in Britain these have usually meant white working class communities. In as far as this actually existed (and was not a romanticised view) these communities are based on the similarity of culture and values of its members (e.g. religion), with overlapping networks. Bonding capital is then about drawing together those who already share an identity. If a neighbourhood contains for example a number of ethnic groups – e.g. white middle class, white working class, Sikh, Somalian and Polish – they may all have strong internal links (bonding capital), and each be proud of their position in a diverse neighbourhood, while living parallel lives that barely touch, with few links between these communities. (Robson and Butler 2001 make this point about young white people who choose to live in Brixton, South London for its multi-cultural mix but have no contact with other ethnic groups).

The second type of social capital – bridging capital – is precisely about links between the constituent groups in a neighbourhood. Bridging capital is not associated with ‘close-knit communities’, or with faith communities, but rather with wider civil society in and beyond the neighbourhood. Bridging capital is not associated with a defence of a particular way of life, as bonding can be, but with a more cosmopolitan appreciation of difference and the importance of getting alone other social groups. Building up trust with others who are different requires neutral civic spaces in which social interaction is possible for civil society to flourish (Allen and Cars 2001). Community leaders may be important in reaching out from, for example, faith communities (Furbey et al 2006), but they can also act as gate keepers and slow down the development of bridging capital (Harrison et al 1995). There is relatively little research on the experiences of new migrants Britain in (usually deprived) neighbourhoods, but it is clear that managing tensions between established communities and

new arrivals can be a challenge (Robinson and Reeve 2006). Building trust can be a slow process and community facilities are often at the forefront of this work but sometimes sharing the space is as much as different groups want (Harrison et al 1995). Current policy (on Local Area Agreements) aims to make neighbourhood based organizations and activities respond to this diversity. Much of the discussion around diversity in residential neighbourhoods has been concerned with ethnic difference (with upsurges of policy interest in the wake of conflicts).

Research approach

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation Neighbourhoods Programme is a programme providing light touch policy and practice support to twenty neighbourhood organizations spread across Scotland, Wales and three regions of England. The authors are a member of the team evaluating the programme and one of the regional facilitators supporting the neighbourhood organizations. Community cohesion and diversity emerged as an issue of concern for some of the neighbourhoods early on in the evaluation of the JRF Neighbourhood Programme. Yet, few of the neighbourhoods highlighted this aspect of work in their action plans, and the evaluation team proposed diversity as a theme to be explored in more depth through a cross cutting mini-project.

Out of the twenty neighbourhoods in the JRF Programme, the diversity project was designed to focus on six. The research team identified three primary case study neighbourhoods, St Pauls, Caia Park and East Pollokshields, and three associated case studies, Broad St, Castle Vale and Integrate. An initial interview was held with a key person in five of the six neighbourhood ‘anchor’ organizations. Fifteen stakeholder interviews were conducted across the three primary case study neighbourhoods. Representatives of the neighbourhood organizations were brought together at two workshops, which helped to define and reflect on key themes in their diversity work in the neighbourhoods.

Problem definition: diversity in the case study areas

Whether viewed as the agenda setting stage of policy making or the problem definition stream, each of the case studies has their own unique neighbourhood context and organizational dynamics, which means that different types of diversity have come to the fore as a focus of policy-action for the community organizations.

East Pollokshields in Glasgow is home to the largest BME population in Scotland (48%). The population of 8000 in the neighbourhood is split fairly evenly between white Scottish and Black and Ethnic Minority people, mainly Pakistani Muslims. It is an area of large tenement blocks; formerly a very affluent area, and now again attracting young professionals to move in. Housing tenure very mixed – private ownership, private rented, Glasgow City Council and housing associations (Southside Housing Association – SHA – and Glasgow Housing Association). Poorer white people tend occupy the council housing: Asians tend to live in the privately owned tenements; housing association properties are scattered and have a better ethnic mix. Historically there has been very little contact between the white and Asian communities (although to some extend they share the same shopping area). The Asian community is not itself united, with strong affiliations to a variety of religious groups and centres. The neighbourhood falls just outside the 10% most disadvantaged communities in Scotland, so the area has not attracted special initiatives, and very little public spending has taken place.

St Pauls in inner Bristol is the most diverse neighbourhood in the city. Incidents involving serious violence are not usually racial in origin – they involve conflicts between gangs in St Pauls and other areas, or are related to personalities or drugs. The one issue where there is real concern is the uneasy relationship between recently arrived Somalis and the Afro-Caribbean residents who first settled in St Pauls in the 1950s. The Afro-Caribbean people feel they have had a raw deal. They had to fight for council houses and fair treatment when they arrived in Britain, and some complain bitterly that Somalians are being treated more generously. (In one respect this is true.

They are benefiting from the hard-won improvements achieved by the Afro-Caribbeans.) *"My message to the Council is there's something very serious which could blow up at any minute."* This is a difficult issue to talk about, but the Council officers response is criticised and it is claimed they should be more systematic and thoughtful; not simply insist that the two communities must get on with one another; give better recognition to the past struggles of the Afro-Caribbean community; take a more rational view, and stop being frightened that black versus black tension is somehow more serious than white versus black.

> *"The reason that the community gets such a bad deal is that mainstream organisations don't know how to deliver services to black people."*

Caia Park in Wrexham is one of the largest housing estates in Wales, with 12,000 residents. The core of the housing stock consists of council-built properties with more recent private estates on periphery. It is fairly settled, very largely with white residents. There has been one significant incident of racial troubles in 2003 resulted from inappropriate housing by the Council of large group of Iraqi Kurd asylum seekers in same area of Caia Park close to a pub – regarded as a "one off".

The main diversity issue concerning the Caia Park Partnership is finding a response to a sudden and very large influx of migrant workers from Poland since the expansion of the European Union in 2004. There are also large numbers of Portuguese and some Czech migrants. The number of migrants is growing all the time, with estimates range from 2,000 to 10,000 new migrants for the whole of Wrexham, which is an area without any substantial experience of immigration. Problems, which are still emerging, include:

- the new residents occupy private rented housing, and suffer exploitation without access to social housing
- the benefits system does not support newly arrived adults adequately in the first 12 months

- lack of translation and interpretation facilities to help people find their way through UK bureaucracies – tax forms, work registration documents, registering for health care, registering children with schools
- a sudden increase in the number of people applying to take English language courses at CPP's Lifelong Learning Centre
- Wrexham County Borough Council did not have service provision in place to deal with the new migrant population, and would not be able to do much without CPP help.

The slow response to the arrival of the migrant workers was described as a *"time bomb for community relations"*. The challenge has been to help vulnerable workers without local support services, eligibility for benefits or the language of their new host country. Underlying this is a sense of urgency in helping migrant workers to integrate as quickly as possible into the community, to avoid them becoming stigmatised. CPP is pioneering these new services and influencing Council policy.

The Broad St area, consisting of private sector housing stock, has gradually become more of an ethnically mixed area over the last 15 years. This is in contrast to the neighbouring railway village, a council estate which is all white. 3-4 years ago Swindon was designated an 'asylum seeker dispersal area'. This caused fear in the press of Swindon of being 'over run'. Although the dispersal area never materialised, it prompted landlords in the Broad Street area to convert houses into Houses in Multiple Occupation. Swindon's booming economy continues to act as a magnet for job seekers, and Broad Street is located close to the train and bus stations, with no shortage of rooms to let, and often some existing networks from their countries of origin, makes Broad Street an ideal arrival point for new migrants, who can make a base in the area.

External perception of the area was summarised by a council report as "a spiral of decline". This included the sense of a growing transient population. Yet transience as such does not pose a social problem, and is often a question of stage of life course, rather than a permanent lifestyle. New arrivals

in the neighbourhood may settle down in the neighbourhood or move into neighbouring areas to buy a house.

The area is an ethnic kaleidoscope – if a group exists in Swindon it has a presence in the area, which also includes two mosques. Some of the groups are very small, perhaps consisting of little more than a couple of extended families. As well as Pakistani Muslims, there are Sri Lankan Muslims, Turkish as well as Goans, Caribbean people and St Helenians. Swindon has about 400 migrants from St Helena, (not all in Broad Street) who lack credentials to acquire NI numbers and the like. One view is that asylum seekers have an increased presence in Broad Street, which also has a relatively large Muslim population for Swindon. Post 9/11 fear of terrorism and fear of Muslims had increased racial harassment of a range of BME groups. However, others perceive no open strife between the white and BME communities in Broad Street, although there is low level friction between teenagers and some racist vandalism.

Castle Vale is an outer estate in Birmingham, which is mainly white, with 8% BME population, within a city which is 35% BME. 60% of Castle Vale is social housing and was established as a community consisting of young adults with children. The original population is now aging and youth are now a visible section of the population on the street. Inter-generational tensions have emerged around fear of crime, (though crime itself is low) and the perception of older people that young people pose a threat to them. Youth also suffer from low educational attainment and high unemployment. Castle Vale has had major capital investment through a Housing Action Trust for the rebuilding and renovating the local housing stock. Castle Vale Community Housing Association is now moving onto developing policy and appointing staff to start taking on diversity and equalities issues, in provision of services, in consulting and engaging local residents in a whole set of new forums, and in working with neighbourhood partnerships. Emerging diversity issues in Castle Vale include youth and older age, disability and making the area a welcoming place for increasing numbers of Black and Minority Ethnic residents in line with the wider Birmingham population.

Integrate is located in Todmorden, where the Asian community, mainly consisting of Muslims from Kashmir, is relatively politically weak and isolated. The Integrate group in Todmorden grew out of a small group who secured some initial funding a few years ago to organise football for youngsters from the local mosque. The initiator of this group had a much wider vision about the need to help the small local Asian community overcome its isolation and play a much more active role in the life of the town. It was also felt that the town of Todmorden itself needed to be more "integrated" into the wider local authority area of Calderdale, as Todmorden was often forgotten by the powers that be down in Halifax.

After an insensitive crime report in the local paper a meeting with the editor was arranged opening a very constructive dialogue and agreeing on ways forward to try to improve the coverage of community affairs in the paper. In 2004 Integrate negotiated with the Council's Leisure Department about organising women-only swimming sessions at the Todmorden Leisure Centre. Sports activities have continued, with Integrate sponsoring a local young man to undertake a football coaching course so that he can put his energies to constructive use by helping build a local league in the autumn. In response to the 2005 earthquake in Kashmir, members of Integrate were heavily involved in fundraising and aid distribution. This has also helped to raise their profile.

Finding solutions: Bottom up approaches to implementing diversity policy in the neighbourhoods

Policies on diversity are made by central and local government, but all too often when it comes down to the neighbourhood level, successful implementation relies on the efforts of community organizations which have a more bottom up approach. This research has revealed community organizations making innovative contributions to addressing diversity issues in their neighbourhoods with a dynamism that is missing form local government. We found a variety of creative activities promoting diversity in the

neighbourhoods, which are organised around four themes undertaken by the community organizations, including:

- Grassroots networking and celebratory community events
- Participative community consultation and strategic partnership building
- Developing equalities policies and procedures for service delivery and representation
- Developing 'pioneer' services for excluded new migrants, providing bilingual community advocacy and advice.

The neighbourhood organizations involved in this project range from informal groups of volunteers to well established organizations with 70+ employees, some are new to diversity work, while for others it is the main rationale for their existence, so the approaches adopted by the neighbourhood organizations reflect this range of capacity, experience and focus.

Grass Roots Networking and Celebratory Community Events

The Broad Street Community Council in Swindon, which is a white organization that had in the past failed to engage BME groups, used the resources of the JRF Neighbourhood Programme to establish a group as a diversity project on behalf of its sponsor organization. (Originally known simply as the JRF group, in 2006 it renamed itself BOND – Broadgreen Organisation for Neighbourhood Development – and is now separate from the Community Council). The group brings together *"dynamo people"* from a range of ethnic groups. Talking and thinking together is a way of making new connections, (bridging social capital). The aim was to bring together people of different backgrounds who had a common purpose in promoting the neighbourhood and were able to find common ground between them. This has developed as BME people have participated and started to take up leading roles in the group, and also expanded into wider organizations such as the Swindon Women's Coalition. Many members of the JRF group remain active in ethnically based organizations at the same time. (One member of the

JRF group has set up the St Helena Trust to help his newly arrived compatriots with acquiring official credentials needed in the UK, such as NI numbers; other members are active in one or other of the local mosques). The JRF group therefore play a bridging role between organizations that were primarily concerned with mobilizing bonding capital. (Indeed there has been some hesitance among some of the white members in the group about the importance of separate BME groups which build bonding capital, but do not engage in bridging. In balancing bonding and bridging capital it is important to remember that social groups are not equal in power and are potentially in conflict with each other, which means separate organizations are sometimes necessary for BME groups (Harrison et al 1995).

The Broad St JRF Group has focused on community safety, that is prostitution and drug dealing in the neighbourhood, which members of the Community Council had been working on. An event was organized early on in the Programme, with the intention of drawing in people from diverse backgrounds on that agenda. However, at that point the JRF group lacked the networks to connect to BME groups and had defined the topic without consultation and not drawn them into the organizing. All of which meant that the turnout was disappointing.

Since then two successful community events have been organised by the group, the first was set up in conjunction with “Streets for Living” and a second one by the group alone. The first was a successful multi-cultural day of food and dance, with 200 people attending from at least 8 ethnic groups. The second was equally successful, and has greatly strengthened the self-esteem of the group. An important difference from the earlier event was that the group had recently recruited new BME members, who had begun taking a lead on organizing the community events. The method used for attracting participants to community events was for each member of the group to personally invite 10 people they knew. This provided a wide spread of participants within the limits of the capacity of the hall (250). It is clear that the enthusiastic leadership provided by new members, combined with using the growing connections the group now has, as well as focusing on a soft target

of cultural celebration, rather than trying to inform and educate local people on a topic chosen by the group has provided the winning combination.

Participative Community Consultation and Strategic Partnership Building

While partnerships exist in different forms in several of the case study areas, in East Pollokshields a partnership has been set up specifically to work on diversity and community cohesion. Southside Housing Association (SHA) has found itself taking a lead on diversity issues in the neighbourhood by default. Action taken by Southside includes appointment of an Asian community development worker and conducting a participative community survey, which has got people from different communities talking to each other and feeding into the development of the Pollokshields East Partnership. It is unusual for a Housing Association to play such a significant role on diversity in the local community well beyond housing management or even housing policy. Nevertheless as East Pollokshields is racially divided along housing tenure lines, SHA as a registered social landlord with an ethnic mix of tenants, does fall into a middle position in the neighbourhood.

The idea of a local partnership capable of strategic action for the neighbourhood of East Pollokshields came from the realization that there was no agency to represent the community as a whole and that the few existing community-wide bodies and governing structures were white and weak. One was predominantly elderly, white and highly middle class and the other, which was intended to embrace the whole community, had been supported mainly by agencies, if at all. The local authorities were supporting this status quo by funding a plethora of fragmented ethnically based organisations without common policies across Pollokshields, at best serving the interests of individual groups, with no strategic approach (e.g. no youth policy for the area as a whole). Yet it was clear from public meetings that Asian and white residents shared common interests in community safety (countering the activity of youth gangs) as well as play, shopping, community facilities, parking and speeding, all of which were being ignored by responsible authorities.

"We became frustrated that this was an area which could attract resources, yet it was doing nothing. We needed to do something to articulate this situation."

SHA took the initiative on setting up a community consultation in East Pollokshields in 2004 and it has been beneficial in several important ways. It was organised so that community representatives would monitor and direct the process, giving the subsequent Pollokshields East Partnership (PEP) a head start. It was an extensive and measured process which has genuinely been able to reach many different parts of the community and won the confidence and trust of many residents – who are now prepared to defend it in public. The consultation has led to an outline Action Plan which has identified key issues of common interest to residents on which future project planning can be based and fits in with the wider Glasgow Community Planning exercise – by creating an organisation, with which the new CP structure can do business and demonstrating that sound community consultation and representation is already in place.

Pollokshields East Partnership was set up in 2005, drawing on the experience of the community consultation. While it offers the potential for a stronger voice for the neighbourhood, recognising and speaking on behalf of the diversity of the neighbourhood, the partnership faces some challenges. Bridging the divide in the community is a slow process as trust needs to develop. *"It has taken people a very long time to feel comfortable about working together."* At the first meeting with Asians and white people, the Asians would not speak at all, *"Nothing like that had ever happened in Pollokshields before."* Asian involvement in PEP is increasing, but slower than expected. It remains well below the 50% level, which is the proportion of the population Asians represent in the neighbourhood. The partnership building process is designed to ensure no one is excluded and to accommodate new people as they decide to get involved, but this proves slow and: *"It's bloody hard work, and we keep having to defend it."* Defence is required not least from envious politicians attempting to set up a rival organization. Even more challenging is getting different parts of the community fairly represented. Making headway with the

Mosques has proved virtually impossible and Asian women remain difficult to reach. Finally there was the delicate issue of who should lead the partnership. Initially the SHA worker took on the job of Chairing PEP meetings, but neither a council officer nor a SHA worker is seen as entirely appropriate, which resulted in an interregnum, with no clear leadership.

St Pauls Unlimited is an NRF funded partnership, with a number of public agencies represented including the police and Bristol City Council housing, planning and economic development departments. Grass roots community representation has been built into its structure with BME groups and local areas within the neighbourhood all represented, and community consultation is a core function. The Council has worked through SPU to find ways of reaching and talking to people who don't normally get involved in community activities. This has included consultations for Asian women's groups and women-only walkabouts in St Pauls. Similar approaches are being developed for older people and young people. SPU has provided an ideal mechanism for the police to engage with the community generally. Officers attend meetings, listen and respond to residents. They have a group of people they can work with on practical projects, and they have a means of building trust. This has made a huge difference to policing, especially the capacity of the police to tackle diversity issues: *"Most police just deal with sticking plaster. I am tangibly seeing a difference."* Community representatives also conduct door-to-door consultations in their patch.

Developing Equalities Policies and Procedures

Castle Vale Community Housing Association (CVCHA) is now moving onto developing policy and appointing staff to start taking on diversity and equalities issues, in provision of housing management services, in consulting and engaging local residents in a whole set of new forums, and in working with neighbourhood partnerships. The Castle Vale Housing Action Trust set up a diversity and equalities working group, which was handed over to CVCHA. They are looking more closely at what the working group is doing and why, and with what the outcomes. CVCHA is affiliated with the

Birmingham Race Action Partnership, which is working with the Audit Commission, and they are also looking at what contribution these two organizations can make to policy development. Castle Vale have appointed an Equality and Diversity Officer, which has given CVCHA the capacity to carry through the strengthening of their diversity work in relation to engaging and representing a range of groups in partnership work and service delivery. The new Equal Opportunities Officer is to reflect on existing policies and procedures, including for engaging residents and other stakeholders, as well as collecting data for future planning. The 2005 Group, which was set up when the HAT finished, is aimed at establishing resident scrutiny and the accountability of CVCHA. Inter-generational work includes taking young and old together on visits. CVCHA have a Youth Council which includes training such as tasters for engagement with the Neighbourhood Partnership Board, and convene a practitioner group on young people.

St Pauls Unlimited have had an impact on policy in their neighbourhood in areas such as environment and housing policy which links to diversity. The Bristol City the Council Housing Department has been gradually responding positively to the requests and demands of residents to introduce new policies which will help to address the special circumstances in St Pauls:

- consultation: residents are now automatically consulted about all policy changes
- planning control: the Department works with the community to scrutinise all local planning applications and will oppose those which break up houses into smaller units, which would make housing problems more difficult for Somali families; this approach is now being applied elsewhere in Bristol (so St Pauls is changing practice much more widely)
- lettings policy: improvements have been introduced in response to residents' demands; housing allocations are much more open in order to demonstrate that Somali families are not receiving priority treatment
- opportunities to buy**:** an innovative scheme to help poorer families to buy their own homes was pioneered in St Pauls. Bristol City Council now advertises properties for 3 months in the local community when it is

planning to sell them off because they are in poor repair (previously they would be advertised nationally straight away). The council are also looking at cheaper mortgages and shared ownership schemes.

- Improvement to local parks has been a priority working with the Planning Department, including reclaiming parks from the drugs trade. ***"****Parks provide opportunities for meeting people you wouldn't otherwise meet*" improving the environment to foster mixing between members of different communities, especially among women.

Developing 'Pioneer' Services for New Migrants: Bilingual Community Advocacy and Advice

Providing bilingual services or bilingual advice to new migrants on how to access services in not available through mainstream service providers in any of the neighbourhoods apart from St Pauls, where the NHS for example do provide interpreters. In the other neighbourhoods it has been up to the community organizations themselves to pioneer bilingual services. Caia Park has been providing bilingual advice and English language courses for new migrants, mainly from Poland and other East European countries.

Although there has been some work going on in Wrexham on refugees and asylum seekers, Caia Park Partnership were the first to feel the pressure of the appearance of new migrants from the new EU Accession countries in terms of sudden increase in demand for English language classes and Polish workers seeking advice from CPP. The positive response from CPP generated confidence and brought in other enquiries. CPP have taken the lead in responding to these new needs with a project to develop services to these new residents of Wrexham which were not being addressed by public agencies such as the Local Authority, or other voluntary bodies.

CPP's provision includes interpretation and translation services: CPP employ a Polish woman with excellent language skills, who is a qualified translator (in working between English and Polish or other Slavonic languages) for 10 hours per week. This has enabled CPP to provide support sessions for East European

migrant workers 2 days a week. Language is the biggest barrier for the migrant workers. English courses are delivered at CPP by the Workers Educational Association and attended by over 70 Polish and Portuguese people. CPP has taken over the initial assessments of people applying for courses, which means that they can start to address other issues at an early stage.

CPP's Life Long Learning staff provide regular advice and advocacy sessions, supported by the translator. New migrants can get help with signing up children to schools at the start of the Autumn term; referrals to local GPs; contact with a health visitor; reassuring contact with the local community policeman to reduce fear of the police; routine help with form filling; referrals to the Council Housing waiting list after completing the "permanent residency" requirement of 1 to 4 months; and advice on employee and tenant rights. (The enforcement of these rights is a delicate issue, since most people looking for help have well founded fears that they will lose their jobs or homes if they make complaints about pay, conditions, or environmental health concerns).

CPP are now developing a digital inclusion project, using digital technology to get Polish, Portuguese, Chinese, Czech and other mums and toddlers who are experiencing isolation together working on basics of getting the information they need. Caia Park have managed to win follow-on funding, which is crucial for their diversity work with new migrant workers. This includes 12 months funding to provide tenancy support work with migrant workers and their families in order to prevent them becoming homelessness and longer term 5 year funding for the bilingual advocacy service they are running. They now have a service level agreement for developing family learning groups. Some bending of other funding was required to manage this at a time when some funding programmes were also coming to an end – the Local Authority has provided only a small part of the funding although they benefit from the provision. CPP have had to be very flexible and innovative to manage this, but the resourcing implications are not completely recognised by public agencies.

St Pauls is further down the road than Caia Park in that it is an established arrival point in Bristol for new migrants. Whereas in Wrexham possible friction between Welsh and Polish people is possible fear for the future, in St Pauls tensions between the established Caribbean community and recently arrived Somalians has been a clear source of tension in inner Bristol. Consequently, St Pauls Unlimited has a 'community advocate' working with the Somalian community and sees support to the Somalian community as a core element of their work. One aspect has been mediation work with teenagers from the two communities focused on conflict at a local laundrette. St Pauls Unlimited also employs three bilingual workers to provide advice to Somalian and Urdu speakers. Translation services are highly valued in both St Pauls and Caia but getting the resources to keep them going continues to be a problem for both organizations.

Conclusion: the view from the neighbourhood

To conclude this paper it is appropriate to return to the strand of policy analysis embodied in implementation studies, which attempts to take a bottom-up approach to implementation, focusing on the problems and pressures of frontline implementation. Like Lipsky's (1980) 'street level bureaucrat' neighbourhood based community organizations face a number of concerns and pressures which shape their response to policies. Community organizations in regeneration neighbourhoods face intractable social problems for which there have been no quick solutions. Establishing community cohesion across ethnic divides (and the tensions surrounding making the transition to adulthood in this context) are good examples of problems without easy answers.

The neighbourhood organizations also experience 'policy churn', as one short term regeneration programme follows another, usually requiring developing new capacity, re-branding current work and bearing an increasing load of monitoring to keep funding. Thus these organizations, which are often reliant on only a few individuals, have to:

- adapt the policies and funding programmes that rain down on the neighbourhood to align them with their own aims for the neighbourhood;
- manage resources from diverse funding sources in order to keep their organizations going, as well as
- mobilizing interest from within local civil society.

The experiences of these case study organizations show firstly, that starting from common ground, not differences, can be an effective basis for collaboration between diverse groups in the neighbourhood. Sometimes the common ground can be established in how local problems are reframed (e.g. conflict between groups of youths of different ethnic origin community safety not racial tension).

Secondly, working across social boundaries to build up bridging social capital *" takes time and trust".* Networks and trust between people, who have had quite separate lives, cannot be expected to happen overnight. It is particularly slow work to get subordinate groups (e.g. Muslim women) who have low status in their own ethnic group, and even lower outside to get used to playing a public role, engaging in civic activities that they have not been encouraged to think of as their own territory.

Thirdly, building linking capital with key agencies is important for delivery on diversity. Yet, while all the community organizations in this study recognise the importance of this and do try to engage, they do not always find it a comfortable process. Problems include not receiving as much money as needed to carry out vital services; not receiving much recognition and support from local agencies or having to compete with local politicians; finding it takes time to win key officers over; and finding the level of service provided unsatisfactory. Bigger community organizations, like some of those in this study in areas with large or fairly large BME populations, may be able to be funded to lay on an impressive range of core services for their quite extensive populations: but even they will need support from other agencies at times. In

smaller neighbourhoods, or where the neighbourhood organisations lack capacity, they can still be innovative, but will remain more reliant on core services provided by other agencies with a wider spread.

Finally, community organizations can be good value for money in this field. They can be effective, because, as this research shows they have built up their capacity for action over a number of years, but are in daily touch with the local issues and realities. Community organizations are often capable of being more flexible and more responsive to change in the neighbourhood than bigger public agencies and able to identify problems and solutions that cut across the way in which mainstream services are organized. They have the freedom to innovate and can be quicker to act provided they have the resources.

Innovative implementation involves perceiving ‘new’ needs or framing problems in ways that can be matched by creative policy solutions, finding the money to support the work and engaging the community positively in the process.

Neighbourhood-based community and voluntary organizations can have the capacity to implement policies supporting diversity in innovative and flexible ways. However, these organizations are themselves diverse in terms of the interests, capacities and leadership. Some will be able to identify problems and needs and to develop and deliver services, but others may be much better suited to softer diversity work, building social contact between groups through social events. These smaller organisations will need help over time if they are to build up their capacity for a wider range of implementation.

Building bridges between social groups is hard work and takes time. Expecting too much too quickly from small community groups may not be productive. Again support over a period of time is necessary to maintain and develop these bridges and the community groups that underpin them. Financial sustainability is a big issue for all community and voluntary organizations working on diversity at the neighbourhood level. Resources

need to be generous enough to allow community organizations to develop in the diversity field without having to sacrifice other projects.

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