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Citizenship and Civic Engagement

Report of Session 2017–19

The Ties that Bind: Citizenship and Civic Engagement in the 21st Century

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Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement

The Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement was appointed by the House of Lords on 29 June 2017 with the remit “to consider citizenship and civic engagement”.

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The Members of the Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement were:

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[Lord Blunkett](#)

[Baroness Eaton](#) (appointed 6 November 2017)

[Lord Harries of Pentregarth](#)

[Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts](#) (Chairman)

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[Baroness Redfern](#)

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Declarations of interests

See Appendix 1.

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Evidence is published online at <https://www.parliament.uk/citizenship-civic-engagement> and available for inspection at the Parliamentary Archives (020 7129 3074).

Q in footnotes refers to a question in oral evidence.

SUMMARY

The creation of a country in which every one of its citizens feels secure, engaged and fulfilled must be a primary objective of a successful modern democratic nation. This would be a country in which everyone feels that they belong, and to which everyone feels they can contribute.

Individuals do not learn about governmental and judicial institutions of the United Kingdom through osmosis. The values which underpin our society, which have been tested in recent years by a variety of economic and societal developments, are not self-evident. They need to be learned and understood. Another important step is to understand that the demand for individual rights cannot be divorced from the need for individual responsibility. Finally, whether older or younger, disabled or non-disabled, long established or recently arrived, marginalised or secure, every one of us who together make up the tangled skein of British society has a story to tell and a contribution to make.

To try and untangle this complex and sensitive web we have looked at the issue of citizenship and civic engagement through the prism of the civic journey each one of us who lives in Britain will undertake. We have found much that is encouraging, showing British society engaged harmoniously together despite the waves of change that are inexorably rolling over us. But inevitably there are areas where we are less successful. We have tried to identify the barriers which are preventing people from feeling part of our society or contributing to it, together with the steps which must be taken to remove those barriers. So we argue for focusing resources, for reinforcing success rather than reinventing the wheel, and for adopting and seeing through long term strategies. This then is our story.

Our first conclusion is that, while a variety of faiths, beliefs and customs can enrich our society, and respect for the values of others is a high priority, respect for the law must come first. There is no place for rules or customs whose effect is to demean or marginalise people or groups—equality before the law is a cornerstone of our society. This is why the rule of law, together with a commitment to democracy, individual liberty and respect for the inherent worth and autonomy of all people, are the shared values of British citizenship from which everything else proceeds. These are “red lines” which have to be defended. As cornerstones these values need to be promoted in their own right rather than simply as an adjunct of counter-extremism policy.

We argue that the process we have called the “civic journey” should be a smooth transition in which central and local government provide individuals with a framework for benefiting from and contributing to society, and assist them in overcoming the barriers to engagement. Instead we have found that citizenship education, which should be the first great opportunity for instilling and developing our values, encouraging social cohesion, and creating active citizens has been neglected. Often it is subsumed into individual development which, whilst undoubtedly important, is not the same as learning about the political and social structure of the country, how it is governed, how laws are made and how they are enforced by an independent judiciary. Nor does it offer an opportunity of practising civic engagement in schools, local communities and beyond. The decline in citizenship education has a number of causes: the revision of the national curriculum in 2013, the fact that academies are in any case not required to follow it, the low esteem in which the subject appears to be

held, the decrease in the numbers of trained teachers and the corresponding fall in the numbers taking Citizenship GCSE. The Government must re-prioritise the subject, creating a statutory entitlement to citizenship education from primary to the end of secondary education, and set a target which will allow every secondary school to have at least one trained teacher.

Chronologically, the next stage of the journey must be to allow children in their late teens further to develop the skills needed to be active and responsible citizens, to mix with people from different backgrounds and to get more involved in their communities. It was with this in mind that the Government announced the National Citizen Service (NCS) in 2010. Its ambition is laudable and its achievements considerable, but it sometimes fails to reach excluded communities in deprived areas. It would be more effective if it reached out to alumni so that it could continue to support them over time; this is the strength of the many long-established youth organisations. We make recommendations for how this might be achieved, how the NCS should promote active citizenship and how the NCS might do more to work in partnership with schools and colleges.

Volunteering is a strength of the UK, but would be helped by more facilities being made available for civic activity. The unemployed should be encouraged to volunteer by having their social security status clarified. More must be done to recognise and reward outstanding contributions made by volunteering.

The other distinct limb of civic engagement is democratic involvement and participation. While there has been a dramatic increase in the level of volunteering among the young, democratic engagement remains stagnant. The turnout in general elections, though improving, is still much too low, especially among the socially disadvantaged and the young. We make recommendations for improving the voter registration process, in particular by adopting the scheme which allows voter registration to take place at the same time as registration at universities, further education colleges and, ultimately, perhaps schools.

Communication between citizens and government at all levels is often poor, and was a subject frequently raised not just in formal evidence but by those we spoke to on our visits. When seeking people's views, communication tends to be with the 'gatekeepers'—those who hold themselves out, not always accurately, as representing their communities. People, especially in deprived areas, must be made to feel that government is speaking directly to them, working with them and for them, and paying attention to their needs and wishes. Contact between the Government and women's groups is especially important. Communities must also be prepared to open up and bring more voices into the conversation.

Forming a single society from different generations, sexes, social and ethnic groups, and those of different faiths requires integration—a word which itself can carry threatening overtones of a requirement to surrender aspects of their way of life. The first requirement must be the ability to speak, read and write in fluent English: an alarming proportion of residents cannot speak English at all, and so cannot communicate outside their communities. This problem is not limited to new arrivals; too many people whose first and only language is English are still functionally illiterate. For them the civic journey barely starts. This huge barrier affects not just them but society as a whole. Extra funds devoted to teaching English would rapidly bring rewards, but we also suggest ways in which the access to such teaching might be made easier.

For those already living here who wish to become British citizens by naturalisation, the barriers are particularly steep. They include a “good character” requirement which is undefined, a knowledge test based on materials which are absurd, and a cost which is steeper than it should or need be. We suggest improvements to the whole process.

Near the end of our inquiry the Government launched its long-awaited response to the review carried out by Dame Louise Casey. As its title *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* suggests, this only is a further consultation exercise. Our inquiry into citizenship and civic engagement goes much wider than this; conversely the Green Paper covers areas outside our remit. Nevertheless there is significant overlap. We explain this in our introductory chapter, and in the course of the report we give our views on the relevant parts of the Green Paper. We hope that the evidence we have received, our analysis of that evidence, the conclusions we have drawn and the recommendations we make, some of which are quite hard-edged, will be of value in this consultation exercise. This report should therefore be treated as the response of this Committee to the questions in the Green Paper.

But consultation cannot be a substitute for action, either on integration alone or on citizenship as a whole. Moreover for such action to be effective, particularly where it has cross-departmental elements, will require consistent long-term application with defined lines of authority and responsibility. Our evidence suggested that historically there has been no clear co-ordination across Government, no real evaluation to find what works, and no long-term commitment to initiatives—many of which appear not to outlive the minister who initiated them. It is not immediately apparent from the Green Paper that these lessons have been learned in respect of this new Strategy. Austerity is not an excuse for doing nothing. As Dame Louise Casey told us: “You can always do things, and not everything costs money.”

We believe that our recommendations, once implemented, will mark a significant step towards a more coherent, confident and inclusive society whose members are encouraged and enabled to participate as active citizens.

The Ties that Bind: Citizenship and Civic Engagement in the 21st Century

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Although citizenship is a complex concept, what we term “the citizenship challenge” is refreshingly simple: how can an environment be created in which everyone feels a sense of belonging to the country of which they are a citizen, with a stake in it and a responsibility towards it? This is not a new question, but it is one that has received increased attention in the wake of recent events. These include the Brexit referendum, terrorist attacks in Manchester and London, and the fire in Grenfell Tower. This has focused attention on social fragmentation, divided communities, isolated communities, rising levels of anti-political sentiment and falling levels of political trust. These challenges are by no means unique to the United Kingdom, and this is reflected in the rise of populist nationalism and deep social anxieties across Western Europe.
2. Society has changed in recent decades. The United Kingdom has become more ethnically mixed; it has become more welcoming for LGBT people, and the status of some women in society has improved substantially. While these changes have caused many to feel confident in their identity, others have felt that their identity has been marginalised. Part of the citizenship challenge is to ensure that Britain is a country where all feel content in their identity and can play an active role in society.
3. There is no simple answer, no magic bullet, no perfect policy, quick-fix or pain-free solution to the citizenship challenge. Democratic politics cannot make “all sad hearts glad” as Sir Bernard Crick argued in his classic book *In Defence of Politics* over 50 years ago.¹ And yet it is also possible to suggest that the citizenship challenge has itself become imbued with what might be termed “the politics of pessimism”, in the sense that we may have lost the confidence to promote fresh ideas, design novel solutions or approach issues with a sense of renewed civic or political purpose. This is a critical point. As already mentioned, the UK is not exceptional in having to cope with a range of social and political tensions, but it could become exceptional if it were to develop a response to the citizenship challenge in a coherent, inclusive and future-focused manner that offered a shared sense of those core values that unite and bind individuals and communities together.
4. Our Committee was appointed on 29 June 2017 with the broad remit “to consider citizenship and civic engagement”.² In reply to our call for written evidence³ we received over 250 submissions. We heard oral evidence from 58 witnesses, and from some of them we received supplementary written evidence. Some who had already sent us written evidence would have liked to expand on their views in oral evidence; we were sorry that the constraints of

1 Bernard Crick, *In Defence of Politics* (Penguin, 1962)

2 See Appendix 1 for the names of the members of the Committee, and their declarations of interests. The detailed terms of reference from the Liaison Committee are in Appendix 4.

3 See Appendix 3.

time did not always allow this. The witnesses are listed in Appendix 2. The volume of evidence we received means that we are able to quote from only a small number of witnesses; but we are most grateful to all of them. Their evidence was invaluable, and forms the basis of our work. We are likewise deeply grateful to all of those who came to speak at an informal seminar, to the young people who came to talk to us informally, and to those we visited in Westminster City Hall, Clacton-on-Sea and Sheffield. Full notes of those visits are in the Appendices.⁴ We also tender our thanks to Professor Matthew Flinders, Professor of Politics at the University of Sheffield, who has been our specialist adviser, for his expert help and his refreshing approach to the subject.

5. Economic growth and social contentment are likely to flourish in those parts of the world that try to address specific challenges as opportunities rather than problems, and it is in exactly this vein that our report seeks to counter the dominant politics of pessimism and division with a politics of renewed optimism. This sense of optimism and civic pride, this belief in the collective capacity of all parts of society in the UK (including amongst those who wish to join), stems from the evidence we have received, the visits we have undertaken and the people we have met. There appears to be a strong appetite amongst all sections of society, and especially amongst the young, to play an active role in civic life. It is also clear that many organisations, religions and civic groups are already playing a major role in supporting the vulnerable, the lonely, the marginalised or those who simply feel—for one reason or another—that they have no stake in society.
6. It is not therefore hard to be optimistic about the future, but it strikes us from our research that what is missing is any clear, coherent or ambitious vision of why citizenship should matter in the UK in the 21st century, or what it actually means in terms of rights and responsibilities. In a period of history that appears almost defined by turbulence, change and flux, the great value of citizenship is that it should provide a real sense of belonging and clarity about the nature of that core underpinning relationship. By underpinning democratic engagement and reinforcing the effective working of civil society, active citizenship contributes to a healthy and functioning society. It can give meaning to everyday experiences and relationships, provide security in relation to equal rights, highlight exactly what is expected from all members of society, and identify those forms of behaviour that simply will not be tolerated. In short, it could provide clarity in a world increasingly devoid of clear boundaries.
7. The main aim of this report is to recommend a set of clear and ambitious reforms. We make these recommendations to the Government in the first instance and hope that many of our proposals will be taken forward with the energy and determination they deserve. However, it is also important to understand that citizenship revolves around the existence of multiple different relationships and therefore involves everyone in society acknowledging that politics is not a spectator sport, and that top-down governmental interventions are, on their own, unable to build a flourishing democracy. The Government has a crucial role to play (for example, in defining and regulating legal forms of citizenship, in ensuring that citizenship education is “fit for purpose”, in investing in civic activities that bring communities together and promote social understanding), but no Government can solve

4 Respectively Appendices 5, 6 and 7.

the citizenship challenge on its own. Its actions must be part of a nationwide effort where all people strive to become better and more committed citizens.

8. This report therefore approaches the challenge in a distinctive manner that is designed to unite both ‘politics as theory’ and ‘politics as practice’ through a focus on two core issues: (1) the civic journey; and (2) barriers. These two issues form the main spine or backbone of this report and allow us to demonstrate the links between a number of topics that are too often viewed in isolation.

The civic journey

9. One way of thinking about citizenship in a clear and coherent way is to think about what we call the “civic journey”. By this we mean that the manner in which an individual’s relationship with the state and with their fellow citizens, where they might live or how they view their position in the world, tends to change with the passage of time. For some people the citizenship journey might primarily relate to life stages—registering a birth, leaving school, starting work, reaching voting age, caring for others or retiring. What you might want from citizenship in terms of rights and protections in some periods of your life may be very different compared others. In the same way your responsibility to put back into society will change in different periods of your life depending on your capacity. The value of thinking more explicitly about the civic journey is that it generates fresh conversations about specific transition points and whether more might be done to celebrate specific civic milestones or whether more needs to be done to support individuals to navigate their way through those points. One benefit of mapping the civic journey and thinking in terms of transition points is that it rapidly reveals the manner in which people might join the journey “mid-stream” in the sense of people who have chosen to move to and make a life in the UK and who want to cultivate a deep sense of belonging and attachment through an understanding of what citizenship means to them and why it matters.
10. Thinking in terms of the civic journey should also have significant benefits in terms of joined-up Government and clarifying the currently somewhat chaotic citizenship landscape in terms of political leadership, government planning and strategic policy-making. One of the main insights which came through very clearly from the evidence we received was the lack of grip within Whitehall of the citizenship challenge. Strategies and policies tend to emerge from a number of government departments, often as a result of a new ministerial appointment—several initiatives came out within the period this inquiry was underway—with very little clear recognition of how they should all fit together to form a coherent strategy, or of the evidence on which future assessments of success and failure will be made. No minister has overall and undiluted responsibility for the citizenship challenge, leading to fuzzy accountability, blame games and unrealised civic potential. This leads to new initiatives being created with each reshuffle of Government and then quickly abandoned with the next change of Minister. Initiatives are too often not deep rooted and are pursued with insufficient vigour.
11. Another benefit of thinking about the civic journey is that it facilitates a very clear focus on the barriers or obstacles that individuals or communities might face in terms of fulfilling the expectations and opportunities of engaged citizenship. Barriers might relate to specific issues concerning educational provision, to English language provision, rules relating to volunteering or

the costs associated with naturalisation. Barriers might be cultural in the sense of a failure to understand the importance of values such as tolerance or equality in British society. Finally, barriers might also be material and societal, ranging from income to mental and physical health, from capacity to engage through to practical challenges such as access to transport and a lack of available time. The citizenship challenge was often expressed by witnesses in the language of barriers, blockages or obstacles, and our recommendations seek to address many of them in a manner that forges positive new links and builds bridges between communities and individuals that might otherwise remain divided.

12. Active citizenship, together with civic engagement, is a primary focus of our inquiry. It has two key elements, and Dr Henry Tam⁵ emphasised to us the important distinction between the two:

“the term civic engagement is often used to refer to two quite different things. One is volunteering and helping strangers. The other sense, quite different, is about democratic participation. You can do one without the other. Many analysts tend to conflate the two, and a lot of policy development tends to give support to one in the name of helping the other.”⁶

13. What became increasingly clear through the course of this inquiry is that the United Kingdom’s approach to citizenship has in many policy areas become synonymous with an arguably over-narrow and individualised emphasis. Active citizenship is too often defined purely in terms of volunteering, social action or learning facts, and too rarely in terms of learning about and practising democracy in the sense of political engagement and democratic participation.
14. The citizenship challenge revolves around the cultivation of shared British values, respect for diversity and an understanding of what British citizenship entails—rights and responsibilities, giving and taking, talking and listening, putting in and taking out—in the 21st century. It is not a challenge that can be ignored or filed in the drawer marked ‘too difficult’. Nor should the citizenship challenge be seen as one that focuses purely on the integration of ethnic minorities, the position of those who feel marginalised or the reduction of terrorist threats. The citizenship challenge is a shared challenge across the UK just as citizenship is a shared social responsibility. We live in an age of shared and overlapping identities and our framework for cultivating a sense of belonging, for defining and supporting a model of citizenship that emphasises what we have in common rather than what separates us, is possibly the defining challenge of our present times.
15. Some might respond by suggesting that the challenge is too difficult or the costs of addressing the citizenship challenge are too great. We would argue that the challenge is too pressing to be ignored. The recommendations we offer generally revolve around increasing the efficiency and maximising the social impact of the public money that is already being spent. This is not therefore a report that can be easily located within contemporary debates concerning big-state or small-state, left or right, open or closed, hot or cold—it is a report that calls for a genuinely smarter state in the sense of adopting a

5 Formerly Director of Cambridge University’s Forum for Youth Participation and Democracy, and prior to that the Government’s Head of Race Equality.

6 [Q 134](#)

clear, coherent and ambitious approach to citizenship and civic engagement. The role of the modern state—as the evidence we were presented with demonstrated in a variety of ways—should be less about the direct imposition of a blunt model of citizenship and more about the creation of a vibrant civic space in which different communities and organisations (sporting, cultural, artistic, religious, voluntary, etc.) can flourish. It is also about setting down and being very clear about the civic journey, and not least what is expected of everyone in terms of shared British values and standards of behaviour.

16. This is a critical point. The citizenship challenge is less about dealing with a problem and far more an opportunity to restore and rebuild a sense of collective confidence in our sense of citizenship. We offer a focus on the civic journey, on removing barriers and on re-balancing the nature of citizenship as a starting point for a national conversation about the citizenship challenge. We provide positive case studies of innovation, social change and inter-community co-operation. And we also propose recommendations in relation to shared British values, education, civil society, volunteering, democratic engagement, integration, the teaching of English and naturalisation as a way of developing this agenda. Just as in forestry, where a tree might have to be given 25 years to become fully established, so these initiatives need to be nurtured by successive administrations over many years.

The Government’s Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper

17. Integration within and between different communities is a central topic of our inquiry. A majority of us live in large conurbations, and even more work in them. Yet within a comparatively short distance will be isolated rural communities, and coastal communities which, though they may not in fact be isolated, will nevertheless feel so. At one extreme are communities with practically no inhabitants from ethnic minorities; at the other are places where ethnic groups which are overall minority groups are locally in the majority. LGBT communities flourish in most areas, but there are places where custom and faith fight against them. In the largest cities some of the most affluent areas are only a few miles from the most deprived. And over all hangs the great economic divide between London and the south east, and the rest of Britain.
18. Dame Louise Casey’s *Review into Opportunity and Integration*,⁷ which had been commissioned in July 2015 by the then Prime Minister and Home Secretary, published its report on 5 December 2016. On 2 February 2017 Marcus Jones MP, then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at DCLG, replied in answer to a written question: “It is right that Government should take the time necessary to consider her findings. In the spring, we will come forward with our plans for tackling the issues raised by Dame Louise, so that we can continue to build a country that works for everyone.”⁸
19. We therefore expected to have seen the Government’s response to the Casey Review at the latest before we had properly embarked on our inquiry. However the Government’s written evidence, which we received on 5 September 2017, said: “We are currently considering the findings of Dame Louise Casey’s independent review into how to boost opportunity and integration in isolated communities published on 5 December [2016].”⁹ The following day, when

7 We refer to this hereafter as the Casey Review.

8 Written answer by Marcus Jones MP (2 February 2017) [59394](#)

9 Written evidence from HM Government ([CCE0249](#))

we took oral evidence from officials, we asked whether the Government was preparing a response. The reply was: “this autumn.”¹⁰ In evidence to us on 13 December 2017 the Minister, Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth, told us that “the integration strategy we are taking forward and the Government response to Casey we can expect early in the new year”.¹¹ In the middle of January we were told by officials that it was expected to be issued “shortly”.

20. On 14 March 2018, as the Committee was discussing the third draft of our report and a year after it was first promised, the Government published a paper entitled “Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper”.¹² It might have been thought that the delay was caused by the need to finalise the finer points of a settled strategy but, as the title “Green Paper” suggests, this is only a consultation paper. It puts questions on which it seeks the views of readers by 5 June 2018. The Prime Minister says in her Foreword: “We will listen carefully to you and will respond later in the year.” We hope that the Government will then have a true Integration Strategy to offer. We shall be disappointed, to put it no higher, if we have to wait much beyond June for a Government response to this Committee’s report.
21. One reason for the delay in the publication of the Green Paper is likely to have been that a large number of departments are inevitably involved in this complex subject. Officials and ministers from four departments gave evidence to us, and even more departments were involved in the preparation of the Government’s written evidence. We have given examples in paragraph 10 of some of the problems caused by the lack of continuity.
22. **We believe that coordination of policy would be helped if a single minister in a single department, presumably the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, was given responsibility for coordinating all matters related to citizenship and civic engagement.**
23. There is much in this Green Paper to welcome. Many of the proposals put forward cover matters on which we had received evidence, reached conclusions, and decided on the recommendations we would address to the Government. We have not of course been able to seek from witnesses their views on the Government’s specific proposals, but nothing in the Green Paper has changed our views. Where these differ from the Government’s initial views we have explained our reasons more fully.
24. The Green Paper has too narrow a definition of integration. It focuses almost exclusively on the integration of ethnic minority groups, with scarcely a mention of the challenges faced by disabled people, LGBT people, people in rural and some coastal communities, working class communities and all those who feel marginalised in our society. At the same time it is insufficiently clear on the red lines that define acceptable behaviour in modern Britain, especially in relation to the treatment of women and LGBT people. The Government seems not to appreciate the fundamental point that integration as a British citizen cannot take place without an understanding of what it means to be a British citizen. This clear lack of citizenship vision is most strongly exemplified by the failure to mention citizenship education anywhere

10 [Q 16](#) (Hardip Begol)

11 [Q 179](#)

12 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

in this Strategy. We discuss these failures in more detail in the chapters on Values, Education and Integration.

25. A strategy of this kind inevitably requires funding additional to any that is being made available under existing schemes. The Green Paper itself says nothing about additional funding. The Secretary of State, the Rt Hon Sajid Javid MP, in his oral statement on the afternoon of the launch of the Green Paper, also said nothing about funding.¹³ However the press notice issued that morning refers to “The Integrated Communities Strategy green paper, to which £50 million will be committed over the next 2 years ...”.¹⁴ It is not made clear whether this is in fact additional funding. Even assuming that it is, we agree with Dame Louise Casey when she said that it would take more than £50 million over 2 years.¹⁵ We return to this issue in Chapter 8 where we consider the funding of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL).
26. The Green Paper proposes to trial a new localised approach to integration initially in five Integration Areas,¹⁶ and subsequently to “undertake a programme of evaluation research in the Integration Areas to generate evidence of what works in different local area settings.” No details are given of the method or timescale of this evaluation, or of how the Government intends to take what it has learned from these areas and apply it to the rest of the country. These are matters which must be addressed when the Government responds to the Green Paper “later in the year”.

The devolved administrations

27. Many of the matters we refer to in this report are devolved in at least one of the countries of the UK. Education, for example, is devolved to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Where we have made recommendations which apply only to some parts of the UK, we hope that the devolved administrations will find them useful and will follow them where appropriate. Some of the statistics we cite relate only to England, or to England and Wales; there are not always comparable statistics available for other parts of the UK.

A note on terminology

28. Any consideration of this topic has to refer to, compare and contrast different social groups: their backgrounds, their achievements, the challenges they face, what prevents them from moving forward, or holds them back, and how they can achieve prosperity and wellbeing. We are well aware that when we refer to the white working class, or ethnic minorities, or socially disadvantaged people, these are generalisations which embrace large numbers of different people and communities whose characteristics are far from identical. References to a faith embrace adherents whose views can differ widely and whose differences sometimes outweigh their common values. Even references to men and women sometimes need qualification. References in this report to different groups should be read with this in mind.

13 Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth, the Under-Secretary of State at MHCLG, did however refer to this when repeating the statement in this House the following day.

14 MHCLG, *New government action to create stronger, more integrated Britain* (March 2018): <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-government-action-to-create-stronger-more-integrated-britain> [accessed 15 March 2018]

15 On the Today programme on 14 March 2018.

16 Blackburn with Darwen, Bradford, Peterborough, Walsall and Waltham Forest

And finally ...

29. We have received a considerable amount of evidence stressing how important equality and social mobility are to civic engagement, and how the financial crisis has increased socio-economic stress and division. It has had a disproportionate impact on the socially disadvantaged and on rural communities. There is no doubt at all that increased resources aimed at alleviating these inequalities would have a beneficial effect on civic engagement. There is equally no doubt that in these times of austerity such resources could be made available only by decreasing resources made available for other matters regarded by many as equally important, or perhaps by raising taxes. These are major economic arguments outside our terms of reference, and on which we have received no evidence. We have therefore concentrated on making recommendations which can be implemented without major shifts in the distribution of resources.
30. Dame Louise Casey¹⁷ told us: “You can always do things, and not everything costs money.”¹⁸ We ask the Government to bear this in mind.

17 Author of the *Review into Opportunity and Integration* (the Casey Review), published in December 2016. See further Chapter 7.

18 [Q 162](#)

CHAPTER 2: VALUES—THE RED LINES

31. Before we can begin to trace the civic journey through its life course we must first establish the rules that govern it. These are our key national values which establish our rights and responsibilities to each other. A failure to uphold these values can act as a major barrier to people engaging in civic action. This can be due either to discrimination and prejudice directly stopping them from playing a part, or to the perception that others are not upholding these key values. This can prevent people from engaging because they believe society is unfairly rigged against them.

Civic Values

32. Diversity can be a strength, but only so long as people feel they are all part of one and the same society, rather than many different societies in one country. For this to be the case there needs to be some baseline understanding and acceptance of what being a British citizen actually means in terms of how we behave and treat each other. To make this point is not to focus attention on specific ethnic groups or religions; quite the opposite. The vast majority of ethnic minorities and immigrants adhere to British civic values; by contrast some people who are neither ethnic minorities nor immigrants fail to do so.
33. The values that we discuss in this chapter represent the core of our civic identity as represented in the laws of this country. They are the red lines which define being a United Kingdom citizen and which underpin our common citizenship.
34. This is not to say that all people in the UK must be assimilated into a single monoculture. There are many different national, cultural, religious and social identities across the UK, and many people with multiple identities. Some people see themselves not just as a British citizen but as a British Muslim, a British Christian, a British Pakistani, or a British Pole, and some people will identify as a mix of these identities. However important these identities may be to an individual, they cannot subvert the obligations that go with being a British citizen, their civic identity. As explained by Dr Henry Tam:

“When we talk about integration we need to clarify that there are two senses of identity which, again, tend to play into each other. One is what I would call a sociocultural identity—people’s customs, tastes and so on. The other is a civic identity, which is often what we are talking about; that you are a part of this country and under the rule of law of this country. In terms of civic identity, it is very important for there to be very clear integration. People must learn to accept that we are all citizens of the UK, and that identity is non-negotiable. ... Separate from that is what I call the sociocultural identity: what people like, how they dress, what they celebrate as festivals, and so on. On that, far from wanting an integrated, single culture where everyone is the same, what is important here is getting people to understand people’s different perspectives, cultures, customs and preferences.”¹⁹

35. For many their religious identity (one aspect of a sociocultural identity, in Dr Tam’s words) will be paramount, but for the vast majority of religious

believers this will support rather than supplant the duties that are entailed in their civic identity.

36. When it comes to civic values, the Committee’s view aligns with that of Dame Louise Casey:

“... you do not pick and choose the laws of this country. The laws that protect religious minorities are the same laws that say I am equal to a man. You do not pick which ones you want. It is not a chocolate box of choice; it is something you have to embrace. If you are uncomfortable with that, I now say that is tough.”²⁰

37. The epithet ‘racist’ has rightly acquired particular force and opprobrium in modern day Britain. Those who seek to continue to promulgate approaches that are not in line with our values, such as the value of equality, have been known to make use of this phrase to rebut criticism of their approach. Where necessary society must be sufficiently strong and confident not to be cowed into silence and must be prepared to speak up. Fear of being labelled “racist” is never a reason for those in authority not to uphold the law, or for citizens not to raise their concerns. The faiths and customs of individual communities can never override compliance with the law. It is not good enough to look the other way. Civic engagement demands no less. It is disappointing that the Integrated Communities Strategy neglects to address these issues clearly and directly. “Nudging” by central Government is likely to prove to be an inadequate response, more direct action is therefore needed.
38. The Government set out its definition of Fundamental British Values (FBV) as “democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs”.²¹ The Government’s counter terrorism strategy, Prevent, was introduced in 2003,²² but it was only when it was revised in 2011 that extremism was defined as opposing these values. In 2014 this negative definition of extremism was “inverted to become a positive value”²³ as Rt Hon Nick Gibb MP, the Minister of State for School Standards, told us. In this chapter we consider whether this definition is adequate and whether the association with the counter terrorism strategy is helpful.

Naming our Values

39. One criticism of the Government’s attempts to promote Fundamental British Values is that they are not exclusively British. Many witnesses stressed that Fundamental British Values were not unique to Britain and were shared

20 [Q 151](#)

21 The Glossary of the Government’s Prevent duty guidance https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukdsi/2015/9780111133309/pdfs/ukdsiod_9780111133309_en.pdf states: “ ‘Extremism’ is defined in the 2011 Prevent strategy as vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and *mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs.*” However the early education funding regulations in England refer to “the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and *mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs.*” Privately funded independent schools in England which fail to promote those values do not receive funding from local authorities for the free early years entitlement: see paragraph 5 of Schedule 1 to the Education (Independent School Standards) (England) Regulations 2010, ([SI 2010/1997](#)) as amended by regulation 2(2) of the Education (Independent School Standards) (England) (Amendment) Regulations 2014, ([SI 2014/2374](#)). This is therefore the current statutory definition. An earlier amendment in 2012 referred to “tolerance *for* those with different faiths and beliefs”. (Emphasis added)

22 This is explained in more detail in Chapter 7 on integration.

23 [Q 181](#)

across societies. For example, the Conservative Muslim Forum told the Committee: “Most fundamentally, there is nothing exclusively British about them and they are just as much French values, German values, American values or indeed Islamic values.”²⁴ Nevertheless, whilst many countries share this list, they put this jigsaw of values together in different ways. As Voltaire put it, “every people has its character as well as every man”.²⁵

40. However, it does not seem that the Government intends the values to be read as exclusively British. The reasoning given by officials for the term “Fundamental British Values” was that they were the “things we value in Britain” and that “British values is shorthand for that.”²⁶ Dr Muhammed Abdul Bari, who advised the Citizens Commission on Islam, Participation and Public Life, preferred to describe them as shared values due to the fact that they are shared with people who are not British citizens.²⁷
41. There are also positive arguments for using the word “British” in a description of our values. Dame Louise Casey stressed the importance of using the word British in order to reclaim the word from far right activists.²⁸
42. The word “British” also helps to identify that the values are ours, and are values to be proud of. The Chief Rabbi, Ephraim Mirvis, explained: “We are British and are proud of our Britishness and it is important for us to highlight the elements of our way of life, which perhaps distinguish us, in some respects, from others due to our history.”²⁹
43. He also identified problems with the word “fundamental” in the Government’s description of “Fundamental British Values”. It is a word with troubling connotations. As the Chief Rabbi told us, “fundamental values can lead towards fundamentalism, and that would be in the event that they prompt people to adopt an extremist approach, whereby those who are championing fundamental values have no tolerance for the particular values of a particular entity within our society.”³⁰
44. In October 2017 we attended a citizenship ceremony at Westminster City Hall.³¹ During that ceremony the values were described as “the values of British citizenship”. This roots the values in our shared citizenship of this country, and mirrors the German approach which roots their values within their constitution and basic law. Mira Turnsek, an official of the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, told us that: “There are discussions on that which would probably include German values and what it means to be German, but we would always go back to the constitutional values and the human rights approach and the basic law.”³²
45. In the same way we believe that our values should be rooted within our shared citizenship.

24 Written evidence from Conservative Muslim Forum ([CCE0150](#))

25 Voltaire, *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, Tôme III: “En effet, chaque peuple a son caractère comme chaque homme.”

26 [Q 12](#)

27 [Q 18](#)

28 [Q 158](#)

29 [Q 170](#)

30 [Q 170](#)

31 See Appendix 5.

32 [Q 144](#)

46. **The Government should stop using the term Fundamental British Values and instead use the term Shared Values of British Citizenship. It should recognise that the values are both shared with people from other countries and are essentially British.**³³

What do we value?

47. The use of the term “Shared Values of British Citizenship” does not imply that no other country can share them in whole or in part, but that they are civic values which should be adhered to by all people in Britain. Values that stand in opposition to these Shared British Values (SBV) cannot and should not be described as British. All social and cultural identities that fit with these civic values are British, and should be proudly thought of as British. So it is perfectly possible for a devout Catholic or Muslim to believe in Shared British Values simultaneously. However, this is not true of a person who for example, discriminates against women or who is Islamophobic.
48. Beyond the description of the Shared British Values there are also problems with the Government’s chosen list of values. The Chief Rabbi thought that “the vast majority of people are not familiar with what British values are. If you were to stop somebody in the street and say, ‘What are the four key elements of British values?’ I am sure they would not even know there were four and would have no clue.”³⁴
49. That does not mean that there is not a broad understanding of what the key principles are that the values reflect. Pupils 2 Parliament³⁵ asked 281 primary school children aged 9 to 11 what values they believed that everyone living in Britain should share, think are important and support. Their top three choices were “Mutual respect—Caring—Democracy and voting” followed by “Fundraising and charity—Equality—Individual liberty and freedom—Rule of law—Kindness”.³⁶ Although they do not use the same words, they quite closely reflect the Shared British Values. If primary school children have a good understanding of these values it is very possible that there is some level of understanding across the population as a whole.
50. However, word choices do matter in selecting and promoting a series of values. Cardinal Vincent Nichols, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, criticised the values for being “a bit rootless”, suggesting that they call for tolerance but do not identify the root of that tolerance:

“I have a stance towards another person that enables me, because I understand something, to be tolerant of them because I recognise their dignity and the importance of difference. If we keep picking the fruits of tolerance and not attending to the roots of the tree, it disappears, which is what we see: tolerance becomes cynicism, cynicism becomes indifference, indifference hardens and we end up going down the road that leads to hate incidents and hate crimes ... There is something very important about being ready to explore what lies behind the fairly arbitrary selection of British values, that they need roots.”³⁷

33 From this point on Shared Values of British Citizenship will be abbreviated to Shared British Values.

34 [Q 168](#)

35 A project to enable school pupils to consider and feed in their views to parliamentary, government and national public body consultations and inquiries.

36 Written evidence from Pupils 2 Parliament ([CCE0258](#))

37 [Q 167](#)

51. Tolerance plays a key part in the Government’s current formulation of the Shared British Values. However, the idea of tolerance needs to be examined to find what the core value is beneath it, as explained by the Chief Rabbi: “The concept of tolerance ... does not imply acceptance. The Hebrew word for ‘tolerance’ is ‘sovlanut’, from the root ‘sevel’, which means discomfort. We are not at ease with this, but we allow it to take place out of respect for others to have their space and the opportunity to express themselves how they wish.”³⁸
52. The crucial value here is respect for other citizens. As the definition currently stands, “tolerance” and “respect” in the Shared British Values are reserved for those of “different faiths and beliefs”. However, respect for our fellow citizens should not be based only upon their faiths and beliefs. Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, told the Committee: “the things that do underline our approach to values should certainly include respect for the rule of law, to ensure that there is equality in relation to matters of race, religion, sexuality and so on.”³⁹
53. In spite of what the Minister said, race and sexuality are not expressly covered under the current definition of the Shared British Values, but the Minister’s description of the values fits with how Ofsted has been interpreting the values as they evaluate schools’ promotion of them. For example, Ofsted has sanctioned schools which fail to teach about LGBT people.⁴⁰ This is entirely right, and the Shared British Values should cover these, and others; Nazir Afzal, former Chief Crown Prosecutor for North West England and so responsible for the prosecution of the high profile Rochdale grooming cases, highlighted “gender equality” as an example,⁴¹ but all the protected characteristics under the Equality Act 2010 are just as important.
54. There is a need to recognise the core issues that are at the heart of British values, and place them within an understanding of what it means to be a citizen of this country. Certain groups are failing to respect the autonomy of women, LGBT people, and the religious practices of other groups. This is against the values of British society. We recognise each individual as inherently worthy of respect. We have a duty to respect the dignity and autonomy of all people. The state has a duty to treat all its citizens with equal respect and concern. As residents of the UK we also have a duty to respect our fellow residents in the same way. A person has a right to this equality of respect whatever their wealth, race, social standing, gender, sexuality, abilities, caste, religion or belief.
55. We agree with Cardinal Nichols that the values should not be seen as rootless; they should be seen as rooted in our shared humanity.
56. This is well expressed in an analogy from the Chief Rabbi:
- “The best analogy I can think of is the symphony orchestra in which we have separate instruments, each one making its own unique sound and, under the baton of the conductor, blending together to produce

38 [Q 167](#)

39 [Q 181](#)

40 ‘Jewish school faces closure for refusing to teach its young girls transgender issues despite its religious ethos being praised four years ago’ *Daily Mail* (13 July 2017) <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4694610/School-faces-closure-refusing-transgender-issues.html> [accessed 9 March 2018]

41 [Q 75](#)

perfect harmony. Surely this is what we should strive towards achieving within our society ... We need to respect people for who they are and where they come from and, under the baton of human co-operation, we need to blend together to produce that harmonious society, not through uniformity but unity, which means respecting differences and enabling us to thrive in that way.”⁴²

57. Witnesses had specific concerns not just about the content of the values, but also about the top down way in which the content was decided upon. Dr Neil Hopkins⁴³ told us that “There was not a period of public discussion and national debate on Britishness and what values (if any) this encapsulated. This lack of debate has made it difficult for Fundamental British Values to be accepted in many quarters of British society.”⁴⁴
58. **The Government should initially change the existing list of values from “democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs” to “democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and respect for the inherent worth and autonomy of every person.” The rule of law ensures that every individual has freedom under the law (and hence enjoys individual liberty) and equality before the law (which entails a respect for the inherent worth and dignity of every person). The Government should encourage a broad public debate across the country on both the Shared Values of British Citizenship and the other values we share, and how they fit together.**

Valuing cross-Government co-ordination

59. Currently the only area of Government policy with an explicit duty to promote FBV is education. Schools are required to “actively promote” FBV and are inspected on this by Ofsted.⁴⁵ There is no such obligation in respect of the vast majority of citizens, including those who are new to this country, and it is unclear whether the Government is doing anything to promote FBV in their case. Dr Jill Rutter, Director of Strategy and Relationships at British Future, pointed out that there was room for the Government to promote values more widely:

“The state ... reaches people through lots of different ways, through the arts, through publicly funded art through libraries and art through leisure centres. We could think about how these different organisations of the state could gently promote shared values, perhaps by encouraging volunteering and bringing people of different communities together. It would be lots of different small things. ... and everybody contributing in different ways and reaching different groups of people. It is people who are more isolated who are less likely to participate in arts, leisure, sports and volunteering, whom we need to reach. ... Perhaps ... through further education and apprenticeships, through football and through the institutions that they use and visit. It is a very big task.”⁴⁶

42 [Q 167](#)

43 Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Bedfordshire

44 Written evidence from Dr Neil Hopkins ([CCE0016](#))

45 Department for Education, *Guidance on promoting British values in schools published* (November 2014): <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/guidance-on-promoting-british-values-in-schools-published> [accessed 9 March 2018]

46 [Q 22](#)

60. We have heard repeatedly in the course of our inquiry that sports provide an opportunity to reach people who are disengaged, and this is discussed in more detail in the chapter on Integration. Sports, leisure and arts all represent areas where the Government could promote the Shared British Values and reach those that would otherwise be hard to reach.
61. **The Government should set out what the Shared Values of British Citizenship mean for Government policy in each Government department, and outline how they can promote them, especially through areas of Government policy like sport, leisure, arts and culture that reach groups which may otherwise not engage with the Government.**

Shared British Values and counter-extremism

62. The positioning of Shared British Values was also called into question. Whilst the Home Office, like every other department, should be clear how it is promoting the Shared British Values, there are questions of whether Shared British Values are too close to the counter extremism agenda. The Department for Education is consulting to create new curriculum materials to help teachers in teaching FBV, and it plans to put them on its Educate against Hate website providing advice on counter-extremism. Our evidence suggests that many people see FBV as part of the counter-extremism agenda.
63. Shared British Values are fundamental to the life of the country and should be promoted in their own right, not simply as an adjunct of counter-extremism policy. As summarised by Dame Louise Casey, there are better reasons for promoting them: “At the moment, we are saying that women are equal to men, that it is okay for gay people to get married and that we should respect that even if we do not condone it within our religion. If we are saying these things only because of something called extremism, we are getting something wrong.”⁴⁷
64. When questioned, witnesses outside Government unanimously agreed that making the promotion of Shared British Values part of the counter extremism agenda was a mistake, and thought it harmed the perception of the Shared British Values.⁴⁸
65. The Government needs to be careful that “Britishness” is not used as a counter-narrative to religious extremism, as it can exclude those it most needs to inspire. Dr Jill Rutter emphasised this:
- “we should caution against using the word [British] too much and using it as a counter-narrative to religious extremism. We were told, when we met a group of young people in Newham, east London ‘The more they talk about British values, the more we feel we don’t belong’. We have to be sensitive and cautious about how we use it and we need to use it in positive contexts, not as a counter-narrative to religious extremism.”⁴⁹
66. There is also a danger that the Prevent strategy and other elements of the counter-extremism agenda are part of a toxic debate. Associating Shared British Values with the security agenda risks tainting it with the concerns of

47 [Q 159](#)

48 See for example the evidence of Dame Louise Casey, Dr Theresa O’Toole and Saskia Marsh.

49 [Q 17](#)

that debate. Dr Theresa O’Toole, Reader in Sociology at the University of Bristol, explained this to us:

“Like many things, if we were to debate British values under the rubric of the Prevent agenda, it would be likely to have quite harmful and toxic implications for that debate. You can see that replicated across a range of different domains, whether cohesion or integration. There is a risk that the very valid debates about gender equality will become contaminated by concerns about securitisation in those debates, because they are being tied or hitched to the counter-extremism or Prevent agenda. We could have a debate about British values—it would be good if it was a debate and not simply a prescription handed to us from the Home Office—and to have it in a way that is autonomous from the security agenda.”⁵⁰

67. Counter-extremism programmes can be divisive amongst those communities which see themselves as unfairly targeted. Associating Shared British Values with those programmes risks making the values themselves divisive. Saskia Marsh from the Commission on Islam, Participation and Public Life, found that they were perceived as such, and that this had toxic effects:

“Among respondents to the commission this discussion on British values has been perceived as divisive, again because the term is being perceived as focusing on very exclusive values rather than on universal values that individuals of different cultures hold. That effect is obviously counterproductive to the safeguarding aims of Prevent, and I suppose also to the original aims of wanting to define British values, which for me are about defining acceptable standards of engagement towards one another in a multicultural, multifaith society.”⁵¹

68. In his evidence the Rt Hon Brandon Lewis MP, then Minister of State for Immigration, supported the link between counter-extremism and values because he perceived that this helped counter-extremism to be more effective:

“... promoting those core values is absolutely essential in the work we are doing to defeat extremism, and we should be quite unapologetic about that. If we are not focused on defeating the evil ideology of extremism in all its forms, we will miss out on dealing with one of the biggest challenges of our time. It is not easy, it is complicated, but we have to stay focused on it and not allow ourselves to be taken off piste by people having a problem talking about British values. We need to be very clear about that and we have to make sure that our narrative about that tolerance and belief in the rule of law is something that we drive through, as I say, very unapologetically and be quite forwardstepping about it.”⁵²

69. We agree on the need to champion Shared British Values. However, the Minister did not seem to consider the effect of the negative connotations of counter-extremism on the promotion of Shared British Values. Counter-extremism is directed at only a few thousand people, whilst the promotion of Shared British Values seeks to create an integrated society for the whole population. Shared British Values can present a positive vision of what people in Britain believe, and could help prevent the need for counter-extremism intervention.

50 [Q 68](#)

51 [Q 68](#)

52 [Q 182](#)

70. **The promotion of Shared British Values should be separated from counter-extremism policy. The Government should not place guidance on teaching Shared Values of British Citizenship on the “Educate against Hate” website. Guidance to teachers should make clear that the primary objective of promoting Shared Values of British Citizenship is to encourage positive citizenship rather than solely aiming to counter extremism.**

The role of faith schools

71. In the evidence we received there have been some concerns about the promotion of FBV in faith schools. Approximately 1.9 million pupils are taught in 6,813 state funded primary and secondary designated faith schools in England. This represents 28% of all primary and 18% of all secondary pupils.⁵³
72. The term ‘faith school’ can be confusing. A school can have a specific legal designation as being a school with a religious character. A school with a religious character can be a maintained school, academy or independent school. These schools have greater control of their Religious Education curriculum, ownership of school buildings, the ability to take religious considerations into account in staffing, and the ability to include faith-based criteria in their admissions policy when they are oversubscribed.⁵⁴
73. Although they have this ability to include faith-based criteria in their admissions policy, many designated schools with a religious character have an intake which is primarily or entirely of a different faith or no faith at all, and have a different ethnic mix from the local population of that faith. For example many Church of England primary schools in Bradford are majority Asian or British Pakistani. At St Philip’s Church of England Primary Academy in Girdlington, Bradford, 90% of the pupils are Asian or British Pakistani and fewer than 5% are White British. At Westminster Church of England Primary Academy in Bradford 66% of the pupils are Asian or British Pakistani. Other designated faith schools use their faith based admissions criteria to help ensure that they have pupils of a particular faith.
74. There are 300 independent schools designated as schools with a religious character. Although many of these schools are of a high standard, in a recent report, Ofsted stated that some leaders at these schools “do not sufficiently promote fundamental British values.”⁵⁵ The private orthodox Jewish schools which have caused controversy over failing Ofsted inspections due to not teaching FBV adequately fit within this group.⁵⁶
75. In addition to these schools, other schools have chosen to describe themselves as having a faith based ethos despite not having that legal status. This applies to schools like the Oasis Academy South Bank which is a regular academy, rated as Outstanding by Ofsted, run by the Christian Oasis foundation.⁵⁷

53 House of Commons Library, *Faith Schools: FAQs*, Briefing Paper, [SN06972](#), June 2017

54 *Ibid.*

55 Ofsted, *The Annual Report of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Education, Children’s Services and Skills 2016/17*, (December 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/666871/Ofsted_Annual_Report_2016-17_Accessible.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

56 ‘Private Jewish school fails third Ofsted inspection for not teaching LGBT issues’, *Independent*, (26 June 2017): <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/private-jewish-school-lgbt-issues-fail-ofsted-inspection-vishnitz-girls-london-orthodox-sex-british-a7809221.html> [accessed 9 March 2018]

57 Oasis Academy South Bank, ‘About us’: <http://www.oasisacademysouthbank.org/content/about-us-27> [accessed 9 March 2018]

76. Our evidence suggested that a majority of faith schools are adhering to British values and setting good examples as schools. We heard from the Chief Rabbi that Jewish faith schools are setting a positive example:

“From the point of view of the Jewish schools you have mentioned, there is a very keen desire to champion British values within the schools while being true to the religious principles which they follow. ... I am exceptionally proud of our faith schools and the extent to which our faith schools are always close to the top of the leagues with regard to secular excellence and the extent to which our pupils are encouraged to become outstanding, responsible citizens.”⁵⁸

77. This agreed with the picture presented by Sean Harford, Ofsted’s National Director for Education, who said that only a small minority of faith schools have a problem teaching British values, and that there are some examples of excellent work on British values being done in other faith schools:

“The vast majority of schools are doing well in this area. However, we have concerns about a very small minority of schools in the independent sector ... it is not, as you may well know, the full cohort of independent schools—it is about 1,000 to 1,100 of the non-association independent schools. A small number, about 40 or 45, have been identified as providing inadequately and failing the independent schools standard for promoting fundamental British values. They are predominantly from the faith sectors. Clearly, that is of concern, because where that is most acute they tend to be in communities or serving communities that are quite insular anyway, so, ironically, they probably need more promotion of fundamental British values as set out than other places where there is more connection with the wider community.”⁵⁹

78. He also told us about an example of good practice within faith schools:

“I have a quote here from the Jamiatul-Ilm Wal-Huda school in Lancashire. The inspection report picked up in particular that ‘Pupils have very recently completed a joint project with pupils from a school in a rural part of Cumbria. Such work gives pupils a broad understanding of the range of people and contexts in modern Britain. Aspects such as democracy and the rule of law are taught formally and ... emphasised in the daily life of the school’. We can see that there is good and great practice and that it is an outstanding school overall.”⁶⁰

79. There are nevertheless a small number of schools where there has been a serious failure to act in accordance with Shared British Values. In an interview in *The Times* Ofsted’s chief inspector Amanda Spielman highlighted teaching and books in a number of faith schools that are blatantly in violation of British values:

“As [Ms Spielman] flicks through a dossier of material found in Islamic schools, she points to the cover of a book called *Women who Deserve to go to Hell*, filed next to a text on the ‘rights of beating women’. It is ‘absolutely’ clear to her that misogyny is being drummed into children

58 [Q 170](#)

59 [Q 83](#)

60 [Q 84](#)

at an early age in such schools. ‘It flows very directly from some strands of religion,’ she says.”⁶¹

80. Since 2010, where a new faith school is created and it is oversubscribed, it cannot recruit more than 50% of its intake on faith-based criteria. However, in 2016 the Department for Education consulted on removing this cap,⁶² and in the 2017 Conservative Manifesto there was a commitment to doing so.⁶³ There are concerns that this could cause greater social segregation within faith schools.
81. The Integrated Communities Strategy commits the Government to trial new approaches to admissions that balance the principle of parental preference and decreasing segregation in their five selected Integration Areas.⁶⁴ We believe this is a good approach; the results from these trials should inform future decisions on admissions.
82. **Any change in the rules governing admissions criteria to faith schools should ensure that they do not increase social segregation.**
83. Although religious groups are not bound by anti-discrimination law in the practice of their faith, promoting discrimination has no place in schools. Ofsted’s annual report rightly highlights the importance of Shared British Values and stresses their importance:
- “A core function of education is to pass on what one generation knows to the next. Part and parcel of this is spreading the values and culture that bind us as a society. There is no tension between this and religious pluralism. In fact, any proper teaching of fundamental British values encourages respect and tolerance for others’ views.”⁶⁵
84. If the Government does ensure that existing schools adhere to Shared British Values, parents wishing to opt out of British society may remove their children from those schools. They may then send their children to unregistered schools under the pretence that they are being home schooled. We have not investigated unregistered schools and the tools needed to tackle them. However, in the Integrated Communities Strategy the Government has undertaken to review its guidance to Ofsted and Local Authorities, and to consider whether Ofsted needs additional powers to tackle unregistered schools.⁶⁶ This is a promising start. The Department for Education must

61 ‘Amanda Spielman interview: “There are Children in this country for whom British values are meaningless”, *The Times* (16 December 2017): <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/amanda-spielman-interview-there-are-children-in-this-country-for-whom-british-values-are-meaningless-7m9hz2z8g> [accessed 9 March 2018]

62 Department for Education, *Schools that work for everyone* (September 2016): <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/schools-that-work-for-everyone> [accessed 9 March 2018]

63 The Conservative and Unionist Party, *Forward Together, Our Plan for a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future* (May 2017): <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/2017-manifestos/Conservative+Manifesto+2017.pdf> [accessed 12 April 2018]

64 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]. The five selected Integration Areas are Blackburn with Darwen, Bradford, Peterborough, Walsall and Waltham Forest.

65 Ofsted, *The Annual Report of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Education, Children’s Services and Skills 2016/17*, (December 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/666871/Ofsted_Annual_Report_2016-17_Accessible.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

66 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018) p 27: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

ensure that unregistered schools are not used by communities as a way of avoiding learning about Shared British Values.

85. **Faith schools, and other schools attended primarily by the adherents of one faith, should be no exception to the requirement to teach Shared Values of British Citizenship, still less the requirement to abide by the rule of law. We are glad to see Ofsted focusing on this important issue. They should not look the other way.**
86. Whilst it is admirable that Ofsted are tackling this issue, it is possible for it to be addressed at an earlier stage. It is not clear that the Department for Education is sufficiently considering whether a faith school will promote Shared British Values before the school is opened and instead are relying on Ofsted to inspect these schools further down the line. Dame Louise Casey suggested that this was a case of acting after the horse had bolted.⁶⁷ However, in the Integrated Communities Strategy the Government has announced a new approach where all new applicants to set up free schools will be required to show how they will prepare children for life in modern Britain and how they will promote fundamental British values as well as how they will encourage pupils from different communities to work together.⁶⁸
87. **We welcome the Government's new policy of ensuring that all applicants to set up a free school are required to say how their school will promote the Shared Values of British Citizenship.**

67 [Q 159](#)

68 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018) pp 28–29: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION—THE KEY BUILDING BLOCK

88. One of the first steps on the civic journey is the education system. Education should help young people become active citizens once they understand their role within society and how they can go about improving it. Too often individuals are prevented from engaging because they feel they lack the skills or knowledge required. Whilst many parts of the school experience can contribute to creating an active citizen, citizenship education can specifically address these challenges.

The Importance of Citizenship

89. Citizenship education has a crucial role to play in helping to build active citizens. We have received large amounts of evidence stating that this is the case, from personal experience of teaching to academic studies. For example, Karl Sweeney told us:

“The centrality of Citizenship Education and PSHE⁶⁹ in encouraging greater social cohesion, greater resilience and aspiration among young people and a thoughtful national narrative about Britishness and what a nation should be, cannot be over emphasised. In my 35 years in the education profession, this is the single most self-evident fact I have learned.”⁷⁰

90. The Government funded Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) found that citizenship teaching can have important positive effects on civic engagement. As Dr Avril Keating, Senior Lecturer at the UCL Institute of Education, told us, where students received a lot of citizenship teaching, they “were more likely to hold positive attitudes towards civic and political participation, and to feel that they could effect change in their communities and in the political sphere ... These benefits could be seen even after they had left school and become young adults.”⁷¹

91. This study’s findings were not unique and the benefits of citizenship education can be seen across the globe. As Dr Keating explained:

“research studies from other countries ... have shown that civic participation during adolescence can have a wide range of benefits, both for individuals and for societies. In particular, these studies have found that participation in civic activities can have a positive effect on young people’s civic dispositions such as tolerance, trust, civic knowledge, political activism, political efficacy, sense of commitment to the community, and self-esteem.”⁷²

92. Citizenship education can also go some way toward mending the democratic inequality that exists in society. James Weinberg from the University of Sheffield told us:

“We have evidence showing that those in the top quintile for household income are five times more likely to participate in political activities than those in the lowest ... Citizenship education can redress this balance. We have evidence ... that citizenship education, where it is done effectively

69 Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education

70 Written evidence from Karl Sweeney (CCE0042)

71 Written evidence from Dr Avril Keating (CCE0134)

72 Written evidence from Dr Avril Keating (CCE0134)

and consistently, can predict political efficacy, participation and levels of knowledge.”⁷³

93. On a more practical level, citizenship education also gives young people skills that are useful for getting on in life, as James Weinberg described them: “the skills to do with critical debate and public speaking, which will set young people up for life”.⁷⁴ Adding further emphasis to this point, preliminary research has suggested a link between participation in citizenship activities in schools (such as school councils and mock elections) and participation in community and political life are linked to higher educational attainment.⁷⁵
94. The purpose of education is not simply to prepare people for the labour market. It is also important to educate citizens for a vibrant and cohesive society. Citizenship education properly taught does this.

A short history of citizenship education

95. Since 2002 citizenship education has been a part of the national curriculum in England for key stages 3 and 4 with an optional GCSE available in the subject.⁷⁶ Citizenship education was formally introduced into the curriculum in England in 2002 following concerns about declining democratic involvement and worries about social decline.⁷⁷ It was implemented in a variety of different ways across different schools. Some schools chose to combine it with teaching of Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE) whilst others taught it as a stand-alone subject. There was also a wide variety of teaching methods and differing levels of training given to teachers who taught the subject.
96. There was a wide variety of quality in teaching after the initial introduction of citizenship education, as Dr Avril Keating explained:
- “There was a bit of nervousness around making schools have something that was too formalised and too uniform, so schools had more autonomy to do what they wanted. This was a wonderful aspiration, but, in practice when it rolled out, school autonomy meant that good schools could do it well and bad schools just went, ‘Here’s a video, guys. That’s all you need to watch this week’ or, ‘We’re talking about drugs and sex education. That’s citizenship, and that’s all we need to do’.”⁷⁸
97. However, over time the quality of citizenship education began to improve. It peaked between 2009 and 2011, as Scott Harrison, who was working in the Ofsted citizenship team at the time, told us: “two-thirds of schools had good provision and some had outstanding provision, but ... [we were] already seeing a fall-back in the final year.”⁷⁹

73 [Q 52](#)

74 [Q 54](#)

75 D Kerr, E Ireland and T Benton (2006). *Exploring the Link Between Pupil Participation and Pupil Attainment at School Level*. NFER: Slough. Unpublished report.

76 Department for Education, *Citizenship programmes of study: key stages 3 and 4* (September 2013): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/239060/SECONDARY_national_curriculum_-_Citizenship.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

77 Jon Tonge, Andrew Mycock, Bob Jeffery, ‘Does Citizenship Education Make Young People Better-Engaged Citizens’, *Political Studies*, vol. 60, (2012), pp 578–602: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2011.00931.x> [accessed 4 April 2018]

78 [Q 58](#)

79 [Q 82](#)

98. In 2013 the national curriculum for key stages 3 and 4 was revised to create a new slimmed-down curriculum. The aims of the current National Curriculum on citizenship are to ensure that all pupils:
- “acquire a sound knowledge and understanding of how the United Kingdom is governed, its political system and how citizens participate actively in its democratic systems of government;
 - develop a sound knowledge and understanding of the role of law and the justice system in our society and how laws are shaped and enforced;
 - develop an interest in, and commitment to, participation in volunteering as well as other forms of responsible activity, that they will take with them into adulthood;
 - are equipped with the skills to think critically and debate political questions, to enable them to manage their money on a day-to-day basis, and plan for future financial needs.”⁸⁰
99. Citizenship is also an optional subject in primary education which has a curriculum framework for key stages 1 and 2.⁸¹ This framework focuses on broader concepts such as right and wrong and how to articulate opinions.

Character education

100. One of the concerns about the direction of citizenship education is whether it has moved from a collective political conception of citizenship towards a more individualised notion that focuses on character and promoting volunteering. This concern about a thin concept of citizenship being promoted which ignores the political elements of being a citizen has been a consistent theme throughout the inquiry.
101. The concern is that citizenship education is being subsumed within character education which, as the name suggests, seeks to create a positive character in the individual, rather than focusing on the community. James Weinberg told the Committee that proponents of character education see “citizenship education as one of four components to character”. He stressed the importance of clarifying the distinction between learning through volunteering, which contributes to character education, and learning through democratic involvement, which contributes to citizenship education.⁸²
102. This is a particular concern, as CELS research identified political literacy as “the subject area where teachers felt least confident”. Dr Avril Keating suggested that there is a need for training teachers in how to teach the theory and practicalities of politics.⁸³ However, this decline in the teaching of political literacy appears to be only a small part of the decline of the subject as a whole.

80 Department for Education, *Citizenship programmes of study: key stages 3 and 4* (September 2013): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/239060/SECONDARY_national_curriculum_-_Citizenship.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

81 Department for Education, *Citizenship programmes of study: key stages 1 and 2* (February 2015): <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/citizenship-programmes-of-study-for-key-stages-1-and-2> [accessed 9 March 2018]

82 [Q 56](#)

83 Written evidence from Dr Avril Keating ([CCE0134](#))

The decline of the subject

103. The current state of citizenship education is poor. Tom Franklin, CEO of the Citizenship Foundation, provided us with a summary of the landscape:

“Our current view is that citizenship education is withering on the vine at the moment at a time when it is needed more than ever. If we look at the polarisation of society and the undermining of the faith in democratic society, there is such a need for young people to develop the skills, knowledge and confidence, yet what is happening with citizenship education is that the support for the subject has been dismantled. If we look at the fact that education regulators no longer focus on it; that there is not the support needed for teacher training ... Whether young people are receiving high-quality citizenship education is a lottery; it is by chance as to whether they are getting it in their school or not, which is a great shame.”⁸⁴

104. The change from local authority run schools to academies has meant a decline in use of the national curriculum which has particularly affected citizenship teaching. As the Government told us:

“Academies do not have to follow the national curriculum and can develop their own curricula, tailored to meet the particular needs of their pupils or the particular ethos of the school. However, they are still required (like all schools) to teach a broad and balanced curriculum and promote fundamental British values. Academies may therefore choose to teach Citizenship to fulfil these duties.”⁸⁵

105. From the evidence we heard they often choose not to. The Development Education Centre South Yorkshire told us that:

“Very few schools take Citizenship Education seriously and most secondary schools are failing their statutory duty to teach it (it is often hidden in [PSHE] and pupils are unaware of the difference between the two subjects).”⁸⁶

106. PSHE is not citizenship education. As its name suggests, PSHE, or Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education, is focused on individual development and is not the teaching of young people about their role in society. Social, Moral, Spiritual and Cultural education does not cover citizenship either. At its very broadest it includes the thin version of citizenship education described above, but that is not true citizenship education.

107. The decline of the subject is partly a result of the review of the curriculum in 2013. The Association for Citizenship Teaching told us that the review:

“led some schools to assume that the rumoured removal of the subject must have happened and, three years on, some still do not know that Citizenship remains in the National Curriculum or has a GCSE. Consequently some schools have simply stopped teaching the subject.”⁸⁷

108. The evidence suggests that citizenship was never fully embedded into the education system, and recent changes have damaged what attachment there

84 [Q 52](#)

85 Written evidence from HM Government ([CCE0249](#))

86 Written evidence from DECSY ([CCE0120](#))

87 Written evidence from Association for Citizenship Teaching ([CCE0143](#))

was. Dr Avril Keating highlighted how further reforms could be making the situation worse: “there is preliminary evidence to suggest that the introduction of the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) is putting pressure on subjects like *Citizenship*, which are not considered core academic subjects within this framework.”⁸⁸

Citizenship GCSE

109. There are very few students who take Citizenship GCSE but those who do are broadly similar to other pupils in socio-economic status and attainment. In the school year 2015/16 17,710 pupils took Citizenship GCSE in state funded schools, approximately 3% of the entire key stage 4 state-funded schools cohort. The group taking Citizenship GCSE were slightly more likely to be receiving Free School Meals than the cohort as a whole (16% vs 13.4%) and overall had similar Attainment 8, the government measure of success for GCSEs, scores (50.1 vs 49.9)⁸⁹ and Progress 8, the government measure for progress between key stage 2 results and GCSE results⁹⁰, (0.07 vs -0.03). These numbers are down on the 2009 peak where just over 96,000 took Citizenship GCSE.⁹¹ This may be partly because the half GCSE in Citizenship which many pupils took alongside a half GCSE in Religious Studies is no longer available.
110. This drop in the number of students taking Citizenship GCSE appears to be representative of the attention given to the subject by schools. Sean Harford from Ofsted highlighted that the declining numbers of GCSE entries “could be an indicator of schools’ focus and commitment to that subject.”⁹² Other data suggests that schools are not prioritising citizenship education. Liz Moore, the Chief Executive of the Association for Citizenship Teaching, told the committee: “The amount of teaching time, according to that DfE workforce survey⁹³, also has diminished and is non-existent in some schools.”⁹⁴
111. In putting together their written evidence, the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) surveyed their members on the current state of citizenship education. The survey suggested that it was not made a priority by schools even where there is a citizenship teacher who is a member of ACT:
- “The ACT survey conducted for this Committee showed that whilst 90% [of ACT members] see Citizenship as an important priority and 85% said their Head or Principal was supportive of Citizenship education, just 47% felt it was actually made a priority in their own school or college.”⁹⁵
112. We heard from teachers such as Simon Kinder that citizenship “often gets side-lined in favour of other very important PSHE areas. Rarely is the

88 Written evidence from Dr Avril Keating ([CCE0134](#))

89 51 would be equivalent to 8 Bs and one A.

90 Progress 8 compares the Attainment 8 score with the average Attainment 8 score in the same prior attainment group from key stage group. More detail is available Department for Education ‘Secondary accountability measures (including Progress 8 and Attainment 8)’ (25 January 2018): <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/progress-8-school-performance-measure> [accessed 5 April 2018]

91 Written evidence from Association for Citizenship Teaching ([CCE0143](#))

92 [Q 82](#)

93 Statistics that show the number of hours teachers work per subject.

94 [Q 52](#)

95 Written evidence from Association for Citizenship Teaching ([CCE0143](#))

curriculum time sufficient to allow citizenship education to be delivered fully or in a way that will inspire and animate young people.”⁹⁶

113. The difference in schools’ capacity to teach high quality citizenship is not spread randomly across the country and to some extent entrenches existing inequalities. Dr Avril Keating told us:

“The challenge is that, as it currently stands, it is the schools which have an interest and are invested in citizenship education which are providing good citizenship education. This often means that it is selective and fee-paying schools that are providing good citizenship education because it is part of their ethos. This means that you have children and young people who are receiving it based on their income or status rather than their entitlement to receive education about democracy. This creates problems in the short term and the long term for society and politics more broadly.”⁹⁷

114. This disparity between those privileged pupils attending fee-paying schools and experiencing the “ethos” of a broader education preparing them for life, compared with the more disadvantaged, points to a weakness in current education policy. Politicians and educationalists who believe that this broader curriculum which embraces the teaching of citizenship is a distraction from the absorption of a body of knowledge, ignore the empirical evidence that there is a clear beneficial outcome to the encouragement of, and participation in, democratic engagement and civic life.

115. Although the numbers taking the Citizenship GCSE currently are broadly similar to other pupils, this may change if citizenship continues to be seen as optional. Dr Jan Germen Janmaat from the UCL Institute of Education raised the possibility that making citizenship optional would increase inequality:

“Making it an optional subject will only lead to the *already* engaged students, who as a rule are from middle class backgrounds, signing up for the programme. Voluntary programmes therefore risk not serving the disengaged groups. Having citizenship education as a compulsory programme makes all the more sense as existing research has found that students from disadvantaged backgrounds benefit more from citizenship education in terms of political engagement than their peers from more privileged backgrounds. Citizenship education is thus able to compensate for missing parental socialisation.”⁹⁸

Improving the status of the subject

116. The current system of secondary schooling gives individual schools a relatively high level of autonomy. In this system there are two main influences on what is taught in schools: subjects and topics which have a statutory requirement and are inspected by Ofsted; and the overall school performance measures of Progress 8 and Attainment 8. These two performance measures prioritise GCSE subjects within the English Baccalaureate.⁹⁹ Citizenship is not within

96 Written evidence from Simon Kinder (CCE0009)

97 Q 52

98 Written evidence from Dr Jan Germen Janmaat (CCE0060)

99 Department for Education, *Progress 8: How Progress 8 and Attainment 8 measures are calculated* (2016): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/561021/Progress_8_and_Attainment_8_how_measures_are_calculated.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

the English Baccalaureate and so, as explained by Dr Avril Keating,¹⁰⁰ is likely to be less favoured by schools. There are two options available to promote citizenship teaching in as many schools as possible. Either it could be included within the English Baccalaureate, or a statutory requirement to teach citizenship whose compliance with which could be inspected by Ofsted.

117. If citizenship were included in the English Baccalaureate it would incentivise more students to take it as a GCSE subject. However, the evidence we have received does not suggest that formal teaching towards a GCSE is the only way that citizenship can be included in schools. The CELS research found that pupils were more likely to report that they received a substantial amount of citizenship education if they were taught in “discrete timetable slots and not conflated with others subjects”.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the ICCS IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, an international review of citizenship education, found no relationship between the structure of citizenship education and its outcomes:

“There is no obvious recommendation about the best way to organize civic and citizenship education. Data pertaining to the ICCS countries’ national contexts indicate that different approaches coexist in many education systems, with these including the integration of civic and citizenship education in other (civic-related) subjects or the establishment of specific subjects to teach civics and citizenship content.”¹⁰²

118. Citizenship does not necessarily have to be taught in subject style lessons. As we heard from Dr Avril Keating,¹⁰³ hands-on activities are important too:

“we found that experiential learning activities that help pupils acquire politically-relevant skills (e.g. school councils, mock elections and debating clubs) have a positive, lasting, and independent effect on a range of political activities (including voting, contacting MPs, campaigning and protesting). These effects were apparent even after the participants had left school and had become young adults (age 20), and above and beyond the effects of other known predictors of civic engagement (such as socio-economic status, or prior dispositions). We also estimated ... the size of the effects, which are not insubstantial. When pupils participated in these types of activities, the predicted probability of voting rose by 14.9 per cent, while the probability of participating in other types of political activities increased by 13.1 per cent.”¹⁰⁴

119. The ICCS study also found that democratic structures in schools were a strong influence on future civic activity, again suggesting that citizenship is important beyond the classroom:

“Many findings in this report suggest an association between the way students experience democratic forms of engagement at school and their dispositions to engage in civic activities in the future. Such an association gives some support to the argument that establishing

100 Written evidence from Dr Avril Keating (CCE0134)

101 Written evidence from Dr Avril Keating (CCE0134)

102 ICCS, *Becoming Citizens in a Changing World: IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 International Report* (November 2017): http://iccs.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Editor_Group/Downloads/ICCS_2016_International_report.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

103 Telling us about research using data from CELS

104 Written evidence from Dr Avril Keating (CCE0134)

basic democratic structures within schools and providing students with early opportunities for active civic participation has the potential to promote civic knowledge and a disposition toward future civic engagement.”¹⁰⁵

120. Citizenship education is important even at a young age and can be more effective if started earlier, as we heard from Tom Franklin:

“It is all about giving those children confidence that they have a sense of agency, that, even at that young age, they can make a difference. We find that the amount of enthusiasm and buzz they get from taking part in that sort of way is incredible, so it is a critical age. It is too late to wait until secondary school and it should be in the national curriculum for key stage 2, absolutely.”¹⁰⁶

121. At Byron Wood Academy in Sheffield we saw how citizenship in primary schools can, through a cross curriculum focus, help bring together children from a wide range of communities. We saw how a focus on citizenship can help children see what they have in common and provide a narrative that binds the school together.¹⁰⁷
122. The Government may wish to consider whether there should be more policy levers that can be applied to encourage schools to teach a subject. As it currently stands, although there is a National Curriculum, academies are under no obligation to follow it. This leaves public pressure through school performance measures and statutory requirements overseen by Ofsted as the only ways to influence the content of school teaching. It is beyond the scope of this inquiry to suggest a fundamental rewriting of the relationship between the Department for Education and schools. However the current system restricts the options to a small number of blunt tools.
123. **The Government should create a statutory entitlement to citizenship education from primary to the end of secondary education. This should be inspected by Ofsted to ensure the quantity and quality of provision. Ofsted should give consideration to this in deciding whether a school should be rated as Outstanding.**

Are there sufficient trained teachers?

124. In line with the decline of the status of citizenship education there is a decline in the number of citizenship teachers. Liz Moorse told us:

“If you look at the school workforce data, the decline from 2011 suggests that there are about half as many people who self-identify as a citizenship teacher as there were in 2011. In 2011, there were about 10,000 self-identifying citizenship teachers and there are now fewer than 5,000.”¹⁰⁸

125. Citizenship is an area where there is a definite need for specialist teachers. Even if citizenship is being taught as part of other subjects there is a need for

105 ICCS, *Becoming Citizens in a Changing World: IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 International Report* (November 2017): http://iccs.iea.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Editor_Group/Downloads/ICCS_2016_International_report.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

106 [Q 52](#)

107 We give details of this visit in Appendix 7.

108 [Q 52](#)

schools to have a specialist teacher to oversee teaching. Sean Harford from Ofsted told us:

“Where things are diffuse ... how thoroughly and rigorously they are delivered can get lost in the tracking of them ... You need a knowledgeable professional to be a citizenship lead ... to be able to track, monitor and make sure that it is being delivered in a way that is effective.”¹⁰⁹

126. The role of a specialist citizenship teacher is crucial to leading the subject, as Liz Moorse told us:

“schools should have freedom to determine how they put their curriculum together, but it should be based on good practice and what quality looks like. The research that has happened over past years demonstrates that discrete specialist subject teaching led by a specialist trained citizenship teacher creates much better outcomes for learners ... It needs leadership in the school and that person needs the status and backing of their head teacher, and it needs to be given the same treatment and parity of esteem as other subjects in the curriculum”¹¹⁰

127. The data on teacher training suggests that the problem of a lack of specialist teachers is likely to get worse. It highlights the need for a sharp change of direction in order for schools to have the citizenship specialist they require. Liz Moorse told us: “In addition, there is now a crisis in initial teacher education. In 2010, 243 trainees in citizenship were going through programmes of initial teacher education; this year, it is 40. We cannot sustain this system.”¹¹¹ She also said:

“It is very difficult for us to gain the reach that we need to train enough citizenship teachers, both existing and new, so that every school has a subject specialist citizenship teacher to lead the subject in their school. We need probably about 400 trained every year for the next 12 years to have any hope of ever reaching that ambition. We need to make citizenship a priority teacher-training subject, with the appropriate financial support, so that all potential trainees from all social and economic backgrounds can train as citizenship teachers.”¹¹²

128. A lack of support for potential teachers appears to have contributed to the shortage. The Expert Subject Advisory Group on Citizenship explained:

“In part this is because Citizenship has no bursary to provide financial support for those wishing to specialize in the subject. Training fees of £9000 plus living costs, means potential Citizenship trainees with relevant degrees are looking to other teacher training subjects with bursaries or are being put off teaching altogether.”¹¹³

109 [Q 85](#)

110 [Q 56](#)

111 [Q 53](#)

112 [Q 55](#)

113 Written evidence from Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship ([CCE0090](#))

Citizenship is the only curriculum subject without bursaries, aside from PE and Art and Design.¹¹⁴

129. When concerns over a lack of specialist citizenship teachers were put to the Minister of State for School Standards, he suggested that teachers from other backgrounds should teach citizenship:

“... citizenship is taught well by people who are applying to be teachers of politics, for example; it is one of the most common academic backgrounds for teachers of citizenship. Therefore, I would not despair by looking at the citizenship figures; I would also look at the numbers coming through who are equipped to teach politics.”¹¹⁵

130. The research is clear that non-specialist teachers are not as well equipped to teach the subject. James Weinberg told us:

“On the issue of teachers, I did some research last year with teachers from more than 60 schools in England ... there is a significant lack of specialist teachers, so my research was specifically with non-specialists. That showed that all these teachers, who had not been trained in citizenship but were delivering it in the classroom, did not have a shared understanding of citizenship and the purpose of citizenship education. There was a distinct gap between academic work on good pedagogy for citizenship education and the practice that they reported, and they were open in admitting that this was because they had a lack of initial teacher training in citizenship education. They all agreed that citizenship education was sorely neglected within their secondary schools due to lack of resource and importance; and where it was taught, they described the delivery of citizenship education in individualistic and inward-looking political conceptions of good responsible citizens rather than active citizens, which is contrary to what Bernard Crick would have wanted in his report 20 years ago.”¹¹⁶

131. The increasing need for more specialist citizenship teachers will not be solved by support for teacher training alone. It must be accompanied by a restoration of the status of citizenship as a subject worth teaching. As James Weinberg explained:

“I would urge caution that you cannot plough money into initial teacher training for citizenship and expect anything to change if you do not also add the resource for improving its significance within individual schools. I know a lot of citizenship teachers who, out of that small pool who have trained in citizenship, are not teaching citizenship in the schools where they are based, so, unless it is re-prioritised as a curriculum subject, that initial teacher training will not have any impact.”¹¹⁷

114 The list of bursaries is available at National College for Teaching and Leadership, ‘Funding: initial teacher training (ITT), academic year 2016 to 17’ (16 June 2016): <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/funding-initial-teacher-training-itt-academic-year-2016-to-17> and the list of curriculum subjects is available at Department for Education, ‘National curriculum’ (16 July 2014): <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/national-curriculum#programmes-of-study-by-subject> [accessed 4 April 2018]. See however footnote 120.

115 [Q 184](#)

116 [Q 53](#)

117 [Q 55](#)

132. **The Government should establish a target of having enough trained citizenship teachers to have a citizenship specialist in every secondary school.**
133. **The Government should establish citizenship education as a priority subject for teacher training, and provide bursaries for applicants. Urgent action should be taken to step up programmes of Continuing Professional Development for those willing to take on and lead citizenship education in their school.**
134. The Government has created a National College for Teaching and Leadership which has a programme to train new Specialist Leaders of Education. There are a number of different areas of expertise under which teachers can apply. This includes “outcomes for children and other learners” in a large range of subjects, including all but one of the national curriculum subjects and a number of other subjects which are not on the national curriculum.¹¹⁸ The absence of citizenship from this list as a national curriculum subject is notable and unexplained. Liz Moorse told us:

“Citizenship teachers cannot apply to be specialist teachers of education; they are being discriminated against on the basis of what? Every other subject is included in that programme. We cannot understand why citizenship is not there. This is having a direct effect on the career prospects of our existing citizenship teachers.”¹¹⁹

135. **The Government should ensure that the National College for Teaching and Leadership allows citizenship teachers to apply to be specialist leaders of education.**¹²⁰

Understanding the subject

136. We also heard that there was a lack of data on current teaching of citizenship. There is very little information on how many schools teach citizenship as a subject, how many teach it as part of other subjects, how many do not teach it at all, and whether the teaching that does happen is of a good standard. Liz Moorse told us that data on citizenship education is “virtually non-existent” and that “it is very difficult to speak with certainty about the true picture of citizenship education.”¹²¹
137. Officials highlighted Ofsted as an important source of data on the quantity and quality of citizenship education, and noted in particular a 2013 report which showed the quality of teaching was increasing. However, the 2013 report covers data from 2009–2011. Not only is the data seven years old, it also covers the previous national curriculum, including a substantially different citizenship curriculum. We heard from Liz Moorse that the previous national curriculum “was much fuller in content, breadth of study and the types of

118 Department for Education, *Specialist leaders of education: a guide for potential applicants* (April 2016): <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/specialist-leaders-of-education-a-guide-for-potential-applicants> [accessed 9 March 2018]

119 Q 53

120 In April 2018 the Department for Education amended the website of the National College for Teaching and Leadership to state: “The National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) has been repurposed and no longer exists ... NCTL was an executive agency, sponsored by the Department for Education. It existed from 29 March 2013 to 31 March 2018.” The Committee will expect the Government to deal with this issue in its response to this report, and in particular with the question whether there continues to be discrimination against citizenship teachers.

121 Q 52

skills, knowledge and understanding required”.¹²² A seven year old Ofsted report inspecting the previous curriculum cannot be expected to present an accurate picture of the current state of citizenship education.

138. Ofsted told us that they no longer undertake triennial subject surveys due to resourcing constraints. They added that “focus on individual subjects has been lost, and that is a direct result of funding.” When looking at a school, Ofsted will look at:

“spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. It will look at the promotion of fundamental British values. It will look at whether subjects stick out as being particularly well or particularly badly provided for. We can retrieve that from the inspection reports that we publish for every school across the country roughly every five years ... One thing that plays into that is that we no longer routinely go into outstanding schools because of the regulations on that. We will not be seeing the vast majority of those schools and how they do that particularly well. ... that kind of look in depth at a single subject is not done now and may be missed.”¹²³

139. We have not investigated what changes to Ofsted mean for other subjects, but for citizenship the result is clear. There is a very poor understanding of whether or not citizenship is taught at all in many schools, especially those that are otherwise thought outstanding; whether, where citizenship is taught, it is taught well; and what good citizenship teaching looks like.
140. The Department for Education is also withdrawing from academic evaluation of citizenship, as we heard from David Kerr: “There has been no follow up to CELS, England did not participate in the latest IEA study”.¹²⁴ The results of CELS provided the most detailed evidence on citizenship education, and the IEA study allowed for proper cross-country comparisons of teaching. Now neither is available, rendering the understanding of the subject considerably more difficult.
141. Officials told us that they ceased taking part in the IEA study as ministers “took the view that it was not going to be a priority this time because it is largely a continuation of the 2009 study. It was felt that the emphasis that it was giving was not going to generate new evidence that would be relevant to current policy priorities.”¹²⁵ The Government have also “have joined a new international study with the British Council and partners in France, Spain and Greece. That is a three-year project and it will trial an intervention that is aimed at increasing active citizenship and promoting fundamental values. It started in March and is measuring teachers’ attitudes and practices in relation to citizenship teaching and those of pupils.”¹²⁶ Although this new study does sound promising it does not appear to replace the knowledge the IEA study would have granted and covers a different time period. The Government have not had any substantial evaluation of citizenship education between 2011 and March 2017. This new study does not appear to be providing a comprehensive understanding of citizenship education in the UK.

122 [Q 54](#)

123 [Q 81](#)

124 Written evidence from David Kerr ([CCE0222](#))

125 [Q 4](#)

126 [Q 4](#)

142. We agree with the Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship that “Ofsted should be asked to undertake a special survey ... to find examples of best practice”¹²⁷. We believe this should happen alongside the inspection of citizenship as a statutory requirement, as recommended above. The Government should have a solid understanding of whether citizenship is being taught, how it is being taught, and what good teaching looks like. At the moment it does not.
143. **Ofsted should undertake a review of the current provision and quality of citizenship education in schools and highlight best practice. This should be followed up with long term monitoring of whether citizenship education achieves the set of criteria or goals that the Government sets out for it.**
144. A further concern is that the shape of citizenship education has changed to focus more on knowledge and less on the practicalities of achieving change as a citizen. The Association for Citizenship Teaching told us that the active citizenship projects, which are part of the GCSE in Citizenship Studies, have decreased from 60% of overall marks to just 15%.¹²⁸ Nick Gibb MP told us that they are instead focusing on a knowledge-based curriculum:
- “We reformed the curriculum so that it is more knowledge based, because our understanding was that young people did not understand the structure of our political system. If you look at the national curriculum for citizenship at key stage 3 and 4, it covers things like: how laws are made; how the political system works; how local government works; the distinction between metropolitan and county local authorities and district and borough local authorities, parish councils and so on; how our legal system works; the difference between county courts, High Courts, Crown Courts and the Supreme Court. All these issues are now incorporated into the knowledgebased curriculum of citizenship, which we think is very important.”¹²⁹
145. Whilst an understanding of the mechanisms of how society functions is crucial, it is not clear that it is sufficient for creating active citizens.
146. The problem with a curriculum that is too knowledge-based and has too little focus on practice was summarised by Tom Franklin:
- “We would describe it as learning to play an instrument where there is the theory, which is very important, but, to learn to play an instrument, you need to play it. We think it is the same with citizenship, and what is needed is a review of the citizenship scheme of study there so that it includes much more about action, so it is about practising being a citizen and, therefore, developing the confidence in young people to take part, which at the moment is largely not there; it is a much more narrowed-down focus than is needed.”¹³⁰
147. We agree that there is too narrow a focus, and that active citizenship projects potentially including democratic engagement should be an important part of any citizenship qualification.

127 Written evidence from Expert Subject Advisory Group For Citizenship ([CCE0090](#))

128 Written evidence from Association for Citizenship Teaching ([CCE0143](#))

129 [Q 184](#)

130 [Q 54](#)

Box 1: Good practice in citizenship education

We heard from Ryan Mason, the head of citizenship at a school in Lewisham, who presented a clear example of good practice in teaching citizenship:

- *On active citizenship projects*: “In the past, I have had students doing campaigns about the Investigatory Powers Act and campaigns about Black Lives Matter. I have had lots of different campaigns where students have been outside Parliament campaigning and getting out and trying to do things. The new [GCSE specification] has restricted that. The element that schools are going to be less good at delivering now, although the students are getting the theory, is the active aspect of us getting them out. I know the subject itself should inspire kids to go out and do it themselves, but sometimes it is very difficult because you have to show them how to do it first before they can go on and continue to do it. That is going to be the weaker element of it.”¹³¹
- *On community cohesion*: “If a school has good citizenship teaching, community cohesion will happen. My year 8s have done a lot of work with the Jimmy Mizen Foundation ... Last year, we organised a conference at which the local police, our local MP Vicky Foxcroft, our head teacher Jan Shapiro, and lots of other local people tried to look at all the different issues that there are in our local community of Deptford, and tried to work out different ways to do that. We are having a follow-up conference this year. Community cohesion as a subject lends itself to allowing you to work with the community. Citizenship teachers are usually one-person departments, and we are very good at looking at what there is out in the community for us to work with and to bring in to help us make things happen.”¹³²
- *On democracy in schools*: “We have a school council. Last year, the young mayor of Lewisham came from my school. Our school promotes democracy. Each form class, of which there are 20, has two representatives who are going to represent students at school council. We have debating clubs, essay competitions; we have everything to try to encourage students to understand what democracy is as well as the citizenship education they get. As I said, my head teacher really believes in giving students a voice and allowing them to see what will happen when their voice is given.”¹³³

148. **The Government should work with exam boards to ensure that citizenship qualifications feature active citizenship projects as a substantial part of the qualification.**

Thinking for the long term

149. The fact that Governments often have a short term focus is not new, nor is it specific to citizenship education. However, it has had a particularly harmful effect in this area. As Dr Avril Keating explained there has been “policy drift” as successive Governments have changed how they define citizenship. This makes it difficult for teachers, students and parents to “get a good grip” on the subject.¹³⁴

131 [Q 86](#)

132 [Q 84](#)

133 [Q 86](#)

134 [Q 58](#)

150. As noted earlier, citizenship education is a comparatively new subject, only added to the national curriculum in 2002. As a new subject it takes time for it to become properly embedded within teaching so that schools understand its importance and teachers have a holistic understanding of what they are teaching. In 2007, five years in to the commencement of formal citizenship education, the Government created a legal obligation for schools to promote community cohesion¹³⁵ which encroached onto the citizenship agenda. In 2013 the whole citizenship curriculum was revised and only a year later the Government introduced a requirement to promote British values.¹³⁶ This new requirement was introduced without reference to citizenship education, as we heard from Scott Harrison: “[The guidance on British values] in no way mentions citizenship explicitly. It is like it came from another department that did not even know that citizenship had been a national curriculum subject and was already being done in schools.”¹³⁷
151. We firmly believe that values are important and should be promoted. However, there were clearly problems with how it was introduced and its effect on citizenship teaching. James Weinberg told us about citizenship’s status being damaged by these new policies:
- “... it is increasingly marginalised as other policies have come in that are far more resource-intensive and have incentives attached to them. I am thinking of social, moral, spiritual and cultural education which has been pushed forward and the Prevent programme, fundamental British values. All of these are taking far more symbolic time away from teachers, especially senior leadership teams in schools, and they are being followed up on as well, whereas we no longer have an assessment procedure with Ofsted for testing how citizenship is being delivered.”¹³⁸
152. This is especially a problem as the current focus on inspection of British values and lack of support for citizenship means that Shared British Values are not being taught as effectively as they could be if they were taught within citizenship education. As Liz Moore told us:
- “The problem is that schools have often equated British values with Britishness. There has been a proliferation of pictures of the monarch and union flags being put up on classroom walls just in case an Ofsted inspector pops in ... We need to embed these democratic values ... in a proper citizenship curriculum.”¹³⁹
153. This criticism was also found in James Weinberg’s research with non-specialists teaching citizenship and British values, where teachers themselves stated that “a far better way of delivering these values, British or not, would be through the medium of citizenship education if that is based on critical debate.”¹⁴⁰ We heard the same thing from Ryan Mason, a citizenship

135 [Section 21\(5\)\(b\)](#) of the Education Act 2002, inserted by [section 38\(1\)](#) of the Education and Inspections Act 2006: see *The Education and Inspections Act 2006 (Commencement No 5 and Savings Provisions) Order 2007 (SI 2007/1801)*.

136 Department for Education, *Guidance on promoting British values in schools published* (November 2014): <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/guidance-on-promoting-british-values-in-schools-published> [accessed 9 March 2018]

137 [Q 83](#)

138 [Q 53](#)

139 [Q 57](#)

140 [Q 57](#)

specialist teacher all the elements of FBV he was “already delivering through our [citizenship] curriculum.”¹⁴¹

154. Nick Gibb MP agreed with this, telling us that: “fundamental British values are delivered in our schools and, of course, that is best delivered, in many ways, through the citizenship curriculum.”¹⁴² Yet due to the way they were introduced and the lack of focus on citizenship they are not usually delivered through citizenship education in a well thought out curriculum.
155. Just three months after Nick Gibb MP gave us this evidence, the Government released its new Integrated Communities Strategy which places a large emphasis on teaching FBV.¹⁴³ It states that the Government intends to commission materials to support teachers and announces that Ofsted will review the prominence and weight attached to FBV. But it fails to mention citizenship education. Given that, as the Minister told us, FBV is best delivered through citizenship education, it is inexplicable and inexcusable that the Government has neglected to mention it as part of its Integrated Communities Strategy. This stands in contrast to the New Integration Strategy for London¹⁴⁴ which was published on 16 March 2018, and which includes resources for a curriculum to support citizenship education.
156. The current and previous Governments’ habit of creating new initiatives that overlap with citizenship but are not connected to the curriculum as a whole has created a situation that Tom Franklin aptly described as “a bit of a mish-mash.”¹⁴⁵ Teachers are unsure what citizenship is and what they should prioritise. For policy to be effective it has to be sustained, as Dr Avril Keating told us:
- “... it has to be clear that this policy will be sustained into the long term, otherwise schools and teachers will shrug their shoulders and say, ‘Oh look, here’s another little tinkering in the system, another policy initiative. Next month, next year, it’ll be something else. Let’s just put that into a drawer and we’ll forget about that until the next one comes along’.”¹⁴⁶
157. This is an example of the short term thinking which we have encountered throughout this inquiry. There is a need for a long term plan from the Government accompanied by sustained delivery.
158. The Government should formulate a curriculum that includes all the elements that they think important, like the Shared British Values or other initiatives, and then leave it unchanged for a substantial period of time to allow it to bed in. If they are going to change it they should think about citizenship education as a whole, rather than announcing a new initiative whilst seemingly forgetting that citizenship education exists.

141 [Q 83](#)

142 [Q 186](#)

143 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018] pp 32–33

144 Mayor of London, *All of us: The Mayor’s strategy for Social Integration* (March 2018): https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/social_integration_strategy.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

145 [Q 57](#)

146 [Q 55](#)

159. This new curriculum should also consider how the NCS fits together with citizenship education. We discuss this in more detail in the following chapter.
160. The Secretary of State, for understandable reasons, has indicated publicly that he does not intend to make substantive changes to the national curriculum.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, we hope that the proposed improvements and clarification we recommend can be introduced without any disruption or undermining of his intention to maintain stability.
161. **The Government should conduct a review of the citizenship curriculum and formulate a new curriculum that includes the Shared Values of British Citizenship, the NCS and active citizenship projects. Piecemeal changes made without reference to the existing curriculum should be avoided.**
162. **The Government has allowed citizenship education in England to degrade to a parlous state. The decline of the subject must be addressed in its totality as a matter of urgency.**

¹⁴⁷ Department for Education, 'Damian Hinds sets out plans to help tackle teacher workload' (March 2018): <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/damian-hinds-sets-out-plans-to-help-tackle-teacher-workload> [accessed 15 March 2018]

CHAPTER 4: THE NATIONAL CITIZEN SERVICE— INCREASING THE IMPACT

163. After completing citizenship education, the next step in the civic journey is for young people to become active in their communities. One way of encouraging this is the National Citizen Service (NCS). This transition point as young people become young adults also offers an opportunity for people to break down barriers between different groups to create more cohesive communities. The NCS also aims to promote social cohesion by bringing young people from different backgrounds together for a common experience.
164. The NCS was first announced in 2010 as a flagship Government project to help 16 year olds develop “the skills needed to be active and responsible citizens, mix with people from different backgrounds and start getting involved in their communities”.¹⁴⁸ In 2017 the National Citizen Service Act 2017 formally established the National Citizen Service Trust which runs the project, and the Trust was granted a Royal Charter. The NCS comprises a two to four week programme with three parts. The first stage consists of adventure activities, the second stage consists of learning skills for work and life, and the third stage is a local social action project. The programme itself is contracted out to local providers. The Government have stated that they want the NCS to be a rite of passage for all young people.¹⁴⁹ Given that the NCS was established to help create active citizens, and is intended to be for all young people, it would seem that it should play a central role in the Government’s vision for the civic journey. However, there are key questions about how accessible the NCS is to young people from across society, the extent to which it prepares young people for all the key aspects of citizenship, and whether it fits well with existing charitable organisations with a similar purpose, and with Government initiatives to improve citizenship. The NCS was originally created as an organisation set apart from the youth voluntary sector in which it sits. Whilst there were reasons for this decision at the time, it should now see itself as an integral part of this sector.
165. The Government and the NCS both suggest that the NCS is effective at creating active citizens, and that graduates of the NCS are more likely to volunteer and vote. The independent evaluation of the NCS finds that using a “difference in difference” analysis (i.e. how much more likely are those who attended the NCS to do something afterwards when compared with those who did not attend) they are significantly more likely to vote, help others in their area and help other organisations. However, a close look at the numbers suggests that some of these may not be substantial effects. 56% of NCS graduates are certain that they will vote in the next general election, and similarly 56% of the control group who did not attend the NCS are certain that they will vote at the next general election.¹⁵⁰ The results on volunteering and helping others are more substantial.¹⁵¹ There is a lack of

148 The National Citizen Service, ‘About Us’: <http://www.ncsyves.co.uk/about-us> [accessed 9 March 2018]

149 Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, ‘Government introduces National Citizen Service (NCS) Bill to Parliament’ (October 2016): <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-introduces-national-citizen-service-ncs-bill-to-parliament> [accessed 9 March 2018]

150 The “difference in difference” result was driven by the comparison groups score fell from 60% before the programme to 56% after whilst the NCS group went from 45% before to 56% after.

151 Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, *National Citizen Service 2016 Evaluation* (December 2017): http://www.ncsyves.co.uk/sites/default/files/NCS%202016%20EvaluationReport_FINAL.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

evidence on the long-term effects of NCS¹⁵² as the programme only began in 2011, and is being adapted as it is expanded for more young people to attend. Longitudinal evaluation that follows graduates of the programme to determine its long-term effect in promoting citizenship is sorely needed; once it is available it should determine the funding the programme receives.

166. Value for money is an important consideration for the future of the National Citizen Service. The National Audit Office (NAO)¹⁵³ and the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee¹⁵⁴ have scrutinised the current value for money and suggested that there is considerable room for improvement. The £1,863 cost per participant is too high. The NCS has stated that this will fall and there should be economies of scale for the NCS as it expands. It is difficult to judge the true value of the NCS until there has been a proper longitudinal evaluation of its effects. However, the NCS seeks to include young people from all backgrounds, and this will have an effect on its cost. The success or failure of the NCS in including all young people should be borne in mind in assessing its value for money.

Universality

167. We have heard concerns that the NCS and other youth organisations do not do enough to reach excluded communities. Dame Louise Casey highlighted this concern to us, referring to “kids in deprived areas who go nowhere near any of that stuff”.¹⁵⁵ For the NCS to play as effective a role as possible in boosting citizenship it should focus on those who are most in need of more social capital.¹⁵⁶ The universality of the NCS is enshrined in the NCS’s Royal Charter which defines one of its objectives as “to promote social cohesion through social integration, by ensuring equality of access to the programmes by participants regardless of their background or circumstances”.¹⁵⁷
168. We heard from the NCS about the effort that they went to in order to include groups that might otherwise be left out. They provided data to the Committee showing that they over-represent attendees on Free School Meals and people from ethnic minority backgrounds: “17% of NCS participants are on Free School Meals, compared to 8% of the population. 28% are from non-white communities (compared to 18% of the population), and 15% are from minority religions (compared to 10% of the population).”¹⁵⁸

152 Written evidence from New Philanthropy Capital (CCE0097)

153 National Audit Office, *National Citizen Service* (January 2017): <https://www.nao.org.uk/report/national-citizen-service/> [accessed 9 March 2018]

154 Committee of Public Accounts, *National Citizen Service* (Forty-sixth Report, 2016–17, HC 955)

155 Q 160

156 The expression “social capital” is much used but seldom defined. We understand it to mean the benefits derived from social networks and interaction, reciprocity, and mutual trust and understanding. A distinction is sometimes made between the denser ties of ‘bonding’ social capital between individuals within the same social group or community, which help people to get by, and the thinner ties of ‘bridging’ social capital, which cross social boundaries and can be used more to get on. It is bridging social capital which tends to be weaker in more deprived communities, whereas bonding social capital is often quite strong.

157 Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, *National Citizen Service Royal Charter* (April 2017): <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-government-has-published-an-updated-national-citizen-service-trust-draft-royal-charter-to-accompany-the-national-citizen-service-ncs-bill-in-its> [accessed 9 March 2018]

158 The submission CCE0199 came jointly from The Scout Association, Leap Confronting Conflict, Girlguiding, UK Youth, V Inspired, the NCS, the Citizenship Foundation, Ambition, City Year UK, The British Youth Council and The Mix. We refer to this later as the “Joint Submission”.

169. The groups that the NCS highlighted as the hardest to reach are “white working-class boys in the north of England”. Michael Lynas, Chief Executive of the NCS Trust, told us that:

“it requires more intensive work through the different places that they are, particularly sports clubs, and we work with many local football clubs, which is a good way of reaching those particular groups”.¹⁵⁹

170. He also told us:

“We are piloting something called a Personal Coach programme, which is providing intensive one-to-one support before, during and after the programme for young people, for example, who have been in gangs or who have been involved in the criminal justice system, to help them to just turn up, which is an achievement, and then to continue afterwards.”¹⁶⁰

171. The NCS’s efforts to include hard to reach communities compare well with other national programmes. Matt Hyde from the Scouts told the Committee that they had a “strategic goal of bringing Scouting to more deprived communities” but had issues with collecting data:

“... we are present in 460 areas of deprivation that we were not present in three years ago. There are challenges with the volunteer-led model in data collection, if I am honest, and we have been reviewing how we can improve the data that we get from that because we rely on the adult volunteer to populate the data.”¹⁶¹

172. The Duke of Edinburgh’s Award told the Committee of their efforts to reach disadvantaged young people:

“We do not have access to statistics on Free School Meals for our participants but we do apply a “disadvantaged” measure to both our objectives and as a measure of our performance. We aim for 20% of our participants to have home post codes in the lower 30% of the IMD and/or be in the secure estate and/or are in special education and/or are registered disabled. A record such 49,453 ‘disadvantaged’ young people started on their DofE programme in the last year.”¹⁶²

173. Whilst it is admirable that these other organisations are putting efforts into reaching into disadvantaged areas, it is clear that the NCS has much better data on its participants. Crucially, it has data on the disadvantages of participants, and not just on the area they live in. Beyond this data advantage, the NCS is actually achieving better representation than other youth organisations. The NCS is over-representing young people from deprived families, whilst other youth organisations’ targets, even if achieved, would still under-represent these groups.¹⁶³ However, there is a danger that as the NCS scheme expands this focus on inclusion could be lost. The Government in its Integrated Communities Strategy undertook to support the NCS in “new approaches to ensure that young people from all communities can take

159 [Q 36](#)

160 [Q 39](#)

161 [Q 36](#)

162 Written evidence from The Duke of Edinburgh’s Award ([CCE0264](#))

163 The NCS is somewhat smaller than other Youth Social Action organisations. We were told that more than 100,000 would go onto the NCS this year, the Scouts told us that they had 457,000 young volunteers and that 133,369 people received a Duke of Edinburgh Award last year.

up the opportunities that the programme affords.”¹⁶⁴ It is important that it is sustained and that the NCS targets groups that it is currently failing to reach.

174. **The National Citizen Service should continue to prioritise inclusion as it expands. It should expand and improve on the work it is already doing to include groups that are hardest to reach.**
175. One key issue in making the NCS as inclusive as possible are the costs associated with it. Research from Dr Sarah Mills, Senior Lecturer in Human Geography at Loughborough University, and Dr Catherine Waite, Lecturer in Human Geography at the University of Northampton, has uncovered some of the hidden costs:
- “Not all young people and families have the resource(s), time and/or opportunity to contribute in ways that are often assumed by NCS, for example completing sponsorship forms or supporting bake sales.
- Furthermore, there were other hidden costs of social action in relation to travel. Whilst the £50 cost of NCS is well covered through participation bursaries for low-income groups, participants were not always aware when signing-up to NCS about travel times and costs. ... most of our respondents ... travelled between 15-30 minutes to their social action project. However, around 10% were travelling between 45 minutes to an hour each way. These issues were most acute in rural areas. Public buses were the most common mode of transport (35%), with 30% of NCS participants using parental car travel. This raises further questions about the ‘hidden’ costs of social action projects. A small number of providers in our research project offered transportation, but this was not universal.”¹⁶⁵
176. In Clacton-on-Sea¹⁶⁶ the Committee heard similar concerns about the hidden costs putting off families from sending their children on this sort of programme. One attendee explained that the transport costs associated with NCS participation meant that a friend could not afford to have their child taking part.
177. If the NCS is to be truly inclusive and to have participants from all backgrounds, it must minimise related costs for those who would struggle to afford them. It is understandable that lower population density in rural areas will mean that participants will have to travel further to attend an NCS programme. However, families that would struggle to afford this should receive assistance to enable them to do so.
178. **The Government should work with the National Citizen Service to tackle the hidden costs (transport, sponsorship forms, etc.) of the National Citizen Service for low income families, and especially those in rural communities.**

164 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018) p 32: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

165 Written evidence from Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite (CCE0030)

166 The details of our visit are described in Appendix 6.

A broader concept for citizenship

179. As discussed in the chapters on Education and on Democratic Engagement, there is a danger that a thin concept of citizenship which focuses on the individual and on volunteering is dominating government policy. Research by Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite suggests this may also be an issue with the NCS:

“Active citizenship centred on ‘social action’ is the ‘brand’ of youth citizenship embodied by NCS ... Our research uncovered that citizenship within NCS ... is often equated with volunteering. ... [Graduates’] understandings of what citizenship meant were almost exclusively about the responsibilities of young citizens to volunteer. Citizenship was often used by NCS staff and graduates as a synonym for ‘social action’, or ‘community’ ... citizenship within NCS is ambiguous and, at times, weakly linked to forms of political participation and the wider relationship between rights and responsibilities.”¹⁶⁷

180. Whilst there are conceptual problems with how the NCS appears to think about citizenship this is not necessarily reflected in all aspects of the NCS. Dr Mills told the Committee that there are places where the NCS does good work with young people to campaign on political issues; however this is not reflected in the NCS’s public face:

“There are examples of fantastic inspirational NCS projects. One was around a campaign to lower train fares for young people ... There are some fantastic youth-led citizenship-based engagements with local MPs around train fares. I guess my point there is that those are great NCS social action projects, but they never make it into the marketing and branding in the way that engagement with food banks or community gardening does. I think those projects deserve just as much attention as those that are based around fundraising for charity ... but it would be great to see more variety of the types of things young people are doing on NCS.”¹⁶⁸

181. We agree that attempts to improve communities through political action are just as laudable as volunteering and should be equally recognised throughout the NCS.
182. Whilst some providers of the NCS have excellent programmes including political action and volunteering, others provide an inferior version of the scheme which would struggle to be seen as creating active citizens and do not allow young people to design their social action project. Dr Mills’ and Dr Waite’s research showed that:

“Whilst some [Regional Delivery Partners (RDPs)] encourage young people to design their own projects based on young people’s passions or interests, other RDPs pre-design social action projects for young people to choose from and deliver. Around half of our survey respondents designed their project with their team, with 28% indicating it was a combination of their provider and their team, and 16% indicating it was their provider alone.”¹⁶⁹

167 Written evidence from Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite (CCE0030)

168 Q 50

169 Written evidence from Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite (CCE0030)

183. The political element of the NCS was also found to have differed heavily between providers in different regions: “While some NCS graduates meet their MPs, have very ‘big p’ politics debates and discussions on voting, others do bricklaying, more community gardening and design posters. Those activities can be political ...”¹⁷⁰
184. The NCS Trust argue that they have their own method for introducing the political element:
- “We also run democratic engagement sessions, so we end up registering tens of thousands of people to vote, but it is through engaging them with why it is important to vote, and we work with a range of organisations, which I think you have taken evidence from. With Bite the Ballot, we run their Basics programme in some areas; we run the RockEnroll programme, which is a different programme to do the same in other areas. Most young people in NCS have those sessions and many register to vote ... We think that starting locally, where the issues are that they care about, and connecting that to the national picture seems to help.”¹⁷¹
185. However, by the Trust’s own admission these sessions are not part of all NCS programmes. The NCS’s Royal Charter requires that in exercising its primary functions the NCS must have regard to the desirability of “encouraging participants to take an interest in debate on matters of local or national political interest, and promoting their understanding of how to participate in national and local elections”.¹⁷² It must ensure that democratic engagement is a core part of the NCS programme and is delivered by all partners.
186. The good practice highlighted in Dr Mills and Dr Waites’ research and championed by the NCS Trust shows that it is possible to deliver a version of the NCS which encompasses all of the major areas of citizenship. If this standard of quality was ensured across the NCS then it could become a key milestone in citizenship.
187. However, inexplicably the Government in its oral and written evidence insists that the NCS is not a citizenship scheme. In its written evidence the Government told the Committee: “NCS is not a citizenship scheme per se although the volunteering component to the programme has an important role to play in creating a younger generation of active citizens”¹⁷³.
188. Tracey Couch MP, the Minister for Sport and Civil Society at DCMS, told the Committee:
- “The first thing to say is that it was not set up as a citizenship scheme, so absolutely, categorically, that was not its purpose, whereas it was set up with three core purposes, which we highlighted in the evidence to you as well, around social mobility, social cohesion and social engagement. That said, it does encourage active citizenship. It encourages a broader personal development and social mixing, but quite clearly we want to

170 [Q 45](#)

171 [Q 38](#)

172 Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, *National Citizen Service Royal Charter* (April 2017): <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-government-has-published-an-updated-national-citizen-service-trust-draft-royal-charter-to-accompany-the-national-citizen-service-ncs-bill-in-its> [accessed 9 March 2018]

173 Written evidence from HM Government ([CCE0249](#))

make sure that the NCS is involved in all the aspects of democratic engagement.”¹⁷⁴

189. We cannot understand what possible benefit there can be to the Government to continue to insist that the NCS is not a citizenship scheme. The Coalition agreement in 2010 said the NCS would develop “the skills needed to be active and responsible citizens”.¹⁷⁵ It is undoubtedly a citizenship scheme. The only question is, how effective is it at being one?
190. The NCS could if properly nurtured play an important role in creating active citizens. However, in order to do so it must be allowed to fully embrace citizenship as a whole, and it must ensure that this is part of all versions of the NCS. No NCS provider should allow important parts of the NCS programme to be left out. All participants in the NCS should engage with the democracy they live in and choose their own social action project, whether that be campaigning on an issue they care about or volunteering in their community. This would not require a fundamental rethink of the NCS. Instead, it needs a change in branding and stricter quality control.
191. **The Government should stop stating that the National Citizen Service is not a citizenship scheme.**
192. **The National Citizen Service should change its communications and branding strategy to include the work it is already doing on democratic engagement and on projects with young people trying to bring about change in their community.**
193. **The National Citizen Service needs to do more to ensure quality across providers of democratic engagement and young people’s involvement in project choice and development.**

The place of the National Citizen Service within the citizenship journey

194. If the NCS is to become an important part of the civic journey it cannot simply be a one off case of civic action; it must be followed up by a concerted effort to keep young people civically engaged. Sir Stuart Etherington, Chief Executive of the NCVO, expressed this concern to the Committee: “You have had this experience, but how do you then go on to say, ‘What can I do now in my community? What are the opportunities?’ We need to do a little more thinking about how that experience relates to ongoing social activity and social action.”¹⁷⁶
195. The NCS is aware of this and has done some work to ensure NCS graduates continue to engage. It has an online hub for NCS graduates to find volunteering opportunities.¹⁷⁷ However, it is not clear what role NCS graduates play in the Government’s other activities to promote civic engagement. The written and oral evidence we received from the Office for Civil Society mentioned multiple other initiatives to get adults to take part in civic engagement,¹⁷⁸ but this was not linked in any way to the NCS, and the role of the increasing numbers of NCS graduates was also not mentioned.

174 [Q 191](#)

175 The National Citizen Service, ‘About Us’: <http://www.ncsyas.co.uk/about-us> [accessed 9 March 2018]

176 [Q 102](#)

177 [Q 41](#)

178 Written evidence from HM Government ([CCE0249](#))

196. **The National Citizen Service cannot be seen as a short one-off programme and must be designed to create a lifelong habit of social action.**
197. **The National Citizen Service should work with Government, the voluntary sector and schools to ensure that NCS graduates are encouraged to continue to find opportunities for further civic engagement.**
198. We have heard some concerns about the amount of integration between the NCS and the existing charity sector. Sir John Low, Chief Executive of the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF), suggested that there needs to be greater integration between the NCS and existing civil society organisations: “I would urge that these types of initiatives are much more closely integrated with existing civil society organisations. You have organisations across every community: Scouts, Girlguiding, a whole range of others, I am not being exclusive. It is rather sad that they are not integrated.”¹⁷⁹
199. However, this inquiry has shown that the NCS is becoming more embedded within the youth social action sector and is co-operating with other organisations. This is very welcome and should be further encouraged. The NCS submitted written evidence jointly with 10 other youth organisations (including the Scouts and Girl Guides)¹⁸⁰ presenting a united view of where citizenship and civic engagement can be improved. They have also announced a large scale partnership with the Scouts:
- “The Scout Association has embarked on a pilot partnership with National Citizen Service (NCS), that is expected to be worth about £1.5 million to the charity. We will be working in partnership to achieve our shared goal to help young people prepare for the future and develop crucial skills for life. This partnership aspires to co-design and pilot ideas through NCS’s new Innovation Programme on a trial basis for a three-year period, enabling even more young people to realise, and achieve, their potential.”¹⁸¹
200. The NCS is also working with Step Up to Serve¹⁸² to provide as much comparison as possible with other youth social action organisations, and is looking at how it can provide control groups to other organisations to ensure that they can also have high quality evaluation.¹⁸³
201. This is crucial for two reasons. In order to have a stronger understanding of its long-term effects and the quality of its specific programmes, the NCS will need good comparison data from other organisations. The NCS can in turn help other organisations improve their own evaluation by sharing data. This will help improve efficiency across the sector, boosting citizenship and getting better taxpayer value for money.
202. **The National Citizen Service should be expected to make partnerships with voluntary sector organisations.**

179 [Q 112](#)

180 Joint Submission of written evidence from the youth organisations listed in paragraph 168, footnote 158 ([CCE0199](#))

181 Written evidence from National Citizen Service Trust ([CCE0269](#))

182 Step Up to Serve was created to support the #iwill campaign which seeks to increase social action amongst 10–20 year olds.

183 [Q 39](#)

203. **The National Citizen Service should continue to work with other youth organisations to establish benchmarks for effectiveness to support evaluation across the sector.**

204. One way in which the NCS can become more effective is by working closely with schools, and citizenship education appears to be an ideal way for the NCS to do so. To date it appears that this co-ordination has been lacking. The Association for Citizenship Teaching told the Committee of their experience attempting to connect the NCS and citizenship education:

“In 2013 ACT was commissioned by NCS trust to develop exemplar teaching materials and a student social action tool kit. These were updated and republished in 2016 to align with the reformed curriculum. However, the materials have not been widely published or disseminated and initial plans to encourage NCS providers to work with the materials and make links with Citizenship teachers when they visit schools do not appear to have been implemented.”¹⁸⁴

205. Only on 8 November 2017 did the Government produce the guidance on schools working with the NCS. The guidance did include a section on citizenship and a link to the ACT materials but the relevant section was less than a page long.¹⁸⁵

206. In addition to the Government’s guidance, the NCS is also looking at how it can work with schools. Michael Lynas told us about the work the NCS is doing in schools as it seeks to increase the numbers of people attending:

“We are working now across a number of schools where we have partnered with a school and have a school co-ordinator to embed it in the school, and we think that that will have a significant effect. We are trying it out first on a relatively small scale and we will see the results at the end of this academic year. If that works, that will be a major way for us to grow.”¹⁸⁶

207. This effort by the NCS to work with schools is welcome, and the Department for Education’s guidance on how schools can work with the NCS shows a reciprocal commitment to get the NCS into more schools.

208. However, the strategy for linking the NCS with citizenship education does not appear to extend beyond the single page of guidance issued by the Department for Education and the curriculum materials created by the Association for Citizenship Teaching. It is not clear whether the Government has thought about how the programme of the NCS fits together with the curriculum for citizenship. The materials created by the Association for Citizenship Teaching provide a framework for how the National Citizen Service could fit within citizenship teaching, but do not in themselves present a coherent framework for a civic journey. As we have said, there are currently insufficient numbers of specialist citizenship teachers and substantial time pressures on citizenship teaching. As part of the renewed effort to support citizenship education, as advocated in the previous chapter, the Government

184 Written evidence from Association for Citizenship Teaching ([CCE0143](#))

185 Department for Education, *National Citizen Service: guidance for schools and colleges* (November 2017): <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-citizen-service-guidance-for-schools-and-colleges> [accessed 9 March 2018]

186 [Q 39](#)

should consider how the NCS fits within a revitalised strategy for citizenship education.

209. **The Government should encourage and facilitate the National Citizen Service in making greater connections with schools, and should ensure that it is integrated with citizenship education provision. This should include encouraging NCS coordinators in schools to engage with citizenship courses and be given the Continuing Professional Development they need in order to do so.**

CHAPTER 5: CIVIL SOCIETY—THE GLUE THAT BINDS US TOGETHER

210. In this chapter we explore the barriers that many people face which prevent them from taking part in civil society. These include unpredictable short-term work patterns, a lack of facilities for civil society groups, the social security system, and the Government’s approach to the voluntary sector as a whole.

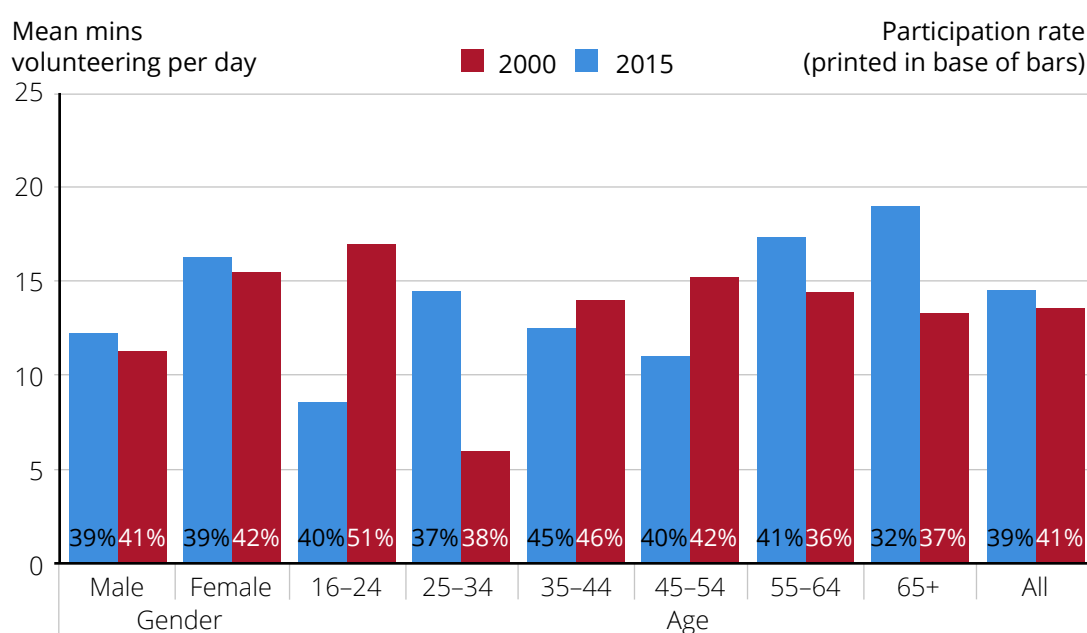
Volunteering

211. The UK’s answer to the citizenship challenge is mixed. In the following chapter we explain how democratic engagement is identified as weak. Volunteering and giving are however among the strengths of the UK. The UK performs better than most other European countries in the annual survey commissioned by CAF: in 2016 the UK came 11th of the 139 countries in the CAF World Giving Index,¹⁸⁷ with Ireland and the Netherlands the only European countries performing better. When considering volunteering alone, Norway also performed better.

What do the statistics tell us?

212. Since 2000 the total amount of volunteering in the UK has not changed by a large amount. The average amount of time spent volunteering per day has fallen slightly whilst the proportion of individuals who volunteer has increased slightly. The largest change in volunteering has been the dramatic increase in youth volunteering. In 2000 40% of 16–24 year olds volunteered for an average of less than 10 minutes per day, but by 2015 51% of 16–24 year olds volunteered for an average of 17 minutes per day.

Figure 1: Average daily minutes provided for volunteering, by age category and gender, UK, 2000 and 2015

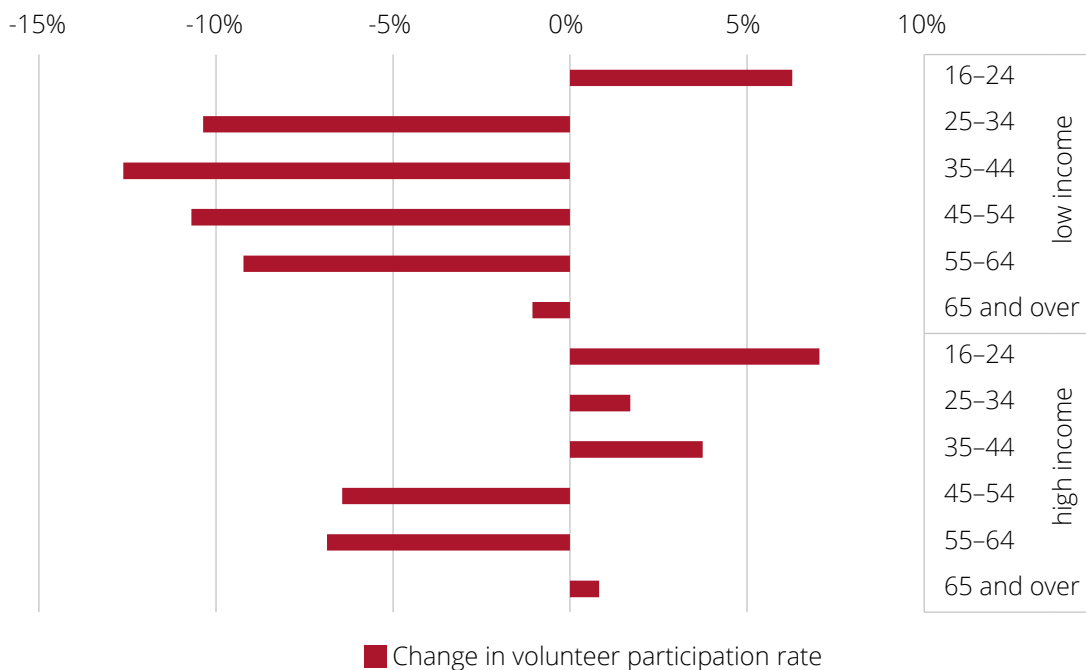


Source: Office for National Statistics, ‘UK Harmonised European Time Use survey (HETUS), 2000 and 2015; Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001; Community Life Survey (CLS), 2015/16’ (16 March 2017): <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/nationalaccounts/satelliteaccounts/articles/changesinthevalueanddivisionofunpaidcareworkintheuk/2015> [accessed 22 February 2018]

187 Charities Aid Foundation, *CAF World Giving Index 2017* (September 2017): https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/cafworldgivingindex2017_2167a_web_210917.pdf?sfvrsn [accessed 9 March 2018]

213. The 16–24 age group went from having one of the lowest rates of participation for the shortest amount of time to having the highest rate of participation for the longest amount of time when compared to any other age group. This was matched by falls in time spent volunteering amongst those aged 25–34, 55–64 and 65 plus. The data shows that ideas about young people being disengaged are severely out of date; instead they are the group most likely to be helping in their communities for the most time.
214. The success of youth volunteering (16–24) is also not confined only to one part of society. Young people from both low income and high income households are substantially more likely to volunteer than three years previously. The trends are more negative across other age groups as people from all other ages in low income households are less likely to volunteer than before. This disengagement is part of the picture discussed in the chapter on integration which highlights the lack of certain kinds of social capital in marginalised communities.

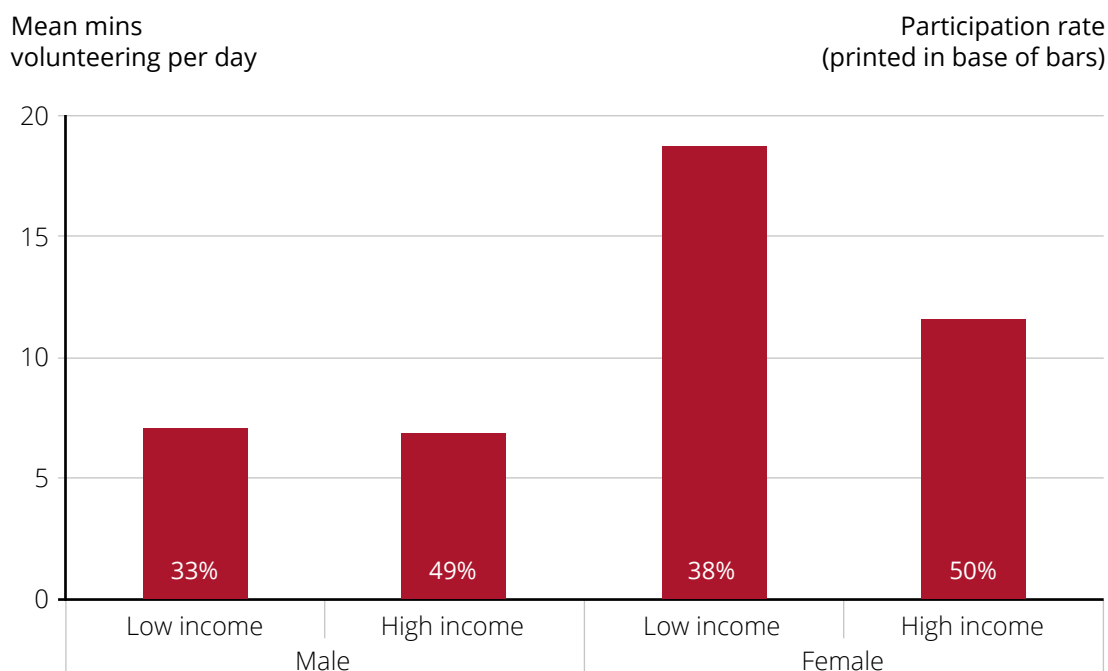
Figure 2: Change in volunteering participation rates, by equivalised household income band and by age, 2012/13 to 2015/16



Source: Office for National Statistics, 'Community Life Survey, 2012/13–2015/16' (16 March 2017): <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/nationalaccounts/satelliteaccounts/articles/changesinthevalueanddivisionofunpaidcareworkintheuk/2015> [accessed 22 February 2018]

215. Whilst high income groups are more likely to volunteer, the group that spends the most time volunteering is low income women. They volunteer an average of 19 minutes per day, more than the 12 minutes of high income women, or the 7 minutes that men of both income groups volunteer.

Figure 3: Average daily minutes of volunteering provided by gender and equivalised household income band, UK, 2015



Source: Office for National Statistics, 'UK Harmonised European Time Use survey (HETUS), 2015; Community Life Survey (CLS), 2015/16' (16 March 2017): <https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/nationalaccounts/satelliteaccounts/articles/changesinthevalueanddivisionofunpaidcareworkintheuk/2015> [accessed 22 February 2018]

216. We have used the term 'volunteering' to describe this activity because it is the term the statistics use. However, voluntary activity that is primarily undertaken by young people is increasingly being referred to as 'social action'. This term covers some types of both formal and informal volunteering. It can also cover informal political activity and democratic engagement. Social action is about creating change rather than describing the activity that is taking place.¹⁸⁸ This means that the descriptor 'social action' can hide the nature of the activity it describes. As one of the key issues we have identified is that volunteering receives different levels of support to democratic engagement, we have opted not to use the term 'social action' to describe volunteering to make it clear that it does not include democratic engagement. However, we recognise that this term can be more attractive to young people than 'volunteering', and we support its use elsewhere.

Ensuring volunteers are thanked

217. One of the key ways to support volunteering is to make sure that volunteers feel valued. Sir Stuart Etherington, the Chief Executive of the NCVO, thought that recognition was crucial to supporting volunteering. "The amount of times that people are thanked is a key, in my view, motivator of people who volunteer; thanking volunteers and recognising voluntary activity." He gave as an example those who had volunteered in support of the

188 The Full Time Social Action Review conducted focus groups and asked young people what they thought Social Action was. They were told: "Social action is distinct from work experience and volunteering. It is about creating lasting social change on big issues that matter to young people and their communities. It can be used to address inequalities, challenge racism, and improve women's rights. It is often personal to each young person, and that is the biggest motivating factor to getting involved." https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/679078/The_Steve_Holliday_Report.pdf

London Olympics. “These people had specific roles, uniforms, a name, they were on the telly and they were praised a lot ... You get to feel very special, which is a key factor in volunteering generally. It is about the fact that you are giving something and the recognition of that.”¹⁸⁹

218. More could be done to recognise work done by volunteers and make them feel valued. Whilst people can get honours for long term voluntary service, not enough communities know that this is the case, or know how to nominate someone for an honour. The national honours system is also not best placed to recognise all the volunteering done across the country. In many cases it may be more appropriate for a local authority to recognise the work that volunteers do locally. More formal recognition would help volunteers to feel valued for what they do for their communities. Local authorities should watch the Reward and Recognition scheme being introduced by the Mayor of London,¹⁹⁰ and learn from the results of the associated pilot schemes.
219. **The Office for Civil Society should publicise the guidance on nominating outstanding volunteers for honours.**
220. **The Main Honours Committee should give particular attention to the recommendations for honours for volunteers made by the honours committee for Community, Voluntary and Local Services.**
221. **Umbrella bodies in the voluntary sector should prepare guidance for local authorities, health and social care organisations on how to give formal recognition to outstanding work by volunteers they work with.**

Miscommunication in the Social Security system

222. One group who are able to volunteer more but currently are not are the unemployed. Wrong advice given out by Job Centre Plus staff is discouraging unemployed people from volunteering, as the NCVO told us:
- “Unemployed people looking for work and receiving benefits can volunteer, yet are often told they can’t. NCVO has worked with DWP to issue clear guidance on eligibility to volunteer whilst receiving benefits.”¹⁹¹
223. Volunteering can count for up to 50% of a person’s time that they are spending taking reasonable action to find a job. If they are expected to be working 35 hours a week then 17.5 hours can be spent volunteering.¹⁹² The Full Time Social Action Review¹⁹³ conducted focus groups with young people and found that many of the young people were unaware of this, and they found evidence that young people were lying to the officials at the Job Centre in order to spend time volunteering.¹⁹⁴ This could have been avoided if Job Centre Plus staff were aware of the amount of volunteering claimants can take part in, and correctly informing them of it.

189 Q 98

190 Mayor of London, *All of us: The Mayor’s strategy for Social Integration* (March 2018): https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/social_integration_strategy.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

191 Written evidence from National Council for Voluntary Organisations (CCE0239)

192 National Council for Voluntary Organisations, ‘Volunteering and Benefits’ (April 2016): <https://www.ncvo.org.uk/ncvo-volunteering/volunteering-and-benefits> [accessed 9 March 2018]

193 The Government launched a review into how Government could support Full Time Social Action chaired by Steve Holliday. It reported in January 2018

194 Department for Digital Culture, Media & Sport, *The Steve Holliday Report into Full Time Social Action* (January 2018): <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/full-time-social-action-review-call-for-evidence> [accessed 9 March 2018]

224. We agree with the NCVO that “more needs to be done to ensure this is implemented by Job Centre Plus staff on the ground and people who are unemployed get the opportunity to volunteer and experience the associated benefits.”¹⁹⁵

225. The Full Time Social Action Review recommended:

“that the Department for Work and Pensions supports Job Coaches, to proactively inform young people who are Universal Credit claimants of their right to reduce their job-seeking hours up to 50 percent to participate in voluntary activities. We also favour extending this right to all benefit claimants and ask that the crucial role of volunteering is better recognised by this department. The Department for Work and Pensions should explore this and report back on implementation plans within 12 months.”¹⁹⁶

We agree with the thrust of this recommendation.

226. **The Government should ensure that all front line staff working at Job Centre Plus are fully briefed on the status of volunteers. Where job seekers wish to volunteer, staff should encourage them to do so, and should explain that this can count for half of their reasonable action to find a job requirement (up to 17.5 hours).**

Finding places to meet

227. The need for physical space in order for civil society to flourish was raised repeatedly through the inquiry. We heard from witnesses, including Councillor Armored J Carlyon,¹⁹⁷ accounts of where civic space has closed, and this led her to conclude that: “it is essential that every community has a ... [place] at street level where people meet one another on a regular but informal basis.”¹⁹⁸

228. This fits with other research on best practice at encouraging civic activity. The report of the Pathways through Participation project highlights how the right physical location can create the right conditions for people to participate.¹⁹⁹ The British Academy’s report on ways to improve integration also suggests “the need for a physical space within the community” in order to host integration projects.²⁰⁰

229. On our visit to Clacton-on-Sea we heard how a lack of public meeting space limited a sense of community, and that where it was available it had proved useful in allowing civil society initiatives to flourish. Examples were cited of how access to a physical space transformed activity. In one case a community takeover of a pub which was due to close had led to it being established as a

195 Written evidence from National Council for Voluntary Organisations (CCE0239)

196 Department for Digital Culture, Media & Sport, *The Steve Holliday Report into Full Time Social Action* (January 2018): <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/full-time-social-action-review-call-for-evidence> [accessed 9 March 2018]

197 An independent councillor on Cornwall County Council.

198 Written evidence from Councillor Armored J Carlyon (CCE0234)

199 Pathways through participation, *Pathways through participation: What creates and sustains active citizenship?* (September 2011): https://web.archive.org/web/20170203002205/http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2011/09/Pathways-through-Participation-summary-report_Final_20110913.pdf [accessed 9 March 2018]

200 British Academy, *If you could do one thing: Local action to promote social integration* (December 2017): <https://www.britac.ac.uk/publications/if-you-could-do-one-thing-local-actions-promote-social-integration> [accessed 12 March 2018]

catalyst for community activity in the area. In the other case a shop front for a time bank run by local residents had allowed it to grow to 490 members because they had a physical space where they could be based.

230. The need for civic space is especially acute in less well-off areas where it can achieve the most impact, as Dr Rod Dacombe from King's College London explained:

“... the potential for increasing civic engagement in deprived communities is increased by investment in the civic infrastructure of areas exhibiting high levels of poverty. Research has shown that deprived areas can often lack the kinds of physical and social structure necessary to foster civic engagement: the number of voluntary organisations based in such areas tends to be low, communal facilities are often lacking and organisational infrastructure such as shops and leisure facilities are missing.”²⁰¹

231. The Government in its Integrated Communities Strategy recognises the importance of shared community spaces:

“Community hubs provide a vital location for physical, face-to-face social mixing outside workplaces, schools and homes. This helps to address loneliness, break down barriers and improve trust between people from different backgrounds and with different life experiences”

The strategy states that it supports the use of libraries and other community hubs to support integration.²⁰² This will require appropriate funding.

232. It may be the case that churches, places of worship of other faiths and buildings of civic organisations can act as partners and may be able to provide space for the community to use. However, this space must be inclusive.

233. **The Government should work with local administrations to audit existing inclusive public and civic space to see how it could be made more easily available for civic activity.**

234. During our visit to Sheffield we heard about the importance of having a paid organiser to support volunteers. This was a major issue for the House of Lords Select Committee on Charities which recommended that:

“Funders need to be more receptive to requests for resources for volunteer managers and coordinators, especially where charities are able to demonstrate a strong potential volunteer base. We recommend that Government guidance on public sector grants and contracts is amended to reflect this and set a standard for other funders.”²⁰³

201 Written evidence from Dr Rod Dacombe (CCE0174)

202 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018] pp 45–46

203 Select Committee on Charities, *Stronger Charities for a Stronger Society* (Report of Session 2016–17, HL Paper 133)

235. We are pleased to see in the Government response that they “will explore with voluntary sector partners how [the Government] can support promoting the effective management of volunteers in delivering public services.”²⁰⁴
236. Another issue that can be a barrier to volunteering is the perception that it will dramatically increase insurance costs. However we received evidence from the Association of British Insurers that some of these worries are “myths”, and they expressed concern that these messages do not “reach those voluntary organisations that need to be aware of it.”²⁰⁵

How employers can help

237. Employers can also do more to help encourage civic engagement in their workforce. Katerina Rudiger from the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development told us that employers can do more by “embedding this into your HR practices.” She also told us that there is a lot for business to gain from encouraging employees to be involved in their communities:

“The business case is very clear, so employers get a lot out of it in terms of staff engagement, health and well-being and skills development, such as communication skills and team working. There is lots of evidence that people would improve in those, so employers get something out of it. If you think back to the point about engaging with local communities, it is a great way for staff to understand the communities they are operating in and the customers, so there are numerous benefits for employers.”²⁰⁶

238. We think it would be useful for employers to consider to what extent they are able to implement the good practice highlighted by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD), the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW) and others in allowing employees time to engage with their communities. Employers should consider how they can work with umbrella bodies and unions to discover the best way for them to promote civic engagement in their workplaces.
239. The action to support volunteering can be as simple as having a clear policy on the subject, as Fiona Wilson from USDAW told us:

“one important thing would be to ... encourage employers to develop a comprehensive public duties and community roles policy where they are encouraging staff to get involved in community activity by having a policy that states what will happen, including some element of payment and support for that or maybe some element of flexible working so that, if people want to volunteer to do charity work, they can flex their hours to enable them to do that ... they will be more likely to come forward to volunteer if they think their employer is going to be receptive to their request for time off.”²⁰⁷

240. **We agree that employers should have a comprehensive public duties and community roles policy.**

204 Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, *Response to “Stronger Charities for a Stronger Society” the report of the House of Lords Committee on Charities* (December 2017): <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/lords-committees/charities/Charities-Government-response-191217.pdf> [accessed 12 March 2018]

205 Written evidence from Association of British Insurers ([CCE0263](#))

206 [Q 115](#)

207 [Q 119](#)

The specific challenges of disability

241. People with disabilities are often prevented from volunteering due to a number of small but surmountable barriers. When members of the public who did not volunteer regularly were asked what the barriers that stopped them from volunteering were, 11% stated that they had an illness or disability that prevented them from volunteering.²⁰⁸ However, more can be done to help, as Fazilet Hadi, the Deputy Chief Executive and Director of Advocacy of the RNIB, told us:

“... as disabled people, we do not always hear about the opportunities, we are not always given the support to get to the opportunities in terms of transport and, for some of us, the information that we need is not made accessible. All these things are doable with the commitment to do them.”²⁰⁹

242. One model the Government could learn from is the existing Access to Work Grants. These could be copied for volunteering, as the NCVO told us:

“Government currently provides Access to Work grants,²¹⁰ money for practical support for people with disabilities, health or mental health conditions. We think that volunteering can play an important role in the pathway to employment for those trying to enter the labour market—and the extension of the fund could help more people access volunteering opportunities, making both a contribution to their community alongside building their own skills and improving their employability.”²¹¹

243. We also heard this from Fazilet Hadi:

“Because I am employed, I receive money from Access to Work, which is probably one of the most amazing government schemes in supporting disabled people to play their part in society through the workforce. Thought should be given to what similar fund there should be to support people to volunteer and contribute, because volunteering now has become a path to employment for many ...”²¹²

244. **The Government should create an Access to Volunteering scheme similar to the existing Access to Work scheme.**

Retirement

245. A further step in the civic journey where action is needed to increase engagement is at the point at which people retire. We heard from Sir John Low that “One in 10 older people volunteer; many more want to do it and yet only 9% are carrying the burden”.²¹³ Tracey Crouch MP told us that “Whenever I am in my own constituency, I hold a pensioners’ fair and whenever I talk to pensioners about the opportunities for volunteering, they are up for it but just did not know it existed, so that is something we want to work on.”²¹⁴ The

208 Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, *Further Estimates from the Community Life Survey, 2013–14 to 2016–17* (August 2017): <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/ad-hoc-statistical-analysis-201718-quarter-2> [accessed 12 March 2018]

209 [Q 91](#)

210 HM Government, ‘Get help at work if you’re disabled or have a health condition (Access to Work)’: <https://www.gov.uk/access-to-work> [accessed 12 March 2018]

211 Written evidence from National Council for Voluntary Organisations ([CCE0239](#))

212 [Q 91](#)

213 [Q 106](#)

214 [Q 187](#)

Charities Aid Foundation have stated that people need “help to signpost those in later life to opportunities including volunteering and community action.”²¹⁵ The Government already contacts people at retirement with pension information; this seems to us to be a good opportunity to nudge them towards volunteering.

246. **The Government should consider including information on volunteering in the pensions pack sent to those who reach pensionable age.**
247. Older people and disabled people face a number of other barriers to participation which we deal with in the chapter on Integration.

The Government’s approach to the voluntary sector

248. One concern in civil society is that government action is reducing charities’ involvement in the democratic process. Sir John Low told us:

“We want a vibrant civil society. We want it engaged and we want people engaged, but, frankly, it is pointless if, when we come to an election, it is all shut down—you cannot speak, you cannot speak on behalf of minorities, you cannot participate in that process. It is quite remarkable that Government does not take the actions necessary to enable civil society to strengthen and make democracy better, but does in fact the opposite in many of its actions.”²¹⁶

249. The Lobbying Act 2014 was a particular concern. Neil Jameson of Citizens UK told us that “We need to look to the Lobbying Act, it is a positive discouragement from people getting involved in the process of election.”²¹⁷ CAF told us that it was curtailing “charities’ ability to speak out publicly on behalf of their beneficiaries”²¹⁸. We heard a specific example of this from Angela Kitching, the Head of External Affairs at Age UK:

“... at the last election, when the political debate turned to social care, it became extremely difficult for organisations, such as ours, which constantly talk about social care, to offer reasonable opportunities for older people’s voices to come out and be reflected in their local communities on this issue because of the restrictions that are placed around charities’ ability to provide a platform for that debate.”²¹⁹

250. Beyond this effect on groups like Age UK, Patrick Murray of New Philanthropy Capital highlighted that: “Part of the issue with this is not necessarily the specifics of it but the message it sent out.”²²⁰ This suggests that the voice of charities is not welcome in the democratic arena. This is not the message we should be sending out. Charities have a crucial role to play in our democracy.
251. There are a number of ways that the Government could counteract this negative message. CAF suggest that the Government “repeal or exempt

215 Written evidence from Charities Aid Foundation ([CCE0180](#))

216 [Q 107](#)

217 [Q 99](#)

218 Written evidence from Charities Aid Foundation ([CCE0180](#))

219 [Q 94](#)

220 [Q 107](#)

charities from the Lobbying Act, or at a minimum implement the findings of Lord Hodgson’s report on it”²²¹.

252. The review of the operation of the third party campaigning rules at the 2015 General Election (now known as the Hodgson Review) was undertaken by Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts, also the Chairman of this Committee, who had been appointed by the Government in January 2015 to review Part 2 of the Transparency in Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014. The review reported in February 2016 and it recommended amending a number of the rules governing third party expenditure at elections. Last year the House of Lords Select Committee on Charities also recommended implementing the Hodgson Review of third party campaigning, calling its recommendations “eminently sensible”.²²² The Government’s response was disappointing, stating that: “we will not be bringing forward legislation to implement his package of recommendations. The legislative programme for this session is already at full capacity.”²²³ This sends out the message that the Government does not have time for civil society. We can understand that the programme for the current session may be full, but this is no reason not to implement the recommendations later in the Parliament.
253. **The Government should implement the recommendations of the Hodgson Review of third party campaigning as soon as Parliamentary time permits.**

Improving the commissioning process

254. The relationship between charities and civic engagement is complicated, as charities in recent years have taken on large scale public contracts. As Sir Stuart Etherington told us:

“We have seen a phenomenon, which has been driven mainly by public procurement, where organisations have had to operate at scale and where the people who can secure national contracts are not necessarily able to demonstrate their engagement with local communities ... Funders, which would be not only charitable funders or the Big Lottery Fund but, very importantly, public funders, should place within contract proposals—the letting of the contracts—some demand, if you like, or some contract obligation to establish how those organisations are engaging people in local communities. They do not do that, so you get very transactional contracts which do not ask that question.”²²⁴

255. The over professionalisation of the sector and the difficulties of the process of getting funding can exclude people, as Dawn Austwick of the Big Lottery Fund explained:

“[Certain communities] are not familiar with a very professionalised sector and find some of the systems and networks are not accessible to

221 Written evidence from Charities Aid Foundation (CCE0180)

222 Select Committee on Charities, *Stronger Charities for a Stronger Society* (Report of Session 2016–17, HL Paper 133)

223 Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, *Response to “Stronger Charities for a Stronger Society” the report of the House of Lords Committee on Charities* (December 2017): <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/lords-committees/charities/Charities-Government-response-191217.pdf> [accessed 12 March 2018]

224 Q 103

them ... another section of society that is also excluded and these are often people with what I would call “lived experience”. Whether they have multiple complex needs or mental health problems or whether they come from the disabled sector or whatever, very often the way in which we organise ourselves, think and make decisions makes it very hard for those people to participate. ... There are also parts of the population which feel excluded from participating in our civic life because they feel a little alienated. Again, there are some fantastic organisations, such as RECLAIM in Manchester or UpRising,²²⁵ which some of you may be familiar with, which actively work with young people in particular to draw them into and expose them to civic action and activity. The beauty of a model such as UpRising is that it does not simply say, ‘We will work with this community or this community’; it says, ‘We want a broad range of young people to participate in our programme so they understand they are part of a whole’.”²²⁶

256. One of the problems is that it is difficult to know what effective engagement looks like in public service provision. Matthew Bolton from Civil Society Futures explained:

“It would be good to know what ‘good’ looks like. There is a shift that is happening towards an increasing importance of people in the lead or civic engagement, who previously might have been described as ‘beneficiaries’ or ‘clients’, somehow being in control. That is good, but there is not enough work on what good looks like, what is not tokenistic, what is real and what kind of infrastructure and training is needed to help organisations to make that shift.”²²⁷

257. There has been some good work on engagement by large funders like the Big Lottery Fund and the ESRC. Neil Jameson told us:

“I want to praise the Big Lottery. A condition of getting a lottery grant now, which we play some part in, is: who will benefit from this, who will grow and which leaders will be developed through this process of helping old people or what-have-you? It is the same with the ESRC grants and there is now an obligation on universities to say, ‘Who are you working with?’ They do not say, ‘What roots do they have?’, but they need to be rooted.”²²⁸

258. This good work on ensuring that charities and research funded by these two large funders are connected to communities and are promoting civic engagement is a positive development. The Government should be learning from this and thinking about how public service contracts could be promoting engagement.

259. The Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012 allows the social well-being of the relevant area to be considered in procuring public services. The public engagement described here would boost social wellbeing and falls within the scope of the Act.

225 Uprising is a national youth leadership development organisation that seeks help to 16–25 year olds who have talent but lack opportunity.

226 [Q 106](#)

227 [Q 103](#)

228 [Q 101](#)

260. However, any change to the commissioning process would need to ensure that the groups with local experience and expertise based on their 'lived experience' are themselves given sufficient funding to facilitate engagement, and are not merely used by larger organisations to make their own bids more appealing. This is part of a broader problem of small organisations lacking the capacity to bid for government contracts and being unable or unwilling to merge or grow to a scale that would allow them to do so. Solving this problem is beyond the scope of this report; however additional requirements to the commissioning process should seek to avoid making this problem worse.
261. **The Government should conduct an early review of best practice in public engagement in public service provision and commissioning.**
262. **The Government should use the Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012 to include public engagement in the contracts of public service providers.**

CHAPTER 6: DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT—IMPROVING CONNECTIVITY

A new culture

263. Active citizens are crucial for the health of our democracy, yet there are a number of barriers which prevent citizens from being democratically engaged. In this chapter we look at how this can be addressed by changes in voter registration, how Government communicates with the public, and how the public are included in decision making processes.
264. Citizens should be taking an active part not only in the process of selecting who governs them but also in the continuing conversation on how they should be governed. There are many positive effects of this sort of democratic engagement, as explained by Dr Rod Dacombe:

“Civic engagement has clear benefits for government. Where citizens are engaged with public decision-making the actions of government reflect a greater plurality of views resulting in better-designed and more efficient public services. Similarly, citizens involved in this kind of activity tend to have more confidence in the workings of public agencies and feel a sense of confidence that government officials are working for them.

There are also benefits that can be accrued by the individuals involved. Civic engagement has been associated with better employment prospects, educational attainment and health outcomes. It also has an educative function, and through involvement in civic life, individuals learn a wide range of skills which allow them to better engage with other areas of public life. In short, civic engagement makes better citizens.

Beyond this, there are also wider social gains that can be made based on increasing the reserves of social capital in society that result from a more engaged populace. Civic engagement is associated with greater levels of tolerance, better knowledge of public affairs, and higher levels of trust and reciprocity across society. In all, the overwhelming weight of evidence points to a series of benefits associated with civic participation which are felt in numerous areas of social and political life.”²²⁹

265. However the current state of democratic engagement in the UK is not as strong as it could be. From 1922 to 1997 turnout at UK general elections remained above 71%. In 2001 it fell to only 59.4%. Since that point turnout has been slowly rising and reached 68.8% in 2017.²³⁰ The EU average is 66.1%, with the UK coming 11th out of 28 EU states.²³¹ We must not be complacent as we begin to return to former voting levels in national elections. Turnout in 2016 local elections ranged from 33.3% for unitary councils to 34.6% for district councils.²³² Only 16% of people feel that they have influence over decision-making nationally, and only 32% believe that if

229 Written evidence from Dr Rod Dacombe (CCE0174)

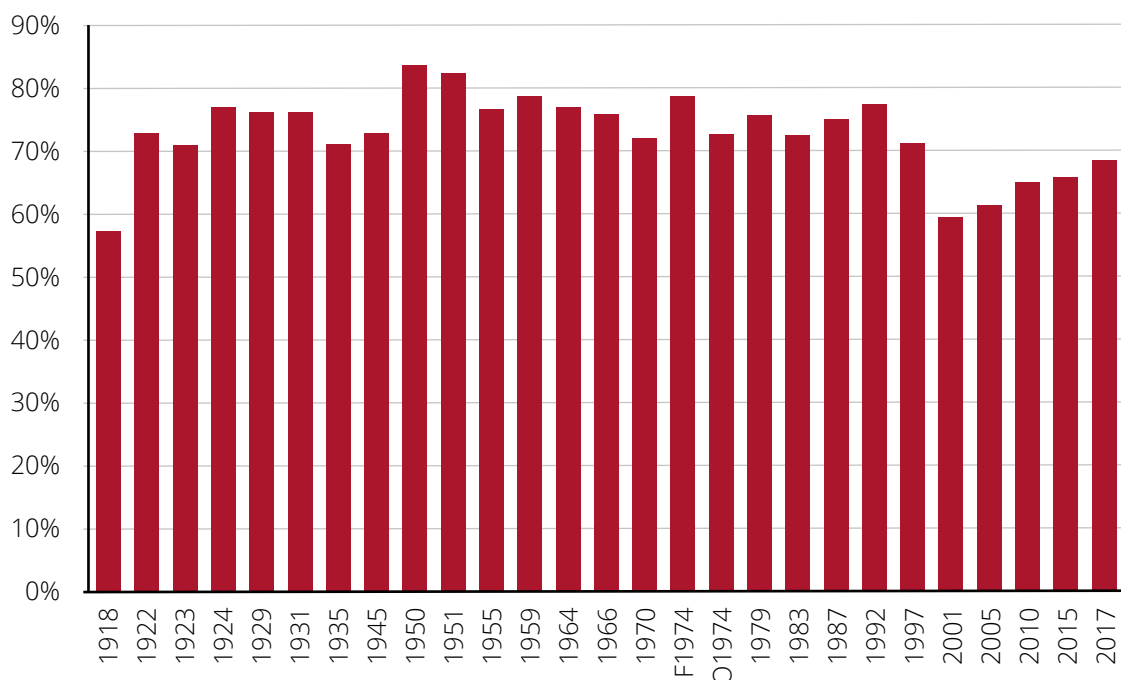
230 There is some concern that all of these measures of turnout are underestimating levels of turnout in the UK: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3098436&download=yes However, the adjusted estimates in this paper present a similar picture of the UK's turnout levels over time although at an overall higher point. This would still indicate lower turnout than pre-2001 levels. International comparisons are difficult as the same effect will mean that turnout may be underestimated in other countries.

231 House of Commons Library, *Turnout at Elections*, Briefing Paper, CBP 8060, July 2017

232 *Ibid.*

people like themselves get involved in politics then they can change the way the country is run. This is only slightly better at the local level where 23% of the public feel they have influence over decision-making.²³³

Figure 4: Turnout at a General Election 1918–2017



Source: House of Commons Library, *Turnout at Elections, Briefing Paper, CBP 8060, July 2017*

266. This goes beyond just low levels of voting, as Dr Henry Tam told the Committee:

“In terms of civic engagement as in democratic participation, the UK is lagging behind other European countries, judging by voting patterns and other participatory processes. From my discussions with colleagues working in local and central government, the trend reflects that; there is not sufficient democratic participation. There may be protest and activist actions, but in terms of engaging and interacting with local authorities, central government bodies and political institutions, and understanding how you can shape what they do, their policy priorities and the role you can play, the level of democratic engagement is very low.”²³⁴

267. This is a particular a problem for some groups. Young people and people from lower social classes are less likely to be interested in politics, and report knowing less about politics than other groups.²³⁵ However, as the Convenors of the Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People’s Politics told the Committee: “there is no turnout gap between young people of high social grade or in full-time education and the average UK citizen. The problem, more precisely defined, involves the non-participation of

233 Hansard Society, *Audit of Political Engagement 14* (April 2017): <https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/projects/research/audit-of-political-engagement> [accessed 12 March 2018]

234 Q 134

235 Hansard Society, *Audit of Political Engagement 14* (April 2017): <https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/projects/research/audit-of-political-engagement> [accessed 12 March 2018]

young people from deprived backgrounds or of low socio-economic status”.²³⁶ There is a need for targeted action in communities that are marginalised and left behind, and this report makes recommendations to tackle that in its chapter on integration. However there is also a need for a wider societal change.

268. Efforts to promote civic engagement have to date too often focused solely on volunteering and not enough on democratic engagement. There is a need for a new culture of democratic engagement. This should not just include more people taking part in elections, but should reach into every part of Government. Citizens should be at the heart of decision-making in their local communities and should be able to have a clear line to Government. Government at all levels should make it as easy as possible for people to become involved.
269. As discussed elsewhere in this report, citizens will have to be properly equipped and enthused to take part. Citizenship education and the NCS should help young citizens understand their place in democracy and the role they can play in improving their communities.

The importance of registering to vote

270. In December 2017, shortly after Ministers gave evidence to us, the Government published its Democratic Engagement Strategy.²³⁷ The Strategy rightly states the importance of voting and of registering to vote:

“No democratic expression is more powerful, however, than exercising the right to vote. That is why it is a priority to ensure that we have the most complete and accurate electoral registers possible. The journey to the ballot box may start in a thousand ways but arriving at the polling booth depends upon inclusion on the electoral roll.”²³⁸

271. Unfortunately, too many people who desire to vote are failing to register. Alistair Clark, who researched polling workers at the 2015 general election, told us:

“... the biggest problem they experienced was people turning up to vote, but not being on the electoral register for some reason (e.g. having moved house) ... 69% of responding polling station workers highlighted this as a problem, with 39% experiencing between 2–5 instances of this, and a further 13% experiencing 6 or more instances on polling day ... Polling station staff have no option but to turn away such individuals. This represents a missed opportunity to engage clearly democratically interested people for the future.”²³⁹

272. The recent change to Individual Electoral Registration has brought with it some challenges as well as presenting new opportunities. Dr Andrew Mycock, Reader in Politics at the University of Huddersfield, thought that the change had proved a success in developing social values and addressing cases of electoral fraud. However:

236 Written evidence from Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People’s Politics (CCE0087)

237 HM Government, *Every Voice Matters: Building A Democracy That Works For Everyone* (December 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/669130/democratic_engagement_strategy_2017.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

238 *Ibid.*

239 Written evidence from Dr Alistair Clark (CCE0081)

“the move to individual voter registration has made what was a simple if flawed process more complex and potentially less democratic. Significant numbers of voters have fallen off the electoral register, particularly young people under the new system. Individual registration penalises people who live mobile lives, such as students and those in private rented accommodation. The issue is not with individual registration per se. Australia has used individual voter registration for some time and it works on the straightforward principle that once registered, voters stay on the register. This is achieved by cross-referencing multiple databases if they move address.”²⁴⁰

273. The importance of using data to improve individual registration has been highlighted by the Electoral Commission as a lesson to learn from the 2017 General Election.²⁴¹ They are creating a guide for Electoral Registration Officers on how best to use public data to improve electoral registration.
274. However, there is more that the Government could do to improve the accuracy of the electoral register and to better target households who could be missing from the register. Bite the Ballot have highlighted the possibility of the Government using commercial data sets in order to make voter registration more efficient. They had attempted to facilitate an agreement to share data between the Electoral Commission and Experian, the consumer credit company. Experian stand to gain from improved electoral roll data which they use to identify UK consumers. The Experian data could have allowed the Government to know where individuals live who probably are not registered to vote, and so to target their efforts much more efficiently. However, due to complications in data protection law there has yet to be an agreement.²⁴² The Government’s democratic engagement strategy highlights using data sharing as a possible way to improve registration. It raises the possibility of using water company data, as landlords must inform water companies of a change of tenant. The strategy announces that they are conducting two scoping projects looking at Electoral Registration Officers’ access to external and council data.²⁴³ This is a positive development that we would hope to see continued and expanded upon.
275. **We encourage the Government to continue exploring ways of making voter registration activities more efficient by harnessing existing commercial data sets.**
276. It can be argued that the Government should move further in sharing data and create a national electoral register. This could make for a more accurate register, since it would reduce the likelihood of accidental or fraudulent double registration and increase the efficiency of voter registration. However there are equally concerns that creating a national database would infringe the privacy of individuals, and damage the principle of having local electoral registration officers. Resolving these disagreements is a large issue in its own right and beyond the scope of our Committee.

240 Written evidence from Dr Andrew Mycock (CCE0247)

241 The Electoral Commission, *Electoral registration at the June 2017 UK general election* (July 2017): https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/232761/Electoral-registration-report-July-2017.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

242 Written evidence from Bite the Ballot (CCE0254)

243 HM Government, *Every Voice Matters: Building A Democracy That Works For Everyone* (December 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/669130/democratic_engagement_strategy_2017.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

Identity and registering to vote

277. Whilst Individual Electoral Registration has allowed individuals to register to vote online, this process is not as easy as it could be. Operation Black Vote told us of their attempts to travel across the country registering voters; they found that the biggest barrier to the registration of voters was the need to have one's national insurance number.²⁴⁴ The Minister defended the current position on the basis that the Government wished to ensure that the process was secure, and that in exceptional circumstances it was possible to register to vote using other Government ID.²⁴⁵ However, crucially it is not possible to register to vote online in a single sitting without one's national insurance number. As most people do not know their national insurance number or carry it around with them day to day, this dramatically undermines the ability of organisations to offer on the spot voter registration.
278. Passports and driving licences are documents which the Government plainly believes are as secure as national insurance numbers—in the case of passports, perhaps more secure. We do not understand the insistence on the use of national insurance numbers. It seems to us that it should be permissible to register to vote using a passport, driving licence or national insurance number, whether online or offline. The current requirement seems to us to discourage voter registration without in any way enhancing security.
279. **The Government should allow people to register to vote without a national insurance number on the basis of other recognised Government ID (passport, driving licence, etc).**

A role for universities, colleges and schools

280. The Electoral Commission told us that young people are less likely to be registered than other groups and that this is one of the main drivers of lower registration overall.²⁴⁶ There is a need for targeted action on increasing electoral registration amongst young people. The University of Sheffield told us about their recent successful efforts to integrate voter registration with registering at the University. They offer students a simple tick box to register, and under a contract with the local Electoral Registration Officer (ERO) are able to reuse data they already hold on the student to complete the registration process.²⁴⁷ For the University of Sheffield this sits within their wider vision of themselves as a civic university with an obligation to create active citizens. This vision should be applauded.
281. During the passage of the Bill for the Higher Education and Research Act 2017 creating the Office for Students (OfS), an amendment was introduced in this House imposing on the OfS an obligation to require every university to give students an opportunity to opt in to registration.²⁴⁸ This was not accepted by the Government, and the House of Commons substituted an amendment (now section 13(1) of the Act) giving the OfS discretion as to

244 [Q 27](#)

245 [Q 190](#)

246 Written evidence from The Electoral Commission ([CCE0152](#))

247 We heard about this on our visit to Sheffield detailed in Appendix 7.

248 Following the amendment, clause 16 (3) read: "The list of principles [adopted and published by the OfS] must include a requirement that every provider—(a) provides all eligible students with the opportunity to opt in to be added to the electoral register through the process of enrolling with that provider, and (b) enters into a data sharing agreement with the local electoral registration officer to add eligible students to the electoral register."

which steps it “considers appropriate” to require universities to take.²⁴⁹ It is anticipated that these steps will require universities to copy the Sheffield model. We very much welcome the guidance issued in February 2018 by the Department for Education to the OfS explaining that they expect the OfS to encourage higher education providers to promote electoral registration among students.²⁵⁰ However, for those who do not attend university there remains a lack of targeted action to make sure that they are included on the electoral register.

282. There are a number of opposing views on the role of assisted or automatic registration. Bite the Ballot noted that there is a good opportunity for the Government to trial automatic voter registration with people who are just turning 16 and being given their NI number (which was allocated at birth) for the first time.²⁵¹ In their joint submission 11 youth organisations²⁵² also supported automatically registering young people at the point at which they receive their NI number as a way to encourage young people to get involved.²⁵³
283. The Sheffield model could be a way forward for schools and Further Education (FE) colleges. If schools were to help young people with the registration process, then the decision whether or not to register would still rest with the individual concerned, but it would be easier to register. This would require schools and FE colleges to be able to contract with local EROs and verify the details of students in the same way that universities can at the moment. The Government’s position is that every individual should have responsibility for registering to vote, and the Minister told the Committee that automatically registering young people would undermine this principle.²⁵⁴ We agree that the responsibility is ultimately the individual’s, but assistance with the registration process would not unduly undermine this. It is also important to ensure that individuals undertaking apprenticeships are not left out of this process. In the case of an apprenticeship the body responsible for the provision of education should also be responsible for assisting with electoral registration.
284. **The Government should pilot assisted registration at a number of schools and Further Education colleges across the country.**
285. **If the pilot is successful, the Government should consider making Regulations to impose on schools, Further Education colleges and apprenticeship providers a duty to assist Electoral Registration Officers when required to do so.**

Engaging with Government (at any level) and Parliament

286. Whilst voting is an important part of the democratic process it is far from being the only part. The Democratic Engagement Strategy makes this point:

249 Section 13(1) of the Act provides that the registration conditions of a higher education institution may include “(f) a condition requiring the governing body of the provider to take such steps as the OfS considers appropriate for facilitating cooperation between the provider and one or more electoral registration officers in England for the purpose of enabling the electoral registration of students who are on higher education courses provided by the provider.”

250 Department for Education, *Facilitating Electoral Registration* (February 2018): <https://www.officeforstudents.org.uk/media/1019/facilitating-electoral-registration-guidance.pdf> [accessed 12 March 2018]

251 [Q 29](#)

252 See paragraph 168, footnote 158.

253 Joint Submission of written evidence ([CCE0199](#)).

254 [Q 190](#)

“Democratic engagement can take many forms: watching local council debates or attending MPs’ surgeries; joining a mass protest or writing a letter to a newspaper; canvassing for a political party or sharing views on social media. Whether collective or individual, large or small, regular or intermittent, these assertions of interest in the decisions that shape our world underpin a vibrant and healthy democracy.”²⁵⁵

287. However, these few sentences represent the only attempt within the Strategy to address any form of democratic engagement other than voting. This represents a shocking omission. A well-functioning democratic society requires more than individuals turning up to vote every few years. An active citizenry should be involved in constant dialogue with all levels of government, discussing the quality of government they receive and how it can be improved. Elections are just one part of the way that citizens engage with those who govern them, and this process of engagement is in need of improvement.

How Government listens

288. At a basic level, democratic engagement is about engaging with Government, and for too many that is not a positive experience. In Clacton-on-Sea, the Committee heard that people found it difficult to engage with Government; those who had done so felt discouraged from attempting to do so again. Many of those who attended and had experience of engaging with Government were either councillors themselves or had friends or relatives who had served on the council. It was also clear that their disaffection with politics and government at all levels was on the basis of experience rather than a presumption of ill will or incompetence. They felt that any time they talked to government authorities or officials they could not get a proper response to their questions. There was a strong perception that what they were writing was not being read because they received what felt like stock responses. They reported feeling a lack of respect for them as individuals, and that there was a lack of basic customer service. This was the case when they were writing to Government both about specific matters like sorting out a partner’s immigration status and also when trying to find out Government policy on a specific subject like the age limits on apprenticeships. On policy they were not given satisfactory answers as to why a policy existed or how it could be changed.

289. This is not an acceptable basis for Government to communicate with its citizens. A key foundation for democratic engagement is that citizens feel their concerns are listened to and that Government is responding to them. Democratic engagement is a two way process. There are many things Government could consider to improve communication, from changing the way staff at every level respond to emails to ensuring that automated phone lines tell people approximately how long their waiting time may be.

290. **The Government should review its guidance for Government departments communicating with members of the public to encourage more personalised communication that directly responds to people’s concerns. It should include telling people who they can talk**

255 HM Government, *Every Voice Matters: Building A Democracy That Works For Everyone* (December 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/669130/democratic_engagement_strategy_2017.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

to if they disagree with the response, and who would be responsible for changing policy.

291. There were similar complaints about engaging with MPs. In their case too people we spoke to in Clacton-on-Sea expressed a general concern that not just Government but all politicians were not listening to them or people like them. People felt that they often received copy and pasted, standard responses to personal correspondence. They knew that the local MP was short-staffed and expressed sympathy with their workload. They were also aware of and expressed disdain for form letters and emails that were sent to MPs by campaign groups and did not feel that these needed replying to. However, they felt that there should be more support to ensure constituents who wrote personalised letters received personalised responses to their questions. They also expressed a strong desire for MPs to be honest with them and to tell them when the MP disagreed with them, and the reasons for the disagreement. It was felt that responses were mostly “spin” and not about dealing with the issues that were raised in the original correspondence.
292. **We agree with those witnesses who stressed the importance of Members of Parliament offering personalised replies to personal letters addressed to them, explaining honestly when they disagreed with the member of the public, and giving their reasons for doing so.**
293. The complexity of multi-tiered government also represents a major barrier to a thriving culture of democratic engagement. At an event we organised to hear the voices of young people, we heard that overly complicated structures discourage young people from engaging. The young people told the Committee that they and other young people were interested in improving their communities, but that they were motivated by issues and not by structures. They found it difficult to engage with some levels of government. Some of the young people were highly engaged in politics and yet had never seen a parish council, and were unable to go to meetings as they took place on Friday afternoons. They also raised the issue that many young people do not know about their local government structures, and whether they have a two tier or unitary local authority. Young people’s lack of interest in process and structures was also supported by Dr Roman Gerodimos from Bournemouth University:
- “... citizenship and civic engagement have to be oriented towards solving actual problems and addressing real people’s needs—and to be seen to be doing that. Creating generic process-oriented participation opportunities is unlikely to succeed; research has shown that young people are less likely to engage with process-driven outlets, than issue-driven ones.”²⁵⁶
294. The same problem was raised by Lord Phillips of Sudbury who told the Committee that people are not able to understand the multiple tiers of government that apply to them:

“I was in a class of randomly selected 15 and 16 year-olds on Monday at the same school that I went into in the late 1960s and early 1970s. I just wanted to try them out, so to speak. It was as clear as clear can be that there is a detachment of young people from, if I can put it, the establishment. If I take my home town of Sudbury, we are now subject

256 Written evidence from Dr Roman Gerodimos (CCE0082)

to five tiers of government. I left questionnaires for these kids and they filled them in and sent them back. They do not understand anything about three of those tiers. They understand a bit about the local council and a bit about Westminster, but they do not know how the parish or town council interacts with the district council, county councils, Westminster or Strasbourg. Most of them do not have the vaguest idea.”²⁵⁷

295. We heard the same issues of complexity preventing engagement in Clacton-on-Sea. People complained about there being so many different Government departments who they felt always told them that it was someone else’s responsibility to deal with their problem. They suggested that people living in the area had a lack of awareness about how the community is run. One complaint was that a council “one-stop-shop” which had been helpful at resolving issues had been closed due to a lack of funding. This was compounded by what they saw as the diminishing ability of the local Citizens Advice Bureau to help them with their problems. They stated that it was no longer possible to speak to a person who could help. There was a strongly expressed desire for the ability to speak to someone who was an expert and could help them with their problem. When they were asked to rank all the policy suggestions to increase civic engagement, they placed first the idea of a single place where they could talk to someone who could give them answers from all Government departments and all tiers of local government.
296. These problems can fall hardest on those with least. Universal Credit claimants who are being charged for tax credit debt are unclear whether their problem can be resolved by HMRC or DWP, and contacting the Government does not resolve this. In one case contacting the DWP universal credit line led to them being told to call the DWP debt management department, which in turn led to them being told to call HMRC, which itself failed to answer the question.²⁵⁸ It is understandable that some matters fall across Government departments; however it is not acceptable that the responsibility for negotiating this complexity falls on the citizen affected.
297. The young people, Lord Phillips of Sudbury and those at Clacton-on-Sea all raised citizenship education as a potential solution to some of the difficulties of engaging with Government. As discussed in chapter 3, improved citizenship education has an important role in enabling citizens to engage with their Government. However, the Government itself has a role to play in making it easier to engage with. Central Government has simplified its online identity with the single GOV.UK website, but that unity of approach does not exist once a person contacts a Government department. Although GOV.UK does in many places link to the relevant areas of devolved or local government websites, more could be done to simplify citizen’s interactions with any layer of Government. GOV.UK also does not provide information on how policy can be changed. The Government only appears to seek opinions at pre-determined times through consultations when options have already been agreed upon.
298. **The Government should co-ordinate with the devolved administrations and local government to create a “no wrong door” approach to the**

257 Q 129

258 “Tax credit debt: The Universal Credit problem nobody is talking about”, *Politics.co.uk* (9 January 2018): <http://www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2018/01/09/tax-credit-debt-the-universal-credit-problem-nobody-is-talki> [accessed 12 March 2018]

state. A citizen should not need to know who a service is provided by in order to be put in contact with the provider.

299. **The Government should co-ordinate with the devolved administrations and local government to create a “no wrong door” approach for those who seek to change policy. If a member of the public seeks to change a policy they should be told who the decision maker is.**
300. **The Government should investigate the feasibility of creating single points of contact in communities where people can get answers to questions that may fall across several departments, or between central and local government, or between them and other major service providers like the National Health Service.**

How the Government talks to you

301. Democratic engagement is also undermined on a practical level by citizens being inadequately informed of important developments. Democracy Club, an organisation that provides civic technology, told us that requirements for local authorities to give notice needed to be updated for the digital age:

“Democracy Club advocates some small legal changes that would improve civic education and engagement. One would be to update the requirements of ‘giving notice’, as in *‘the local authority shall give notice ... ‘ to fit with a digital age. Today, this notice should be given in open, machine- and human-readable formats, which can help power digital services to boost engagement. When data on democratic engagement is available in an open digital format, not only by the posting of a sheet of A4 paper on a board outside a council office, Britain will be making progress.’*²⁵⁹

302. This concern was not conveyed to the Committee only by people working in civic technology. In Clacton-on-Sea we heard that local government needed to improve the way it communicated, and needed to use more digital methods like social media websites. Those present complained of the poor way in which important changes were communicated to local people. They described long leaflets that they received through the post which would go straight into the rubbish bin. Local authorities may be following the direct letter of the law on how they should inform the public of changes, but they are not following the spirit of the law that requires the public to be informed. This is partly a case where local authorities are overwhelming the public with overly long consultations and other documents which can put people off. This is an area where less can be more.
303. Beyond the specific need to inform the public about new developments there should be a broader expectation of transparency. Civil society organisations like Democracy Club and mySociety can provide civic technology which can allow citizens to engage in new and better ways. Fixmystreet.com allows residents to report local problems to their local authority. WhereDoIVote.co.uk can help citizens know where their polling station is. However, in order for civic technology to succeed, Government must be open to it. Democracy Club highlighted to the Committee that their polling station finder service and other civic engagement services were less effective because the Government does not publish the necessary open

259 Written evidence from Democracy Club Community Interest Company (CCE0138)

address data.²⁶⁰ If different layers of Government commit to making sure that they are open with their data and use machine readable formats, then civic technology groups can harvest this data to boost democratic engagement for all.

304. **Local Authorities should improve the way they notify the public, using open and machine readable formats. They should also investigate using digital methods like email newsletters and social media to ensure that the public are aware of changes.**
305. **The Government should ensure that across all levels of Government data for democratic engagement is available in an open digital format.**

How citizens and Government collaborate

306. Government at all levels can also help boost democratic engagement by bringing citizens into the process of deciding and creating government activity. Local authorities are best placed to do this as they have a closer connection to a specific community. There are many different ways in which they can engage with the public. The Local Government Association has created a helpful guidebook for local authorities to help determine how and when to engage with citizens.²⁶¹ This can range from information giving (where the local authority cannot give citizens an opportunity to change a service) through to co-production (where citizens help run the service with the local authority). The broad principle should be that where the local authority itself has more leeway to act it should bring in the public earlier at a more basic stage. Where they are unconstrained the local authority should seek to outline the problem to the public and let them help to come up with solutions. If the number of options is more limited, then the local authority should bring people in to help choose between the limited options. The tools local authorities can use reflect this spectrum of opportunities. They include citizens juries, where a small number of representative citizens are randomly selected to help decide on specific policy issues, and citizens' summits, where large numbers are brought together to address a broad topic (these are examples of mini-publics detailed in Box 2).

260 Written evidence from Democracy Club Community Interest Company (CCE0138)

261 Local Government Association, *New Conversations: LGA guide to engagement* (February 2017): <https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/New%20Conversations%20Guide%2012.pdf> [accessed 12 March 2018]

Box 2: Example of engagement and consultation

Stephen Elstub and Oliver Escobar suggest mini-publics as a way of involving citizens:

“Mini-publics are made up of randomly selected citizens, for instance, chosen by lot from the electoral roll or a similar source that may function as a proxy for the relevant population. The principle here is that everyone affected by the topic in question has an equal chance of being selected, and this underpins the legitimacy of the process ... Participants are remunerated, the discussions are facilitated, and experts provide evidence and advocacy of relevant information and positions and are then cross-examined by the lay citizens. They are usually issue specific, and dissolved as soon as the issue has been deliberated on.”

“Many citizens lack the inclination to participate. However, because mini-publics use random selection and invite specific citizens they are more likely to participate. If they decline the invite they are replaced by someone with similar demographics ... when opportunities to participate beyond the ballot box are extended to citizens, specific interests mobilise their support and capture these processes, meaning they are not representative of the whole public. Random sampling means mini-publics tend to include non-partisan participants and the possibility of capture by special interests is reduced significantly.”²⁶²

307. There has also been work on best practice by previous Governments to ensure democratic engagement in decisions, as Dr Henry Tam told us:

“... one of the best examples of a sustained and high impact support programme is provided by ‘Together We Can’, the programme for civil renewal and community empowerment implemented by the UK government in partnership with local authorities and community organisations across England from 2003 to 2010. The programme involved coordinating the activities of 12 government departments to provide support to national, regional, and local groups to experiment, learn, share, and promote practices that help more citizens engage in the democratic development of policies that affect them, especially in areas where trust and participation in the activities of government bodies were at the outset low.”²⁶³

308. The crucial fact is that this extensive literature exists and there is not a need for new innovative approaches. Instead a focus is needed on using established methods, as highlighted by Dr Tam. He told us that Governments keep saying that they want to be innovative and try something new. That is not necessarily what is needed: “We have well-tried and tested practices, up to here; if there was funding support for even a tenth of these, democratic engagement would improve immeasurably.”²⁶⁴ There is a clear lack of collective memory within local and national government and a need for using what is already known to work rather than reinventing the wheel.

309. Dr Tam also stressed that the work is “very highly skilled and often underrated”.²⁶⁵ When an inexperienced and untrained person is running a consultation process it can have a negative effect, creating anger and

262 Written evidence from Dr Stephen Elstub ([CCE0125](#))

263 Written evidence from Dr Henry Tam ([CCE0012](#))

264 [Q 137](#)

265 [Q 137](#)

damaging the prospects for future collaboration. For consultation to be effective it must be well resourced.

310. The work of including citizens in decisions in their communities is especially important in the poorest areas but it must be done properly, as the Church Urban Fund told the Committee:

“In the more deprived communities within which much of our work is focused, many people are accustomed to being ‘done to’, rather than being trusted to work together with professionals, politicians and others to contribute their own knowledge and experience to finding solutions, whether to personal issues, local decision-making, or national government policy. The trend towards co-production arguably has the potential to shift this balance of power in relation to service provision (if adequately resourced), but to foster the same effect in relation to public policy, people in local communities will need to see very tangible evidence of deep listening and responses to what they have to contribute.”²⁶⁶

311. There are established frameworks for local authorities to use and all that is needed is the investment to carry them out. By sticking to what is known to work they can ensure that they get more bang for their buck.
312. **The Government should ensure that local authorities, health bodies and other public agencies bring the public, especially marginalised groups, into decision-making as early as possible, invest in high quality consultation processes, provide proper feedback to local communities and use the many evidence-based community engagement initiatives.**
313. Parliament is currently considering major renovation work to the Palace of Westminster. The Joint Committee on the Palace of Westminster considered whether this could be an opportunity to increase engagement with Parliament. Experts agree that this represents an opportunity to improve engagement. Penny Young, Librarian and Director General of Information Services in the House of Commons and Chair of the Parliamentary Visitors Group, told the Joint Committee that Restoration and Renewal work would provide “an opportunity to communicate what Parliament is about.”²⁶⁷ Professor Matthew Flinders, this Committee’s specialist adviser, and Dr Leanne-Marie McCarthy-Cotter, told the Joint Committee that the work could be a “vibrant and positive opportunity for democratic renewal.”²⁶⁸
314. **We agree with the evidence given to the Joint Committee on the Palace of Westminster that the Restoration and Renewal of the Palace should be used as an opportunity to make Parliament more easily accessible, and to improve education about its activities.**
315. **The Delivery Authority that will oversee the Restoration and Renewal process should incorporate outreach and creative forms of engagement in its work on the Palace of Westminster.**

266 Written evidence from Church Urban Fund ([CCE0179](#))

267 Oral evidence taken before the Joint Committee on the Palace of Westminster, 29 February 2016 (Session 2015–16), [Q 54](#) (Penny Young)

268 Written evidence from Professor Matthew Flinders and Dr Leanne-Marie McCarthy-Cotter to the Joint Committee on the Palace of Westminster ([RAR0006](#))

Support for disabled citizens

316. People with physical disabilities are more likely to be registered than those with no such disabilities, but they have problems with actually casting their votes, as Fazilet Hadi explained:

“When people go out to vote for local or central government, most people take it absolutely as their God-given right to do that, but it does not feel like that if you are blind or partially sighted; it is not an accessible process, the materials do not come to you in an accessible form. If you want to do a postal vote, you do not necessarily get things in Braille or large print and, if you want go to a polling station, the template does not quite work and the staff have not been trained.”²⁶⁹

317. Disabled citizens face other barriers in taking part in the democratic process. Philip Connolly, the Policy and Development Manager at Disability Rights UK told us:

“There are lots of ways in which the political parties operate which produce, in a sense, and perhaps it is an unconscious bias, more a monoculture and do not reflect their community. There are very few disabled MPs who are knowingly disabled. There is an issue about how Parliament looks to disabled people, whether they feel it reflects them and how they are supported to stand for office. The fund [to support disabled people to seek public office] ... was abolished about two or three years ago. It is a great shame that there is no support, with reasonable adjustments, to stand for public office.”²⁷⁰

318. **The Government should restore the Access to Elected Office Fund which gave grants of between £250 and £40,000 to disabled candidates seeking election to elected office.**

Votes at 16

319. The issue of the voting age has become increasingly relevant now that 16 year olds in Scotland have been granted the right to vote in devolved elections, and the Welsh Government has announced plans to lower the voting age for council elections.²⁷¹ However, the issue has divided our witnesses. There is no consensus on whether the age should be lowered to 16 or whether it should remain at 18. Proponents of the change listed being able to marry and become a member of the armed forces as a reason for considering that 16 year olds are sufficiently responsible to vote. However this raises questions of whether it is right for people to be trusted as responsible enough to vote whilst not being responsible enough to “buy a beer or cigarettes or even drive to their friends or buy a firework”, as Professor Jon Tonge, Professor of Politics at the University of Liverpool, pointed out.²⁷² As we heard from Dr Andrew Mycock, the voting age going in one direction and other rights going in the other is a “very confusing message”.²⁷³ This line of reasoning points toward a comprehensive review of the rights and reasoning behind these decisions. Dr Mycock and Professor Tonge are currently undertaking

269 [Q 94](#)

270 [Q 91](#)

271 ‘Votes at 16: Wales voting reforms see voting age lowered’, *BBC* (January 2018): <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-politics-42848685> [accessed 12 March 2018]

272 [Q 33](#)

273 [Q 46](#)

a research project on these matters which should help inform future debate on this issue.²⁷⁴

320. A further question raised was over the extent to which there was democratic backing for the change. Professor Tonge told the Committee that young people were almost equally split amongst themselves on the topic and that a majority of those over 18 were against, although he indicated that the existing data on this is quite out of date.²⁷⁵ Michael Sani of Bite the Ballot suggested that it was not our place to recommend lowering the voting age, but that any such proposal should come from the young people themselves. He thought that young people should campaign for it in the “same way that the vote was given to the suffragettes and everyone else where people actively campaigned for it.” According to him, this would also be good for the young people and it would empower them to achieve more change in the future.²⁷⁶
321. The counter argument we heard was from young people themselves. In our meeting where we listened to the voices of young people they highlighted the lack of votes at 16 as a sore point. They pointed out that the Make Your Mark campaign coordinated by the UK Youth Parliament included the votes of over 950,000 young people who had voted to make votes at 16 one of their core campaigns. However, an analysis of the young people’s votes shows that it received 101,041 votes and came 5th out of 10 topics.²⁷⁷ This suggests that young people care more about other topics than about votes at 16. The topic that received the most votes was “A curriculum to prepare us for life” which supports a radical overhaul of citizenship education.²⁷⁸
322. Citizenship education is a crucial piece of the puzzle for thinking about the age at which people can vote. Professor Tonge used the analogy of driving a car: “You would not let people go out on the road and drive a car without giving them some lessons first, yet we expect them—particularly if we lower the voting age to 16—to go out and vote without giving them any training in what our political systems are about. It seems perverse.”²⁷⁹ The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended that if the UK should choose to lower its voting age it should ensure it is supported by “active citizenship and human rights education”.²⁸⁰
323. Even if the intent was there for better citizenship education to follow lowering the voting age, historical precedent suggests this may not happen for some time, as Dr Mycock explained:

“If we go back to 1969, there were promises after the point of lowering the voting age to 18 that we would bring in some form of political or

274 University of Huddersfield, ‘£119k grant to evaluate whether 16-year-olds should get the vote’: <https://www.hud.ac.uk/news/2017/december/119kgranttoevaluatewhether16-year-oldsshouldgetthevote/> [accessed 12 March 2018]

275 Q 33

276 Q 33

277 UK Youth Parliament, *Make Your Mark 2017: Result Report* (November 2017) <http://www.ukyouthparliament.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017-Make-Your-Mark-Results-Report-v2.pdf> [accessed 12 March 2018]

278 UK Youth Parliament, ‘England Campaign: Curriculum for Life’: <http://www.ukyouthparliament.org.uk/campaign/curriculum-life/> [accessed 12 March 2018]

279 Q 30

280 United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, *Concluding observations on the fifth periodic report of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* (July 2016): http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CRC%2fC%2fGBR%2fCO%2f5&Lang=en [accessed 12 March 2018]

civic education and, lo and behold, we did—in 2002. If we are going to think about lowering the voting age now, it needs to be taken seriously because there is a need to support young people to ensure that they feel confident about going to the ballot box.”²⁸¹

324. **Our main concern is that our recommendations on citizenship education are accepted and implemented. When this has happened will be the right time to consider lowering the voting age to 16.**

CHAPTER 7: INTEGRATION THROUGH PARTICIPATION

Introduction

325. The word ‘integration’ carries with it important, but very different, implications for the various sections of British society—very often it can be seen as carrying an implied threat. For the longer established, it is a threat to what they see as their traditional way of life. For the more recently arrived, the threat is the undermining of their cultural and religious identity. As a result there is a difficult balance to be struck between, on the one hand, the legitimate expectations of the host community that new arrivals respect and enter into their settled way of life and, on the other, the extent to which new arrivals are free to express their personal beliefs and cultures. There is a responsibility for all citizens to understand cultures other than their own and they should be supported in this.
326. Another way of looking at the issue was offered by Nazir Afzal: “I am always concerned about the word ‘integration’ because a lot of times it is confused with ‘assimilation’. I am keener on ‘contribution’—what contribution people make and being able to ensure that their contribution is enhanced and improved.”²⁸² A similar point was made by a group from the University of Manchester: “We want to begin by emphasising that ‘integration’ needs to be understood as *participation*, not *assimilation*.”²⁸³ The Evangelical Alliance thought that increasing both diversity and integration was best served by keeping the two distinct. “Integration ... should be focused on the practical skills which people need to integrate in society (for example through a national ESOL strategy and a renewed emphasis on education). At the same time, there should be greater recognition of the country’s religious and political diversity, with an explicit statement that this is a positive part of life in the UK.”²⁸⁴
327. Integration is sometimes thought of, especially by longer established communities, as something to be achieved by minority communities. This is a mistake. Integration is a two-way street requiring respect for individuals and diversity whilst understanding norms of behaviour which reinforce social cohesion and celebrate difference. We agree with Dr Henry Tam: “Any country with citizens that have a diverse mix of socio-cultural identities will have a stronger sense of shared civic identity if they have more opportunities to interact freely and positively. There is evidence that mutual respect and integration are enhanced by people getting to know each other more, while prejudice is fuelled by the lack of experience of people with apparent differences.” And Saskia Marsh, an adviser to the Citizens Commission on Islam, Participation and Public Life,²⁸⁵ emphasised that “Integration is an effort that goes both ways.”²⁸⁶
328. While we agree that integration should not be confused with assimilation, we need to bridge the gap between what increasingly are two different and parallel dialogues in this country. We need on the one hand to support

282 [Q 78](#)

283 Written evidence from Citizenship and Civic Engagement Working Group, Faculty of Humanities, the University of Manchester ([CCE0171](#))

284 Written evidence from Evangelical Alliance ([CCE0245](#))

285 The Commission prepared the report *The Missing Muslims: Unlocking British Muslim Potential for the Benefit of All*, 2017.

286 [Q 62](#)

indigenous communities faced with rapid social and cultural change, and to help newcomers meet the challenge of understanding and engaging with the language and culture of the country they have made their home, while on the other hand not expecting the latter to assimilate by shedding their own cultures and socio-cultural identities. If we can achieve this, we shall have overcome a major barrier on the civic journey.

329. We also have to remember that integration is not all about different ethnicities and different faiths. There are inter-generational problems, tensions between urban and rural communities, discrimination against women and LGBT communities, and difficulties faced by people who are socially disadvantaged or living in marginalised areas. This is a point we have to bear in mind when considering the Government's Green Paper. The Introduction, and indeed the Prime Minister in her Foreword, refer to a multi-ethnic, multi-faith society, and the theme of the paper is integration of different races and different faiths. A true integration strategy must look at all that divides us.
330. It is not clear that the Green Paper recognises the multi-dimensional nature of these challenges. Integration is not just about the problems of minority communities. It is also, *inter alia*, about finding ways to reconnect with marginalised white working class communities, isolated rural communities and some coastal communities, as well as finding ways for the communities to understand and appreciate one another.

Some figures

331. Statistics from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) show that, in the UK as a whole, the proportion of ethnic whites has decreased from 89.6% in 2007 to 86.4% in 2016. For England alone, the change is from 88.0% to 84.6%. Over that time, in England the number of Muslims has increased from 4.5% to 5.8%, while the proportion of self-declared Christians of all denominations has gone down from 74.2% to 55.2%. This decrease is not accounted for by a large increase in the numbers saying they have no religion.²⁸⁷
332. The ethnic distribution is anything but even. There are many areas where the white population exceeds 90%, and these are by no means all affluent areas; some deprived areas on the East coast of England have a white population in excess of 98%, and often a significant proportion of these are "Other White", predominantly Poles and other A8²⁸⁸ EU citizens. On the other hand, there are many parts of the big cities with a white population under 15%, and in a few it is under 10%. Where specific ethnic communities predominate, they sometimes themselves do not mix. In Pendle there is a ward which is 70.3% Pakistani but only 0.7% Bangladeshi and 0.2% Indian, and it is by no means unique. Oldham has a ward which is 60.3% Bangladeshi but only 3.6% Pakistani and 1.3% Indian, and in Leicester there is a ward 79.2% Indian but 1.5% Pakistani and 0.2% Bangladeshi.²⁸⁹

287 Office for National Statistics, 'Tables on ethnicity and religion produced using the annual population survey' (19 January 2018): <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/labourproductivity/adhocs/007975tables-produced-using-the-annual-population-survey-and-the-labour-force-survey-ethnicity-and-religion-broken-down-by-country>. [accessed 12 March 2018] The figure for ethnic whites in 2007 is the sum of "British" and "Other White".

288 The eight East European States which acceded to the EU on 1 May 2004, viz. Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

289 Figures from Integration Hub, 'Residential Patterns Map': <http://www.integrationhub.net/map/residential-patterns-map/> [accessed 4 April 2018]

333. The Integration Hub, which pulls together publicly available information on integration issues, has an index of dissimilarity,²⁹⁰ the main measurement of mixing or lack of it, which shows that from 2001 to 2011 there was more mixing among all ethnic groups, but not between minorities considered as a whole and White British. The figures we have cited suggest that while it is true, as Ms Marsh says, that “significant numbers of white Britons have very little engagement with ethnic groups,” it is equally true that in places significant numbers of some ethnic minorities have very little engagement with other minorities. Integration is an effort that goes, not just both ways, but every way.

The Casey Review

334. Any consideration of this topic must start by acknowledging the work of Dame Louise Casey’s *Review into Opportunity and Integration*²⁹¹ to which, as we have said, the Government’s Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper is a belated response.
335. In her evidence to us Dame Louise Casey gave us a summary of her view on the current state of integration in the UK which we think worth quoting at length:

“The current state of integration in the UK is not as good as it should be or could be. As I outlined in the report I published a year ago, there is a sense of a divided community or society ... It is far too divided socially and economically between rich and poor, and between London and outside London ... We are currently living in a divided society, and in the intervening year since publication I would say that has probably got worse, not better. My own sense is that the issues of Islamic extremism remain present and very much part of what everybody, including citizens and parliamentarians, is trying to deal with. I for one am concerned about the festering far-right extremism, which seems to feed off those sorts of issues ... Kids on free school meals in particular—white boys and white girls, who often do not get quite the same level of interest as white boys appear to at times—fare very badly through the educational system and are still twice as likely as their counterparts not to get five GCSEs at reasonable grades ...

In the social and economic chapter in my review, there were three standout issues for me. First, young black men in Britain growing up between the ages of 18 and 25 will be at an unemployment rate of 35%. Their white counterparts will be at an unemployment rate of 15%. White working-class Britain is the same when it comes to kids on free school meals. The third group ... is the population, particularly women, from Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage communities. That group is seriously held back. Women and children specifically from those communities fare a lot less well when it comes to equalities and equalities of opportunity in ways that I did not imagine existed in the United Kingdom at such a scale until I did the integration review. I found that a cause for national shame.”²⁹²

290 Integration Hub, *Residential Patterns*: <http://www.integrationhub.net/module/do-we-live-together-or-apart-residential-patterns/#module-header> [accessed 4 April 2018]

291 We have already mentioned this in Chapter 1. We refer to it hereafter as the Casey Review.

292 [Q 150](#)

The Disadvantaged

336. There is no doubt that today many individuals and groups, far from feeling that they belong in society, feel marginalised. Some groups feel worse than that: “Our community does not feel ‘left behind’, it feels forcibly held back by government policies ...”.²⁹³
337. The Social Mobility Commission, a statutory non-departmental public body, published in November 2017 its fifth annual report *State of the Nation 2017: Social Mobility in Great Britain*.²⁹⁴ The report concludes that Britain is a deeply divided country; not a North/South divide, but a divide mainly between London (and the commuter belt around it) and the rest of the country. Box 3 shows some of its key findings relevant to integration.

Box 3: Key findings of the Social Mobility Report 2017

- Our major cities, although they are not at the bottom of the table, punch substantially below their weight on a broad range of social mobility measures.
- The new social mobility coldspots in our country are concentrated in remote rural or coastal areas and in former industrial areas, especially in the Midlands. There, youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds face far higher barriers to improved social mobility than those who grow up in cities and their surrounding hinterland.
- The Midlands is the worst region of the country for social mobility for those from disadvantaged backgrounds—half the local authority areas in the East Midlands and more than a third in the West Midlands are social mobility coldspots.
- Some of the worst-performing areas, such as Weymouth and Portland, and Allerdale, are rural, not urban; while some are in relatively affluent parts of England—places like West Berkshire, Cotswold and Crawley.

Source: Social Mobility Commission, *State of the Nation 2017: Social Mobility in Great Britain* (November 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/662744/State_of_the_Nation_2017_-_Social_Mobility_in_Great_Britain.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

338. Thus the two categories of region with the highest proportions of disadvantaged people are those with the highest levels of migrant population, like the West Midlands, and some of the coastal and rural areas. These have some of the lowest levels of Commonwealth migrants, but in many cases high levels of “Other White”, predominantly Poles and other A8 EU citizens. Women are a potentially disadvantaged section of society stretching across all these areas, and we give them special consideration in paragraphs 367 to 382 below.
339. Our visit to Clacton-on-Sea, where in places the White British proportion of the population is as high as 97%, gave us an experience of the problems faced by coastal areas and of the help they need to support community building. We set this out in greater detail in Appendix 6.

293 Written evidence from Let us Learn (CCE0141), a group of 850 young migrants who came to the UK as children but are not legally recognised as UK citizens. We consider their position in Chapter 9.

294 Social Mobility Commission, *State of the Nation 2017: Social Mobility in Great Britain* (November 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/662744/State_of_the_Nation_2017_-_Social_Mobility_in_Great_Britain.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

340. Sheffield is a city of contrasts: there are areas with very small migrant communities, but also many with a high proportion of ethnic minorities. As we explain more fully in Appendix 7, Byron Wood Academy, which we visited, has a particularly large proportion of migrants, but is making every effort to reduce their disadvantages. Sheffield also has inequalities of social capital. Although these were linked to levels of deprivation, some areas of deprivation were reported as having greater than expected levels of social capital. Patrick Murray of New Philanthropy Capital told the Committee that social capital can appear in unlikely places that can be quite deprived. He suggested that the Office for Civil Society should build on the ONS's work mapping social capital and then channel funding towards the areas where it is weakest.²⁹⁵
341. We asked Tracey Crouch MP, the Minister for Sport and Civil Society at the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, what the Government was doing to help areas with very low levels of social capital, like those with large numbers of white working class people with very low levels of civic engagement and volunteering. She told us that the Government has 20 Social Action Hubs within defined Index of Multiple Deprivation areas. Whilst this is useful, as deprivation and a lack of certain kinds of social capital are linked, it would be an improvement if they specifically targeted areas with a lack of such social capital.²⁹⁶
342. Key support for disadvantaged groups can be supplied by community development officers employed by local authorities to build working relationships with community groups, local residents and voluntary organisations, and to encourage and support community action. The Imagine Project, a five-year ESRC project exploring how and why people participate in civic and public life, underlined the importance of community development workers and pointed out that local authorities were cutting back on support—no doubt more so in those areas of low social capital where they are needed most. They suggested that the Government should provide funding which “could take the form of small development grants that are ‘light touch’ in terms of review and which encourage experimental development projects.”²⁹⁷
343. This community action does not need to be undertaken by individuals directly employed by local authorities. We heard from the Church Urban Fund that grants made by Near Neighbours to small voluntary groups from different faith or ethnic groups can help boost civic engagement in their local area.²⁹⁸
344. Funding to support community action was also an issue raised in written evidence by New Philanthropy Capital.²⁹⁹ In oral evidence Patrick Murray, their Head of Policy and External Affairs, again emphasised the role of local authorities, and added: “The ones that are really taking charge of the agenda are going through those three questions: thinking what communities can do for themselves, what people can do with support, and what they can bring afterwards.”³⁰⁰

295 [QQ 106–107](#)

296 [Q 187](#)

297 Written evidence from The Imagine Project ([CCE0127](#))

298 Written evidence from Church Urban Fund ([CCE0179](#))

299 Written evidence from New Philanthropy Capital ([CCE0097](#))

300 [Q 108](#)

345. **The Government should target specific community development funds to pay for community organisers, community development officers or other specifically tailored support, for those areas with the lowest amounts of social capital. This may also include funding local voluntary organisations to undertake this work.**

The Controlling Migration Fund

346. In November 2016 the Government launched a new Controlling Migration Fund (CMF) for local authorities in England. A total of £140 million is available over the four financial years from 2016–17 to 2019–20 “to help ease local pressure on services in areas strongly affected by migration.”³⁰¹ This Fund effectively replaces the Migration Impacts Fund (MIF); this was launched by the Labour Government in 2009 to assist local communities to manage the transitional impacts of migration on the provision of public services, but was abolished by the Coalition Government in 2010.
347. Out of the Fund’s total of £140 million, £40 million is administered by the Home Office to direct enforcement action against people illegally in the UK, but the remaining £100 million, administered by MHCLG, is to help English local authorities and their communities experiencing high and unexpected volumes of immigration to ease pressures on local services. Local authorities in England can submit proposals for CMF funding. Central government can also direct CMF funding, such as in response to unexpected emergencies.
348. In its Integrated Communities Strategy the Government states: “To date, we have awarded funding of £45.2m to 82 local authority areas. An additional £21.3m to a total of 135 local authorities has also been granted to build capacity to support unaccompanied asylum seeking children.”³⁰² It sees themes emerging, including the fact that problems are often confined to small parts of towns—sometimes only a handful of wards or streets—and are concentrated in small groups with specific needs such as vulnerable adults and asylum seeking children. It intends to conduct a review of the Fund’s operation to ensure that it is operating successfully.
349. Two thirds of the £100 million intended for local authorities under the CMF have been allocated in one third of the four financial years for which it is intended to run. The Government concludes: “We will continue to make sure local authorities get the help they need to deal with people as they arrive.”³⁰³ This is a laudable ambition, but one which is unlikely to be achieved with the existing funding.
350. **The Government should expand the scope and funding of the Controlling Migration Fund to allow funds to be used for preparing for and providing support for new arrivals in neighbourhoods most directly affected by inward migration.**

301 Written evidence from HM Government (CCE0249)

302 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018) p 24: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

303 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018) p 25: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

Older people and disabled people

351. We held a special evidence session to consider the problems which older people and disabled people have in integrating into society, with witnesses from Disability Rights UK,³⁰⁴ the RNIB,³⁰⁵ Age UK,³⁰⁶ and the Centre for Ageing Better.³⁰⁷ There was a consensus that there is a consistent pattern of volunteering, civic engagement and participation across the age range of older people which begins to taper off only in their eighties.³⁰⁸ But there are exceptions: older people from black and minority ethnic groups, older people with long-term health conditions, and poorer older people.³⁰⁹ There are 12% of people aged 65 or over who feel entirely disengaged with the society around them; or, put another way, around a million people who say they are chronically lonely and want more connection with their society.³¹⁰
352. Disabled people share these experiences, but also have other problems. In December 2015 96% of people were registered to vote, but only 90% of people with disabilities, going down to 75% of those with mental health conditions.³¹¹ Both older and disabled people have problems with Government and local authority consultations which ostensibly are aimed at seeking their views, but are not tailored to their particular audience, often being carried out solely online.³¹²
353. **Every consultation carried out by the Government and local authorities in which the views of the general public are sought should go out of its way to seek the views of those communities which feel disregarded and ignored by those in authority.**

Integration projects—an overseas experience

354. This country has the opportunity to learn from what is being done in other countries. It was not within our terms of reference to carry out a detailed comparison with foreign countries. However, the problems faced by Germany are particularly acute. Mira Turnsek from the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, laid particular stress on how Germany was tackling the issue of women's rights in minority communities.³¹³
355. The 11 youth organisations which sent us a joint submission³¹⁴ cited Germany's proactive and supportive stance towards the integration of refugees:

“Independent integration projects have also flourished in Germany. Between 2015 and 2016, some 15,000 refugee projects launched in Germany, with many of them focused on helping newcomers learn the language—these are schemes like volunteer instruction, mentoring or casual meet-ups with refugees. Those interested in learning German have good chances of finding someone to help them. The Federal Office

304 Philip Connolly, the Policy and development Manager

305 Fazilet Hadi, Deputy Chief Executive and Director of Advocacy

306 Angela Kitching, Head of External Affairs

307 Dan Jones, Director of Innovation and Change

308 [Q 88](#)

309 [Q 92](#)

310 [Q 89](#)

311 [Q 88](#)

312 [Q 93](#)

313 [Q 148](#)

314 Joint Submission of written evidence from the youth organisations listed in paragraph 168, footnote 158. ([CCE0199](#)).

for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), with the help of other institutions like the country's network of adult education centres (Volkshochschulen) and workers' welfare organizations, has created an extensive offering of integration courses across the country. The classes offer a combination of language training and civics for newcomers, with the state covering the costs for those who have been granted official refugee status.”

The role of sport, the arts and music

356. In Sheffield we heard about the important role that sport can play in boosting integration. In her written evidence, Zanib Rasool said sports in Rotherham had been effective in bringing together different groups who would otherwise be happy to fight each other. She also highlighted how sport was effective at bringing in people who would otherwise lack the English skills to take part in other civic activity.³¹⁵
357. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is currently conducting an inquiry into the Civic Role of Arts Organisations—by which they mean “cultural organisations in a broader sense”. They wrote: “As well as allowing people to construct and express their individual identity, arts organisations allow people to connect with people who are different from them, tackling one of the key barriers to community cohesion.” They gave us an example:
- “The London Borough of Barking & Dagenham [LBBD] has significant levels of hardship, and a growing number of early years and school age children. Recognising the benefits of cultural education, the council seeks to improve the attainment of and opportunities for young people in the borough through investing in a collaboration with local schools, to embed cultural education and creative learning in the curriculum. LBBD is also investing in the arts and culture elsewhere in the borough, seeking to attract investment and cultural enterprise, to improve the community by becoming a ‘Creative Hub’.”³¹⁶
358. We welcome the statement in the Green Paper that the Government “will back sport-based interventions to build integrated communities [and] will work with Sport England, the government body that provides funding and support to grassroots sport, to use sport and physical activity to bring people together.” There is however no indication of what form the support for Sport England will take, and whether it will include additional funding.
359. The Green Paper does mention that “participation in arts may lead to greater social interaction and help to develop social relationships and networks. Organised arts activities may also help promote the inclusion of disadvantaged groups such as refugees, disabled people and young people at risk” and makes specific reference to Youth Music,³¹⁷ but regrettably makes no similar commitment to supporting integration through the arts and music, let alone providing funding.
360. These sport, arts and music organisations can play a role, similar to that of the civil society organisations mentioned in paragraphs 341 to 345 above, in encouraging social action which bridges communities.

315 Written evidence from Zanib Rasool (CCE0267)

316 Written evidence from Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (UK Branch) (CCE0192)

317 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018) p 48: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

361. **Central and local government should give priority to funding sport, the arts, music and civil society groups that work across communities.**

Reaching out past the gatekeepers

362. The Committee heard frequent concerns about the Government only engaging with specific members of minority communities who were often not representative of their communities. The concern was that, rather than a community being properly consulted, the Government was interacting with gatekeepers and the ‘usual suspects’ who acted as self-appointed spokespersons for communities, giving their own views rather than the views of those they purported to represent.
363. Saskia Marsh was one of those who questioned whether enough had been done to involve local stakeholders:
- “there is certainly a widespread perception that it is the gatekeepers, who are not necessarily representative of British Muslim communities, who engage, and that there is a general lack of willingness to engage more broadly in the communities, because that requires a broader geographical scope and requires engaging across the theological spectrum ... you engage with certain self-appointed spokespeople within British Muslim communities to rubberstamp a process rather than have a two-way exchange.”³¹⁸
364. Nazir Afzal agreed, and said that the gatekeepers and leaders for Muslim communities tended to be male, middle class and in their 50s, whilst most Muslims in the UK are under 25, female and from low income backgrounds. “Those of us in authority have a responsibility to go beyond them and talk to the people who do not have a voice, but we do not do that and we are extraordinarily lazy in who we engage with.”³¹⁹
365. It is not clear whether the Government fully appreciates the scale of this problem. The Integrating Communities Strategy says: “We will work with local partners in the Integration Areas to address barriers to people enjoying their full rights and opportunities in our communities, including disabled people, LGBT people, women and young people. This may require difficult conversations where cultural practices may be holding people back, especially women or young people.”³²⁰ It is because conversations with the self-appointed spokesmen (almost always spokesmen rather than spokeswomen) are “difficult” that so often they lead nowhere. The Government should be having conversations precisely with those people who are held back by cultural practices, and whose views too often are not heard.
366. **The Government, when consulting minority communities, needs to do better at reaching out beyond the usual suspects and gatekeepers to other voices in the community. It should place a particular emphasis on hearing the views of young people and women’s groups. Minority communities too must open up, and enable different voices from within their communities to be heard.**

318 [Q 65](#)

319 [Q 70](#)

320 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

Integration of women

367. To varying degrees, there is potential discrimination against women of all ethnic groups and religions, as Dr Line Nyhagen from Loughborough University reminded us: “We tend sometimes to speak about gender inequality as if it no longer exists in the majority society but continues to exist only in minority communities. I would emphasise that gender inequalities and discrimination against women are endemic to society, relating to politics, education, work, civil society and intimate life.”³²¹ However Nazir Afzal added: “... women from minorities face triple discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity and religion ... these multiple barriers mean that they cannot access basic rights. It is always a tougher battle for a woman, particularly a woman from minorities, to get on, to succeed ...”³²²

Discrimination against Muslim women

368. Muslim women suffer the greatest discrimination and the greatest economic disadvantage of any group due to their ethnicity, faith and gender, as well as a combination of those factors. A paper in October 2015 showed that 51% of all females aged 16+ are in employment, but the figure for Muslim women is only 28%. One reason is that, while 7% of the overall female population are categorised as “looking after home and family”, in the case of Muslim women the figure is 27%.³²³
369. We are aware that Muslim culture does not make it easy for Muslim women to speak out, particularly when what they are saying does not always agree with the views of their male colleagues, and all the more so when they are speaking on matters of religious governance. We are all the more grateful for the written evidence of the Muslim Women’s Network UK (MWN UK), and to Dr Khursheed Wadia who gave oral evidence on their behalf.
370. Dr Wadia believed that there were three main causes of the discrimination: the majority society, the ethnic community and the Muslim community. In the majority society there was evidence of stereotyping of Muslim women, who were seen as passive, and uninterested in life beyond the doorstep of their homes. Those stereotypes had an impact, and fed into how employers might regard women. The reason unemployment among Muslim women was significantly higher than among white women was very much down to the practices of recruitment and retention of those women in the workplace, which was partly fed by those stereotypes.
371. There was also discrimination that women suffered as a result of ethnocultural attitudes of their own communities: “there are certain gender roles that they play and certain gender expectations where they are expected, first and foremost, to be a good mother, a good wife, a good daughter and a good homemaker, ‘good’ meaning that you devote your time ... to the detriment of anything that you do outside of the home.” Dr Wadia continued:

“If you are looking at Islam, although many women will tell you that they use Islam as a tool to fight cultural attitudes, and they do, there are different interpretations of Islam, and those who are in positions of power in Islamic institutions will say otherwise and find ways of

321 Q 69

322 Q 70

323 Muslim Council of Britain, ‘British Muslims in Numbers: Briefing 5’ (October 2015): <http://www.mcb.org.uk/muslimstatistics/briefings/briefing5/> [accessed 13 March 2018]

restricting women from Muslim communities going beyond the role of mother, wife, good daughter and so on. Those are different sources of discrimination that women face which prevent them from going out and participating to their capacity.”³²⁴

372. MWNUK told us in their written evidence that in February 2016 they had written to the Leader of the Labour Party to complain about “systematic misogyny displayed by some Muslim male Labour Councillors, who have been marginalising and silencing the voices of Muslim women.” In oral evidence Dr Wadia added: “There are women among Muslim and BME communities who are qualified and keen to come into civic and political life, but it is very difficult to fight against those not wanting to make space for those who are not there already.”³²⁵
373. Such exclusion fuels the stereotyping of Muslim women to which Dr Wadia refers and can perpetuate the cycle by further reinforcing expectations. However, there are many Muslim women (not least Dr Wadia herself) who do defy the stereotypes. Another from whom we heard was Councillor Saima Ashraf, Deputy Leader and Cabinet Member for Community Leadership and Engagement, London Borough of Barking and Dagenham; and in Sheffield we met Councillor Abitsam Mohamed, originally from Yemen and a vocal supporter of the rights of Muslim women. As we note below, there are signs that such leadership is having an effect on the present generation of Muslim women.

Patriarchy, misogyny and forced marriages

374. In their written evidence MWNUK told us of “barriers arising from within sections of the British Muslim community due to patriarchal and misogynist views which need to be robustly challenged.” The most blatant example of such a barrier is the practice of forced marriages, and at its most extreme the so-called ‘honour’ killings. Nazir Afzal reminded us of the case of Tulay Goren, who was murdered by her father; it took 10 years for his wife, the mother, to eventually have the courage to explain what had happened.³²⁶ Shafilea Ahmed was a case where it took 10 years for her sister to finally tell the police what happened. “She [the sister] is in hiding for the rest of her life. ... there is no religious basis to any of this; it is cultural, patriarchal and misogynistic.”³²⁷ Dame Louise Casey highlighted the problem of coerced or non-consensual marriage where women are given no real choice of partner:

“We have two first cousins and we want you to marry one of them. That is your choice’. ... I do not believe that is a reasonable way to treat a woman, or a man for that matter, growing up in the United Kingdom ... The laws that protect religious minorities are the same laws that say I am equal to a man. You do not pick which ones you want ... we need to be much more robust about issues like that.”³²⁸

375. Later she added: “If women in this [Pakistani and Bangladeshi] group were working, were able to speak English and had proper jobs, they would be a lot less tolerant of being told whom they needed to get married to and how their

324 [Q 72](#)

325 [Q 71](#)

326 Mr Afzal prosecuted in the case of Tulay Goren: see oral evidence to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 9 March 2010, (Session 2009–10), [Q 17](#) (Nazir Afzal)

327 [Q 73](#)

328 [Q 151](#)

children should be in schools.”³²⁹ There is plainly some lack of appreciation among these groups that marriage should be an entirely consensual step, and we welcome the Government’s statement in the Integrated Communities Strategy: “We will build on the work of the joint Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office’s Forced Marriage Unit to reinforce understanding of issues such as the freedom to choose whom to marry.”³³⁰ The possible reform of the law relating to religious and civil weddings is a topic which has received considerable publicity. It is not a matter on which we have taken evidence, but it is an issue that should certainly be addressed by the Government.

376. It is clear that some Muslim religious leaders, rather than helping to solve the problems, tend to sweep them under the carpet. MWNUK wrote: “We wish to highlight that in January 2016 we wrote a public letter of complaint to Birmingham Central Mosque³³¹ due to the misogynistic attitudes displayed by their Chair and Trustee, which included being dismissive on the issues of forced marriage and domestic violence.” They sent us copies of correspondence illustrating this, and notes of a meeting they had in December 2015 with three trustees of the Mosque. It is fair to note that the trustees do not accept the accuracy of that record of the meeting. What is clear from the correspondence is that the trustees did little to help or encourage one of the very few Muslim organisations which attempts to raise and tackle the disadvantages of Muslim women.
377. MWNUK explained what they thought was the reason behind this attitude: “given that Muslim women make up 50% of the British Muslim community, we find it unacceptable that they have no representation within mosques particularly in terms of governance. There are various examples of mosques in the UK where the entire board is made up of men, even when the number of trustees are in double digits. Birmingham Central Mosque for example has 40 trustees, all of whom are men.”
378. Citizens UK told us that the *Missing Muslims* report³³² called for Muslim umbrella bodies, such as the Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board (MINAB) to introduce voluntary standards for mosques and Islamic centres, focusing on governance and access for women; with support from business and other faith groups. In oral evidence Neil Jameson, the executive director of Citizens UK, told us that they were working with the Muslim Council of Britain towards at least a third of the board of any mosque being women ... “That has gone down quite well, and we cannot force mosques to do that, unless the law requires it, but that is a reasonable thing to do.”³³³

329 [Q 156](#)

330 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018) p 58: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018].

331 Muslim Women’s Network UK, *RE: Concerns about views held by the Chair of Birmingham Central Mosque* (28 January 2016): [http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/go_files/resources/749863-Muhammad%20Afzal%20Complaint%20letter%20\(Birmingham%20Central%20Mosque\)%20.pdf](http://www.mwnuk.co.uk/go_files/resources/749863-Muhammad%20Afzal%20Complaint%20letter%20(Birmingham%20Central%20Mosque)%20.pdf) [accessed 13 March 2018]

332 Citizens Commission on Islam, Participation & Public life, *The Missing Muslims: Unlocking British Muslim Potential for the Benefit of All* (July 2017): http://www.citizensuk.org/missing_muslims [accessed 13 March 2018]

333 [Q 101](#)

Steps in the right direction

379. There were also positive views. Professor Peter Hopkins from Newcastle University, one of the authors of a report on the political interests and political participation of young Muslims in Scotland, agreed with other witnesses that gender and everyday sexism should be considered as a barrier to the participation of British Muslim women in public life, but continued: “Nonetheless, we also observed a growing confidence in young Muslim women, with a number of participants engaging in politics and taking on publicly prominent roles. There are positive signs, then, that young Muslim women are rejecting and challenging gender prejudices and becoming visibly involved in politics and campaigning.”
380. Dr Nyhagen had written: “Advocates of Muslim women’s rights and Islamic feminism are also becoming increasingly vocal and visible and deserve to be recognised and heard by UK government institutions as well as by other Muslim community organisations and by secular women’s organisations.” She spoke about there being a hunger among women to participate, and thought more needed to be done to facilitate that. But, as Nazir Afzal pointed out, there is a difficulty:

“these organisations which are doing the work, which are invariably women’s groups up and down the country, do not have the capacity or the capability to bid for enormous sums of money; they are too busy. They are out there protecting us and families on a daily basis, yet we expect them to fill in a 50-page document to access some funding from the Home Office or whoever. We need to give them the capacity and capability to do that. In the north of England, there is a coalition where particularly NGOs from BME groups are coming together and identifying among themselves somebody who has the capacity and capability to do these enormous bid documents and sharing that responsibility among each other. It is a big thing for them, but they do not have the wherewithal of the enormous government departments or the large NGOs. That is one mechanism by which you get the right people doing the right things.”

381. **The Government should prioritise women’s NGOs for funding in communities where women are underrepresented, and must make sure that women play a key role in consultations that are relevant to those communities.**
382. **The Government must, in consultation with relevant organisations, clarify and simplify the documentation needed for applying for such funding.**

Diversity amongst charity trustees

383. Mosques are not alone in having a preponderance of men on their governing bodies. Sir Stuart Etherington, the chief executive of the NCVO, told us that the trustees of charities tend to be disproportionately older white men, and that this caused not only social justice issues for charities but also a sustainability issue. He referred to Lord Davies of Abersoch’s report recommending that the FTSE 350 companies should aim to have 33% female board members by 2020, and suggested that there was a similar need for a real movement to reform diversity on charity boards.³³⁴ Patrick Murray, head of policy and

external affairs at new Philanthropy Capital, added that as society changes and becomes more diverse it is going to be mission critical for charities to reflect the communities they work in.

384. The House of Lords Select Committee on Charities recommended that the Charity Commission should lead by example, with a more diverse set of people in its next set of board appointments.³³⁵ Appointments are made by the Secretary of State, and in their response to the report in December 2017 the Government said that “recruitment of a new legal board member and a new Chair for the Charity Commission are near completion. We want to encourage a strong and diverse field of candidates and ensure a wide range of skills, experience (including charity experience) and demographic characteristics on the Commission’s board.” On 26 January 2018 the Government announced that Baroness Stowell of Beeston was the preferred choice as Chairman, and she was appointed on 26 February 2018.
385. **The Charity Commission should work with the voluntary sector to develop a voluntary code of conduct for charities that requires diversity among trustees, as well as a reasonably frequent turnover of membership of the trustee body.**

PREVENT

386. One perceived barrier to integration has been the Government’s counter-terrorism strategy. Between 2003 and 2006 the Government created the CONTEST counter-terrorism strategy. This consists of four parts: PREVENT to stop people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism; PURSUE to stop terrorist attacks by detecting and disrupting those who plot to carry out attacks; PROTECT to improve border security and to strengthen national infrastructure against attacks; and PREPARE to mitigate the impact of attacks that could not be stopped.
387. The Prevent part of this strategy has proved to be controversial. It had been hoped that it would unite all sections of the community in fighting extremism from all sources, but that is not what transpired. Initially it focused solely on extremism in communities with a high proportion of Muslims, and it has been criticised³³⁶ as legitimising Islamophobia and criminalising Muslim religious expression. The *Missing Muslims* report had this to say:
- “In every location the Commission³³⁷ visited, the issue of Prevent was raised, even though this topic was not included within the original remit. The Commission’s overriding concern is that the country needs an effective way of tackling extremism and radicalisation. The Commission considers that this would be better achieved with a programme that has greater trust, particularly from the UK’s Muslim communities.”
388. Among the main concerns expressed to the Commission were the way the programme is generally understood to unfairly target Muslims, leading to a ‘police state’ atmosphere, the conflation of religion and culture with extremism and the concern that the Prevent duty has created a culture of mistrust in many institutions. In giving evidence to the House of Commons

335 Select Committee on Charities, *Stronger charities for a stronger society*, (Report of Session 2016–17, HL Paper 133) para 120

336 By the Muslim Council of Britain, the National Union of Students and the National Union of Teachers, among many others.

337 The Citizens UK Commission on Islam, Participation and Public Life

Home Affairs Committee David Anderson QC, who until February 2017 was the Government's Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, had this to say: "Prevent has been asked to do too much. I do not think it is a great way to encourage cohesion or integration to go in and say, 'We are part of a strategy that is here to stop you becoming terrorists'."³³⁸

389. It is very clear that there is a strong divergence between, on the one hand, the purpose of Prevent and the way in which it is intended to operate, and on the other hand the perception of how it operates, particularly from Muslim communities. This was not helped by the fact that, prior to 2011, Prevent was expressly targeted at Muslim communities. In 2011, when the new strategy came out, it made clear that while the biggest threat to national security was coming from groups and individuals who associated themselves with Islam, there were other forms of violent extremism and potential terrorism.
390. This is not solely a communications problem, as Dr Therese O'Toole explained to us:

"Some of the issues boil down to the ways in which Prevent has become, conceptually and operationally, much more expansive in recent years. That brings it into tension with a whole host of other public sector duties and professional values, including equalities duties in higher education, in relation to the duties to uphold freedom of speech, and for health professionals in relation to patient confidentiality. There are tensions for some teachers about whether the conception of safeguarding that is promoted by Prevent is compatible with the conception of safeguarding that is prevalent among teachers."³³⁹

391. The facts, as given to us by the Rt Hon Brandon Lewis MP, then Minister of State for Immigration, are that "if we look at what Prevent does, there have been about 7,600 referrals. 25%—and, in fact, in the new figures, it has been closer to 30%—of those are far-right-wing groups. That is why we need to challenge people. Some of the people in the communities that are involved—and it is a community-led programme—are very determined to make it clear that this programme works. It is part of a community."³⁴⁰

Again, we agree with Dame Louise Casey: "Why would you not want to prevent extremism and terrorism, whether extreme far right or from any other cause? ... We have allowed Prevent to be knocked and knocked and knocked ... There are a lot of people in some organisations who really want to undermine the Prevent agenda."³⁴¹

392. **The Government needs to undertake an information campaign to better communicate the essential purposes and functions of Prevent.**
393. Hifsa Haroon-Iqbal, a Prevent practitioner, had this to say: "I do not believe that it is Prevent that is stopping integration or civil engagement; it is fear, and the scaremongering by some groups and individuals. Leaflets have been produced saying that Prevent is all about spying and about targeting Muslims. That has a bigger impact on engagement than Prevent itself."³⁴²

338 Oral evidence taken before the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 30 January 2018 (Session 2017–19), [Q 51](#)

339 [Q 64](#)

340 [Q 188](#)

341 [Q 157](#)

342 [Q 63](#)

She supported the suggestion that communities should be more involved: “I would like to see our Muslim communities almost taking ownership of Prevent. They are the biggest community that this is affecting and they need to be a key stakeholder in this and in any of the changes that take place.”³⁴³

394. Dr O’Toole thought the levels of local engagement had tailed off significantly in recent years. “There is a contrast with the quite locally-driven model of Prevent that was in place prior to 2011, which, although it was a very criticised model, because local authorities had a certain amount of leeway to shape its implementation and to adapt it to local contexts, offered a variety of ways in which to implement it ...” She thought this had fallen off, partly because Prevent had become much more centralised and much more directed by the Home Office. She favoured a review of Prevent which should “look at the scope for local actors to develop more locally-sensitive and contextually-specific models and responses to tackling extremism and the ways in which that might engage with local communities; not local leaders but what we call democratic constellations of Muslim civil society organisations, of which there are many.”³⁴⁴
395. This was an issue examined by the Citizens UK Commission on Islam, Participation and Public Life, who thought the issue of extremism was unlikely to be resolved unless there was greater trust and collaboration between Muslim communities and government agencies. They gave two examples of where Prevent was working successfully.

Box 4: Successful operation of Prevent

Leicester: an independent multi-faith organisation rooted in the local community holds responsibility for bringing together community members and statutory bodies to discuss cases of concern. It is not a perfect system, but it works, even if tensions remain locally with some groups and individuals. This has enabled the community in question to take responsibility for tackling potential cases of extremism/violent extremism, in a manner that is in line with the legal framework, but is also understood and trusted by the local community itself.

Hammersmith and Fulham Council, and the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, produce an anonymous monthly report that updates key stakeholders on the latest outputs and outreach work taking place in the boroughs. There is a Prevent Advisory Group meeting once a month, during which all key stakeholders from the community are invited to attend, and share best practices and concerns, as part of their continued efforts for community engagement.

Source: Citizens UK Commission on Islam, Participation and Public Life, pp 54–55

396. Given the undoubted degree of fear and distrust of the Prevent strategy in some, predominantly Muslim, communities, and the negative effect this has on integration, it is surprising that there is no mention of this in the Integrated Communities Strategy, despite the reference to extremism in the chapter on Rights and Freedoms. This is something the Government could help mitigate with comparatively little funding, and we regret that it has not said that it will take this opportunity to do so. It should monitor the Mayor of London’s proposed community-based programme to counter extremism,³⁴⁵

343 Q 65

344 QQ 65, 68

345 Mayor of London, *All of us: The Mayor’s strategy for Social Integration* (March 2018): https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/social_integration_strategy.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

to see if there are improvements that could be made to Prevent as a whole on that basis.

397. **The Government needs to ensure greater involvement of local communities in the design of the Prevent strategy for their area.**
398. Among the changes made to Prevent in 2011 was the expansion of the definition of extremism to include non-violent extremism,³⁴⁶ which, as Dr O’Toole told us, brings clear tensions with some aspects of democratic engagement and civil liberties. She suggested that the definition of extremism was too wide and feared that it meant some organisations would be deemed extreme and therefore would not be engaged with. “We need to look at the proper definition of extremism that ought to form the remit of the Prevent agenda.”³⁴⁷
399. Saskia Marsh agreed that “the definition as it is currently used is open to being applied—or misapplied—in a way that is perhaps not beneficial for communities. A clearer definition and a review of the boundaries of who is included or excluded within that definition would be very useful.”³⁴⁸
400. **The Government should review the definition and application of non-violent extremism in the Prevent strategy. It should not infringe the right to free speech, but must recognise that incitement and preaching of hate will always fall within this definition.**

346 The Prevent Duty Guidance for England and Wales, issued on 16 July 2015, states in the Glossary: “‘Extremism’ is defined in the 2011 Prevent strategy as vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also include in our definition of extremism calls for the death of members of our armed forces, whether in this country or overseas. ‘Non-violent extremism’ is extremism as defined above, which is not accompanied by violence.” However paragraph 8 of that Guidance states: “The *Prevent* strategy was explicitly changed in 2011 to deal with all forms of terrorism and with non-violent extremism, which can create an atmosphere conducive to terrorism and can popularise views which terrorists then exploit.” It is not clear whether the final words “which can create ...” are simply descriptive of non-violent extremism, or define those forms of non-violent extremism which are covered by the Prevent strategy. See the judgment of Ouseley J in *R (Butt) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2017] EWHC 1930 (Admin), paragraphs 25–33: <http://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/Admin/2017/1930.html> [accessed 12 March 2018]

347 [QQ 63–65](#)

348 [Q 64](#)

CHAPTER 8: ENGLISH—THE COMMON THREAD

Introduction

401. “The ability to communicate in English is a vital dimension of being a British citizen.” This was the view of Dr Henry Tam, and indeed of all our witnesses who addressed the issue.³⁴⁹ Joe Hayman, the former Chief Executive of the PSHE Association, put this forcefully:

“Those who do not have a basic level of spoken and written English—including both those who are first- or second-generation migrants and those who were born in this country—are unable to fully participate in society, fulfil their responsibilities to their fellow citizens or avail themselves of the rights to which they are entitled. Ensuring every British citizen is proficient in our national language is, therefore, a priority in terms of citizenship.”³⁵⁰

In this context, “every British citizen” means precisely that. The functional illiteracy of some of the indigenous population is as much a barrier to their active citizenship and civic engagement as is the lack of spoken English for migrants; overcoming that barrier is a major step on their civic journey. England has the largest proportion of young people with a low level of literacy in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).³⁵¹

402. The Government takes the same view in the Integrated Communities Strategy:

“Everyone living in England should be able to speak and understand English so they can integrate into life in this country by getting a job or improving their prospects at work, accessing and making good use of local services, becoming part of community life and making friendships with people from different backgrounds. With improved levels of English, people will be less vulnerable to isolation and loneliness and can build their confidence to speak up for themselves.”³⁵²

403. In the workplace, as USDAW stressed, poor English speaking skills are a potential health and safety risk not only to the individual, but to colleagues. If employees have difficulty understanding instructions or notices, particularly in sectors like retail distribution, warehousing and production where heavy machinery is used, simple errors can be catastrophic.³⁵³
404. The importance of speaking English—and speaking and writing it well if the speaker aspires to more than a basic manual job—might be thought to be self-evident. Yet in 1995 only 85% of people thought that being able to speak English was important for being “truly British”. By 2003 this has risen, but only by 1% to 86%. However by 2013 this was the view of 95% of those

349 Some of the many witnesses who made this point were Dr Maria Slobodowska, Matthew Ryder, Dr Leah Bassel (Q 173), Dame Louise Casey (Q 156) and, in written evidence, Sheffield for Democracy (CCE0065).

350 Written evidence from Joe Hayman (CCE0059)

351 OECD, *Building Skills for All: A Review of England* (February 2016): <http://www.oecd.org/education/skills-beyond-school/building-skills-for-all-review-of-england.pdf> [accessed 13 March 2018]

352 HM Government, *Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper* (March 2018): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689944/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Green_Paper.pdf [accessed 15 March 2018]

353 Written evidence from USDAW (CCE0163)

questioned, significantly more than the 92.3% for whom in 2011 English was the main language.³⁵⁴

405. Dr Tam did add an important caveat: "... people who have come from abroad and may not initially be able to grasp English should not be looked down on, but given sympathetic assistance in learning to communicate in a different way. The British people should also be reminded how common it is that we ourselves do not speak the language of the countries we visit, or even settle in as expats."³⁵⁵

The scale of the problem

406. The census in March 2011 was the last occasion when detailed information was collected on which a full analysis of the languages spoken could be based. That analysis was prepared by the ONS and published in March 2013.³⁵⁶ Since then there has of course been significant immigration and emigration, and major changes in the makeup of the population. In particular, between 2011 and 2017 the number of EU nationals resident in the UK increased by 1.3 million, partly because on 1 January 2014 the restrictions on the freedom of movement of Romanian and Bulgarian nationals to the UK were lifted.³⁵⁷
407. By the time of the 2011 census the linguistic pattern was well established. The population changes since then will have affected the detailed figures, in particular by adding Romanian as one of the most common main languages, but we have not seen it suggested that they have made a significant change to the patterns identified in that analysis. However the figures we quote are subject to that caveat.
408. What appears most clearly from this analysis is the danger of working from averages and generalisations. The figure of 92.3% of the population whose main language was English masks a variation from 99.3% in Redcar and Cleveland, where there were very few whose main language was not English, to the London Borough of Newham, where the figure was 58.6%. There, where 41.4% therefore did not have English as their first language, 8.7% spoke English either not well or not at all, and there were eight other London boroughs where this was true of at least 5% of the population. In London as a whole, 1% of the population could not speak English at all. Outside London, the highest proportion unable to speak English well or at all was in Leicester where the figure was 7.5%.
409. After English (and Welsh in Wales), the most common main language by far was Polish which was the main language of 546,000 people or 1% of

354 NatCen Social Research, *British Social Attitudes 31, National Identity* (2014): <http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-31/national-identity/defining-british-identity.aspx> [accessed 13 March 2018]

355 Written evidence from Dr Henry Tam (CCE0012)

356 Office for National Statistics, 'Language in England and Wales: 2011' (4 March 2013): <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/articles/languageinenglandandwales/2013-03-04> [accessed 6 January 2018]. This analysis excludes Scotland and Northern Ireland. References to English as a first language, when applied to Wales, are references to English or Welsh. Figures relate to those aged three and above.

357 In December 2011 the number of EU nationals resident in the UK was estimated at 2,348,000. By June 2017 this had increased to 3,688,000. Office for National Statistics, 'Population of the UK by country of birth and nationality' (30 November 2017): <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality> [accessed 22 February 2018].

the population. Next came Punjabi³⁵⁸ (273,000), Urdu (269,000), Bengali (221,000) and Gujarati (213,000): collectively 976,000.

410. At the date of the 2011 census, of the 197,733 people aged 16 and over born in Bangladesh and resident in England, 11,152 (5.6%) did not speak English at all, and a further 50,274 (25.4%) did not speak it well—a total of 31.5%. The figures for those born in Pakistan, also quoted below, are almost as worrying, especially bearing in mind that these figures excluded members of those communities born in England. No separate figures are given in the ONS analysis for Poland, but the figures for the A8 together with Romania and Bulgaria show that of the 974,138 people aged 16+ born in those countries, 22,240 (2.3%) did not speak English at all, and a further 184,775 (18.9%) did not speak it well.
411. For those born in these ten EU countries, the proportion of men and women unable to speak English well or at all is roughly equal. But in the case of those born in Bangladesh and Pakistan perhaps the most alarming feature is the preponderance of women who are unable to speak English well or at all. The ONS figures in the Table below³⁵⁹ show that in these ethnic groups women are twice as likely as men to be unable to speak English well, and six times as likely to be unable to speak it at all. This is certainly one of the reasons why in 2015 57% of Bangladeshi and Pakistani women were economically inactive.³⁶⁰

Table 1: English spoken by two minority communities in March 2011

Born in Bangladesh, aged 16+		Not spoken well		Not spoken at all		Not spoken well or at all	
Male (M)	104,094	18,610	17.9%	1,800	1.7%	20,410	19.6%
Female (F)	93,639	31,664	33.8%	9,352	10.0%	41,016	43.8%
Total M+F	197,733	50,274	25.4%	11,152	5.6%	61,426	31.1%
Ratio F/M			1.89		5.78		2.23
Born in Pakistan, aged 16+		Not spoken well		Not spoken at all		Not spoken well or at all	
Male (M)	234,177	28,141	12.0%	2,654	0.9%	30,795	13.2%
Female (F)	215,464	59,983	27.8%	16,769	7.8%	76,752	35.6%
Total M+F	449,641	88,124	19.6%	19,423	4.3%	107,547	23.9%
Ratio F/M			2.32		6.87		2.71

358 The census calls the language “Panjabi”, an alternative transliteration.

359 Office for National Statistics, ‘CT0612_2011 Census: Sex by age by proficiency in English by country of birth: LA in England’ (June 2016): <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/adhocs/005837ct06122011censussexbyagebyproficiencyinenglishbycountryofbirthlainengland> [accessed 13 March 2018]

360 Department for Work and Pensions, ‘Labour market status by ethnic group’ (April 2016): <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/labour-market-status-by-ethnic-group-annual-data-to-2015> [accessed 13 March 2018]

412. The Green Paper includes a passage illustrating the scale of the problem, also based on figures in the 2011 Census. There are charts explaining the differences by ethnic groups, and by age within each ethnic group, but in each case this is for England as a whole.³⁶¹ The scale of the problem can only be truly appreciated when the wide discrepancies between different areas are also taken into account.
413. In areas where a very small proportion of the population do not have English as their main language, a person who is unable to speak English well or at all will plainly be segregated from the wider community. Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State at DCLG,³⁶² told us: “for people who do not speak English living in a community where English is the dominant language, they will not come out of the house. It is not just that they will not get a job; they do not feel they can get on a bus; they feel they are going to be challenged as strangers.”³⁶³
414. Where such a person lives in an area with a high proportion of other people who do not have English as their main language, as in the London Borough of Newham or in Leicester,³⁶⁴ the danger is different. That person will be able to communicate not just with their family but with an extended community, and so may have little incentive to learn English; it is the community as a whole which is in danger of closing in on itself and being segregated from wider society.

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)

415. Most of us, including those born outside the UK, of course learn English at school. There remain those who have gone through primary and secondary school without acquiring adequate knowledge of English; those whose schooling has been abroad and has not included English; and those who have had little or no schooling at all. At the other end of the scale are those, often well educated and proficient at learning a new language, who have come to this country as immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers.
416. English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) describes the courses for people, usually adults, whose first language is not English but who wish to learn English. An adult ESOL core curriculum was first introduced in 2001, putting it on a formal footing. Since then there have been many changes, in particular in the funding, but the object remains to provide courses which will teach from basic English up to qualifications equivalent to GCSE.³⁶⁵

361 On page 35 is a bar chart described in the text as a graph showing “the distribution of working age women who don’t speak English well or at all by ethnic group”. The bar chart is headed “Percentage (%) of Women who cannot speak English well or at all by Ethnicity 2011 Census”. Both the text and the heading are inaccurate and misleading. The chart is in fact about age distribution and is intended to demonstrate how, within each ethnic group, the number of women who are unable to speak English well or at all is distributed between different age bands. It is intended to demonstrate that, for example, of the 1% of White and Mixed women who cannot speak English well or at all, 52% are in the age band 25 to 44. Instead it gives the impression that 52% of White and Mixed women aged 25 to 44 cannot speak English well or at all.

362 Now MHCLG.

363 [Q 183](#)

364 Respectively the local authority with the highest proportion of people who do not have English as their main language, and the local authority outside London with the highest proportion.

365 This relates to England; Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland have rather different provisions, and different funding.

417. In October 2013 the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills published a report which included the evaluation in Box 5.³⁶⁶

Box 5: Profile of adult ESOL learners in 2012–13

- 70% of ESOL learners were women. 30% were from a white ethnic group but the largest group of ESOL learners had Asian ethnicities.
- The qualification profile of ESOL learners was more polarised than other Below Level 2³⁶⁶ learners—higher proportions had no qualifications but, also, higher proportions were qualified at Levels 4 or 5.
- ESOL learners were less likely than other Below Level 2 learners to have been in employment prior to their learning and more likely to have been economically inactive.
- ESOL learners were much more likely to have paid some or all of their course fees than other Below Level 2 learners.
- 87% of ESOL learners were satisfied with their course.
- Slightly more than three-quarters of ESOL learners reported that their course led to a qualification.
- Following their learning, 36% of ESOL learners were in employment or self-employment, compared to 32% per cent prior to their learning.
- Of 23% of ESOL learners who were in work before and after their course, 81% felt that their work situation had improved since their course, most frequently because their job satisfaction level has risen.

418. In the Government’s written evidence we were told that “The Government recognises the importance of English proficiency to enable people to participate fully in society. This is why we are supporting English learning at all levels and across all age groups.” The evidence continued:

“Government funding of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) training seeks to:

- enable unemployed people on benefits to get the skills they need to get into and stay in work;
- support the integration of long-standing migrant communities and particularly those individuals most at risk of isolation from services and wider society; and
- support refugees, especially Syrians to settle in the UK.”³⁶⁸

419. In his written evidence the Mayor of London gave us an insight into the working of ESOL classes in London:

366 Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, *Evaluation of the Impact of Learning Below Level 2*, (October 2013): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/253585/bis-13-1261-evaluation-of-the-impact-of-learning-below-level-2.pdf . We are indebted to a Briefing Paper prepared by the House of Commons Library in November 2017 for this and other information on ESOL: Adult ESOL in England, House of Commons Library, *Adult ESOL in England*, Briefing Paper, [CBP-7905](#), November 2017.

367 Level 2 equates to GCSE grades A*–C.

368 Written evidence from HM Government ([CCE0249](#))

“The hours and intensity of ESOL provision average 5.5 hours per week, although there is some evidence that provision in inner London boroughs tends to offer a slightly higher number of learning hours per week. This was considered by Syrian Resettlement co-ordinators and stakeholders to be insufficient to support refugees’ urgent need to learn English upon resettlement. Home Office guidance recommends that refugees resettled under the SVPRS³⁶⁹ are offered a minimum of 8 hours per week.”³⁷⁰

Problems accessing ESOL classes

420. The location of ESOL classes is important. The Wonder Foundation, a charity dedicated to empowering vulnerable people through education, told us that vulnerable female migrants especially find value in community-based learning provision as they can create a safe, welcoming, and empowering place for learning English. We therefore welcome the Government’s statement in the Green Paper:³⁷¹ “To open up new routes to learn English that may previously not have been available and to encourage people to overcome reluctance or a lack in confidence to take up a course, we will use learning gained from the current programme to launch a new community-based programme in places where there are the highest concentrations of people with little or no English.”
421. Those providing funding should also be mindful of a point made by Dame Louise Casey:
- “One of the lessons learned when we made the English language announcement in January 2016, which was the only announcement made by government in the two and a half years I looked at this, was that routing that money through women’s organisations and domestic violence organisations was a very powerful tool for reaching women.”³⁷²
422. **Local authorities should prioritise ESOL teaching in communities, in venues which are co-located with other services, and through women’s organisations.**
423. One of the main barriers to accessing ESOL classes is the difficulty of finding childcare.³⁷³ Refugee Action told us that 77% of providers either had no facilities for childcare, or no sufficient facilities for the needs of most learners, which disproportionately affected women refugees’ ability to attend classes. Dr Leah Bassel suggested that a lack of ESOL classes with a crèche acted as a barrier to people participating economically and in public life.³⁷⁴ We saw this for ourselves during our visit to Sheffield, where we heard of the great success of hosting ESOL classes for parents in their children’s school so that they could learn in a familiar environment without having to worry about childcare.
424. The Government are providing £2.3 million, spread over the next four years, to overcome childcare barriers to ESOL. This is very welcome, but goes only some of the way to meet the demand.

369 The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme

370 Written evidence from Mayor of London/Greater London Authority ([CCE0244](#))

371 Page 39

372 [Q 155](#)

373 Written evidence from Understanding Everyday Participation project ([CCE0186](#))

374 [Q 173](#)

425. **Local authorities should ensure that ESOL teaching is provided concurrently with childcare provision wherever possible.**

Combining ESOL with citizenship learning

426. It must be right that, once a learner's English has reached a sufficiently advanced level, learning English should be combined with learning other matters which those newly arrived need to know. The QED Foundation suggested that ESOL is most effective when included as part of a package; for example, including communication skills, personal finances and accessing health, housing and education services. Dame Louise Casey praised the German system which, after the language course, has an Orientation Course teaching basic citizenship issues in German.³⁷⁵ "During a language course, they managed to convey the values of the country they wanted to promote."³⁷⁶
427. The Wonder Foundation told us how they explored the role English classes play in improving the lives and wellbeing of vulnerable female migrants in the UK.³⁷⁷ From the interviews they conducted with both learners and instructors, they learned the value of incorporating every day themes into language learning to improve a learner's understanding of British society and customs. Additionally, they found that classes covering practical skills and knowledge were preferred, as they better aligned with the day-to-day needs of the learners and made learning more enjoyable and salient.
428. The National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages to Adults (NATECLA) is the national forum and professional organisation for ESOL teachers. It told the Committee:

"Regarding the naturalisation process, many ESOL professionals believe that the former option available to lower level ESOL learners—the ESOL course with Citizenship Materials³⁷⁸—provided an excellent way for migrants to learn more about British culture and traditions (political system, history, geography, diversity, community engagement, etc.) whilst at the same time improving their English language skills, meeting new people and getting into the habit of learning. Many continued their studies after the course finished, either continuing to develop their English or going on to vocational courses. NATECLA believes this option should be reinstated. The materials were updated in 2010 and are still available for ESOL teachers to use in class if they wish to do so."³⁷⁹

429. **The Government should restore ESOL courses which are combined with citizenship learning that can be offered to new arrivals in the UK.**

375 Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 'Integration Courses: Content and scheduling' (17 December 2017): <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/Integrationskurse/InhaltAblauf/inhaltAblauf-node.html> [accessed 13 March 2018]

376 Q 156

377 Wonder Foundation, *Empowerment through Education: Women Breaking the English Barrier* (August 2016): <http://wonderfoundation.org.uk/sites/default/files/Resources/Women%20Breaking%20the%20English%20Barrier%20%28Full%20Report%20Digital%29.pdf> [accessed 13 March 2018]

378 NIACE, *Citizenship materials for ESOL learners* (2005): http://www.esoluk.co.uk/NIACE_pack/Citizenship_materials.pdf [accessed 13 March 2018]

379 Written evidence from NATECLA (CCE0216)

Providing funding for ESOL

430. In their written evidence the Government explained that ESOL courses “are fully-funded for jobseekers on work-related benefits³⁸⁰ and can be made freely available to unemployed learners on other benefits at the discretion of the provider. All other learners are co-funded at an assumed rate, with the Government contributing 50% of the cost. In 2015/16, 110,600 adults in England received full or partial funding to participate in an ESOL course.³⁸¹
431. The Government explained that there is a legal entitlement for adults in England to fully-funded English courses up to Level 2 (GCSE A*–C (9–4) or equivalent). They set out other funding for adult English education, separate from ESOL, which included:
- Targeted English language training to support integration. From November 2013 to March 2016, DCLG’s £8m Community-Based English Language programme supported 39,800 adults with the lowest levels of English who had not previously engaged with mainstream provision. Around 80% of participants were women, with over half from Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Somali ethnic groups.
 - A commitment by DCLG of £3.7m in 2016/17 to enable providers who delivered the Community-Based English Language programme to provide new tuition to nearly 14,000 learners by March 2017.
 - A further £4.6m funding to extend the existing community based English language provision for another year to reach over 19,600 new learners by March 2018.
 - £2.9m awarded to local authorities from the Controlling Migration Fund to support additional English language tuition for migrants.
432. However none of this additional funding begins to make up for a drastic reduction in overall ESOL funding, as appears starkly from the reply to a Written Question asked on 11 January 2017:

380 See Education and Skills Funding Agency, *Adult education budget: funding and performance management rules* (October 2017): https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/662114/2017-18_Adult_education_budget_funding_and_performance_management_rules...pdf [accessed 4 April 2018]

381 Written evidence from HM Government (CCE0249)

Box 6: Government ESOL funding 2009–2016

11 January 2017: Lyn Brown (West Ham) to ask the Secretary of State for Education, what information the Government holds on the amount of funding from the public purse which has been made available for lessons in English for speakers of other languages in constant prices in each of the last 10 years. Answered by Robert Halfon on 19 January 2017:

“The table below shows estimated funding for adult skills budget English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) provision from 2009/10 onwards, and also includes funding by the Department for Communities and Local Government. We do not hold data before 2009/10.

Funding for ESOL is allocated by the Skills Funding Agency as part of a provider’s adult skills budget. In addition, there are a number of ESOL courses funded through the Agency’s community learning budget, but we do not collect data which enables us to provide a breakdown of the expenditure on these. SFA-funded providers which deliver ESOL include Further Education colleges, local authorities and a few other providers.

From 2013/14 the Department for Communities and Local Government has directly funded six projects to engage isolated adults with poor or no English who had not previously accessed mainstream training.

Year	DfE Academic year estimated funding* (Adult Skills Budget)	DCLG Financial year funding for English language projects
2009/10	£203m	
2010/11	£169m	
2011/12	£117m	
2012/13	£128m	£0.12m
2013/14	£120m	£2.14m
2014/15	£104m	£3.66m
2015/16	£90m	£2.53m

*(Formerly the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills)—funding values are estimated using data from the Individualised Learner Record (ILR). Estimated funding provides an indication of the level of government funding and should not be treated as actual spend.”

Source: Written answer from Robert Halfon (2 February 2017) [60891](#)

433. Thus in the space of six years Government funding for ESOL, whether from DfE or from DCLG, was reduced by 54%, from £203m to £92.5m. The Department for Education funds ESOL provision through the Adult Education Budget, but does not ring-fence a particular amount of the budget for ESOL provision. Not surprisingly, there has also been a sharp fall in the numbers participating in ESOL courses. There were 163,600 adult ESOL learners in 2010/11. After a fall almost every year, by 2016/17 the number was down to 114,100, a fall of 30%.³⁸²

³⁸² Department for Education and Education and Skills Funding Agency, Further Education and Skills: November 2017 (23 November 2017): <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/further-education-and-skills-november-2017> [accessed 12 March 2018]

434. Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth however told us that “the numbers being taught have gone up.”³⁸³ It was subsequently made clear to us by MHCLG officials that he was specifically referring to the Community-Based English Language provision funded by DCLG (now MHCLG). They added: “Over the 3 years from 2013 until March 2016, our projects supported 39,800 isolated adults to learn English in community settings, with a specific focus on women with the lowest levels of English who are economically inactive. In 2016/17, we supported nearly 14,000 new learners though the programme and we are aiming to reach another 19,600 new learners by the end of March this year [2018].”
435. It is true that “the numbers being taught have gone up” if one considers only the change from 2015/16 to 2016/17. It is also the case that the Government has made further ESOL funding available for the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS) and the Vulnerable Children’s Resettlement Scheme (VCRS), which are primarily intended for Syrian refugees. This amounts to:
- £10 million from the Home Office and DfE, over five financial years (2015/16–2019/20) for additional ESOL classes, attached to a requirement for local authorities to provide eight hours’ formal ESOL tuition for the first 12 months or until the individual reaches ESOL Entry Level 3 (whichever is sooner), which equates to £850 per adult.³⁸⁴
 - £600k per year childcare funding, which allows local authorities to provide or increase childcare support for those (predominantly women) who would not otherwise be able to access ESOL classes because of their childcare responsibilities.
 - £350k per year to fund an ESOL coordinator in each Strategic Migration Partnership whose role is to map service provision and identify gaps and overlaps, to encourage sharing of good practice and a joined up regional approach, and to support local authorities in providing ESOL to the VPRS/VCRS families.³⁸⁵
436. The ESOL effort for the Syrian settlement programme has been exemplary, as was the Gateway Protection Programme before it, in a way that general ESOL provision has not. This creates the danger of a two-tier standard where one group is taught effectively whilst others are left behind. However one construes the numbers, they cannot disguise the fact that, over the last seven years, a cut in funding of about one half has led to a fall in numbers of at least one quarter.
437. In their written evidence the NUS commented: “The impact of funding cuts has meant that ESOL participation has fallen by 22% since 2009, but this is not due to any lack in demand for English language instruction. Rather, 80% of providers have recently reported waiting lists of up to 1000 and 66% said lack of funding was the main cause of this.”³⁸⁶ USDAW told us that they

383 [Q 183](#)

384 The Green Paper states (page 39): “The Home Office and Department for Education have jointly provided a £10m fund spread over five years, to enable local authorities to make more tuition available, build their capacity and make childcare provision to open access to English classes for those with young children. Some of this funding can be used to build capacity, such as training more teachers, buying equipment, or renting classroom space.”

385 Supplementary information supplied by DfE.

386 Written evidence from National Union of Students ([CCE0106](#))

had “gone from providing 750 ESOL courses in the period 2010–2012, to 257 courses in the period 2012–2014, to virtually none at present. This is not for a lack of appetite for such courses, or because demand has reduced, but because of the lack of funding available to provide them”. They too thought that “a return of Government funding for ESOL to pre-2009 levels should be considered an urgent priority.”³⁸⁷

438. Refugee Action told us of research which had revealed a bleak picture. They surveyed 71 ESOL providers across England in July 2017, representing more than 35,000 ESOL learners.³⁸⁸

Box 7: Findings of research by Refugee Action

- Despite attempts made by providers to meet demand, 63% said the quantity of ESOL provision they offer is insufficient for most people’s needs.
- 52% said that their ability to provide high quality ESOL classes has worsened over the past five years.
- Of those which had waiting lists, 45% said that learners can wait an average of six months or more for classes. One provider had 800 people on their waiting list; another told us that learners can wait for three years to be assigned to a course; and another that the wait could be ‘indefinite’.
- Of those providers with waiting lists, 80% said insufficient government funding was the main reason for long delays.
- 66% of all providers said that an increase in government funding would be the one thing that would most improve their ability to provide adequate quantities of high quality ESOL lessons.

Source: Refugee Action parliamentary briefing, October 2017

439. The Migrants’ Rights Network and Refugee Action both told us that asylum seekers in England are only eligible for co-funding for ESOL at 50% of cost, and only after they have waited for over six months for a decision on their asylum application, whereas Scotland and Northern Ireland provide free and immediate access.³⁸⁹ The Mayor of London pointed out that in many other European countries, including Denmark and Belgium, new arrivals were enrolled on integration programmes when they first arrived. These include intensive language learning courses.³⁹⁰ Dr Dina Kiwan highlighted how 17% of those taking part in her research had to wait more than six months to access a place on an ESOL course,³⁹¹ and Ms Alison Robinson, an ESOL practitioner, stated that people stuck on ESOL waiting lists were confined to their homes and suffered as a result, as did their children if they had to spend time interpreting.³⁹²

440. Among the many other witnesses who made the same point was Dr Leah Bassel. In her evidence on integration she referred to “cuts to ESOL, which has featured very prominently in my research and which people to whom

387 Written evidence from Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (CCE0163)

388 Refugee Action, *Parliamentary briefing: English language support for refugees* (October 2017): <http://www.refugee-action.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Refugee-Action-parliamentary-briefing-Let-Refugees-Learn-and-Jo-Cox-Loneliness-Commission-October-2017.pdf> [accessed 18 March 2018]

389 *Ibid.* and written evidence from Migrant’s Rights Network (CCE0224).

390 Written evidence from Mayor of London/Greater London Authority (CCE0244)

391 Written evidence from Dr Dina Kiwan (CCE0033)

392 Written evidence from Ms Alison Robinson (CCE0025)

I have fed back this research have underscored repeatedly. Particularly referring, for instance, to civic integration and participation in public life of groups of women—Muslim women—the effects of the cuts to ESOL cannot be neglected in this conversation, specifically the kinds of tools which deprive people of access to participate in public life.”³⁹³

441. We agree with all these witnesses. We therefore anticipated that the Integrated Communities Strategy would demonstrate how the Government intended to tackle this issue. And indeed, under the heading “A new English language fund for places experiencing integration challenges” was the following statement:

“We will also launch a new programme to support places outside the Integration Areas³⁹⁴ to develop new infrastructure to improve the offer for English language learners. We will publish a new prospectus which will invite bids from councils and their partners. This funding will be available to:

- Develop and strengthen local partnerships;
- Improve the information and support available to learners;
- Build pathways for learners of English so they can make better progress;
- Provide additional classes to help people in the early stages of learning English where there is evidence of need.”³⁹⁵

442. That, however, is the end of that statement. The Government proposes a new fund, but no new funding. As we have said,³⁹⁶ the Green Paper itself makes no mention of additional funds. The £50 million spread over 2 years is presumably intended to cover all new initiatives in the Green Paper, and hence to be mainly directed at the five Integration Areas. That £50 million would, if it was entirely devoted to extra English language teaching, go only a quarter of the way to restoring the ESOL funding position as it was nine years ago.

443. **The Government must restore funding for ESOL teaching to its 2009/10 levels by 2019/20 and measure the effectiveness of its initiatives.**

444. **The Government should conduct an assessment of the effectiveness of different forms of ESOL provision, and direct the funds accordingly.**

Translation and interpretation

445. Some, though perhaps only a small proportion, of the money needed to restore ESOL funding to its former levels could be found from spending less on translation and interpretation. In June 2007, when of course there was less pressure on local authority funding, the final report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion, *Our Shared Future*, noted that local authorities

393 Q 172

394 The phrase “places outside the Integration Areas” is inserted because there is an earlier passage in the Green Paper headed: “Improving the provision of English language learning will be a priority in the Integration Areas.” There is no suggestion that additional funding will be made available in these areas for this specific purpose.

395 Page 41

396 Chapter 1, paragraph 25.

were well-meaning in translating materials into community languages, for example seeing this as a way of promoting equality, but were not always considering whether it was the best use of scarce resources. They gave the following examples:

- where local authorities and organisations were automatically translating background and reference documents that would not necessarily be in widespread use or general circulation, eg annual reports;
- where overly complex leaflets were being translated, and what was really needed was sign-posting to a service;
- where documents were automatically translated into a set of languages, without consideration being given to the audience for that document.

446. The Commission recommended that a checklist should be prepared for local authorities to consider when deciding whether or not to translate materials. DCLG did so in December 2007, in its *Guidance for Local Authorities on Translation of Publications*. Five years later, when austerity was beginning to bite, this was superseded by a more radical written ministerial statement by the then Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, the Rt Hon Eric Pickles MP, who wrote:

“Some local authorities translate a range of documents and other materials into languages spoken by their residents, and provide interpretation services. While there may be rare occasions in which this is entirely necessary—for instance in emergency situations—I am concerned that such services are in many cases being provided unnecessarily because of a misinterpretation of equality or human rights legislation. Such translation services have an unintentional, adverse impact on integration by reducing the incentive for some migrant communities to learn English and are wasteful where many members of these communities already speak or understand English ... Stopping the automatic use of translation and interpretation services into foreign languages will provide further incentive for all migrant communities to learn English, which is the basis for an individual’s ability to progress in British society. It will promote cohesion and better community relations.”³⁹⁷

447. We fully support the ends which this policy seeks to achieve, but we have two concerns about the means. First, it has to be recognised that there are occasions when translation or interpretation will be essential; examples are essential health care, access to the police and emergency services, and the justice system. Secondly, where translation or interpretation is needed but is not provided, other family members may be called upon, and this is a burden which too often falls on children.

448. Nevertheless, on balance we agree with Dame Louise Casey: “I am not keen on endless translation budgets; I am very keen on endless language budgets”.³⁹⁸

449. **Local authorities should provide translations of documents and interpretation services only where this is essential (including where it is required by law). Savings made should be ring-fenced and applied to the provision of ESOL courses.**

397 HC Deb, 12 March 2013, [col 5WS](#)

398 [Q 156](#)

A new strategy for English Language in England

450. At the end of the chapter “Boosting English language skills” in the Integrated Communities Strategy is this statement:

“To create clearer pathways for learners, improve outcomes and secure better value for the taxpayer by making best use of existing funding, we propose developing a new strategy for English Language in England.”

451. The Government plainly attaches some importance to this, since the statement is repeated in large type. We therefore looked to see why a new strategy for the English language was thought to be necessary, and what it would be. We found this:

“We invite views on the possible content of the new strategy but propose it would set out our national priorities for English language provision so we can better match provision to need and ensure learners get the right advice on the English language classes available to them and ongoing help so that they can continue to progress onto other courses that support them into work. It is also important that we improve how information on the needs of learners is collected and shared and used locally to plan and improve provision.”

452. **As will appear from this chapter, our strategy is to enable people of all ages, whether newly arrived or long-established, to achieve the greatest possible proficiency in spoken and written English by establishing and funding courses which are easily accessible, in particular for those with young children. We commend this to the Government.**

CHAPTER 9: NATURALISATION—FACILITATING INCLUSION

Introduction

453. At the start of our inquiry we decided that we would not consider the question of who should be entitled to British citizenship, and we made this clear in the Call for Evidence by not including any questions on this topic. This question, closely associated with immigration, has been and is being considered by many other persons and bodies, not least the Government in the context of Brexit. It would moreover have taken up a major proportion of our time. In this chapter we consider naturalisation—the mechanism by which those who have indefinite leave to remain in the United Kingdom³⁹⁹ and wish to acquire British citizenship actually do so.
454. It is right that those acquiring citizenship by naturalisation should have to show that they are properly qualified to become fully integrated members of the community they wish to join—in particular that they should speak the language and know about the country they will be living in. We consider the requirement to be of good character, the knowledge of English qualification, the citizenship test, the citizenship ceremony and the cost of naturalisation: all legitimate hurdles which have however become major barriers which must be surmounted on the civic journey leading to British citizenship. At the end of the chapter we consider the acquisition of citizenship by registration.

What is “good character”?

455. There is no legal definition of what constitutes “good character” or what might cause an applicant to fail the “good character” test. The Home Office guidance for applicants contains a lengthy but not exhaustive list of matters which might lead to the failure of an application. The guidance states: “You must say whether you have been involved in anything which might indicate that you are not of good character ... If you are in any doubt about whether you have done something or it has been alleged that you have done something which might lead us to think that you are not of good character you should say so.”⁴⁰⁰ This gives officials an almost unlimited discretion to refuse an application on the basis of matters beyond the already lengthy list.
456. Dr Nisha Kapoor, a lecturer in Sociology at the University of York, suggests that the “good character” requirement can be used to exclude applicants from gaining citizenship unfairly. She highlights that individuals can be denied citizenship on the basis of honest mistakes made when completing asylum documentation. Minor convictions, such as for driving misdemeanours, have also been used to refuse naturalisation. In one case a discrepancy in the applicant’s date of birth on two different forms (a typo of one number) was the given reason for her refused application. There are particular problems for asylum seekers, since it is difficult to enter the UK legally to claim asylum. This can mean that these people can become stranded in the insecure state of having leave to remain but being denied naturalisation.⁴⁰¹

399 Indefinite leave to remain is not a requirement for all applicants; in particular nationals of other EU member states and EEA states have different residence requirements.

400 Home Office, *Guide AN: Naturalisation as a British citizen—A guide for applicants* (February 2018) para 3.15: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/680277/an-guide-feb-18.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

401 Written evidence from Dr Nisha Kapoor (CCE0225)

457. Not being of “good character” has become the principal reason for refusal over the last 10 years. Since 2008 the number of people being refused naturalised citizenship on this ground has been gradually increasing so that, after a small dip in 2014, in 2015 43%, and in 2016 44% of people who were refused British citizenship were denied it on this basis.⁴⁰²
458. **The Government should review the use and description of the “good character” requirements of naturalisation. It should ensure that these requirements are transparent and properly explained to applicants. Honest mistakes made during the application process should not by themselves be treated as evidence of bad character.**
459. Until 2010 being of “good character” was a requirement for naturalisation, but not for the acquisition of British citizenship by registration—a topic we deal with at the end of this chapter. In that year being of “good character” was added as a requirement for the registration of an “adult or young person”, defined as “a person who has attained the age of 10 years”.⁴⁰³ Between 2010 and 2014, 415 children aged 10–17 were refused citizenship on this ground, 25 of whom were aged 10–13, 95 of whom were aged 14–15, and 300 of whom were aged 16–17.⁴⁰⁴ We do not know the reasons for these refusals. This may be a valid ground for refusing an application by a young person aged 16 or 17, but we find it hard to accept this as a good reason in the case of a 10-year old child.
460. **The Government should reconsider the age from which the “good character” requirement applies for the acquisition of British citizenship by registration.**

Proving a knowledge of English

461. The knowledge of English requirement is subject to exemptions. Citizens of some, but by no means all, Commonwealth countries do not have to prove a knowledge of English,⁴⁰⁵ and nor do Irish or United States citizens. Some citizens of those countries speak little or no English, as do too many citizens of this country.⁴⁰⁶ We agree with Professor Thom Brooks, Dean and Chair in Law and Government at Durham University, that this exemption is entirely arbitrary, and may well allow applicants with little or no English to apply successfully for naturalisation.⁴⁰⁷ This should not be possible; a knowledge of English is the most basic requirement for British citizenship, and nationality of a country which has English as one of its official languages should not be a ground for avoiding that requirement.
462. There are a number of ways in which applicants can satisfy the test. To have passed GCSE or A level, even in English language or literature, is not enough; however a degree-level qualification in English, even if from a higher education provider in a country not on the nationality exemption list, will suffice. Professor Brooks took the view that this exemption too should

402 *Ibid.*

403 [Section 41A](#) of the British Nationality Act 1981, inserted by [section 47](#) of the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009.

404 Home Office, ‘Applications by minors for registration as a British Citizen’, in reply to a Freedom of Information request (22 January 2015): <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/applications-by-minors-for-registration-as-a-british-citizen>

405 The exemption applies to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Commonwealth countries in the West Indies, but not to any of the African or Asian Commonwealth countries.

406 A problem we have discussed in the previous chapter.

407 Written evidence from Professor Thom Brooks ([CCE0227](#))

be scrapped and all applicants should be required to pass a test from an approved provider, as is the case now for those not exempt.⁴⁰⁸ Some of these tests include reading and writing English, but some only spoken English. Most of the test results are valid only for two years, which suggests that they do not guarantee a very profound knowledge of English.

463. We believe that some exemptions should still be allowed, but that the current exemptions should be re-thought. It cannot be right that a person can complete mandatory education in the UK but still be deemed to not speak English to the level required for naturalisation. A level qualifications in subjects requiring a substantial use of written English, and the equivalent Scottish qualifications, should suffice. However some A level subjects, such as the STEM subjects⁴⁰⁹ or media vocational subjects, require only minimal written English; the Government must decide which subjects fall on the right side of the line. A degree from a UK university should also be sufficient, but a degree-level qualification in English from a university in another country should not automatically suffice.
464. **The Government should alter the English Language requirement so that an applicant with an A level or equivalent qualification to an adequate level in a subject that requires the substantial use of written English is exempt from the test. A degree in any subject from a UK university should also suffice, but a degree from a university in another country should not automatically suffice.**

Improving the Citizenship Test: Life in the UK

465. There seems to be confusion about the purpose of the citizenship test which is currently entitled *Life in the UK*. Is the object simply to ensure that applicants for naturalisation know about the country, or should it be to test the ability of an applicant to make a life in this country and to contribute to it? Dr Henry Tam's view was that "we need to separate out concerns with civic identity from those about socio-cultural identity. The emphasis should be much less on selective cultural knowledge, and far more on civic-political information relating to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, legal and political procedures, and how to access and check guidance on appropriate civic behaviour (e.g., registering to vote, paying taxes, learning about public policies, reporting crime, etc)".⁴¹⁰
466. The basis of the test is the current (third) edition of the book *Life in the UK*,⁴¹¹ published in 2013. The advertisement on the TSO website states: "Ensure you are fully prepared for your Life in the UK test with the only official handbook on which the Life in the UK test is based. This essential handbook contains all the official learning material for the test and is written in clear, simple language—making it easy to understand." The official gov.uk website states: "You'll be tested on information in the official handbook for the Life in the UK Test—you should study this book to prepare for the test."
467. One might therefore have expected that the book would be, not just "clear, simple ... easy to understand", but accurate, and including only material

408 *Ibid.*

409 Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

410 Written evidence from Dr Henry Tam (CCE0012)

411 Home Office, *Life in the United Kingdom*, 3rd edition (London: TSO)

which someone living in this country should know. Applicants might be forgiven for believing that they could be tested on anything in the book, and should therefore be familiar with it all. The reality is otherwise, as Box 8 demonstrates.

Box 8: “Life in the UK”: some criticisms

- Although most of the many factual errors in earlier editions have been removed, there are still some errors (e.g. on the number of Parliamentary constituencies), and matters are stated as facts which were correct at the date of publication, but which might reasonably have been expected not to be accurate for long. An example is the statement that Margaret Thatcher was still alive, which sadly was true for only two months after the book’s publication.
- The book includes several hundred dates. Given the purpose of the book, applicants might believe they could be tested on them, but in fact they seldom appear in tests.
- One of the sample questions asks: “The UK was one of the first countries to sign the European Convention in [followed by a choice of four dates, one of which is 1950]”. The implication is that there is only one European Convention. In fact there are 224 treaties on the Council of Europe list, 68 of which have a title beginning “European Convention”. The Human Rights Convention, which presumably is the one they have in mind, is one of the few not to include “European” in its formal title.⁴¹¹
- There are trivia, like the height of the London Eye in feet or who started the first curry house and what street it was on,⁴¹² which few British citizens would know, and few would think it important for aspiring British citizens to know.
- There are inconsistencies. For example, no mention is made of the UK Supreme Court, but there is a mention of most lower courts.
- On the other hand, the current edition no longer requires knowledge about the NHS, educational qualifications, the subjects taught in schools, how to report a crime or contact an ambulance, and other everyday knowledge all new citizens should know.

468. Professor Brooks was scathing in his criticism of the book, stating: “The test is regularly seen as the test for British citizenship that few British citizens can pass, with many migrants seeing it as an opportunity by the Home Office to extract increasingly more expensive fees through a test of random trivia meant to make more fail.”⁴¹⁴ We agree. The current test seems to be, and to be regarded as, a barrier to acquiring citizenship rather than a means of creating better citizens. Box 9 gives the views of some who have participated in the test.

412 The Convention is commonly known as the European Convention on Human Rights, but its title is in fact “Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms”.

413 Thom Brooks, *The ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Citizenship Test: Is It Unfit for Purpose?* Durham University, 2013: http://thombrooks.info/Brooks_citizenship_test_report.pdf. See Home Office, *Life in the United Kingdom*, 3rd edition. (London: TSO), p. 113.

414 Written evidence from Thom Brooks (CCE0227). See also Thom Brooks, *The ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Citizenship Test: Is It Fit for Purpose?* Durham University, 2013: http://thombrooks.info/Brooks_citizenship_test_report.pdf [accessed 4 April 2018]

Box 9: Views on the Life in the UK Test from research by Dr Leah Bassel

- For many, this was an intimidating and fearful process. For example the Life in the UK handbook was described as a “big massive book, I am really scared of it” (Sudanese woman).
- Participants mentioned the difficulty of the questions on history and culture.
- Much of the knowledge that can be gained from the citizenship test process and that participants identified as useful—e.g. how to access services—has now disappeared in the most recent version of the test and preparation materials.
- Those who were most vocal about the test as a ‘waste of time’, a ‘necessary evil’ and a ‘money grab’ were highly educated, affluent and from English speaking countries.
- Some participants ... did not necessarily endorse the test process as a good mechanism for transmitting this knowledge because of the cost, stress and effort involved.

Source: University of Leicester, *The UK Citizenship Test Process: Exploring Migrants’ Experiences (August 2017)*: <https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/sociology/research/uk-citizenship-process/final-report-1>

469. Professor Brooks advocates a comprehensive, official review into the citizenship test. He points out that it is intended to enable and foster integration, yet there has been no review following any of the three editions published since 2005 into whether this has been achieved. “The failure to consult, review and get feedback from naturalised citizens who have undertaken and passed the process is alarming.” He suggests setting up an Advisory Group or Commission to look at the test. We see merit in this proposal.⁴¹⁵ A small body which could examine what the test is seen to have achieved, both by those who have taken it and those who have not, would be in a good position to suggest how it might be improved.
470. Matthew Ryder, the Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement of the Greater London Authority, told us that he had commissioned an analysis of the test. He wondered: “Is it becoming just a memory test? Are the questions becoming too formulaic? Are they questions that those of us who are citizens born in this country would be able to answer?”⁴¹⁶ We believe this might form the basis of work covering more than just London.
471. Given the evidence we received on the inappropriateness of the current edition of *Life in the UK*, we are pleased to see that the Green Paper states:
- “The government will review the Life in the UK test, which those seeking to live permanently in the UK must pass, and whether it could be amended to strengthen its focus on the values and principles of the UK which we expect all people to live by. As well as testing knowledge of life in the UK when someone applies to settle permanently, we believe it is important that newly arrived migrants are prepared for the responsibilities and opportunities of living in modern Britain, and that

415 Written evidence from Professor Thom Brooks ([CCE0227](#))

416 [Q 175](#)

they have early opportunities to mix with people from other backgrounds and to participate in community life.”

However, the Life in the UK test cannot be improved without completely re-writing the book of that name, something the Green Paper does not mention.

472. **The Government should set up an advisory group to conduct a comprehensive review of the citizenship test, focusing on the key knowledge that supports citizenship in various forms, including becoming an active citizen. Knowledge of the working of bodies like local authorities and the NHS is essential, and the group should include representatives of these bodies.**
473. **The advisory group should revise the book on Life in the UK to focus on the knowledge required for active citizenship. Sections of the book on British history should concentrate on those parts that played a key role in the development of the Shared Values of British Citizenship.**

The citizenship ceremony

474. The great majority of UK citizens do not have any celebration of their citizenship at any time of their lives. There are occasions, such as those associated with Royal weddings or with the London Olympics in 2012, mentioned by a number of our witnesses, which promote great pride in being a citizen of the UK, and others, mainly sporting events, which engender pride in citizenship of one of the constituent countries of the UK, but no celebration of citizenship as such. Such a ceremony does however form the final stage of the naturalisation process. In their evidence the Government stated: “We also view the citizenship ceremony as an important part of the process of becoming a British citizen. It allows a successful applicant to commit their loyalty to their new country, often in front of family and friends.”⁴¹⁷ Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth endorsed this: “I was initially very wary about it ... but now I have seen people who have experienced the citizenship ceremony and, for them, it was an enormous rite of passage.”⁴¹⁸
475. The only formal part of the ceremony required by statute is the making of an Oath:

“I, *[name]*, swear by Almighty God that, on becoming a British citizen, I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Her Heirs and Successors according to law.”

An affirmation may be made instead of the Oath. This is followed by a Pledge:

“I will give my loyalty to the United Kingdom and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values. I will observe its laws faithfully and fulfil my duties and obligations as a British citizen.”⁴¹⁹

476. We visited Westminster City Council to watch a citizenship ceremony performed by the Lord Mayor of Westminster and his officials, and to talk to them and to some of those acquiring citizenship, and their families. More details are given in Appendix 5. The Lord Mayor conducted the ceremony

417 Written evidence from HM Government ([CCE0255](#))

418 [Q 181](#)

419 [Schedule 5](#) to the British Nationality Act 1981, substituted by paragraph 2 of [Schedule 1](#) to the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002.

himself. We were impressed by the ceremony itself and the way it was conducted; it plainly also impressed those taking part. But, as a number of witnesses have told us, these are very low key events. Professor Brooks wrote:

“Rarely is there any mention in the local or national press that citizenship ceremonies take place at all—and certainly a complete lack of political leadership in recognising and celebrating the achievement of new citizens. This is no way to treat or welcome new voters with full rights of citizenship into our shared community. It only seeks to alienate and push people apart.”⁴²⁰

477. In written evidence the Mayor of London wrote:

“Citizenship ceremonies in other countries are much more high-profile, and there is an opportunity to improve ceremonies both for new citizens and wider society. On Australia Day, each year thousands of people in towns and cities across the nation make the pledge of commitment to Australia and become Australian citizens. Australia Day gives all citizens, new or old, the opportunity to openly reflect on what it means to be an Australian citizen and celebrate the rights and the values they all share.⁴²¹ Canada has handed some of the ownership of citizenship events to the community. Many community groups have a strong interest in Canadian citizenship.”⁴²²

There are already pilot schemes in London where ceremonies recognise the existing social action contributions of new citizens.⁴²³ These will help develop best practice guidelines which might be followed elsewhere.

478. This point was also made by the Citizenship and Civic Engagement Group of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Manchester.⁴²⁴ We agree that a case can be made for giving greater publicity to citizenship ceremonies.

479. **We believe that the group we recommend setting up to review the citizenship test should also seek feedback from those who have been involved in citizenship ceremonies, and consider how greater publicity and impact might be given to them.**

The high cost of naturalisation

480. On 6 April 2017 the fee for an application for naturalisation was increased by 30% from £925⁴²⁵ to £1,202. This is paid to the Home Office. On top of this is the £80 fee for the citizenship ceremony which goes to the local authority.⁴²⁶ But in practice the cost of naturalisation is usually much higher. The Greater London Authority explained that:

“long-term residents, including children and young people who wish to get to citizenship currently pay £993 (plus £500 immigration

420 Written evidence from Professor Thom Brooks (CCE0227)

421 Australian Government Department of Home Affairs, ‘Australia Day and the Affirmation’: <https://www.australianaffirmation.com.au/australia-day/>

422 Written evidence from Greater London Authority (CCE0244)

423 Mayor of London, *All of us: The Mayor’s strategy for Social Integration* (March 2018): https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/social_integration_strategy.pdf [accessed 12 March 2018]

424 Written evidence from Citizenship and Civic Engagement Working Group (Faculty of Humanities, The University of Manchester) (CCE0171)

425 The fee set under the Immigration and Nationality (Fees) Regulations 2015 at 6 April 2015, (SI 2015/768), Schedule 8

426 The Immigration and Nationality (Fees) Regulations 2017 (SI 2017/515) Schedule 8

health surcharge) four times over a ten-year period, before applying for indefinite leave to remain costing £2,297, and thereafter the cost of citizenship is £1,282. This totals £9,551 per person for the route to citizenship on top of any legal fees.”⁴²⁷

481. When we went to visit a citizenship ceremony we heard complaints from those attending about the very high cost of the naturalisation process. We were told that some people spend years saving in order to afford naturalisation, while others put off becoming a British citizen altogether because they cannot afford it. Where a family cannot afford the cost of all the members becoming naturalised, it is likely often to be the man who will be naturalised rather than the woman.
482. The administrative costs, and the cost of security and other checks, are certainly considerable, but on average do not approach the sums applicants are required to pay. The Rt Hon Brandon Lewis MP accepted that the fees for naturalisation do exceed the administrative costs of those services, and said: “... the charges we put forward are charges that cover the costs of running the system itself, which includes border security as well as the administration of our British citizenship test.”⁴²⁸
483. The Minister did not say what proportion of the fee was surplus to the cost of the naturalisation process. However the deputy Mayor of London told us that half of the £1,202 fee was profit. For him the key question was “whether we want more people to become citizens or to make a profit from the process?”⁴²⁹
484. If the profit made by the Home Office is anything approaching half of the fee, this can only discourage those qualified for naturalisation from applying for it. The Government should not be placing additional obstacles in their way.
485. **It is inequitable that the Government should seek to make excessive profits out of those seeking naturalisation. The fee should be much closer to the cost to the Home Office of administering the naturalisation process, and the cost to the local authority of the citizenship ceremony.**

Acquisition of citizenship by registration

486. Indefinite leave to remain is a precondition for naturalisation, which is closely linked to immigration. However British citizenship is not solely attained through naturalisation. Children born in the UK are not immigrants. If they are not British citizens they cannot seek naturalisation until they are adults, but they can register as British citizens. While naturalisation is discretionary, the acquisition of citizenship by registration is a statutory right. The Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens told us that these rights are not well known and have long been, and continue to be, overlooked or ignored. They said:

“failing to recognise registration rights of children and young people, or to distinguish this from immigration and adult naturalisation, repeatedly leads to situations in which children’s rights are simply overlooked either

427 Written evidence from Greater London Authority ([CCE0244](#))

428 [Q 189](#)

429 [Q 175](#)

because their rights are not recognised as independent of parents or guardians or their citizenship rights are never considered; or both.”⁴³⁰

487. Let us Learn is a group of over 850 young migrants, aged 16 to 24 years old, supported by the charity Just for Kids Law. They told us:

“All of us were brought to the UK as children, from over 70 different countries. We have grown up here and are proud to call Britain our home. Despite this and despite the fact that many of us cannot remember our country of birth, we are not legally recognised as citizens of the UK. Most of us have to go through a 10-year process of applying for and repeatedly renewing our immigration status, costing many thousands of pounds, before we are entitled to apply for British citizenship. Throughout the 10 years that this process takes, our continued status in the UK is precarious and expensive to maintain. Until we get to the point of being granted full citizenship, we live in fear that our temporary status (leave to remain) may be taken away from us.”⁴³¹

488. As we explained at the start of this chapter, whatever the difficulties of the registration process, and however great the need for reform, entitlement to citizenship, whether by naturalisation or by registration, is something we regard as outside the scope of our inquiry. The cost however is not. In addition to the evidence we have just cited, the Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens told us: “the fee for a child seeking to register as a British citizen is £973, well over the £386 the Home Office states it costs to process a registration claim. This means that at least 60% of a child’s registration fee is purely profit.⁴³² There is no provision for fee waivers and the fee is not refunded if the application is refused.”⁴³³

489. Coram told us in written evidence:

“A young person who has leave to remain in the UK on the basis of their family or private life will usually be granted 2½ years leave, and will need to renew this four times, before they can apply for indefinite leave to remain (after which they can apply for citizenship). The costs for a family of four paying to reach settlement is equivalent to a deposit on a house: at current rates the ten year process would cost £33,000 in application fees alone.”⁴³⁴

490. Written evidence from the No Recourse to Public Funds Network highlighted that citizenship fees are a particular problem for low income families which can prevent them from asserting their entitlement to British Citizenship.⁴³⁵ Where children in the care of social services want to become British citizens, this can give rise to costs for local authorities which need to cover their fees.
491. We accept that, even in the case of children who have a right to remain in the UK, there are costs involved in checking that they have the right which they assert, and in processing their applications. However in this case too we

430 Written evidence from Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens (PRCBC) ([CCE0079](#))

431 Written evidence from Just for Kids Law ([CCE0141](#))

432 See PRCBC and Amnesty International-UK, ‘Joint Briefings on fees’, (April 2017): <https://prcbc.wordpress.com/why-are-children-not-being-registered/> [accessed 4 April 2018]

433 Written evidence from Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens ([CCE0079](#))

434 Written evidence from Coram ([CCE0113](#))

435 Written evidence from NRPF Network ([CCE0155](#))

see no ground for the Home Office charging more than the costs they incur. Moreover, we believe there is a case for waiving the fee altogether in the case of children in care, and those who have spent their entire lives in the UK and are not migrants.

492. **The advisory group we have recommended should also consider whether, in the case of acquisition of citizenship by registration, the Government should waive the registration fee entirely for children in care and for children who have spent their entire lives in the UK.**

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

1. We believe that coordination of policy would be helped if a single minister in a single department, presumably the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government, was given responsibility for coordinating all matters related to citizenship and civic engagement. (Paragraph 22)

Values

2. The Government should stop using the term Fundamental British Values and instead use the term Shared Values of British Citizenship. It should recognise that the values are both shared with people from other countries and are essentially British. (Paragraph 46)
3. The Government should initially change the existing list of values from “democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs” to “democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and respect for the inherent worth and autonomy of every person.” The rule of law ensures that every individual has freedom under the law (and hence enjoys individual liberty) and equality before the law (which entails a respect for the inherent worth and dignity of every person). The Government should encourage a broad public debate across the country on both the Shared Values of British Citizenship and the other values we share, and how they fit together. (Paragraph 58)
4. The Government should set out what the Shared Values of British Citizenship mean for Government policy in each Government department, and outline how they can promote them, especially through areas of Government policy like sport, leisure, arts and culture that reach groups which may otherwise not engage with the Government. (Paragraph 61)
5. The promotion of Shared British Values should be separated from counter-extremism policy. The Government should not place guidance on teaching Shared Values of British Citizenship on the “Educate against Hate” website. Guidance to teachers should make clear that the primary objective of promoting Shared Values of British Citizenship is to encourage positive citizenship rather than solely aiming to counter extremism. (Paragraph 70)
6. Any change in the rules governing admissions criteria to faith schools should ensure that they do not increase social segregation. (Paragraph 82)
7. Faith schools, and other schools attended primarily by the adherents of one faith, should be no exception to the requirement to teach Shared Values of British Citizenship, still less the requirement to abide by the rule of law. We are glad to see Ofsted focusing on this important issue. They should not look the other way. (Paragraph 85)
8. We welcome the Government’s new policy of ensuring that all applicants to set up a free school are required to say how their school will promote the Shared Values of British Citizenship. (Paragraph 87)

Education

9. The Government should create a statutory entitlement to citizenship education from primary to the end of secondary education. This should be

inspected by Ofsted to ensure the quantity and quality of provision. Ofsted should give consideration to this in deciding whether a school should be rated as Outstanding. (Paragraph 123)

10. The Government should establish a target of having enough trained citizenship teachers to have a citizenship specialist in every secondary school. (Paragraph 132)
11. The Government should establish citizenship education as a priority subject for teacher training, and provide bursaries for applicants. Urgent action should be taken to step up programmes of Continuing Professional Development for those willing to take on and lead citizenship education in their school. (Paragraph 133)
12. The Government should ensure that the National College for Teaching and Leadership allows citizenship teachers to apply to be specialist leaders of education. (Paragraph 135)
13. Ofsted should undertake a review of the current provision and quality of citizenship education in schools and highlight best practice. This should be followed up with long term monitoring of whether citizenship education achieves the set of criteria or goals that the Government sets out for it. (Paragraph 143)
14. The Government should work with exam boards to ensure that citizenship qualifications feature active citizenship projects as a substantial part of the qualification. (Paragraph 148)
15. The Government should conduct a review of the citizenship curriculum and formulate a new curriculum that includes the Shared Values of British Citizenship, the NCS and active citizenship projects. Piecemeal changes made without reference to the existing curriculum should be avoided. (Paragraph 161)
16. The Government has allowed citizenship education in England to degrade to a parlous state. The decline of the subject must be addressed in its totality as a matter of urgency. (Paragraph 162)

The National Citizen Service

17. The National Citizen Service should continue to prioritise inclusion as it expands. It should expand and improve on the work it is already doing to include groups that are hardest to reach. (Paragraph 174)
18. The Government should work with the National Citizen Service to tackle the hidden costs (transport, sponsorship forms, etc.) of the National Citizen Service for low income families, and especially those in rural communities. (Paragraph 178)
19. The Government should stop stating that the National Citizen Service is not a citizenship scheme. (Paragraph 191)
20. The National Citizen Service should change its communications and branding strategy to include the work it is already doing on democratic engagement and on projects with young people trying to bring about change in their community. (Paragraph 192)

21. The National Citizen Service needs to do more to ensure quality across providers of democratic engagement and young people's involvement in project choice and development. (Paragraph 193)
22. The National Citizen Service cannot be seen as a short one-off programme and must be designed to create a lifelong habit of social action. (Paragraph 196)
23. The National Citizen Service should work with Government, the voluntary sector and schools to ensure that NCS graduates are encouraged to continue to find opportunities for further civic engagement. (Paragraph 197)
24. The National Citizen Service should be expected to make partnerships with voluntary sector organisations. (Paragraph 202)
25. The National Citizen Service should continue to work with other youth organisations to establish benchmarks for effectiveness to support evaluation across the sector. (Paragraph 203)
26. The Government should encourage and facilitate the National Citizen Service in making greater connections with schools, and should ensure that it is integrated with citizenship education provision. This should include encouraging NCS coordinators in schools to engage with citizenship courses and be given the Continuing Professional Development they need in order to do so. (Paragraph 209)

Civil Society

27. The Office for Civil Society should publicise the guidance on nominating outstanding volunteers for honours. (Paragraph 219)
28. The Main Honours Committee should give particular attention to the recommendations for honours for volunteers made by the honours committee for Community, Voluntary and Local Services. (Paragraph 220)
29. Umbrella bodies in the voluntary sector should prepare guidance for local authorities, health and social care organisations on how to give formal recognition to outstanding work by volunteers they work with. (Paragraph 221)
30. The Government should ensure that all front line staff working at Job Centre Plus are fully briefed on the status of volunteers. Where job seekers wish to volunteer, staff should encourage them to do so, and should explain that this can count for half of their reasonable action to find a job requirement (up to 17.5 hours). (Paragraph 226)
31. The Government should work with local administrations to audit existing inclusive public and civic space to see how it could be made more easily available for civic activity. (Paragraph 233)
32. We agree that employers should have a comprehensive public duties and community roles policy. (Paragraph 240)
33. The Government should create an Access to Volunteering scheme similar to the existing Access to Work scheme. (Paragraph 244)
34. The Government should consider including information on volunteering in the pensions pack sent to those who reach pensionable age. (Paragraph 246)

35. The Government should implement the recommendations of the Hodgson Review of third party campaigning as soon as Parliamentary time permits. (Paragraph 253)
36. The Government should conduct an early review of best practice in public engagement in public service provision and commissioning. (Paragraph 261)
37. The Government should use the Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012 to include public engagement in the contracts of public service providers. (Paragraph 262)

Democratic Engagement

38. We encourage the Government to continue exploring ways of making voter registration activities more efficient by harnessing existing commercial data sets. (Paragraph 275)
39. The Government should allow people to register to vote without a national insurance number on the basis of other recognised Government ID (passport, driving licence, etc). (Paragraph 279)
40. The Government should pilot assisted registration at a number of schools and Further Education colleges across the country. (Paragraph 284)
41. If the pilot is successful, the Government should consider making Regulations to impose on schools, Further Education colleges and apprenticeship providers a duty to assist Electoral Registration Officers when required to do so. (Paragraph 285)
42. The Government should review its guidance for Government departments communicating with members of the public to encourage more personalised communication that directly responds to people's concerns. It should include telling people who they can talk to if they disagree with the response, and who would be responsible for changing policy. (Paragraph 290)
43. We agree with those witnesses who stressed the importance of Members of Parliament offering personalised replies to personal letters addressed to them, explaining honestly when they disagreed with the member of the public, and giving their reasons for doing so. (Paragraph 292)
44. The Government should co-ordinate with the devolved administrations and local government to create a "no wrong door" approach to the state. A citizen should not need to know who a service is provided by in order to be put in contact with the provider. (Paragraph 298)
45. The Government should co-ordinate with the devolved administrations and local government to create a "no wrong door" approach for those who seek to change policy. If a member of the public seeks to change a policy they should be told who the decision maker is. (Paragraph 299)
46. The Government should investigate the feasibility of creating single points of contact in communities where people can get answers to questions that may fall across several departments, or between central and local government, or between them and other major service providers like the National Health Service. (Paragraph 300)
47. Local Authorities should improve the way they notify the public, using open and machine readable formats. They should also investigate using digital

methods like email newsletters and social media to ensure that the public are aware of changes. (Paragraph 304)

48. The Government should ensure that across all levels of Government data for democratic engagement is available in an open digital format. (Paragraph 305)
49. The Government should ensure that local authorities, health bodies and other public agencies bring the public, especially marginalised groups, into decision-making as early as possible, invest in high quality consultation processes, provide proper feedback to local communities and use the many evidence-based community engagement initiatives. (Paragraph 312)
50. We agree with the evidence given to the Joint Committee on the Palace of Westminster that the Restoration and Renewal of the Palace should be used as an opportunity to make Parliament more easily accessible, and to improve education about its activities. (Paragraph 314)
51. The Delivery Authority that will oversee the Restoration and Renewal process should incorporate outreach and creative forms of engagement in its work on the Palace of Westminster. (Paragraph 315)
52. The Government should restore the Access to Elected Office Fund which gave grants of between £250 and £40,000 to disabled candidates seeking election to elected office. (Paragraph 318)
53. Our main concern is that our recommendations on citizenship education are accepted and implemented. When this has happened will be the right time to consider lowering the voting age to 16. (Paragraph 324)

Integration through participation

54. The Government should target specific community development funds to pay for community organisers, community development officers or other specifically tailored support, for those areas with the lowest amounts of social capital. This may also include funding local voluntary organisations to undertake this work. (Paragraph 345)
55. The Government should expand the scope and funding of the Controlling Migration Fund to allow funds to be used for preparing for and providing support for new arrivals in neighbourhoods most directly affected by inward migration (Paragraph 350)
56. Every consultation carried out by the Government and local authorities in which the views of the general public are sought should go out of its way to seek the views of those communities which feel disregarded and ignored by those in authority. (Paragraph 353)
57. Central and local government should give priority to funding sport, the arts, music and civil society groups that work across communities. (Paragraph 361)
58. The Government, when consulting minority communities, needs to do better at reaching out beyond the usual suspects and gatekeepers to other voices in the community. It should place a particular emphasis on hearing the views of young people and women's groups. Minority communities too must open up, and enable different voices from within their communities to be heard. (Paragraph 366)

59. The Government should prioritise women's NGOs for funding in communities where women are underrepresented, and must make sure that women play a key role in consultations that are relevant to those communities. (Paragraph 381)
60. The Government must, in consultation with relevant organisations, clarify and simplify the documentation needed for applying for such funding. (Paragraph 382)
61. The Charity Commission should work with the voluntary sector to develop a voluntary code of conduct for charities that requires diversity among trustees, as well as a reasonably frequent turnover of membership of the trustee body. (Paragraph 385)
62. The Government needs to undertake an information campaign to better communicate the essential purposes and functions of Prevent. (Paragraph 392)
63. The Government needs to ensure greater involvement of local communities in the design of the Prevent strategy for their area. (Paragraph 397)
64. The Government should review the definition and application of non-violent extremism in the Prevent strategy. It should not infringe the right to free speech, but must recognise that incitement and preaching of hate will always fall within this definition. (Paragraph 400)

English

65. Local authorities should prioritise ESOL teaching in communities, in venues which are co-located with other services, and through women's organisations. (Paragraph 422)
66. Local authorities should ensure that ESOL teaching is provided concurrently with childcare provision wherever possible. (Paragraph 425)
67. The Government should restore ESOL courses which are combined with citizenship learning that can be offered to new arrivals in the UK. (Paragraph 429)
68. The Government must restore funding for ESOL teaching to its 2009/10 levels by 2019/20 and measure the effectiveness of its initiatives. (Paragraph 443)
69. The Government should conduct an assessment of the effectiveness of different forms of ESOL provision, and direct the funds accordingly. (Paragraph 444)
70. Local authorities should provide translations of documents and interpretation services only where this is essential (including where it is required by law). Savings made should be ring-fenced and applied to the provision of ESOL courses. (Paragraph 449)
71. As will appear from this chapter, our strategy is to enable people of all ages, whether newly arrived or long-established, to achieve the greatest possible proficiency in spoken and written English by establishing and funding courses which are easily accessible, in particular for those with young children. We commend this to the Government. (Paragraph 452)

Naturalisation

72. The Government should review the use and description of the “good character” requirements of naturalisation. It should ensure that these requirements are transparent and properly explained to applicants. Honest mistakes made during the application process should not by themselves be treated as evidence of bad character. (Paragraph 458)
73. The Government should reconsider the age from which the “good character” requirement applies for the acquisition of British citizenship by registration. (Paragraph 460)
74. The Government should alter the English Language requirement so that an applicant with an A level or equivalent qualification to an adequate level in a subject that requires the substantial use of written English is exempt from the test. A degree in any subject from a UK university should also suffice, but a degree from a university in another country should not automatically suffice. (Paragraph 464)
75. The Government should set up an advisory group to conduct a comprehensive review of the citizenship test, focusing on the key knowledge that supports citizenship in various forms, including becoming an active citizen. Knowledge of the working of bodies like local authorities and the NHS is essential, and the group should include representatives of these bodies. (Paragraph 472)
76. The advisory group should revise the book on Life in the UK to focus on the knowledge required for active citizenship. Sections of the book on British history should concentrate on those parts that played a key role in the development of the Shared Values of British Citizenship. (Paragraph 473)
77. We believe that the group we recommend setting up to review the citizenship test should also seek feedback from those who have been involved in citizenship ceremonies, and consider how greater publicity and impact might be given to them. (Paragraph 479)
78. It is inequitable that the Government should seek to make excessive profits out of those seeking naturalisation. The fee should be much closer to the cost to the Home Office of administering the naturalisation process, and the cost to the local authority of the citizenship ceremony. (Paragraph 485)
79. The advisory group we have recommended should also consider whether, in the case of acquisition of citizenship by registration, the Government should waive the registration fee entirely for children in care and for children who have spent their entire lives in the UK. (Paragraph 492)

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF MEMBERS AND DECLARATIONS OF INTEREST

Members

Baroness Barker
 Lord Blunkett
 Baroness Eaton (appointed 6 November 2017)
 Lord Harries of Pentregarth
 Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts (Chairman)
 Baroness Lister of Burtersett
 Baroness Morris of Yardley
 Baroness Newlove
 Baroness Pitkeathley
 Baroness Redfern
 Lord Rowe-Beddoe
 Baroness Stedman-Scott (resigned October 2017)
 Lord Verjee

Declarations of interest

Baroness Barker

Runs a management consultancy Third Sector Business which has many clients from the voluntary and community sector

Development adviser to a company Charity Checkout which supplies digital fundraising services to charities and companies which have fundraising partnerships with charities

On the advisory board of a digital company which is currently developing an international platform for members of minority communities

Baroness Eaton

Former Chairman and currently a Vice-President of the Local Government Association

Chair and Trustee of Near Neighbours

Deputy Lieutenant for West Yorkshire

Rt Hon Lord Blunkett

Member of the National Citizen Service board - unremunerated

Chair of the Sheffield Partnership Board - unremunerated

Vice president of the RNIB - unremunerated

Vice president of the Alzheimer's Society - unremunerated

Patron of City Year UK - unremunerated

Honorary president of the Association of Citizenship Teaching - unremunerated

Professor of Politics in Practice which involves engaging with the Crick Centre for the Public Understanding of Politics at the University of Sheffield - remunerated

Rt Rev Lord Harries of Pentregarth

Chair of the Commission on Civil Society and Democratic Engagement

Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts (Chairman)

Patron of Fair Trials International

Author of a pamphlet published by Civitas entitled "Britain's Demographic Challenge"

Baroness Lister of Burtersett

Patron of Just Fair, an organisation campaigning on economic and social human rights

Member of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Refugees

Honorary President of Child Poverty Action Group

Honorary President of Social Policy Association

Rt Hon Baroness Morris of Yardley

No relevant interests

Baroness Newlove

Victims' Commissioner for England and Wales

Supporter of the involvement of On Side Warrington Youth Club in the National Citizen Service

Baroness Pitkeathley

President of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO)

Trustee of Cumberland Lodge

Baroness Redfern

Councillor, Axholme Central Ward, North Lincolnshire Council

Lord Rowe-Beddoe

President of the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama

Member of the Committee to recommend UK City of Culture 2021

Baroness Stedman-Scott

Deputy Lieutenant for the County of East Sussex

Lord Verjee

Chairman of WE Day (UK), a charitable organisation to teach active citizenship and participation in society to young people

Founder, Rumi Foundation

A full list of Members' interests can be found in the Register of Lords Interests <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-interests/register-of-lords-interests/>

Professor Matthew Flinders, Specialist Adviser

Director, Understanding Politics Ltd

Member of the Economic and Social Research Council's Capability Committee

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF WITNESSES

Evidence is published online at <https://www.parliament.uk/citizenship-civic-engagement> and available for inspection at the Parliamentary Archives (020 7219 3074).

Evidence received by the Committee is listed below in chronological order of oral evidence session and in alphabetical order. Those witnesses marked with ** gave both oral evidence and written evidence. Those marked with * gave oral evidence and did not submit any written evidence. All other witnesses submitted written evidence only.

Oral evidence in chronological order

- * Hardip Begol, Integration and Faith Division, Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government [QQ 1–16](#)
- * Paul Morrison, Director, Resettlement, Asylum Support and Integration, Home Office
- * David Rossington, Director, Office for Civil Society, Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
- ** Ann Gross, Director of Special Needs, Disadvantage and Character Policy, Department for Education
- * Dr Jill Rutter, Director of Strategy and Relationships, British Future [QQ 17–24](#)
- * Dr Muhammad Abdul Bari, former General Secretary, Muslim Council of Britain
- * David Goodhart, Head of the Integration Hub at Policy Exchange
- ** Michael Sani, Chief Executive, Bite the Ballot [QQ 25–34](#)
- * Ashok Viswanathan, Deputy Director, Operation Black Vote
- * Professor Jon Tonge, Professor of Politics, University of Liverpool
- * Matteo Bergamini, Founder and Director, Shout Out UK
- ** Dr Rania Marandos, Deputy Chief Executive, Step Up to Serve [QQ 35–42](#)
- ** Michael Lynas, Chief Executive, National Citizen Service Trust
- ** Matt Hyde, Chief Executive, The Scout Association
- ** Oliver Lee, Chief Executive, The Challenge [QQ 43–50](#)
- ** Dr Andrew Mycock, Reader in Politics, University of Huddersfield
- ** Dr Sarah Mills, Loughborough University
- ** Dr Avril Keating, Senior Lecturer in Comparative Social Science, UCL Institute of Education [QQ 51–60](#)

- ** Liz Moore, Chief Executive, Association for
Citizenship Teaching (ACT)
- ** Tom Franklin, CEO, Citizenship Foundation
- * James Weinberg, University of Sheffield
- ** Saskia Marsh, Adviser to the Citizens Commission
on Islam, Participation and Public Life (The Missing
Muslims) [QQ 61–68](#)
- * Dr Therese O’Toole, University of Bristol
- * Hifsa Haroon-Iqbal, West Midlands Regional Prevent
Lead for HE and FE
- ** Dr Khursheed Wadia, Muslim Women’s Network UK [QQ 69–78](#)
- * Nazir Afzal, Former Chief Crown Prosecutor for
North-West England
- ** Dr Line Nyhagen, Loughborough University
- * Sean Harford, National Director for Education, Ofsted [QQ 79–87](#)
- * Scott Harrison, Former Ofsted Specialist Adviser for
Citizenship
- * Ryan Mason, Assistant Head Teacher, Addey and
Stanhope School, Lewisham
- * Philip Connolly, Policy and Development Manager,
Disability Rights UK [QQ 88–95](#)
- * Fazilet Hadi, Deputy Chief Executive and Director of
Advocacy, RNIB
- * Angela Kitching, Head of External Affairs, Age UK
- * Dan Jones, Director of Innovation and Change, Centre
for Ageing Better
- ** Sir Stuart Etherington, Chief Executive, NCVO [QQ 96–103](#)
- ** Neil Jameson, Citizens UK
- ** Matthew Bolton, Civil Society Futures
- ** Dawn Austwick, Chief Executive, Big Lottery Fund [QQ 104–113](#)
- ** Sir John Low, Chief Executive, Charities Aid
Foundation
- ** Patrick Murray, Head of Policy and External Affairs,
New Philanthropy Capital
- ** Fiona Wilson, Head of Research, USDAW [QQ 114–121](#)
- * Katerina Rudiger, Chief Community Officer, CIPD
- ** Rt Rev Richard Atkinson, Inter Faith Network [QQ 122–128](#)
- * Lord Phillips of Sudbury [QQ 129–132](#)
- ** Dr Henry Tam [QQ 133–140](#)

- ** Councillor Saima Ashraf, Deputy Leader and Cabinet Member for Community Leadership and Engagement, London Borough of Barking and Dagenham
- * Stuart Dunne, Deputy Chief Executive, Youth Focus North-West
- ** Mira Turnsek, German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. [QQ 141–148](#)
- * Dame Louise Casey [QQ 149–162](#)
- * Chief Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis [QQ 163–171](#)
- * His Eminence Vincent Nichols, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster
- * Dr Maria Sobolewska, University of Manchester [QQ 172–177](#)
- ** Dr Leah Bassel, University of Leicester
- ** Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement, Greater London Authority
- ** Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government [QQ 178–192](#)
- ** Tracey Crouch MP, then Minister for Sport and Civil Society, Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
- ** Rt Hon Nick Gibb MP, Minister of State for School Standards and Minister for Equalities
- ** Rt Hon Brandon Lewis MP, then Minister of State for Immigration, Home Office.

Alphabetical list of all witnesses

- Acocks Green Neighbourhood Forum [CCE0002](#)
- Action Together [CCE0048](#)
- Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) [CCE0094](#)
- * Ryan Mason, Assistant Head Teacher, Addey and Stanhope School, Lewisham
- * Nazir Afzal, Former Chief Crown Prosecutor for North-West England
- * Angela Kitching, Head of External Affairs, Age UK
- Alison Robinson [CCE0025](#)
- Dr Chris Allen, Department of Social Policy, Sociology & Criminology, University of Birmingham [CCE0181](#)
- Allerdale Borough Council [CCE0175](#)
- Ambition and others (joint submission) [CCE0199](#)

	Dr Marco Antonsich, Senior Lecturer Department of Geography, Loughborough University	<u>CCE0112</u>
	Anonymous witness	<u>CCE0215</u>
	Cllr Saima Ashraf	<u>CCE0271</u>
	Association of British Insurers	<u>CCE0263</u>
	Association for Citizenship Teaching	<u>CCE0143</u>
	Association of the Lord-Lieutenants	<u>CCE0035</u>
	Carina Badger	<u>CCE0159</u>
	Associate Professor Philip Bamber	<u>CCE0194</u>
*	Dr Muhammad Abdul Bari, former General Secretary, Muslim Council of Britain	
	Professor Martyn Barrett, Emeritus Professor of Psychology, University of Surrey	<u>CCE0037</u>
	Dr Koen Bartels	<u>CCE0197</u>
	Dr David Bartram	<u>CCE0262</u>
	Basira	<u>CCE0261</u>
	Dr Leah Bassel	<u>CCE0145</u>
	Janet Batsleer	<u>CCE0096</u>
	BBC	<u>CCE0184</u>
	Philip Bedford	<u>CCE0040</u>
	Bedfordshire Association of Town and Parish Councils	<u>CCE0072</u>
*	Matteo Bergamini, Founder and Director, Shout Out UK	
	Helen Haste, Angela Bermudez, and Mario Carretero	<u>CCE0226</u>
	Big Lottery Fund	<u>CCE0246</u>
	The Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law	<u>CCE0204</u>
	Blakelaw and North Fenham Community Council	<u>CCE0099</u>
	Bite the Ballot	<u>CCE0254</u>
*	Dr Jill Rutter, Director of Strategy and Relationships, British Future	
	British Heart Foundation	<u>CCE0121</u>
	British Red Cross	<u>CCE0243</u>
	The British Youth Council	<u>CCE0098</u>
	The British Youth Council and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University	<u>CCE0161</u>
	Roger Bysouth	<u>CCE0230</u>

	Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (UK Branch)	<u>CCE0192</u>
	Caritas Social Action Network (CSAN)	<u>CCE0147</u>
	Councillor Mrs Armored J Carlyon	<u>CCE0234</u>
	Helen Haste, Angela Bermudez, and Mario Carretero	<u>CCE0226</u>
*	Dame Louise Casey	
	Catch 22	<u>CCE0153</u>
	Mr James Cathcart	<u>CCE0253</u>
	Catholic Union of Great Britain	<u>CCE0117</u>
*	Dan Jones, Director of Innovation and Change, Centre for Ageing Better	
	The Challenge	<u>CCE0203</u> <u>CCE0274</u>
	Gabriel Chanan	<u>CCE0013</u>
	Change That Matters Ltd	<u>CCE0208</u>
	Charities Aid Foundation	<u>CCE0180</u>
	Charity Commission for England and Wales	<u>CCE0164</u>
	Charity Retail Association	<u>CCE0055</u>
	Children's Rights Alliance for England (CRAE)	<u>CCE0114</u>
	Christopher Santos-Lang	<u>CCE0014</u>
	Church Urban Fund	<u>CCE0179</u>
*	Katerina Rudiger, Chief Community Officer, CIPD	
	CitizED	<u>CCE0119</u>
	Citizenship and Civic Engagement Working Group Faculty of Humanities, The University of Manchester	<u>CCE0171</u>
	Citizenship Foundation	<u>CCE0195</u>
	Citizenship Foundation and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	City Year UK	<u>CCE0105</u>
	City Year UK and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	CIVICUS	<u>CCE0128</u>
	Sharon Clancy (Senior Research Fellow, School of Education, University of Nottingham) and others	<u>CCE0172</u>
	Civil Society Futures	<u>CCE0073</u>
	Dr Alistair Clark, Politics Department, Newcastle University	<u>CCE0081</u>
	Nick Clarke, Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker	<u>CCE0196</u>
	Victoria Clutton	<u>CCE0001</u>
	Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School	<u>CCE0029</u>

	Community Channel	<u>CCE0213</u>
	Community First Yorkshire	<u>CCE0075</u>
	Community Organisers Ltd	<u>CCE0200</u>
*	Philip Connolly, Policy and Development Manager, Disability Rights UK	
	Conservative Muslim Forum	<u>CCE0150</u>
	Convenors of the UK Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Young People's Politics	<u>CCE0087</u>
	Coram	<u>CCE0113</u>
	Professor Emma Crewe	<u>CCE0207</u>
	Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London	<u>CCE0174</u>
	Davido Ltd	<u>CCE0007</u>
	Dr Alison Davies, Peterborough Racial Equality Council	<u>CCE0056</u>
	Dr. Tania de St Croix, In Defence of Youth Work	<u>CCE0218</u>
	DECSY Development Education Centre South Yorkshire	<u>CCE0120</u>
	Democracy Club Community Interest Company	<u>CCE0138</u>
	Democracy Matters	<u>CCE0265</u>
	The Democratic Society	<u>CCE0095</u>
	Demos	<u>CCE0233</u>
	Department of Curriculum Pedagogy and Assessment, UCL Institute of Education	<u>CCE0166</u>
	Department for Education	<u>CCE0268</u>
	Dr Derek Edyvane, University of Leeds	<u>CCE0158</u>
	Ms Sue Devlin	<u>CCE0223</u>
	David Dixon	<u>CCE0015</u>
	Sunny Dhadley, Wolverhampton SUIT (Service User Involvement Team)	<u>CCE0008</u>
*	Philip Connolly, Policy and Development Manager, Disability Rights UK	
	The Duke of Edinburgh's Award	<u>CCE0264</u>
*	Stuart Dunne, Deputy Chief Executive, Youth Focus North-West	
	Professor Thom Brooks, Dean & Chair in Law and Government, Durham Law School, Durham University	<u>CCE0161</u>
	EDEN City Outreach	<u>CCE0076</u>
	Dr Jan Eichhorn, Lecturer, University of Edinburgh	<u>CCE0027</u>

The Electoral Commission	<u>CCE0152</u>
Electoral Reform Society	<u>CCE0136</u>
Stephen Elstub (Lecturer in British Politics, Newcastle University) & Oliver Escobar (University of Edinburgh & What Works Scotland)	<u>CCE0125</u>
Equality and Human Rights Commission	<u>CCE0183</u>
The Equality Trust	<u>CCE0091</u>
Evangelical Alliance	<u>CCE0245</u>
Dr Sami Everett, The Woolf Institute	<u>CCE0003</u>
Exeter City Community Trust	<u>CCE0086</u>
Expert Subject Advisory Group for Citizenship	<u>CCE0090</u>
Facing History and Ourselves	<u>CCE0193</u>
Professor Laurence Ferry	<u>CCE0229</u>
Five Nations Network	<u>CCE0160</u>
Fixers	<u>CCE0191</u>
Foundation for Social Improvement	<u>CCE0063</u>
Girlguiding and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
Good Things Foundation	<u>CCE0206</u>
Graeme Davis	<u>CCE0108</u>
Dr Roman Gerodimos	<u>CCE0082</u>
The Glass-House Community Led Design	<u>CCE0054</u>
Mr Philip Gleeson and Mr Jagdeep Passan	<u>CCE0092</u>
* David Goodhart, Head of the Integration Hub at Policy Exchange	
Simon Kinder, Head of Learning and Teaching, Gresham's School	<u>CCE0009</u>
Guild HE	<u>CCE0068</u>
* Fazilet Hadi, Deputy Chief Executive and Director of Advocacy, RNIB	
Dr Emma Halliday and Professor Jennie Popay	<u>CCE0149</u>
Hampshire Association of Local Councils	<u>CCE0066</u>
* Sean Harford, National Director for Education, Ofsted	
* Hifsa Haroon-Iqbal, West Midlands Regional Prevent Lead for HE and FE	
Dr Richard Harris, Associate Professor in Education, Institute of Education, University of Reading	<u>CCE0028</u>
* Scott Harrison, Former Ofsted Specialist Adviser for Citizenship	
Helen Haste, Angela Bermudez, and Mario Carretero	<u>CCE0226</u>

Joe Hayman	<u>CCE0059</u>
Health and Social Care Alliance, Scotland	<u>CCE0165</u>
Healthwatch England	<u>CCE0168</u>
Healthwatch Essex	<u>CCE0032</u>
Susan Hedley	<u>CCE0074</u>
Nottingham Civic Exchange and Professor Matt Henn	<u>CCE0188</u>
HM Government	<u>CCE0249</u> <u>CCE0255</u>
The Rev. Robin Griffith-Jones, D. Litt, Master of the Temple at the Temple Church, Senior Lecturer, King's College London	<u>CCE0123</u>
Professor John Holford (Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education, School of Education, University of Nottingham) and others	<u>CCE0172</u>
Holocaust Educational Trust	<u>CCE0252</u>
Jeannie Holstein (Assistant Professor in Strategic and Public Sector Management, Business School, University of Nottingham) and others	<u>CCE0172</u>
Dr Neil Hopkins, Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Bedfordshire	<u>CCE0016</u>
Peter Hopkins, School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University	<u>CCE0070</u>
Professor Bryony Hoskins, Department of Social Sciences, University of Roehampton, London and Dr Jan Germen Janmaat, from the ESRC LLAKES centre, Department of Lifelong and Comparative Education, Institute of Education, London	<u>CCE0047</u> <u>CCE0060</u>
Hospital Broadcasting Association	<u>CCE0259</u>
Christine Huebner	<u>CCE0221</u>
Ms Lorna Hughes	<u>CCE0132</u>
Human City Institute	<u>CCE0124</u>
Ian Jones, Chief Executive, Volunteer Cornwall	<u>CCE0034</u>
The Imagine Project	<u>CCE0127</u>
The Inter Faith Network for the UK	<u>CCE0250</u>
Intergenerational Foundation	<u>CCE0104</u>
International Association for Community Development	<u>CCE0036</u>
Involve	<u>CCE0187</u>
Dr Toby James, Senior Lecturer, University of East Anglia	<u>CCE0131</u>

	Dr Jan Germen Janmaat, from the ESRC LLAKES centre, Department of Lifelong and Comparative Education, Institute of Education, London, and Professor Bryony Hoskins, Department of Social Sciences, University of Roehampton, London	<u>CCE0047</u> <u>CCE0060</u>
*	Dan Jones, Director of Innovation and Change, Centre for Ageing Better	
	Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham	<u>CCE0078</u>
	Just Fair, Children's Rights Alliance for England, Alliance for Inclusive Education, Inclusion London, Women's Resource Centre and the British Institute of Human Rights	<u>CCE0162</u>
	Dr Nisha Kapoor, Lecturer in Sociology, University of York	<u>CCE0225</u>
	Dr Avril Keating	<u>CCE0134</u>
	KIDS	<u>CCE0238</u>
	Simon Kinder, Head of Learning and Teaching, Gresham's School	<u>CCE0009</u>
	Dr Rod Dacombe, Department of Political Economy, Kings College London	<u>CCE0174</u>
	Kingsteignton Youth Centre	<u>CCE0084</u>
	Kingston Park Neighbourhood Forum	<u>CCE0107</u>
*	Angela Kitching, Head of External Affairs, Age UK	
	Dr Dina Kiwan, Reader in Comparative Education, Department of Education and Social Justice, School of Education University of Birmingham	<u>CCE0033</u>
	Adam Peter Lang	<u>CCE0022</u>
	Professor Cristina Leston-Bandeira, Professor of Politics, University of Leeds	<u>CCE0154</u>
	Leap Confronting Conflict and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	Let Us Learn! Just for Kids Law	<u>CCE0141</u>
	Link Up (UK)	<u>CCE0167</u>
	Ross Lloyd	<u>CCE0228</u>
	Lloyd Banks Foundation for England and Wales	<u>CCE0130</u>
	Local Trust	<u>CCE0139</u>
	Locality	<u>CCE0140</u>
	Dr Georg Löffmann, University of Warwick and Professor Nick Vaughan-Williams	<u>CCE0083</u>
	London Youth	<u>CCE0205</u>

	Dr Marco Antonsich, Senior Lecturer Department of Geography, Loughborough University	<u>CCE0112</u>
	Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University	<u>CCE0077</u>
	Dr Eric Royal Lybeck, University of Exeter	<u>CCE0209</u>
	John Malcomson	<u>CCE0017</u>
	Saskia Marsh	<u>CCE0260</u>
*	Ryan Mason, Assistant Head Teacher, Addey and Stanhope School, Lewisham	
	Christopher Mattley	<u>CCE0024</u>
	Mayor of London, Greater London Authority	<u>CCE0244</u>
	Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement– supplementary evidence	<u>CCE0273</u>
	Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change	<u>CCE0048</u>
	MEND	<u>CCE0185</u>
	Zoraida Mendiwolso-Bendek, Senior Research Fellow in Citizenship, University of Lincoln	<u>CCE0176</u>
	Migrants’ Rights Network	<u>CCE0224</u>
	Mr Richard Miles	<u>CCE0219</u>
	Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite	<u>CCE0030</u>
	Paul Milton	<u>CCE0156</u>
	David Minall	<u>CCE0041</u>
	The Mix and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	Professor David Morris, Director, Centre for Citizenship and Community, University of Central Lancashire	<u>CCE0157</u>
*	Dr Muhammad Abdul Bari, former General Secretary, Muslim Council of Britain	
	Muslim Women’s Network	<u>CCE0220</u>
	MutualGain	<u>CCE0146</u>
	Dr Andrew Mycock	<u>CCE0247</u>
	My Society	<u>CCE0069</u>
	NALC	<u>CCE0190</u>
	NATECLA	<u>CCE0216</u>
	National Citizen Service Trust	<u>CCE0269</u>
	National Citizen Service Trust and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	National Council for Voluntary Organisations	<u>CCE0239</u>

National Education Union: National Union of Teachers Section	<u>CCE0240</u>
National Federation of Parks and Green Spaces	<u>CCE0151</u>
National Secular Society	<u>CCE0133</u>
National Union of Students (NUS)	<u>CCE0106</u>
New Citizenship Project	<u>CCE0170</u>
New Philanthropy Capital	<u>CCE0097</u>
Newcastle Council for Voluntary Service	<u>CCE0038</u>
No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) Network	<u>CCE0155</u>
Mr Christopher Norris	<u>CCE0051</u>
Nottingham Civic Exchange and Professor Matt Henn	<u>CCE0188</u>
Dr Line Nyhagen, Reader in Sociology, Loughborough University	<u>CCE0077</u>
Oatlands Community Group	<u>CCE0116</u>
* Sean Harford, National Director for Education, Ofsted	
* Dr Therese O'Toole, University of Bristol	
Outside the Box	<u>CCE0189</u>
Professor David Owen	<u>CCE0021</u>
Mr Jagdeep Passan and Mr Philip Gleeson	<u>CCE0092</u>
Dr Alison Davies, Peterborough Racial Equality Council	<u>CCE0056</u>
* David Goodhart, Head of the Integration Hub at Policy Exchange	
Political Literacy Oversight Group of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Democratic Participation	<u>CCE0058</u>
The Political Studies Association	<u>CCE0231</u>
Ailbhe McNabola, Head of Research and Policy, Power to Change	<u>CCE0048</u>
Alex Prior	<u>CCE0251</u>
Professor David Richards, Dr Patrick Diamond and Professor Martin Smith	<u>CCE0053</u>
Professor Jennie Popay and Dr Emma Halliday	<u>CCE0149</u>
Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens	<u>CCE0079</u>
Pupils 2 Parliament	<u>CCE0258</u>
QED Foundation	<u>CCE0062</u>
Queen's Park Community Council	<u>CCE0100</u>
Dr Kingsley Purdham, University of Manchester	<u>CCE0071</u>
Owais Rajput	<u>CCE0118</u>

Zanib Rasool MBE	<u>CCE0267</u>
Restless Development	<u>CCE0198</u>
Mrs Violet Rook	<u>CCE0020</u>
Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA)	<u>CCE0088</u>
* Fazilet Hadi, Deputy Chief Executive and Director of Advocacy, RNIB	
* Katerina Rudiger, Chief Community Officer, CIPD The Runnymede Trust/Race on the Agenda	<u>CCE0214</u>
* Dr Jill Rutter, Director of Strategy and Relationships, British Future	
Matthew Ryder, Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, Social Mobility and Community Engagement	<u>CCE0273</u>
Scottish Older People's Assembly	<u>CCE0212</u>
The Scout Association	<u>CCE0202</u> <u>CCE0272</u>
The Scout Association and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
SENSE	<u>CCE0102</u>
John Shaddock	<u>CCE0182</u>
Professor Jo Shaw, Salvesen Chair of European Institutions, University of Edinburgh	<u>CCE0045</u>
Sheffield for Democracy	<u>CCE0065</u>
Dr Mark Shephard, Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Strathclyde	<u>CCE0023</u>
Dr Kalbir Shukra, Senior Lecturer, Goldsmiths University of London with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown, Advisors to the Young Mayor of Lewisham	<u>CCE0026</u>
Mr Michal Siewniak	<u>CCE0201</u>
Kate Coleclough, Head of Religious Studies, PSHE and Citizenship, Sir Thomas Boteler CE High School	<u>CCE0029</u>
Dr Michael Skey, Lecturer in Communication & Media, Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough University	<u>CCE0031</u>
Nigel Slack	<u>CCE0110</u>
Smartmatic	<u>CCE0232</u>
Soroptimist International Durham	<u>CCE0064</u>
South Tyneside Council	<u>CCE0148</u>
Professor Hugh Starkey, Professor of Citizenship and Human Rights Education	<u>CCE0166</u>

	Professor Ken Starkey (Professor of Management & Organisational Learning, Business School, University of Nottingham) and others	<u>CCE0172</u>
	Step Up To Serve	<u>CCE0210</u>
	The Student View	<u>CCE0122</u>
*	Lord Phillips of Sudbury	
	Susan Suttle	<u>CCE0057</u>
	Karl Sweeney	<u>CCE0042</u>
	Taking Yourself Seriously	<u>CCE0144</u>
	Dr Henry Tam	<u>CCE0012</u>
	Rona Topaz, Disabled People Against Cuts	<u>CCE0019</u>
	Think Global	<u>CCE0109</u>
	Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Peace Foundation	<u>CCE0067</u>
*	Professor Jon Tonge, Professor of Politics, University of Liverpool	
	Mira Turnsek supplementary evidence	<u>CCE0270</u>
	UK Parliament	<u>CCE0126</u>
	UK Youth and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	Understanding Everyday Participation–Articulating Cultural Values Project	<u>CCE0186</u>
	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Usdaw)	<u>CCE0163</u>
	United Nations Association UK (ANA-UK)	<u>CCE0135</u>
	Universal Peace Federation	<u>CCE0177</u>
	Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, University of Birmingham	<u>CCE0078</u>
	University of Hertfordshire	<u>CCE0248</u>
	University of Kent Centre for Philanthropy	<u>CCE0006</u>
	University of Reading, Institute of Education and the Citizenship Foundation	<u>CCE0222</u>
	Unlock Democracy Greater Manchester	<u>CCE0052</u>
	Urban Vision Enterprise CIC	<u>CCE0089</u>
	V Inspired and others (joint submission)	<u>CCE0199</u>
	Professor Nick Vaughan-Williams and Dr Georg Löffmann, University of Warwick	<u>CCE0083</u>
	Ms Julianne Viola	<u>CCE0103</u>
*	Ashok Viswanathan, Deputy Director, Operation Black Vote	
	Voluntary Action Leeds	<u>CCE0178</u>

	Volunteering Matters	<u>CCE0242</u>
	Ian Jones, Chief Executive, Volunteer Cornwall	<u>CCE0034</u>
	Volunteer Now	<u>CCE0173</u>
	Votes for Schools	<u>CCE0111</u>
	VSO	<u>CCE0211</u>
	Dr Sarah Mills and Dr Catherine Waite	<u>CCE0030</u>
	Kevin Walker	<u>CCE0043</u>
*	James Weinberg, University of Sheffield	
	What Works Scotland	<u>CCE0142</u>
	White Ribbon Association	<u>CCE0137</u>
	Vishal Wilde	<u>CCE0010</u>
	Dr Joanie Willett, University of Exeter	<u>CCE0256</u>
	Suzanne Wilson, Research Fellow in Social Exclusion and Community Development, UCLan and Dr Rick Wylie, Samuel Lindow Academic Director, UCLan	<u>CCE0157</u>
	Sunny Dhadley, Wolverhampton SUIT (Service User Involvement Team)	<u>CCE0008</u>
	Wonder Foundation	<u>CCE0044</u>
	Workers' Educational Association	<u>CCE0257</u>
	Dr Rick Wylie, Samuel Lindow Academic Director, UCLan, and Suzanne Wilson, Research Fellow in Social Exclusion and Community Development, UCLan	<u>CCE0157</u>
*	Stuart Dunne, Deputy Chief Executive, Youth Focus North-West	
	Young Adults Academy	<u>CCE0129</u>

APPENDIX 3: CALL FOR EVIDENCE AND WEB FORUM

Call for Evidence

The Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement was set up on 29 June 2017. It has to report by 31 March 2018.

British society is changing. Technological, economic and cultural issues are leading to far-reaching shifts in how individuals, families and communities live and work together. The referendums on Scottish independence and Brexit, the recent attacks in Manchester and London by people, some of them born in Britain, an apparent low level of confidence in the effectiveness of the political system, not to mention concern regarding sections of society that feel “left behind”—all of these point to the need to reflect on those values, principles and processes that might play a role in bringing people together and promoting engaged citizenship.

This is why the House of Lords has set up a committee to explore the issues of citizenship and civic engagement in the twenty-first century. The committee is keen to hear from a wide range of individuals, groups and organisations in order to understand the nature of the citizenship challenge for different parts of society; the aim being to identify new ways of building bridges within and between communities, and to support civic engagement. How to think about citizenship and civic engagement in a more vibrant, positive and integrated manner is of particular interest to the committee.

The questions set out below are intended to provide a framework for those who wish to offer their views.

1. What does citizenship and civic engagement mean in the 21st century? Why does it matter, and how does it relate to questions of identity?
2. Citizenship is partly about membership and belonging. Are there ways we could strengthen people’s identity as citizens, whether they are citizens by birth or naturalisation? Could citizenship ceremonies or events throughout the educational process play a role? Should pride in being or becoming British be encouraged?
3. Civic engagement can be seen as both a responsibility and a right of citizenship. Beyond the existing legal framework, should citizens have additional formal rights and responsibilities? How do you see the relationship between the two? Should they have the force of law individually or be presented as reciprocal duties between citizen and state? How should they be monitored and/or enforced?
4. Do current laws encourage active political engagement? What are your views on changes to the franchise for national or local elections, including lowering the voting age? Should changes be made to the voting process or the voting registration process?
5. What should be the role of education in teaching and encouraging good citizenship? At what stages, from primary school through to university, should it be (a) available, and (b) compulsory? Should there be any exemptions? Should there be more emphasis on political participation, both inside and outside classes? How effective is current teaching? Do the curriculum and the qualifications that are currently offered need amending?

6. Do voluntary citizenship programmes such as the National Citizen Service do a good job of creating active citizens? Are they the right length? Should they be compulsory, and if so, when? Should they include a greater political element? Should they lead to a more public citizenship ceremony? Are they good value for money? What other routes exist for creating active citizens?
7. How can society support civic engagement? What responsibility should central government, devolved and local governments, third sector organisations and the individual have for encouraging civic engagement? What can the Government and Parliament do to support civil society initiatives to increase civic engagement?
8. What are the values that all of us who live in Britain should share and support? Can you identify any threats to these values, which affect the citizenship of, for instance, women or various minority groups? If so, how can their citizenship be strengthened?
9. Why do so many communities and groups feel “left behind”? Are there any specific factors which act as barriers to active citizenship faced by different communities or groups - white, BME, young, old, rural, urban? How might these barriers be overcome?
10. How do you see the relationship between citizenship and civic engagement on the one hand and social cohesion and integration on the other? What effect does the level of diversity in schools and workplaces have on integration in society as a whole? How can diversity and integration be increased concurrently?
11. How important are levels of English proficiency for first and second generation immigrants and what could be done to increase them, including through support for ESOL classes? Are there particular barriers faced by newcomers to Britain? Could the naturalisation process, including the citizenship test, be improved and if so, how?
12. Can you give examples of initiatives and role models that have helped promote a positive vision of British Citizenship within a tolerant and cohesive society?

Web Forum

Submissions made in response to the Call for Evidence are, with the agreement of the Committee, treated as formal evidence to the Committee, published as such on the Committee’s website, and where appropriate referred to in this report. Given the great interest in the subject by members of the public who did not wish to make formal submissions, we took the unusual step of setting up a web forum on our website.

We suggested a number of issues people might like to consider:

- Why do so many groups in society appear to feel disengaged and ‘left behind’? How could they be supported and encouraged to participate more in public life?
- Are there specific values or beliefs that are important within British society?
- What role might citizenship education play in terms of promoting shared values and the skills necessary to engage in society?

- What are the main barriers to civic engagement and—more importantly—how might they be removed?
- Where are the examples of successful innovation, positive role models or new forms of civic engagement?

In the three months the forum was open discussion ranged more widely than this, and gave us a useful insight into the views of those who took part on these and many other issues.

APPENDIX 4: TERMS OF REFERENCE

1. Our Committee was set up on 29 June 2017 with the remit, “to consider citizenship and civic engagement”. This could scarcely have been wider. However throughout the planning and conducting of our inquiry we have borne in mind the views of the Liaison Committee, on whose recommendation the Committee was constituted.⁴³⁶ Lord Cromwell⁴³⁷ and Lord Wallace of Saltaire⁴³⁸ had both suggested, initially separately but subsequently jointly,⁴³⁹ that a Committee should be set up to consider Citizenship. Separately, Baroness Royall of Blaisdon proposed the setting up of a Committee to consider “how to ensure high levels of civic engagement among young and marginalised communities”.⁴⁴⁰
2. The Liaison Committee proposed, and the House agreed, that these topics could be considered simultaneously by a Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement. The Liaison Committee suggested that policy aspects which this Committee could consider would include:
 - What does British citizenship mean? Does the definition need clarifying?
 - What ‘rights’ are attached to citizenship? Do these need codifying? Should they be promoted more to the public?
 - What ‘responsibilities’ are attached to citizenship? Should volunteering, or some sort of ‘national service’, be made compulsory or placed on a more formal footing?
 - How is civic engagement manifested in different parts of society and how does public policy help or hinder this?
 - What are the barriers to citizenship which affect particular parts of society, such as young people, people from a lower socio-economic background and marginalised communities?
 - How do the rights and responsibilities of citizenship compare between:
 - UK citizens born and living in the UK,
 - UK citizens born in the UK but living abroad,
 - UK citizens who were born abroad but have obtained citizenship through naturalisation, and
 - Dual-nationals?
 - How well does the UK educate people about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, particularly in schools, universities, citizenship classes and amongst the wider public?
 - Are there differences in the levels of civic engagement between those born in the UK and those who obtain citizenship through naturalisation? If so, what lessons can be learned about how to engage all citizens?
3. All these are among the matters we have considered. Additionally, two members of this Committee made suggestions for inquiries which, though not

436 Liaison Committee, *New investigative committees in the 2017–18 Session*, (2nd Report, Session 2016–17, HL Paper 144) paras 11–13

437 *Ibid.*, p 17

438 *Ibid.*, pp 18–20

439 *Ibid.*, p 20

440 *Ibid.*, pp 25–26

formally incorporated by the Liaison Committee into our terms of reference, have nevertheless been relevant to our work. First, Baroness Eaton proposed a Committee to consider the “next steps following the publication of the Casey Review”,⁴⁴¹ which had been published a few weeks earlier. Secondly, Lord Harries of Pentregarth recommended a Committee “To explore and identify the shared values underpinning our national life and their role in shaping public policy priorities”,⁴⁴² a matter we have also fully considered.

441 *Ibid.*, pp 27–29

442 *Ibid.*, p 41

APPENDIX 5: NOTE OF VISIT TO WESTMINSTER CITY HALL

Citizenship Ceremony

On 25 October 2017 members of the Committee attended a citizenship ceremony at Westminster City Hall presided over by His Worshipful, the Lord Mayor of Westminster, Councillor Ian Adams. This was the final step for 27 people from 18 countries to become British citizens by naturalisation.

This visit was attended by Lord Harries of Pentregarth, Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts (Chairman) and Baroness Morris of Yardley.

The ceremony began with an introduction by the Registrar, followed by a speech by the Lord Mayor.

Box 10: Speech by the Superintendent Registrar

Since the introduction of the Citizenship Ceremony in 2004, in Westminster alone we have naturalised over 26,000 new citizens originating from over 180 different nations.

So today, I would like to take this opportunity to give a special welcome to our new citizens today who were born in: Australia, Bangladesh, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Iran, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Mauritius, Philippines, Poland, Russian Federation, Singapore, Turkey, Ukraine, and the United States of America.

Citizenship is a shared partnership between an individual, the wider community and the state. So today I will be asking you to declare an Oath of Allegiance to the Crown. I will then be asking you to commit to a public pledge, to uphold the values of British Citizenship—respect for law, freedom of speech, respect for other people’s beliefs and our democratic principles.

Those of you who have chosen to swear the Oath of Allegiance, please stand and repeat after me; after I say the word “I”, you should each in turn repeat the word “I”, followed by your own name:

I (names) swear by Almighty God that on becoming a British citizen I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second her heirs and successors according to law.

Please remain standing. Now will those of you who have chosen to take the Affirmation please stand. You will also repeat the words of the Affirmation after me in the same way.

I (names) do solemnly sincerely and truly declare and affirm that on becoming a British Citizen I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second her heirs and successors according to law.

Now I am going to ask all of you to make the pledge of commitment. So please again, repeat after me:

I will give my loyalty to the United Kingdom and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values. I will observe its laws faithfully and fulfil my duties and obligations as a British citizen.

We welcome you on behalf of the Queen, her Government, Parliament, the people of the United Kingdom and of the City of Westminster to British Citizenship.

I will now call upon each of you in turn to receive your certificate. [The new citizens were called forward to collect their certificates.]

Ladies and gentlemen, before the singing of the National Anthem, please may I have your attention for a little while longer.

We have witnessed today new citizens born in 18 different countries—a true reflection of the diversity of the population here in London.

You will be expected to fulfil the duties and obligations of a United Kingdom citizen by playing your part in the life and work of the country and your local community.

We very much hope that today's ceremony has added something to the significance of your acquiring your British Citizenship, and that it has reinforced your belief that you belong here and that your contribution to our community is truly valued.

So now, new citizens, guests and colleagues, may I ask you all to be upstanding for the singing of the National Anthem.

The new citizens were presented with a gift of a glass tumbler, and then had their photograph taken with the Lord Mayor and a picture of the Queen. Committee members then had an opportunity to speak to the new citizens and their guests about their experiences.

Discussion

After the ceremony the Lord Mayor provided tea for the Committee and Registrars who discussed their work with us. Three key issues emerged which were relevant to our work.

The high cost of the process: We were informed that the process of naturalisation costs £1,282 which was in addition to the cost of the citizenship test, the cost of proof that the person can speak English, the cost of supplying biometric data, and the cost of acquiring indefinite leave to remain. One of those attending estimated that the total cost was £2,500. The officials stated that £80 of that £1,282 went to the local council and the rest was retained by the Home Office. We were told of people saving up for several years before they could afford to become a citizen. One guest at the ceremony who wanted to become a citizen said he had not yet done so because of the high cost.

English speaking requirements: We were told that in order for a person to prove that they could speak English they either needed to be from a qualifying English speaking country (e.g. USA, Australia, Jamaica), or to have a degree taught or researched in English, or to have passed a specific English qualification at B1 level or above. This in practice meant that a person could be born and raised in the UK, do their A levels in the UK, be studying at a university in the UK and, if they had not graduated, still need to have to pay for an English language qualification to prove they could speak English, so further adding to the cost.

Wording of the values: The ceremony included a list of values that were similar to the Government's fundamental British values but were phrased differently, and not directly described as fundamental British values. The values were instead described as Values of British Citizenship.

We are most grateful to the Lord Mayor and officials for the time and trouble they took to allow us to see this ceremony, and to discuss it with us.

APPENDIX 6: NOTE OF VISIT TO CLACTON-ON-SEA

In conjunction with the UK Parliament Education and Engagement Service the Committee held an event to hear the views of the public in Clacton-on-Sea.

This visit was attended by Lord Harries of Pentregarth, Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts (Chairman), Baroness Lister of Burtsett, Baroness Pitkeathly and Lord Verjee.

Clacton was chosen because it has a very largely ethnic white population with a high preponderance in the lowest socio-economic classes. Central Clacton is technically Pier Ward of Tendring District Council. At the time of the 2011 census its population was 87.8% White British, 4.4% White Other and 2.5% Mixed. All the wards of Tendring surrounding Clacton had a White British population in excess of 90%, some as high as 97%. No ward had more than 1% Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi combined.

Discussion

The event, on 31 October 2017, was attended by 22 members of the public who represented a broad cross-section of Clacton society. They engaged in round table discussions with members of the Committee. There were three tables with approximately seven participants per table and one or two members of the Committee. The event was broadly shaped around three key questions:

- Do you feel government listens to you? If yes, why? If no, why not?
- Do you feel connected to the local community? If yes, why? If no, why not?
- How could you be supported to participate more in public life?

Central and local Government

It was felt that national government was not listening to people. It was described as ignoring people on immigration, on Article 50 [of the Treaty on European Union], on infrastructure and on the NHS, and as having no understanding of what places like Clacton were actually like. When a personal letter was sent to an MP or a government department the reply would be a 'cut and pasted' standard letter that failed to answer the question that was asked. It was difficult to get an explanation of Government policy. Those present described this as affecting their trust in the system. They preferred a reply that was honest and disagreed with them rather than one telling them what it was thought they wanted to hear. There was a lack of personal responsibility by both MPs and civil servants. There were so many government departments to talk to but none would give a proper answer. There was resentment that other places received more favourable treatment from the Government than Clacton. This included overseas aid (although others defended it), money paid to the DUP, and people in London getting more per head for the NHS.

There were mixed views on local government. Some suggested that local government did not connect with the people living in the area, and promised things but then never delivered. People who had been involved in local government raised the personal and vicious nature of local political activity as off-putting; it made them less likely to engage with government at any level. Others praised councillors as doing a great job but lacking time and resources to do more. It was suggested that councillors were an important pivot point in the community but

that not enough people knew they were there. The ability of local government to communicate was a common issue across groups.

Policing

One concern repeatedly expressed was the effect of cuts to policing. It was thought that Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) provided a strong contact point for the community, made streets feel safer and stopped anti-social behaviour from escalating. The lack of PCSOs was strongly felt. Alongside this there was also thought to be a lack of Police Officers. Residents felt that it was too difficult to get police support when there was an incident. The lack of a police presence in turn made the streets feel less safe and made people less keen to go out at night, which made community activity more difficult.

The local community

There was a worry that there was a disconnect between new arrivals in Clacton and the existing community. It was felt that newer people travelled to work elsewhere and spent less time in Clacton, and so did not connect with people in the area. Where newcomers did connect, this was with other newcomers rather than the existing community. It was felt that newcomers were not putting down roots, and were coming to Clacton not because they particularly wanted to live there but for other reasons. The high cost of housing in London was causing people to move to Clacton, and to be moved to Clacton. The housing benefit cap was thought to be causing benefit claimants to be sent to Clacton. It was also thought that ex-prisoners were being moved to Clacton. All of these people were described as lacking roots in Clacton.

There were mixed views amongst people in the room about immigration. Some called for tighter border controls and thought that the Government should be looking after “their own people”. Others highlighted that the media were stigmatising immigrants, and were suggesting that immigrants were taking jobs away from people. It was mentioned that there were “lots of Muslims and Poles”, but that the tensions could be resolved over time as they became part of the community.

Local residents painted a mixed picture of the level of community spirit in the area. Some reported a good community spirit and people who were willing to work together to get things done. There were people who cared about the community but who often felt cast aside and disregarded. There was a lack of recognition for people’s good work. Others talked about how civility and courtesy in Clacton had disappeared over the years. They mentioned that rudeness in public life put women off participating. Some talked about not knowing their neighbours. Several complained about the lack of activities available in the evening.

The creation of a community pub to serve the local community had acted as a catalyst for other community action. The passion of one individual brought people together around the idea of keeping the pub open, and now it was volunteer operated. A time bank run by local residents to help each other had been made much more effective by having its own physical shop front. It had managed to grow to 490 members in the previous three years because of that space.

Young people

Young people in Clacton were talked about as both having problems and being a problem. Young people had alcohol and drug abuse problems, and even though

they were not allowed to drink in public places they frequently did so. Young people did not feel attached to their community and had little chance of progressing or of getting a well-paying job in Clacton. There were not safe affordable places for young people to go to in the evenings. Budget cuts had increased the price of the leisure centre. It was difficult for young people to take part in youth citizenship schemes like the Scouts and the NCS as transport and uniforms cost more than parents could afford.

There were also complaints of the lack of citizenship education that young people received. They wanted young people to have a better understanding of how their local communities were run. It was thought that young people should know about taxes, their rights and their responsibilities. They needed to know how government worked, and to be encouraged to participate beyond just voting. But teaching should not be politicised.

Local issues

Cuts to funding were also raised as problems undermining the community. The issues of funding for schools and the NHS were raised, as was the lack of facilities at the local library.

Housing and planning was raised as an issue. We were told that more elderly people were moving into the area and that bungalows and retirement flats were being built, but there were not enough services for the new flats. Another housing issue was a growing number of houses in multiple occupation (HMO) with more people living in a building than other residents were happy with. The Council had recently stopped the creation of new of HMOs, but there was a suspicion that more were appearing anyway and that the council was not doing enough to tackle rogue HMOs defying this rule. The planning system was also felt to be inadequate; new estates being planned lacked communal meeting areas, and not enough social housing was being included in new developments. They felt that big builders were riding roughshod over local requirements and that Government wasn't listening.

Recommendations from residents: what they would like to see

At the end of the event participants were asked to pick a few suggestions per table as recommendations. All the tables then came together to vote for their preferred recommendations.

The recommendations (ordered by number of votes) were:

- An easily accessible one stop hub where you can get an answer from government (central and local) and access local information (12 votes)
- Role of local influence/power over all aspects of planning, e.g. approval/timescale approved development (9 votes)
- Provide more money for the local community and encourage matched funding (7 votes)
- Citizenship and home economics education from a young age (primary phase onwards) (7 votes)
- Better information from central and local government delivered in a modern way. Communication is key—digital, schools, noticeboards, radio (6 votes)
- Media and politicians should lead by example with regard to respectful treatment (5 votes)

- Inspiring leadership, e.g. more training, no exclusion on financial grounds (4 votes)
- Politicians should learn to listen, communicate and act on people's wishes (3 votes)
- Physical space for the community (2 votes)
- Positive images on volunteering (1 vote)
- Better communication with local groups (1 vote)
- Building confidence—not enough support for mental health issues from rural GPs (1 vote)
- More support for young people, in particular those in care, and parenting (1 vote)
- People need a cause which can generate commitment (1 vote)
- Recognition of civic success, with some positive examples. (0 votes)

APPENDIX 7: NOTE OF VISIT TO SHEFFIELD

On Thursday 16 November 2017 the Committee visited Sheffield and held four separate meetings on different aspects of civic engagement, in order to learn from local experiences. We are most grateful to all those involved: not just to those listed below, but to all others who were involved in the planning of the meetings. We are also grateful to Sheffield City Council for having provided us with a sandwich lunch and with transport.

This visit was attended by Lord Blunkett, Baroness Eaton, Lord Harries of Pentregarth, Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbotts (Chairman), Baroness Lister of Burtsett, Baroness Morris of Yardley and Lord Rowe-Beedoe.

In the first session at Sheffield Town Hall we met representatives from Sheffield City Council to discuss what the city was doing to nurture civic participation. In the second session, still at the Town Hall, we discussed with representatives of the University of Sheffield and the Head of Electoral Services the joint registration of students to vote as they enrol at the university, and the other work the University is doing to boost civic engagement.

For our third session we went to Byron Wood Academy, a primary school with many children for whom English is a second language. Our last session, still at Byron Wood Academy, was a meeting with nine community leaders from across Sheffield and Rotherham to hear their views on citizenship and civic engagement.

Sheffield City Council

Present:

- Michael Bowles, Head of Elections, Equalities and Involvement;
- Councillor Jackie Drayton, Cabinet member for Children, Young People and Families;
- James Henderson, Director of Policy, Performance and Communications;
- Dawn Shaw, Head of Libraries and Community Services.

The panel told us that Sheffield had experienced large scale cuts as their budget had been reduced by 50% over the last seven years. However, they were determined that they could do more with the 50% they had left by working with communities and voluntary sector partners.

We were told that Sheffield was a changing city due to economic migration, but was doing all it could to welcome migrants and was the first UK “City of Sanctuary”. It was also a highly unequal city with some of the most and least deprived areas in the country. Whilst turnout in elections was lower in the more deprived areas, some wards with global populations had better turnout than white working class areas. The inequality extended to levels of voluntary activity, with some areas having substantially more than others. Friends of Parks groups struggled to recruit people in the north east of the city, whilst other areas had a large number of volunteers. A particular problem for voluntary groups in disadvantaged areas was recruiting a treasurer.

There was a rich picture of activity from formal engagement, delivering public services in partnership, to more informal activity taking place in communities. Even in poorer areas volunteers were able to run services. Volunteer-run libraries were given as a successful example. More than half of libraries across the city were now

volunteer led. They were given core funding, and the majority were not run by established voluntary sector organisations but instead by people who came together from their communities to keep their local library open. Although these community run libraries were not part of the Council's statutory duty, and the Council's own libraries remained the principal service, the voluntary libraries were on the same library catalogue, allowing books to move between all libraries in Sheffield on request. The groups running the libraries had signed a memorandum of understanding with the Council on the proper usage of a library and its systems, and had to have a proper complaints procedure. They informed the council of complaints they received.

Most of this voluntary activity depended on having a core group to organise the volunteers. In some cases there was an organiser paid for by a voluntary sector organisation, in others the activity was run by an unpaid organiser. If members of the core group left, the running of the activity could potentially suffer. Sometimes this core was a faith institution, as was the case with many food banks. However the Council organised a meeting between lead members of the voluntary groups to facilitate mutual support and the sharing of good practice. The Council also employed a volunteer co-ordinator to help and support the groups with training and library management advice.

Sheffield also had a well-established faith leaders' network that came forward at times of crisis. However no faith was homogenous, and they found that some communities did not have a voice at all, or had a voice that only represented a narrow part of the community. Many groups of different types felt that they did not have an easy route to the council. Older people were being viewed only through the lens of social care and not as citizens with opinions on the general state of Sheffield. In recognition of the challenges faced by different communities of interest in engaging with the Council and other agencies in the city, the Council went out into communities and established an equality hub network. The network brought communities and decision makers together to work for positive change, collecting the views of the population and finding practical suggestions to improve public services.

The Children's University was raised as a positive success story in Sheffield. This was a scheme that sought to get young people involved in their communities beyond normal school activities. When children completed an activity they received points, and when they received enough points they got a graduation ceremony. Activities at schools subscribed to Sheffield Children's University included swimming, learning musical instruments and sports.

Volunteering was recognised in many ways. The Lord Mayor's awards thanked people for getting involved in their communities. In some areas they had special star awards for volunteers or members of staff for work over and above their responsibilities.

Representatives of the University of Sheffield, and the Head of Electoral Services

Present:

- Ruth Arnold, Director of Strategic Projects and Public Affairs, Office of the Vice-Chancellor;
- Anne Cutler, Data Protection Officer;
- Ana Hidalgo-Kingston, Head of Student Administration Service;
- Reena Staves, Students Union Welfare Officer;

- Dr Tony Strike, University Secretary at the University of Sheffield;
- John Tomlinson, Head of Electoral Services, Sheffield City Council.

We discussed with representatives of the University of Sheffield and the Head of Electoral Services the joint registration of students to vote as they enrol at the University.

We were told that universities have always had an interest when students initially enrol in helping them to register with a GP, but previously there had been understandable sensitivities in helping them to register to vote. Universities did not want to be seen as intervening in the political process. However, Sheffield thought of itself as a civic university. Voter registration fitted within the wider context of the University, encouraging civic participation through the students union and in the wider city. Whilst the University was not a political body, it did have a role in building citizens; helping students to register to vote was part of that. The University was able to take existing data and use it to verify students' identities in order to help them register more easily. Over 70% of students had indicated their desire to register to vote, though the University had no figures on the proportion that actually turned out to vote. In addition to registration assisted by the University, students also registered using the online Individual Electoral Registration. The students' union also encouraged people to vote.

There was no evidence that double voting was taking place amongst students who were registered both at home and in Sheffield. They were clearly informed that this was not allowed.

The University encouraged students to volunteer. Volunteering through a formal scheme could be entered in a student's higher education record. The University itself also had volunteering awards, prizes for civic activity were delivered at graduations, and the details were in the graduation programme. The students' union was the main way in which the students reached out to the city; it had over 100 volunteering schemes with approximately 15 people in each.

The University was interested in the students it recruited, and its outreach team targeted local schools which were under-represented in the University's applicant base. White working class boys were one of the underrepresented groups. The students' union president was from a white working class background and was keen to get officers to go into schools in those areas. However it was a struggle to reach those who were often forgotten.

The participants noted that not all universities were as enthusiastic about civic engagement as the University of Sheffield, but it was the right and responsible thing for universities to do. Universities should be encouraged or mandated to support students in registering to vote, and the newly created Office for Students could do this. Beyond Sheffield, higher education achievement records should include volunteering and civic activity, and should be used as part of making students more employable. Universities were evaluated for their teaching and their research, but the civic role was completely missing from the current regulatory system for universities.

Visit to Byron Wood Academy, Pitsmoor

Present:

- Satadru Ashton, Principal;
- Richard Surridge, Vice Principal in charge of curriculum development;

- Catherine Salvadori, Vice Principal;

and many other teachers and students.

We were told that the school was in a deprived area with an ethnic makeup that was constantly changing and with new children arriving on a daily basis. There was a 40% child mobility rate within a single year. The children spoke 28 different languages. The largest ethnic group were Pakistanis who made up 22% of the pupils. This constantly changing demographic meant that the school had to adapt what it was doing to suit this varied intake; the curriculum was changed every year. The disharmony within the local area had hit national news, but the school tried to make children understand that what happened outside the school gates had to stay outside the gates. They focused on having a curriculum which was inclusive. They highlighted figures from history from different racial backgrounds like Nelson Mandela and Mary Seacole, trying to ensure that no children felt like outsiders. A priority was to ensure that everyone respected everyone else.

We were impressed by the curriculum outlined for the current year by Richard Surridge. He had focused on Sheffield as an area of commonality for all the children, with different year groups studying different parts of Sheffield's history. One year group was looking at the industrial revolution in Sheffield while another was looking at the history of immigration. The national curriculum was then woven around this theme. As the whole school was focusing on the same subject this created a greater sense of unity. Whilst English was the language that most pupils had in common there were other pupils whose English skills were still quite poor. However the school also focused on areas like music and PE where language was not a barrier. The school day had been extended in order to fit these activities in.

They viewed this extended school day as crucial. They contrasted it with other schools that closed early, especially on Fridays when some schools closed even earlier. If they were to close early on Fridays they would not be able to fit in all the teaching they needed to build a shared sense of identity.

Although they did not teach anything explicitly labelled as citizenship, they said that it was part of everything they did. They promoted British values but referred to them as basic or shared values, focusing on the importance of shared respect. They also prioritised a sense of civic pride which was the key focus of their Sheffield curriculum, since location and identity were important.

After this initial discussion with the Principal and Vice Principals, the Committee split into two groups to meet two different groups of children. The first group were children from Year 4 who had been studying immigration in Sheffield; the other were new arrivals who were learning basic (Key Stage 1) English.

The first group told us about the many different reasons people come to the UK, and confidently answered our questions about their school and their lives. We heard from the children the different languages their parents spoke, and how many of them spoke English to their parents while their parents spoke to them in their own mother tongue. In addition we heard that some parents were learning English at the school in one of the classrooms which was devoted to adult education and hosted ESOL classes.

The other group saw children aged between 3 and 5 whose first language was not English and who were learning to read the simplest words of English. The teaching was impressive, but we were struck by how much the pupils had to learn before

they could progress to learning what pupils whose first language was English had been learning for months or years.

Both Committee groups then attended an assembly where the children put on a variety of presentations of arts and drama. One class read a segment of Beowulf, another performed a short play about children evacuated during the Second World War. This was followed by a song and a sword dance.

Overall, we were struck by how much pupils in such a mixed and deprived area were at an educational disadvantage compared to pupils in an area where all spoke English as their first language, but also deeply impressed by the professionalism and commitment displayed by the staff.

Community Leaders

We met five community leaders from Sheffield:

- Dr Mike Fitter, Co-Chair, Sheffield Cohesion Advisory Group;
- Gulnaz Hussain, Chief Executive, Firvale Community Hub;
- Debbie Mathews, Chief Executive, Manor and Castle Development Trust;
- Councillor Abtissam Mohamed, Chief Executive, Aspiring Communities Together;
- Sioned-Mair Richards, former Councillor, former Assistant Police and Crime Commissioner, and former Governor of Byron Wood Academy;

three community leaders from Rotherham:

- Zanib Rasool, Partnerships and Development Manager, Rotherham United Community Sports Trust;
- Mariam Shah, Muslim Chaplain at Thomas Rotherham College, member of Rotherham Standing Advisory Council for Religious Education;
- Ian Stubbs, Community Coordinator for Government Counter Extremism strategy, Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council;

and Marek Pacan, a leader of the Sheffield Roma community.

The general view was that a lot was changing, and overall things were improving. There had been integration issues when there was a large influx from the Roma community. The arrival of so many people at once caused difficulties, and they had bad publicity. However the situation was moving on, and there was progress on community cohesion through sports and other programmes. One key point was that cohesion was not undermined by diversity but by deprivation and inequality. Sheffield was a very divided city with a large health inequality between different areas; the least diverse areas were the richest areas of the city where there was a real lack of integration.

The voluntary sector lacked resources due to cuts to local government funding. This especially affected English language courses through cuts to the adult learning budget. The ability to speak English was key. Classes had gone from 400 a year to 120 a year due to cuts. A lack of language skills meant that people were forced to rely on others in their neighbourhood.

Parents, especially second generation parents, were very keen to be engaged with their children's schools. They were becoming governors and getting involved in other ways. Adult learning, ESOL and IT classes helped bring parents into schools.

In some areas there was a lack of capacity for social action, with people not knowing how to become engaged. There was an opportunity for people from more affluent areas to help them organise. One successful initiative had involved three churches which had joined together to work with all communities.

Young people felt that their voices were not being heard. This problem was escalating with the cuts in the numbers of youth workers. Schools could play a role here but more was needed. Parents could help, and faith groups could do more to help parents. Many Muslim women were very active in the community, but needed more support, and Imams were reluctant to provide it.

The Roma community found that language, time and education were the main barriers. They wanted to get involved more in their local communities but did not have the time.

Rotherham

We were told that Rotherham had been badly libelled by the national press. The headlines blamed the whole community for the actions of a tiny minority. Community representatives were now giving out information on Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE), how to spot it and how not to be vulnerable to it. They had created safe environments using arts and crafts in order to have informal discussions on CSE and grooming. Women in the communities had created a toolkit to help raise awareness of it.

Participants also told us that in Rotherham the White British community outside the town centre felt that they had been left out. There was a cohesive community in the town centre, but people on the periphery looked in at the centre and only saw change. The old mining communities had high levels of deprivation, and had no opportunity to see the benefits of a multicultural society. There was work to be done with the white working class to create a more cohesive community.

Whilst a lot of work had been done in BME communities, there had been very little work done with people committing racist offences. The far right narrative was being woven into the white working class narrative. In order to change this, long term solutions were needed, in particular action on education and on helping people value a multicultural society. The extremist threat in Rotherham was from the far right.

APPENDIX 8: MEETING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE

On 29 November 2017 the Committee invited eleven young people aged between 15 and 21 to talk about their experiences of civic engagement, and how they thought it could be improved. They came from the following youth organisations:

- Advocacy Academy
- British Youth Council
- City Year UK
- Coram
- Girlguiding
- National Citizen Service
- Scouts
- UK Youth Voice
- WE Day (UK).

We heard from the young people about their concerns, and how they thought civic engagement could be improved. We are grateful to them, and to the organisations involved. Below is a summary of the issues discussed.

This meeting was attended by Baroness Barker, Lord Blunkett, Baroness Eaton, Lord Harries of Pentregarth, Lord Hodgson of Astley Abbots (Chairman), Baroness Lister of Burtersett, Baroness Morris of Yardley and Baroness Redfern.

Young people care

Those present argued strongly that young people are not apathetic; they care strongly about specific issues, but are put off by the existing structures. In their view young people care most about specific identifiable issues which will result in change. They recognise that politics raises difficult questions and that compromise is a crucial part of this, but they feel that their voices are not being heard. This is especially the case in the debate around votes at 16, where they feel ignored.

Education and Identity

We were told that citizenship education failed to provide young people with the skills and resources needed for them to become civically engaged. Their general experience of citizenship education was not positive. Most were taught it badly or not at all. Some teaching was done directly from a pre-prepared PowerPoint presentation, and it was clear that the teacher had no understanding of the subject. Even where citizenship education was described as inspiring, there was very little of it. They also made the point that citizenship education must be relevant to young people in order to get them to engage. In addition to formal lessons, mock elections and school councils were good ways to boost citizenship awareness.

The young people told us that ideas about identity are complex. They suggested that identity was shaped as much by what people did as by what they were, and that hobbies defined people as much as their ethnic background. Identity was about what people thought mattered. Some suggested that social action and the organisations that facilitated it could provide a sense of identity, especially if it

took up a large portion of a person's time. They also highlighted that their sense of identity changed as they moved from school to university to work, and as they formed new relationships. They were still working out who they wanted to be, and it could be difficult to navigate between these identities. However engaging with their local community allowed them to feel a clear sense of connection. Words like 'identity' and 'citizenship' felt a bit formal and dated; they preferred to talk about 'belonging' and being 'engaged'.

The barriers

We were told that young people's capacity to become civically engaged was being undermined by cuts to youth services. Youth clubs were the main safe space for young people to get involved in civic issues, but they were now closing, or had already been closed, due to budget cuts. They told us that there had been a massive decline in youth services across the country because they were seen as non-essential. We were told that if society wanted to involve young people then it needed to reinvest in local services.

Volunteering

The young people also told us that it was difficult to find opportunities for social action. It required independent research to find the desired activity in the right area. It was especially difficult to take part in social action in rural communities. Whilst schools encouraged young people to volunteer, they were not provided with the necessary tools to enable them to do so. They highlighted the need for resources on how to get involved, how to fundraise, how to write to their MP or how to lobby their local authority.

Some of the young people stated that they preferred volunteering to political action because they could see a direct, tangible benefit from their actions. In the case of politics, views and votes disappeared into a system and there was rarely any direct outcome. This did not put them off from being engaged in politics but it did make them favour volunteering.

It could be difficult to volunteer if there were systemic barriers, particularly so for those who were in poverty or themselves in need of help. However people with lived experience had a lot to offer and could better relate to other people who needed help. Volunteering increasingly needed to fit around complex lives. They supported the idea of flexible volunteering and micro volunteering, and thought that places need to become more supportive of this sort of engagement.

Political engagement

Local councils were described by young people as particularly hard to engage with; the formal structure of councils and their big buildings were intimidating. Although the young people who attended the event were very engaged, many had never been to a local authority or parish council meeting and never met a councillor. One young person reported that they could not watch a parish council meeting as they took place on Friday afternoons when other people were at school or working. They saw councils as unrepresentative of the broader community they served, and in contrast highlighted that the UK Youth Parliament was much more diverse in terms of women and BME representation. They suggested that if more councillors were young people whom they could identify with it would be easier for young people to get involved. The need for good young role models was emphasised across the board.

They highlighted digital technology as important, since it helped reach out to people from different backgrounds. Although digital technology could help with communication there were still barriers in terminology. For example, parliamentary terminology like Early Day Motions was difficult to understand.

APPENDIX 9: ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A8	Eight of the ten States which joined the European Union in May 2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia
ACT	Association for Citizenship Teaching
BAMF	<i>Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge</i> (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CAF	Charities Aid Foundation
CE	Citizenship Education
CELS	Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study
CIPD	Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development
CMF	Controlling Migration Fund
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government (now MHCLG)
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
ERO	Electoral Registration Officer
ESF	European Social Fund
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FBV	Fundamental British Values
FE	Further Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HMRC	Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivation
LBBB	London Borough of Barking and Dagenham
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MHCLG	Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (formerly DCLG)
MINAB	Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board
MIF	Migration Impacts Fund
MWNUK	Muslim Women's Network UK
NAO	National Audit Office
NATECLA	National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages to Adults

NCS	National Citizen Service
NCVO	National Council for Voluntary Organisations
NI	National Insurance
NUS	National Union of Students
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OfS	Office for Students
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PRCBC	Project for the Registration of Children as British Citizens
PSHE	Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education
RDP	Regional Delivery Partner
RNIB	Royal National Institute of Blind People
SBV	Shared British Values
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
SVPRS	Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme
USDAW	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
VCRS	Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme
VPRS	Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme